

THE IMPACT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GOVERNMENT POLICY ON THE
SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMERGING FARMERS IN THE MOPANI
DISTRICT IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

by

MAKHUDU EDWARD MAMABOLO

Submitted in accordance with the requirement for

the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject

GEOGRAPHY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: Dr AC HARMSE

CO-SUPERVISOR: Mrs R COETZEE

August 2017

Dedication

To my late parents, my wife, children, brothers and sisters who always believed in and supported me.

Declaration

I, Makhudu Edward Mamabolo, hereby declare that the thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography at the University of South Africa, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other institution.

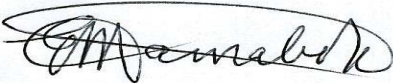
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Date: 7 November 2016

Acknowledgements

- Firstly, I would like to thank God Almighty for giving me the opportunity to further my studies, and then giving me the strength and determination to complete it.
- My wife Kate, for without her encouragement, financial and moral support and love I could not have finished this thesis. Thank you for being a source of inspiration in my studies. I will always love you.
- My family, Motshabo, Mamateane, Lesiba, Malebalelo, Violet, and Mosopšadi for your continuous love and infallible support during my studies.
- To my late brother Mathekeng, sister Motshabo, nephews Piet, Pitsi and niece Alina, Martin, for your encouragement, prayers and support.
- Lekau for your encouragement and support with library sources.
- Dr AC Harmse, my study supervisor, for her inspiration, valuable advice and encouragement, dedication, time and above all patience.
- Mrs R Coetzee, joint supervisor, for her support encouragement and valuable advice provided.
- Leslie Adriaanse, personal librarian for excellent library service provided.
- Library staff from Unisa in Pretoria, Florida and Polokwane for their support and assistance.
- Limpopo Department of Agriculture for allowing me to undertake this research in the Mopani District Municipality and participating in the completion of the questionnaire.
- Municipal officials from Greater Giyani, Greater Letaba, Maruleng, Ba-Phalaborwa and Greater Tzaneen for participating in the completion of the questionnaires and focus group discussions.
- African emerging farmers in the Mopani District Municipality without whom this thesis would not have been possible without their completing the questionnaires and participating in the focus group discussions.
- To Yvonne Smuts, the language editor, for your professional editing of my thesis.
- To Arina Lotz, technical editor, for the technical lay-out of my thesis.
- Geographic Division of StatsSA for designing maps for my thesis.

Abstract

Agriculture plays a major role in development, as it creates jobs, develops the economy and reduces poverty. An important drawback in agriculture in South Africa is access to agricultural land and other agricultural resources by African farmers. Many African farmers still own small units of land, which are still mostly used for subsistence farming. These racial inequalities in the agricultural sector date back to colonial and apartheid eras. During the apartheid era, government policies separated white farmers from black farmers resulting in an unequal spatial distribution of farming and development in the country. The post-apartheid government that came into power in 1994 was committed to the eradication of racial legislation and implemented new agricultural policies. Twenty years later many inequalities still exist within the agricultural sector. There is a need to investigate the social and spatial inequalities in the emerging farming sector. Since the Limpopo province is one of the poorest provinces in South Africa, consisting of large areas of former homelands, the aim of this research is to investigate and describe the impact of the implementation of agricultural policies on the spatial distribution of the emerging farming sector in the Mopani District of the Limpopo province.

This research was done within the framework of the post-modernism paradigm. The study used mostly qualitative data but some quantitative data and methods were also used. Primary data was collected from sampled emerging farmers in the Mopani district, some officials from the local municipality and one provincial official. Evidence from analysed data indicated that the uneven spatial distribution of farms still exists despite numerous policies and programmes implemented by government through its provinces, and local and district municipalities. Structurally there is a lack of proper coordination, inadequate provision of both human and material resources, monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of policies and programmes are some contributory factors. It is recommended that policies be implemented that strategically target investment and infrastructural development to reduce poverty, unemployment and uneven spatial distribution of farms in the Mopani district municipalities in the Limpopo province.

Key words:

Agriculture, agricultural development, policy, spatial distribution, development strategy, policy implementation, postmodernism theory, emerging farmer, emerging farmer support, agricultural protectionism.

Acronyms

ABP	Area-based Planning
ADM	Agricultural Disaster Management
AEASA	Agricultural Economics Association of South Africa
AISP	Agricultural Inputs Support Policy
ALA	Agricultural Labour Act
ANC	African National Congress
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
APS	Agro-processing Strategy
ARDC	Agricultural Rural Development Corporation
AU	African Union
BAA	Bantu Authorities Act
BBBEE	Broad-Base Black Economic Empowerment
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BWI	Bretton Woods Institutions
CA	Central America
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CASE	Community Agency for Social Enquiry
CASP	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
CDM	Capricorn District Municipality
CISP	Crop Input Supply Policy
CPA	Communal Property Association
CRDP	Comprehensive Rural Development Programme
CIRED	Centre for International Research and Environmental Development
CRSA	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa
CSA	Cooperative Societies Act
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DAFF	Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DED	Department of Economic Development
DLA	Department of Land Affairs

DoA	Department of Agriculture
DPD	Development Planning Division
DRDLR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
DSM	Development Support Monitor
EDM	Ehlanzeni District Municipality
EAAE	European Association of Agricultural Economics
EEA	Employment Equity Act
EU	European Union
FANR	Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FW	First World
GAA	Group Areas Act
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCF	Grace Communication Foundation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Reconstruction Programme
GGA	Glen Grey Act
GLTP	Great Limpopo Trans-Frontier Park
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IAAE	International Association of Agricultural Economist
IDP	Integrated Development Programme
IIED	International Institute of Environment and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JFPM	Johannesburg Fresh Produce Market
KEF	Khula Enterprise Finance
KSME	Khula Small and Medium Enterprises
LA	Land Act
LAR	Land and Agrarian Reform
LARP	Land and Agrarian Reform Project
LBA	Land Bank Act
LDA	Limpopo Department of Agriculture
LPG	Limpopo Provincial Government
LRA	Labour Relations Act
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development

MA	Marketing Act
MAFISA	Micro Agricultural Finance Institute of South Africa
MALA	Ministry for Agriculture and Land Affairs
MAPA	Marketing of Agricultural Products Act
MDM	Mopani District Municipality
MERECAS	Mechanisation Revolving Credit Access Schemes
NAA	Native Administration Act
NDA	National Department of Agriculture
NDP	National Development Programme
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGP	New Growth Path
NPC	National Planning Commission
NTPWP	National Transport Policy White Paper
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OFM	Organic Farming Model
PEDS	Provincial Economic Development Strategy
PLAS	Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy
PRA	Population Registration Act
QLFS	Quarterly Labour Force Survey
RAP	Regional Agricultural Policy
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RDS	Rural Development Strategy
RLRA	Restitution of Land Rights Act
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SA	South Africa
SADEC	Southern African Development Community
SALDRU	Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit
SDA	Skills Development Act
SDC	Sustainable Development Consortium
SDM	Sekhukhune District Municipality
SLAG	Settlement/Land Acquisition Grants
SPLAG	Settlement Production Land Acquisition Grant
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa

StatsSA	Statistics of South Africa
TEG	Theory of Economic Growth
TLGF	Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework
TW	Third World
TWB	Third World Bureaucracies
TWC	Third World Countries
UF	Urban Foundation
UNCD	United Nations Commission on Development
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USA	United States of America
VDM	Vhembe District Municipality
WB	World Bank
WBQR	World Bank Quarterly Report
WC	Washington Consensus
WE	Western Europe
WPA	White Paper on Agriculture
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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Chapter 1 - Introduction and background

1.1 Introduction

South Africa has a long history of colonisation, land dispossession and racial domination that enabled the white minority to own the bulk of the agricultural land (Martin & Lorenzin, 2016). This has led to spatial arrangements and inequalities that has affected the agricultural sector negatively (Ntsebeza, 2007). Although some authors differ in terms of the beginning of the colonisation period, Ntsebeza (2007) and Lahiff (2014) argue that the history of white colonisation spans back to the expansion of Dutch colonial settlements in the Cape colony in the 1850s. In addition to the Dutch colonisers, a study by Lahiff (2007) argues that the dispossession of the indigenous population in South Africa resulted from both the Dutch and British settlers and is viewed to be one of the salient colonisation in Africa.

Available literature (Durrheim, 2005; Aliber & Cousins, 2012) state that one of the key legislations that laid the foundation for a spatially divided and segregated South Africa was the Glen Grey Act passed in 1894. Studies conducted by Aliber and Cousins (2012) and Gumede (2014) pointed out that land dispossession begun with the annexation and division of territory, and overtime proclamations and laws were enacted by the British to dislodge African people from their land while consolidating areas of white settlers. During this period, people were geographically segregated and arranged based on race. The white minority were given a prerogative to occupy areas with economic potential and opportunities while blacks were confined to the rural homelands (Maake, Manamela & Meso, 2016).

The colonial regime was followed by the apartheid era. During the apartheid regime, people were geographically segregated based on race (colour) because of amongst other, the Land Act of 1913 wherein the white minority occupied areas with economic potential (Ntsebeza, 2007). This Act, as an apartheid tool divided land on a racial basis by setting aside “scheduled” areas for exclusive occupation and acquisition by black people. The non-white majority were given much smaller areas to live in than the white minority who owned most of the country (Lahiff, 2007; Van Wyk, 2013).

By the time the Land Act of 1913 was enacted, South Africa was already moving in the direction of spatial segregation through land dispossession as indicated above and the history of land dispossession did therefore not begin with the passing of the Native Land Act of 1913. The historical spatial arrangement caused by the Glen Grey Act of the colonial regime and the 1913 Act of the apartheid government led to the emergence of a black rural world and the white rural world (De Villiers, 1996). By the mid-20th century most of the country was reserved for the minority of the white settler population including the best agricultural land with the African majority confined to just 13% of the territory (Maake, Manamela & Meso, 2016). Consequently, South Africa is faced with a very uneven distribution of economic, political, social and environmental circumstances. This geographical division by both the colonial and apartheid regimes have had a negative impact on farming especially African farmers (Kepe & Tessaro, 2014).

These historic spatial arrangements have created a major challenge to the current government in terms of formulating and implementing policies to redress the existing spatial distributions and inequalities in the country (Ntsebeza, 2007; Aliber & Cousins, 2012). The democratic government of South Africa has implemented multifaceted programmes of land reform to address historical problems of dispossession and deprivation (Lahiff, 2007).

Smallholder farmers have played a pivotal role in addressing inequalities in various countries of the world. Various researchers (Morris & Adelman, 1989; Akinboade, 1996; Roger, 1999; Makhura, 2001; Chandra, Nganou, Rajaratnam & Scafer, 2001; Gibb & Li, 2003; Ngqangweni & Delgado, 2003; Chauke & Oni, 2004; Mohammed, Ortmann & Ferrer, 2006; Moloi, 2008; Bogale, Thamaga-Chijta, Kolanisi & Maxwell, 2014) attest that the smallholder farming sector is a pillar and precondition for socio-economic, political and societal wellbeing in different parts of the world, if supported adequately by policy.

There is however, no consensus regarding the definition of “emerging farmers”. Terms such as “peasant”, “smallholder”, “emerging”, “small-scale” and “family” farmers are often used interchangeably. The National Department of Agriculture

(NDA), now the Department Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF), viewed emerging farmers as the formerly underprivileged farmers that were intend on become commercial farmers (RSA, 2006a). Vink and Van Rooyen (2009) define them in terms of resource deprivation by government policy in favour of commercial farmers. According to the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF 2012:1) the term “smallholder” farmers are defined in various ways depending on the context, country and even ecological zone. In general terms smallholder only refers to their limited resource endowment relative to other farmers in the sector. Smallholder farmers are also defined as those farmers owning small-based plots of land on which they grow subsistence crops and one or two cash crops relying almost exclusively on family labour (DAFF, 2012:1).

AgriSETA (2010), defines “emerging farmers” as:

- Those who may be striving to move from subsistence farming to a more commercial model
- Those who have benefited from land reform processes and want to establish an agricultural enterprise on the land that has been allocated to them
- Those who have made use of BEE funding to acquire a stake in a farm and are trying to achieve profitability.

The emerging farmer sector is neither commercial farming or subsistence in nature and is the focus of many of the government’s efforts to achieve transformation within the sector (AgriSETA, 2010:9). In addition to this definition the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (2013) states that “emerging Black farmers means those persons (or their descendants) who were excluded from South Africa’s formal agricultural economy based on their skin colour and who have recently begun to engage in farming on a larger scale to sell crops and livestock on the market with the support and assistance of the state” (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2013:4).

In this research, “emerging farmers” are considered as the previously marginalised African farmers with limited support, both in human and material resources because of policy, that have the potential to develop as commercial farmers. In South Africa,

despite their numerous challenges, emerging farmers are still viewed as a source of livelihood for both urban and rural areas because they provide a variety of services such as raw material for industry, food for domestic consumption, opportunities for agricultural and industrial employment, increase in foreign exchange for agricultural exports and domestic savings as well as poverty alleviation and income generation. According to Stats SA (2014), emerging farmers can play a pivotal role to reduce unemployment rate, which was 25,2% in the first quarter of 2014, thereby reducing poverty.

One of the major drawbacks in agriculture in South Africa is lack of agricultural land and other supporting resources by African farmers. Whilst the white farmers were allocated fertile agricultural lands with resources, African farmers occupied the former homelands that were not easily arable and infertile (De Villiers, 1995). Most African emerging farmers operated under restricted land and resource deprivation compared to their white commercial farmers. The division between commercial farmers and emerging farmers became a subject of great interest to many researchers (Cochrane, 1979; Coetzee, Kirsten & Van Zyl, 1993; Coetzee, Meyser & Adam, 2002; Dhehibi & Lachaal, 2006; Cooper, Baldock & Farmer, 2007; Cox, 2008; Cantore, Kennan & Page, 2011; Commission of the European Communities, 2012). This emanated from the policy of the apartheid regime that resulted in a racial distribution of farms in which African emerging farmers were restricted to the homelands (refer to Figure 1.1) which were too small to support independent or communal agriculture that led to their underdevelopment (Kepe, 1999; Republic of South Africa (RSA), 2004a).

This conflict perspective favoured white farmers over black farmers. Thus, available literature (Ngqangweni & Delgado, 2003; Handelman, 2011; Bogale *et al.* 2014) has shown that the implementation of government policies associated with physical, economic, political and technological factors have led to an uneven spatial distribution of the agricultural sector.

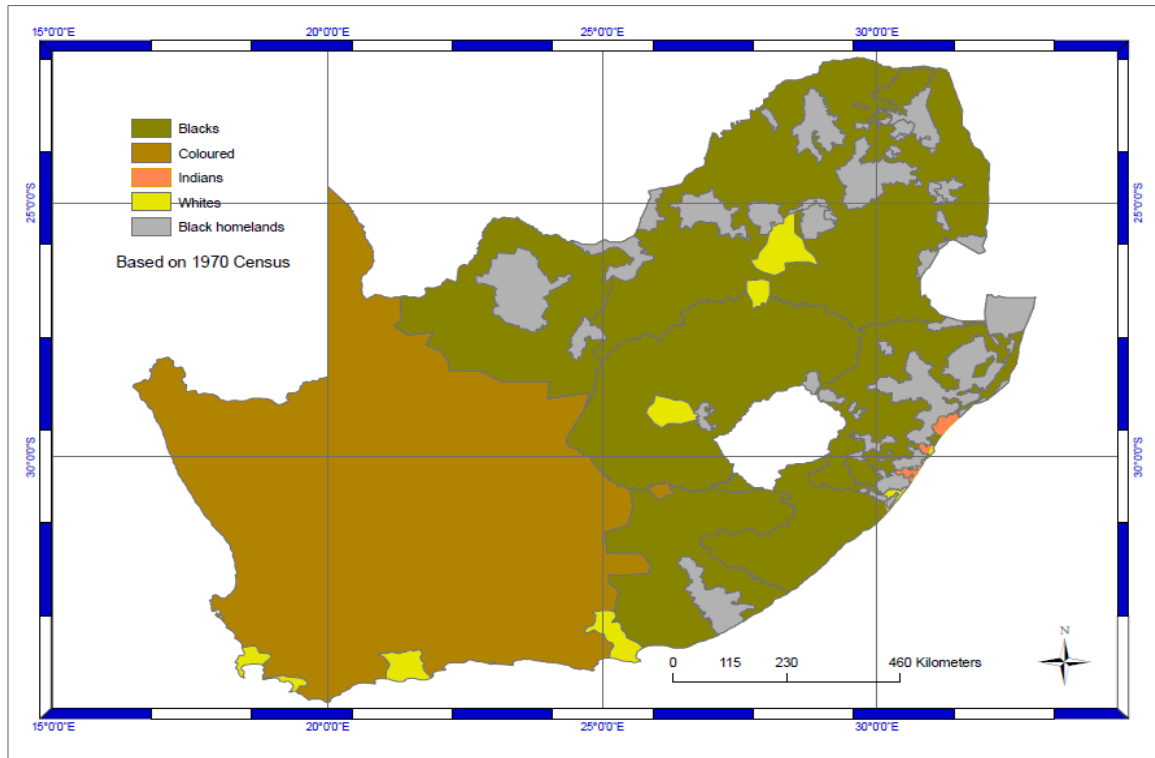


Figure 1.1: Racial distribution of population and Homelands in 1970 (Source: Adapted from CIA, 1979).

The impact of policy implementation has, however, been mostly similar to that of many other countries in the world although one feature distinguishes South Africa from other countries. This is the extensive racial implementation of policy that is uneven especially within the agricultural sector. By the mid-20th century (Lahiff, 2007) 87 percent of land was in white hands and only 13 percent owned by blacks (RSA, 2010a; Thamaga-Chitja, Kolanisi & Murungani, 2010). The post-apartheid government, through its institutional policies, especially in agriculture, intends to deracialise the sector to improve the unique situation of emerging farmers (Phuhlisani Solutions, 2009). The purpose of this research is to investigate the impact of the implementation of government policy in the development of African emerging farmers in the Mopani District Municipality (MDM) in the Limpopo province of South Africa. The study is interested in looking at the way in which policy have been implemented to reduce the uneven spatial distribution of farms inherited from apartheid.

Available literature (Kirsten & Machete, 2005; Jari & Fraser, 2009; Kepe, 2012) found that weak institutions, restricted access to farming land and markets, insufficient credit, lack of policy support including inadequate infrastructure have constrained smallholder farmers' development and productivity. At the national level these barriers need to be addressed. South Africa has one of the highest levels of spatial inequalities in terms of land and socio-economic development in the world (Triegaardt, 2006; Moloji, 2010) as a result of implementation of apartheid government policy.

In this chapter, the historical evolution of the impact of policy implementation in South Africa is discussed in detail. Attention is given to how policy implementation links to aspects such as development and agriculture. Policy implementation in developing countries is discussed and details are provided of agricultural and development policy implementation in the apartheid era and the democratic era in South Africa as well as in the Limpopo province and in the Mopani district in particular. After this background, the research problem is sketched and the aim, research questions and objectives are given. The rationale as well as contribution of the study is briefly discussed and the chapter ends with an outline of the rest of chapters.

1.2 Background to the study

The evolution of racial inequalities in the agricultural sector in particular dates back to the colonial and apartheid eras. The location of agricultural resources in the RSA was used through policy implementation as a decisive factor that separated the white farmers from black farmers due to what they considered as a betterment strategy (Inkeles & Smith, 1974). Because of this strategy smallholder farmers experienced massive economic, social and political deprivation within the country. They were deprived of funding, skilled labour, government support and agricultural land which are critical resources and preconditions for agricultural and economic development. This resulted in the growth and development of a prosperous white commercial farming sector and an underdeveloped black emerging farming sector and led to structural inequalities between the African smallholder farmers and the European white commercial farmers in the country (Vink, 2012).

The implementation of the apartheid policy in South Africa as a product of the colonial policy from Europe resulted in two different methods of farming from two different geographical worlds. They were the Western commercial farming sector based on policy and profit maximisation and the African subsistence farming sector focusing mainly on self-sufficiency and survival. These two sectors of the economy still exist side by side even after the dawn of the 1994 democratic era in South Africa (D'Haese, Van Rooyen, Van Huylenbroeck & D'Haese, 1998; Claassen, De Villiers & Viljoen, 2002).

Studies conducted by Makhura, Goode and Coetzee (1998) and Makhura (2001) concluded that the apartheid policy restricted black farmers to the former homelands with limited access to adequate infrastructures and services offered by government agencies. Their exclusion from support services gave their distribution in the former homelands its distinctive character of the second economy in the country accompanied by adverse poverty and unemployment. The apartheid political system has led to the underdevelopment of the black farming sector in the country. This intervention in agriculture illustrates the negative effects of government policy on the distribution and development of the agricultural system. Thus, the division of the agricultural sector into two major uneven landscapes was influenced more specifically by political rationale (De Villiers, 1995).

Even though land and agriculture are the main sources of livelihood for most people, its support was more regulated by policy arrangements in the country in time and place. Consequently, many researchers (Mcgregor, 1990; D'Haese & Mdula 1998; Kwananshie, Ajilima, & Garba, 1998; Kwaw, 2000; Zimmerman, 2000; Moyo, 2002; Bryceson, 2004; Yee & Ahearn, 2005; Kargbo, 2006; Cloete, 2010; Mudhara, 2010; Saleem & Jan, 2011; Adewale, 2014) in different disciplines attributed this approach to government intervention strategy. Even though the intervention is acknowledged, there is still a need for land and agricultural policy reforms that are essential for a more even distribution of agricultural resources in various municipalities and regions (Andrew, Ainslie & Shackleton, 2003; Akram-Lodhi & Kay, 2009). Hence, available literature (Sanginga, Best, Chitsike, Delve, Kaaria & Kirkby, 2004; Byerlee, Diao & Jackson, 2005; Sendall, 2007; Vorley & Bienabe, 2007) concludes that the

implementation of skewed regulatory policies in South Africa and elsewhere has led to biased growth and development of agriculture.

It follows that reforms in agricultural policy continue to play a pivotal role in reducing structural inequalities for both emerging and commercial farming as well as rural and urban populations (Sendall, 2007; Vorley & Bienabe, 2007; Akram-Lodhi & Kay, 2009). Despite the uneven spatial distribution of development in agriculture, the potential contribution of smallholder farmers towards economic growth (Gibb & Li, 2003) and the reduction of spatial inequalities through creating employment opportunities and income generation is considered essential by various authors (Roger, 1999; Chandra *et al.* 2001; Chauke & Oni, 2004). The poor, including some smallholder farmers, could benefit more from economic growth in the agricultural sectors than from growth originating from industrial or service sectors (Timmer, 2005).

In South Africa, there are different agricultural regions in its various areas as Figure 1.2 indicates. However, their potential has not been utilised to the maximum due to the segregationist approach to development. The implementation of policy between the two landscapes characterised their total agricultural outputs. Therefore, it resultantly created a 'new' black agricultural space and a 'new' white farming space to sustain and maintain territorial separation. This served as a major drawback and hindrance towards the emerging farmers' agricultural development. Thus, economically, the emerging farmers became inferior to the white farmers. It then led to another 'new' social stratification consisting of a class of poor black people residing in the rural areas of South Africa, which, in turn, had a negative impact on their population's overall development.

The post 1994 democratic government in South Africa has, however, taken a more positive approach towards the development of agriculture. According to numerous studies (RSA, 1994a; de Villiers, 1996; Cousins, 2000; Vink & Kirsten, 2003; Bradstock, 2005; Maisela, 2007; Centre for Development and Enterprise, 2008; RSA, 2010b; Claassen, *et al.* 2014), the government aimed at ensuring that land reform policies empower and develop the previously marginalised. Reforms in agriculture, such as those included in the Redistribution of Land Rights' Act of 1994

and the White Paper of 1997 (RSA, 1994a; RSA, 1997) have played a significant role in addressing some of the structural inequality created by apartheid agricultural policy. They were aimed at restoring land rights to those (including smallholder farmers) who were dispossessed in the past, due to government policies. In consequence, most provinces and districts in South Africa paid explicit attention to the need to transform traditional agriculture and develop the emerging sector in response to the land reform and changing agricultural policies. Available literature (Swanson, 2008; Ozowa, 2011; Chah, Obi & Ndofor-Foleng, 2013) has further shown that the land reform issue should also be accompanied by adequate resource provision for policy to be implemented.

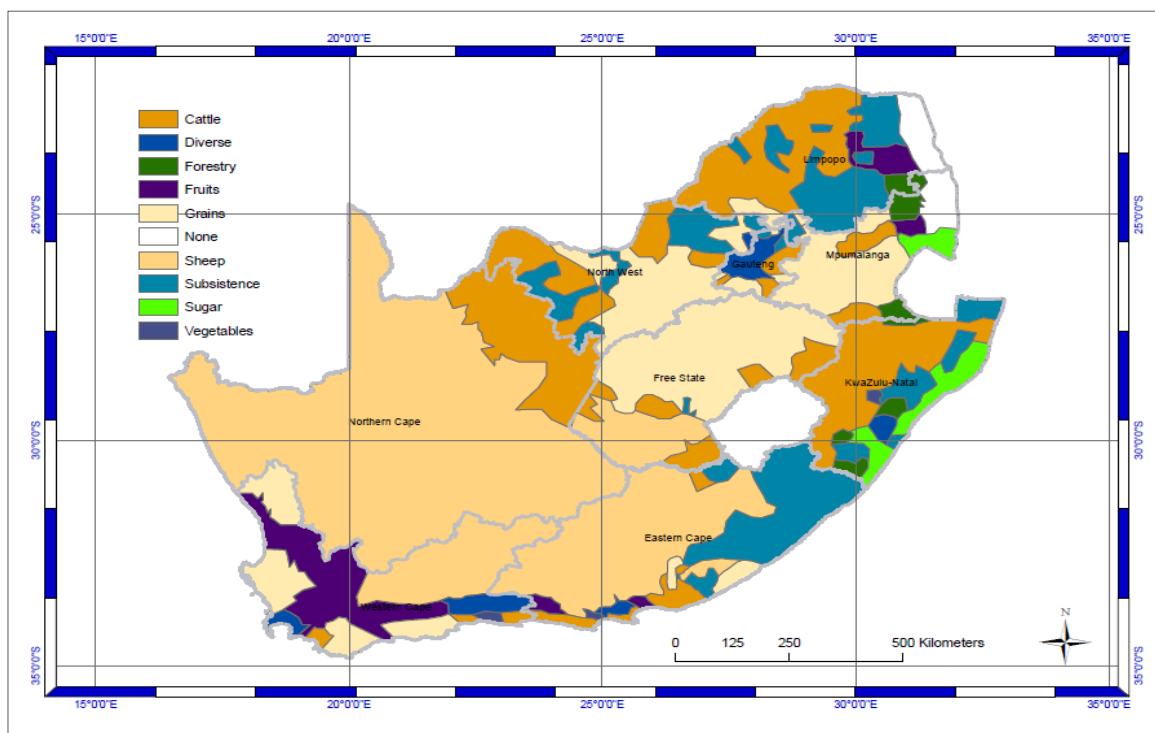


Figure 1.2: Agricultural regions of South Africa (Source: Adapted from FAO, 2005).

If readily available, resources such as information about existing policy, technology, infrastructure, funding institutions and extension services could serve as essential elements in this sector. But of great importance is for policy-makers to understand what emerging farmers' information needs are. These include, amongst others, their educational level, farming experience, resources accessibility, language of instruction, credibility of sources of information and their age. These are important resources that are required for improvement of agricultural production that must be

acquired and used to make informed decisions. The biased implementation of agricultural policies was not only unique to South Africa but also existed in other countries and regions of the world as the next section indicates.

1.3. Policy implementation

The agricultural challenges that South Africa experience also exist elsewhere in the world because of the dynamic nature of policy implementation within the farming sector. The implementation of agricultural policy in a specific country depends largely on the type of government of the country. This leads to different levels of development and agricultural development in countries and regions of the world.

1.3.1 Policy implementation and development

Generally, all farming activities rely on policies to enable farmers to expand and maintain the lands that are suitable for raising their domesticated species. There is no single definition of the term “policy” and therefore, in this study, “policy” refers to the decision and actions of government authorities which intend to increase economic and social welfare, with intermediate objectives of improved efficiency and equity. It further includes the goals and methods adopted by governments to influence the level of economic variables like prices, income, infrastructure and national income (Kassie, 2014). The intervention of government through policy is therefore justified by its economic rationale. This includes the goals that are to be achieved and the choice of methods to be pursued by government which would serve as a mirror of changing economic, political and social capacities and priorities (Easton, 1979; Randall, 1987). If adequately applied, they would facilitate the development of agriculture.

This challenge is in tandem with the postmodernism theory that allows the uniqueness of an individual case with its typical characteristics within a complex situation. The consideration of the postmodernism theory could assist in addressing the different conditions and needs that exist in agriculture. It would make provision for and reflect on the realities of emerging farmers lives and look at possible alternative measures that suit their development. This follows that the development

and efficiency of agriculture should be linked to both the public and private sectors of the economy to support it adequately.

For a policy to be successful, it must be implemented properly. "Policy implementation", in this study, involves amongst others, all the activities designed to carry out the policies enacted by the legislative branch. These activities include the creation of new organisations, departments, agencies, bureaus, and the assignment of new responsibilities to existing organisations (Matshikwe, 2004). The bureaucracy gives practical meaning to the symbolic measures of policy (Cloete, 2010; Adebayo, Babu & Roe, 2010b). The collaboration between these stakeholders would lead to the development of the farming sector.

According to Pieterse (2010) "development" also carries different meanings. Vorster (1989:71) viewed "development" as a form of resocialisation and acculturation, and in this sense, it has a close affinity with culture. Development demands cultural sacrifices, such as forced acceptance of the traditions of the developed country as well as sacrifices for the sake of technological development'. In a study by Swanepoel (2000:71) it is stated that "development" 'is about people, their needs and their circumstances'. It however, consists of more than improvements in the well-being of citizens and conveys something about the capacity of economic, political and social systems to provide the circumstance for that well-being on a sustainable, long term basis. Within the context of this study, "development" refers to the creation of an enabling environment that aims to expand the growth and capabilities of emerging farmers. It would then lead to the kind of lives farmers value and have reasons to value due to their transition from being emerging to mainstream commercial farmers.

It is important to note that the history of development of agriculture can be traced back many years. Its development has been driven and greatly defined by different circumstance, including policies. Today, part of economic development is viewed as development of agricultural policy. This is due to agriculture's pivotal role in food security, reducing inequality, providing foreign exchange, economic growth, regional and social cohesion, job opportunities, political relations, provision of raw material to secondary and tertiary sectors, infrastructural development as well as

poverty alleviation (Amstrong & Taylor, 2000; Kanbur & Venables, 2005; Martin, 2005; Groenewold, Chen & Lee, 2008; Jovanovic, 2009). From these studies, it is clear that these are areas within the agricultural sector that should receive policy support from governments. Often this support is not distributed evenly to the entire agricultural system because less attention is given to smallholder farmers than to the farmers that have private ownership of large areas of land (Bromberge & Antonie, 1993; Nagayets, 2005; Giurca, 2008). While land is an important resource for agricultural development, access to land is biased towards commercial farmers. Policy initiatives often only allocate small areas of two hectares or less to smallholder farmers and this is not sufficient for them to develop into commercial farmers. The allocation of small areas to smallholder farmers does not contribute much to the reduction in the gap between smallholder farmers and commercial farmers.

Despite government utilising market-led agrarian reform (Lahiff, 2007), it has become evident that the development of agriculture cannot be facilitated by the availability of resources alone or by other agencies and institutions of government. In a study conducted by Ravallion and Wodon (1999), it was concluded that for agriculture to develop, government institutions had to be effective and efficient, and implement policy properly by targeting the emerging farmers' constraints such as credit (Ellis, 1993; Orr, 2000; Hall, 2007) and infrastructure (Hanjra, Ferede & Gutta, 2009). Although these constraints constitute the pillars of emerging farmer's underdevelopment, it was found in a study by Milagrosa (2007) on government institutions that the institutions of government were unable to provide adequate support and to commit the required resources to develop the agricultural sector. This implies that, besides a lack of adequate resources, institutions carried the blame for the underdevelopment of agriculture (Cloete, 2010).

According to Cloete (2010) and Jordaan and Grobler (2011), farmers' efficiency can be facilitated mainly by the effectiveness and efficiency of the government's aims and strategies used in attaining them. Thus, agriculture with its numerous constraints requires effective government intervention strategies and expertise for the development of emerging farmers. Such intervention would increase their

productivity, which would ultimately pave the way for a more even distribution of farms.

The above challenge of governments to develop agriculture indicates that governments cannot work alone in the development of this economic sector. In a study conducted by Valentinov and Baum (2008), it was concluded that the inadequate intervention by government prohibited emerging farmers from entering the mainstream commercial farming sector. Thus, inadequate support to agriculture through policy serves as a negative tool for providing amongst others, food for farmers, food security and job opportunities. Given the complexities within the smallholder farming sector, the different needs of emerging farmers and the impacts of factors such as credit, infrastructure, land and technology on individuals and groups in different places and at different times indicate that government and other stakeholders need to be involved. It, however, also calls for an in-depth understanding of an emerging farmer's unique challenges for support to be given.

This challenge is in tandem with the postmodernism theory that allows the uniqueness of an individual case with its typical characteristics within a complex situation. The consideration of the postmodernism theory could assist in addressing the different conditions and needs that exist in agriculture. It would make provision for and reflect on the realities of emerging farmers lives and look at possible alternative measures that suit their development. This follows that the development and efficiency of agriculture should be linked to both the public and private sectors of the economy to support it adequately.

It is these interrelationships that would help to shape the development and history of farming and its spatial distribution that has been influenced, driven and defined greatly by different policy intervention strategies. This also shows that agriculture is influenced by other sectors of the economy as part of the economic system (Antle, 1984; Colman & Nixon, 1986; Anderson, Dimaran, Francois, Hertel, Hoekman & Martin, 2001; Backeberg & Viljoen, 2003; Bayemi, Webb, Ndambi, Ntam & Chinda, 2009). This view was also noted in studies conducted by Boehlje & Doering (2000), Bernard, Taffesse & Gabre-Madhin (2008), Handelman (2011) and Boysen, Jansen and Matthews (2014). These studies attributed a country's agricultural development

to agricultural resources but also government policies and other sectors of the economy.

Despite the need to reduce uneven spatial distribution of farms through policy support, available literature indicates that governments now tend to shift slightly towards poverty alleviation (Diao, Diaz-Bonilla & Robinson, 2003; Haggblade, 2007; Wiggins, Kirsten & Llambi, 2010) in their policy implementation. This shift of focus further aggravates the smallholder farmers' plight, as resources would be directed more towards poverty alleviation programmes than towards smallholder farmer development programmes. For this reason, policy implementation strategies are not always focused specifically on the reduction of uneven spatial development. The shift is also against the reduction of gaps between commercial and emerging farmers. Thus, the course of action chosen by government, especially inadequate policy support for emerging farmer development, could not always reduce the existing gaps. Intervention by government could not always change the emerging farmers' situation for the better or alter the economic, political and social constraints that influence their development and productivity. Consequently, the long-lasting problems of underdevelopment, unemployment, poverty, income gaps and food insecurity would continue to characterise various regions.

1.3.2 Policy implementation in agricultural geography

In Section 1.3.1 it was indicated that one of the objectives of governments is to support the development of agriculture through policy implementation. Thus, emerging farmers' development depends not only on agricultural resources but also on the implementation of government policies in agriculture (Handelman, 2011).

Evidence from existing literature has shown that policy implementation in agriculture leads to a division between the commercial and emerging landscapes in terms of resource provision, causing dissatisfaction among farmers. It is these differences that have established old and new agricultural geographies representing the reality of farming that portray specialisation in various agricultural functions (Woods & Roberts, 2011). The dissatisfaction creates room for government intervention that signals the entry of politics. This leads to a political economic approach to studies of the geography of agriculture to create a more distributive provision of agricultural

resources. "Political economy" is defined as the study of "how politics determines aspects of the economy and how economic institutions determine the political process," (Staniland, 1985:6). This view emphasises the need for government intervention within agriculture as an economic activity. Therefore, it ushers in the need for a link between political activities and economic factors for the betterment of the nation and the state (Hoogvelt, 2001).

Hallsworth, Parker and Rutter (2011) have argued that the uneven development in the agricultural sector is ascribed to policy makers' lack of adequate resources to match policy implementation priorities. It is hoped, however, that the intervention of government within the geography of agriculture would create a more distributive provision of agricultural resources if managed and implemented properly.

Different political economic theories exist that explain the origin, and especially, the persistence of different economic landscapes in different locations, but none of them are fully satisfying (Dempsey, 1960; Alonso, 1964; Harvey, 1981; Barnes, 2003; Bunworth, 2005; Randall, 2005; Elliott, 2006; Capello, 2011). Despite this, policy-makers justify their support for theories based on political motivation, market-economies and various social and economic factors prevalent in their countries (Elliott, 2006).

One of the founders of the location of agricultural activities was John Heinrich von Thunen (1783 – 1850) who, as an agricultural economist, was an important contributor to political economy. Consequently, in agriculture, several early agricultural geographic theories existed that were generally spatially deterministic and only partial in nature, especially that of Von Thunen (Von Thunen, 1826). Von Thunen's theory was the first model that attempted to account for the location of crops in relation to the market. This theory established the concepts of "economic rents" and "land competition" as central influences on the structure of farming and its distribution (Waugh, 2009).

An analysis of this model showed that it addressed the spatial component of the agricultural sector in which distance was a determining factor for the agricultural sector to be more beneficial. Apart from this model, other earlier geographic models

followed, which recognised the forces of urban proximity, and population growth (Furuseth & Pierce, 1982) when studying rural land use and change. This aspect of rural land use showed how different parts of the land were used for various purposes such as farming. It showed that a relationship between agriculture and geography did indeed exist, since man utilised different regions of the earth's surface for food production. Such spatial distribution of agricultural activities worldwide and their developments were manifestations of geographical features that emerged because of implementation of government policies in agriculture.

According to Trevor (2003) Von Thunen became the pioneer of the location theory that was associated with different disciplines. Von Thunen (1826)'s rational use of agricultural land, with a focus on the locational theory, drew most interest to some geographers (Dempsey, 1960; Binder-Johnson, 1962). This became evident in Weber's (1929) investigation of industrial organisation and Haggett's (1965) investigation of the spatial distribution of features that differs in terms of pattern in space. It has also been argued by Waugh (2009) that Von Thune's theory is still applicable today although its practical application in the modern global world is limited by uneven patterns of wealth and sophisticated technology. It is also constrained by an efficient transport systems and modern planning models. The above studies, through their theories, showed that there was limited interest, if any, in the spatial distribution of farms in rural areas as a result of policy. This absence of impact of policy implementation on spatial distribution of farms brings to the fore the uniqueness and relevance of this thesis.

Within the context of agriculture, available literature of the past few decades (Vink, 1993; De Villiers, 1996; Makhura, 2001; Jooste, Viljoen, Meyer, Kassier & Taljaard, 2001; Cousins & Hornby, 2002) shows that policy-makers have been providing a biased support especially in containing the budget costs of agricultural support than minimising the gap between the commercial and emerging sectors. The biased support is an outstanding example of how the rules of government favour the rich commercial farming sector while punishing the developing emerging sector, including its poor farmers. This biasness is a recipe for the development of different agricultural landscapes because of government policy. It causes small and emerging farmers to face unfair competition from commercial farming.

Such a severe adverse impact of the government policies and measures on the agriculture of the emerging farmers has been widely studied (Vink, 1993; Mayson, Barry & Cronwright, 1998; Cousins & Hornby, 2002; Everingham & Jannecke, 2006; Manenzhe, 2007; Seekings & Nattrass, 2011). They revealed the impact of policy in creating a poor and insufficient provision of resource mechanisms to the emerging sector, especially in developing countries. This unfair contest appears in countless guises throughout the world, intensifying conditions of poverty. It is this policy consideration, which is important in the study of agricultural geography, as it results in territorial differences between developed and developing countries, within continents, within countries and between social groups as well as between the rich and poor farmers. Consequently, various forms of government involvement in agriculture have been experienced in different parts of the world and their spatial effects were felt at local, regional, national and international levels (Cline, 2004; Vink, 2012; Knox & Pinch, 2014).

The effect of government policy on the spatial landscape of agriculture has been given limited attention within the academic literature. It was only Bowler's studies that focused on the relationship between policy measures and land that was done at a later stage (Whittlesey, 1936, Bowler, 1979). Despite insufficient research on the subject, different agricultural geographies are evident throughout the world. Although the study by Whittlesey (1935) had its own limitations, new studies (Brand, 1945; Schultz, 1964; Wilcox, 1973) emerged that focused on renewed government interest in agriculture as a result of the plight of the peasant agrarian societies after the end of the Second World War. This interest has influenced direct participation of governments, and the planning of the production and resource allocation system, which were considered essential even for agricultural development (Stern, 1989).

This, however, emphasizes the dominance of ideas based upon political economy, as it still happens even in this millennium (Evans, 2010) in terms of distribution of farming activities. Until recently, more studies were concerned exclusively with the actions of farmers as individuals and attempted to address the consequences on land use (Marsden, Munton, Ward & Whatmore, 1996; Evans, 2010) in different regions as part of agricultural geography. It was concluded by Marsden *et al.* (1996)

that this interdependence of agriculture and geography meant keeping one foot firmly placed in the farmyard, while the other might be within the institutional arena that treats agriculture as a special case (Morris & Evans, 2004). Although more sophisticated studies considered how the two interacted with policies within the agricultural arena there was little overall consideration of how policy creates a new agricultural landscape.

Government intervention in addressing the plight of the marginalised farmers is in tandem with the Keynesian orthodox that has mandated a much more central role for government intervention and involvement. This however, is contrary to Adam Smith's advocacy that supports a very limited state involvement and accords market forces a free hand (Ashraf, Camerer & Loewenstein, 2005). However, many governments still, in both developed and developing countries, prefer the former and they intervene in agricultural matters with a focus on a process of organisational change. This attitude has led to spatial differentiation in the world within the agricultural landscape evident in the disparities in development as manifested by their different levels of poverty and socio-economic advancement (Seligson, 1984; Fair, 1990; Lahiff, 1997; Coetzee, Montshwe & Jooste, 2004).

There are few parts of the world in which the state is not a potent force in the farmer's life. Consequently, agricultural geographers often talk in terms of the distribution rather than the location of agricultural practices. Not only are these marked differences between commercial and emerging farmers more evident, but also between continents in average size of holding within countries. Such differences in landownership are often a prominent feature of the agricultural landscape, which consists of individual farms that shows the history of the prevalence of the sixteenth century when a world capitalist economy was still dominant.

In recent years it has, however, emerged in the form of the "world-system" perspective that has divided the world into three zones: core, semi-periphery, and periphery (Seligson, 1984). In this case, the core dominates the system and drains the semi-periphery and periphery of their economic surplus and therefore, the gaps between the core, semi-periphery and periphery will be perpetuated by the nature

of the international system, and cannot be narrowed unless a major restructuring of that system is undertaken (Seligson, 1984). Even though developing countries' programmes have been successful and nations seemed well on their way toward rapid growth, they nonetheless continue to fall further and further behind the already wealthy countries. Moreover, growth seems to be accompanied by a widening income gap within the developing countries.

The core periphery trajectory can further be extended to countries of the Global South, which are often imagined as a source of agricultural products. It includes parts of Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia that are often referred to as 'the developing world'. Such a geographical 'delimitation' portrays a clear dividing line established by Brandt (1980) between a rich powerful North, and a poor and marginalised South, based on policies although today rich and poor nations fall on either side of the line. In macro-economic terms, many countries of the Global South are indeed dependent on the export of primary products for the bulk of their foreign exchange earnings (Williams, Meth & Wills, 2009) to the Global South.

The generalised core periphery or North-South pattern of uneven development has evolved over several centuries, and is complex with its different countries developing at different paces and at different times. Hence, such a historical approach helps to explain the geographical pattern of agricultural development as it emerges. The justification of this divide anchors on the assumption that the developing is undergoing an evolutionary phase through transition, due to transformation that caters for democratic principles by using concepts such as equality, liberalism and justice (Rostow, 1960). This shows that the dual agricultural dichotomy had distinguished the developed countries from the developing countries. The developing countries, together with their emerging farming sectors, are subjected to a constant production and supply of raw materials that make them continuously dependent on the developed countries. This validates and sustains the existence and practice of the dependency syndrome, which is also evident between the commercial and the emerging farming landscape.

A study by Yee and Ahearn (2005) has identified credit as having a positive effect on farm size. The argument implies that farmers with larger farming areas are likely

to benefit from government subsidies rather than those with small farms. This would consequently enable them to maintain their farms, thereby earning a good profit, which resultantly supports their families. Contrary to this situation, farmers with small farms will remain within the ranks of the poverty circle.

In Africa, for example, there is a great difference between the systems of communal ownership found among the indigenous peoples, and the holdings of Europeans. Consequently, government policies on farm size and landownership are among the important variables that must be considered when studying the spatial distribution of agricultural activities because the policies also affect other variables, the type of crop chosen, the intensity with which it is grown and the efficiency of production. Therefore, any planner, administrator, researcher or other reformer who enters the agricultural landscape with the intention of influencing its development, ignores the past at the risk of failing (Symons, 1978; Grigg, 1984; Yee & Ahearn, 2005).

1.3.3 Policy implementation in developing countries

The development of agriculture as an economic activity has been discussed in the previous section. Different researchers have discussed the geographic spread of agriculture across space and the theories that justify such distributions. Despite its importance, policy implementation in various countries have not yet significantly reduced the division between commercial and small-scale farming sectors. This section focuses on policy implementation within the context of developing countries. The policy parameter is placed in the historical time-frame in which it has developed and flourished, and is presented and discussed against the background of this historical context.

Governments follow different policy implementation approaches to the development of their agricultural sectors, especially those historically disadvantaged areas such as developing countries and their emerging farmers. Hence, historical evidence from different literature sources (Frank, 1967; Bourdieu, 1990; Blaut, 1993; Diao, Roe & Somwaru, 2002; Diao *et al.* 2003) suggests that, during the first three decades after the Second World War, the gap in agricultural productivity widened sharply between developed and developing countries (Nell & Napier, 2005). In the decades following World War II, most of the developing countries, like the Latin

American countries decided, as part of government intervention, to adopt a state-led model of agricultural development to provide support for inputs such as seeds, water, land, credit and fertilisers (Chang, 2009).

The phenomenon of the “emerging farmers” and their development cannot be understood fully without understanding the phenomenon of “commercial farmer” in developed countries and regions. It is greatly dependent on the evaluation of the implementation of government policy (Todaro, 1992). This is because it is impossible to bring about a deliberate and purposeful change in the present state of emerging farmers without knowing how this state has come about.

It is worth noting that the agricultural development strategies followed by governments in developing countries differ from those in developed countries. In developed countries, the interest in the emerging farmer support can be grouped under the “Western” model of development (Nell & Napier, 2005). For example, in Rostow’s Stages of Economic Growth (Rostow, 1960) development was based on the assumption that ‘modernisation’ is a characteristic of Western countries and that countries were able to advance from the initial stage of underdevelopment to a stage of being fully development. The Rostow model argues that all countries exist somewhere on the linear spectrum from Traditional society, Preconditions to Take-off, Take-off, Drive to Maturity and age of High Mass Consumption (Rostow, 1960). The model indicates how societies develop from one stage or level to the next. These stages, as the model asserts, signify the existence of territorial differentiation in countries and within agriculture they depict different agricultural landscapes.

According to Randall (2005), the term ‘developing world’ has conventionally referred to the predominantly post-colonial regions of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as the Middle East. These areas are perceived to be poor, less economically advanced, and less ‘modern’ than the developed world. The agricultural sectors of these developing countries represent a section that requires support. To understand the developing world and its agricultural development forces today, consideration should be given to the theories developed predominantly by individuals of certain nationalities and economic classes from mainly developed countries. European-dominated and race-specific theorising and knowledge have

generally resulted in the concept of 'superior knowledge' from developed countries in contrast to its inferior counterpart in developing countries (Williams *et al.* 2009). This serves as the basis of the analysis of how developing or emerging farmers can be developed when supported by policy.

Within the Western theory, developing countries and their agricultural activities are of a lower class and inferior to the developed countries in terms of productivity, cognitive ability and skills (Williams *et al.* 2009; Knox & Pinch, 2014). It has gradually become evident that people's core agricultural functions, in this context, are often defined based on race, technology and location as dictated by theories of development and their respective policies to characterise the differences. It is this exclusive characterisation that has led to the marginalisation of the small-scale farming sector with limited policy support, if any at all. This division has kept them materialistically poor, vulnerable, marginalised and often deprived. Because of the developing countries and their emerging sectors' inferiority, the developed countries act as architects who assume to 'understand what is needed' for the developing countries and make policies on behalf of their small-scale farmers (Anderson *et al.* 2001; Boysen *et al.* 2014). It is this relationship between the rich and poor countries that led to a 'dependency syndrome' in which the development of the developing countries depends on developed countries' intervention.

When applied in research, policy and policy implementation, these theories and knowledge not only ignored developing countries' superiority in knowledge but also excluded consideration of issues particularly relevant to their developmental potential and needs. Some of the developed countries, however, did keep the needs of the developing countries at heart, but in most cases the latter are exploited. This leads to pockets of agricultural development. Existing evidence (De Villiers, 1995; Escobar, 1995; Evans, 2010) in agriculture indicates that, in many developing countries, various historical circumstances have led to a concentration of large areas of land in the possession of a small class of powerful land owners as against emerging sectors with small tracts of land. This is especially true in Latin America and parts of the Asian subcontinent. In Africa, both historical circumstances and the availability of relatively more unused land resulted in a somewhat different pattern and structure of agriculture.

According to Wiggings *et al.* (2010), agricultural development has come back into focus over the last few years, and technology is viewed as a key instrument for government and donor partner policy support (Jaeger, 2010). However, technological change has not yet been well-adopted in agricultural development within most of the developing countries (Rabayah, 2006). As a result, the emerging sector cannot reach beyond their more immediate goals of increasing production and satisfying food and nutritional needs as well as the alleviation of poverty (Nell & Napier, 2005). Thus, developing countries find themselves lagging behind developed countries. This is ascribed to developing countries' policies on agriculture that are to a greater or lesser extent either not properly implemented or their agricultural development has suffered due mainly to a shortage of, for example, financial resources for appropriate adoption of agricultural technologies for appropriate development.

Although agriculture supports the livelihoods of more than 415 million people in sub-Saharan Africa, some 55 percent of the total population (Development Support Monitor, 2012; Pittock, Stirzaker, Sibanda, Sullivan & Grafton, 2013) among them the majority of emerging farmers, still face policy constraints such as unfavourable land allocation and water trade policies (Sullivan & Pittock, 2014). Consequently, sub-Saharan Africa remains the world's poorest region, which can be partially attributed to low and unpredictable rainfall, recurrent weather events and widespread reliance on a poor-performing smallholder agricultural sector and policy measures (Hanjra & Gichuki, 2008; Pittock *et al.* 2013) compared to a successful large-scale commercial farming sector whose policy favours significant investment in resource provision.

According to Fisher and Cook (2012), agriculture is already using 70 percent of the world's freshwater resources (Pittock *et al.* 2013). In most developing countries with less water investment, new technologies, techniques and approaches are required. This can enable the emerging farming sector to access water resource because of their poor infrastructure and financial resource. Consequently, more food could be cultivated, which otherwise was not easily grown. Such stunted growth and resulting rural poverty that exist can be linked to a lack of appropriate policies on rural

infrastructure, agricultural inputs and technology (Fisher & Cook, 2012; Sullivan & Pittock, 2014). Due mainly to changes that are taking place worldwide, the spatial patterns of agricultural land use are likely to be affected because of the influences of policy reform.

Ellis (1993), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (2003), including the above studies indicate that the implementation of different policies such as access to markets, technology, irrigation, credit and infrastructure are therefore responsible for differentiating developing countries from developed countries. It is this uneven spatial distribution of regions through intellectual abilities from individuals of certain nationalities and economic classes in the form of theories in some areas, mainly from developed countries, that characterises the agricultural landscapes that are not even (Blaut, 1993). This serves as the basis of the analysis of how developing countries and their emerging farmers can be developed from an inferior position to a superior position when supported by policy. They would then become developed countries and commercial farmers, thereby reducing the gap created by the implementation of government policy. As a result, marketed agricultural production would not continue to be dominated by a small group of large-scale commercial farmers from the core (Seligson, 1984), which is not enough for the rapidly growing populations.

The fact that agricultural development will be characterised by a transformation from an agrarian agriculture to a commercial agriculture represents some of the challenges confronting the emerging farmer, especially in developing areas (Nell & Napier, 2005). The transformation would depend on the quality and quantity of natural resources which will be more dependent on new technologies, the quality of the farmers and the availability of capital. It is such challenges, if not resolved, that would characterise the emerging sector as an isolated and resource deficient landscape.

While the spatial patterns of policy implementation have changed considerably in recent times in both developed and developing countries, the low rate of implementation is still partly due to the institutional, financial, and resource handicaps that afflict the current policy in some developing countries (Kariuki,

2004). Further studies on infrastructure in developing countries (Antle, 1984; Binswanger-Mkhize, McCall & Patel, 2010) also support the assertion of inadequate policy implementation on the provision of infrastructure and resources (Bourguignon & Pleskovic, 2007). These studies demonstrate that investment in infrastructure is essential to increase farmers' access to input and output markets, stimulate the rural nonfarm economy, vitalise rural towns and increase consumer demand in rural areas.

Consequently, some developing countries have improved their overall agricultural export, whereas some other developing countries remain the main importers of food products. Within developing countries that had started developing, most governments followed an 'industry first' strategy, believing the farming industry was the more dynamic sector of the economy, although they had very little idea of how the agricultural sector 'worked' or how it could inject industrial growth and develop knowledge, which is an essential first step in the formulation of policy. It is in such developing areas where most people still consume less calories per day than in developed areas. The small quantities of agricultural production and the poor quality continue to sustain a divide between the rich and the poor areas. Yet it is in these developing countries where the population numbers are increasing rapidly and people will continue to live on the "razor's edge of subsistence", (Blasé, 1971:7), unless very dramatic changes are made with respect to economic development in agriculture.

Given the need for developing countries to industrialise their agricultural produce, it is, however, important to note that industrialisation in today's developing world is more likely to be based on sophisticated capital-intensive techniques. In addition, industrialisation in developing countries today is likely to come about through the medium of a multinational company. This may raise broader 'political economy' questions concerning foreign management and control in developing countries that would hamper the development of the emerging farming sector. Therefore, it may be less effective than it was before in absorbing unlimited supplies of labour from agriculture. Although trade and development are mutually reinforcing, trade policies in developing countries often constrain emerging farmers by either supporting or undermining their development initiatives due to the fiscals. Surprisingly, in

developing countries and in pockets of those that are developed, many of the poor people are still trapped in Malthusian enclaves.

The similarity of emphasis on agricultural policy in many developing countries is not surprising in the light of past trends in agriculture development in these countries. History suggests that at independence many African leaders inherited different categories of farmers, namely large commercial farmers, some commercially oriented African small-scale producers, small family holdings and subsistence farmers. It was during the periods before independence that subsistence and small-scale emerging farmers were generally neglected with poor productivity and poverty while government policy favoured the large-scale commercial farmers. As a result, agricultural production was dominated by a small group of white large-scale commercial farmers (Goldman & Holdsworth, 1990), and the production was often not enough for the rapidly growing populations. Today policy initiative is more focussed towards poverty alleviation and food security, which are two of the consequences of the biased Western agricultural hegemony.

1.3.4 Apartheid policy and agricultural development

As indicated in Section 1.3.3 the differences between developed and developing countries are partially the result of political decisions in different countries. Implementation of policies, especially within agriculture, in South Africa has led to the difference between the commercial and the traditional farming sectors (the latter include the emerging farmers). Different political regimes existed in South Africa, namely, colonial, apartheid and now democratic era and this section presents the impact of policy during the apartheid era in South Africa on agriculture.

Apartheid created the broader milieu, in which regions and organisations determined their organisational development policies and in most cases, these did not make provision for the integration of blacks into the government or the agricultural sector. Through government policies such as The Glen Grey Act of 1894, the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, and the Bantu Authorities Act, the 1913 Land Act (Bundy, 1972; Bundy, 1979; Cooper, 1987; Kepe, 1999) the pillars of the apartheid system were firmly constituted. It was within this system that government allocated different sizes of farmland in different areas to

different people. The government created a separation of support services between the large-scale, white, modern farming sector and the smallholder farming sector (De Villiers, 1996). Mainly due to these political and economic policies of the apartheid regime, two distinct rural agricultural landscapes emerged in South Africa, namely, the former white rural landscape of medium to large-scale commercial sector and secondly, the 'black' rural landscape of former homelands characterised by poverty and subsistence farming (Bundy, 1979; De Villiers, 1996). The white farmers were given the best fertile agricultural land for farming. The African farmers were alienated from their land and given infertile land within the former homelands of the country (Wildschut & Hulbert, 1998; Lahiff, Li & Guo, 2012).

The creation of the dual agricultural landscape in South Africa resulted from colonial policies which continued into the agricultural policy of the apartheid regime. The result is the geographical concentration of wealth that favours one sector of the South African population at the expense of others by arranging the ownership of land along racial lines through the proclamation of the Land Act of 1913 and 1936 respectively, which led to a highly skewed distribution.

This dual system of agriculture attracted the interest of many researchers whose studies focused on, among others, policies that restricted access to land, markets and institutional support services and limited by legal restrictions on racial grounds (Van Rooyen, Vink & Christodolou, 1987; Berry, Von Blottnitz, Cassim, Kesper, Rajaratnam & Van Seventet, 2004; Vink, 2012; Cousins, 2014). The above-mentioned studies show that there was an uneven spatial distribution of farms in various parts of the country, which brought about a dichotomy in the agricultural landscape. It also revealed the uneven spatial distribution of socio-economic development in societies living in different areas with different income levels. Substantial regional difference in levels of development existed and this was comparable to developments in some areas in other developing countries within the field of agriculture (Triegaardt, 2006). The country was also characterised by wide internal disparities in levels of socio-economic development between the urban areas with rapid development and some rural areas which were little affected by technological and social changes

It was evident that the apartheid policy's aim in agriculture was to develop the white farmers in a different geographical area while the development of black emerging farmers was thwarted. It is this division that effectively resulted in racial and spatial segregation that led to separate development and distribution of the agricultural landscapes in South Africa (De Villiers, 1996). Consequently, the white biased undertaking led to additional agricultural policy characterised by large government subsidies to white farmers, usually in the form of drought aid and other disaster payments compared to black emerging farmers in a separate area of farming (Jooste *et al.* 2001).

It was only during in the late 1970s and mid-1980s when an increasing deregulation and market liberalisation occurred (Vink, 2004) in which important shifts in agricultural policy took place. This was followed by a plethora of the deregulation and implementation of extensive market-oriented agricultural policy due to government intervention in the agricultural sector (Kariuki, 2004; Kargbo, 2006). After these new policies took effect, the country was reintegrated into the global economy. Very few smallholder farmers benefited from these changes because of numerous other constraints.

Given the impact of policy on agriculture, it is evident that the political dogma of the apartheid government's agricultural development policy has had a negative influence on the long-term agricultural policy development and implementation. This has also found its way into resource provision that was mainly biased towards white farmers. It further entrenched the class differences that had already existed, and the distinction between white farmer's landscape and smallholder farmer's landscape. Like the Eurocentric approach, the agricultural policy of South Africa then followed the deterministic approach regarding the development of smallholder farmers (De Beer, 1998).

According to the deterministic approach the smallholder farmer's level of development is determined by the farmer's previous experience and environments. Due mainly to their deficient social, financial, educational level and skills endowment, they were, however, at a disadvantage when the aim was to enter the main commercial farming sector. Resultantly, they could not compete with their

white counterparts. Even if they were eager and motivated to develop in their limiting socio-economic environment, the developmental influence of this milieu was still limited due to policy. This became a major challenge to the newly elected democratic government in 1994.

1.3.5 Democratic era and agricultural development

After 1994 the newly elected ANC-led government in SA, showed keen interest in agriculture by transforming the entire agricultural system (Mather, 2002). The new policy shift was geared towards the creation of a class of black commercial farmers and led to the inclusion of other racial groups in decision-making on agricultural matters. The government worked together with white farmers by owning or co-owning new farms for commercial purposes (Zimmerman, 2000; Mather, 2002; RSA, 2004b), as prescribed by policy. This was a credible initiative, given the demographic imbalances that exist within the agricultural sector (Kariuki, 2004). However, the incapacity of the state administrative and resource provision system both combined in a manner that favoured continuing with the practices of the previous regime, rather than a fundamental break with the past (Kariuki, 2004).

In response to the inherited challenge, the new government adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to correct the injustices of past policies (Vink, 2004; Viljoen, 2005; Meyer, 2011) and used the Growth, Employment and Reconstruction Programme (GEAR) as the RDP's macroeconomic policy, to promote economic growth as well as create employment opportunities. It also aimed at developing the emerging farmers' production, which declined because of poor infrastructure (Lahiff, 2008). This was in line with the government's White Paper on Agriculture together with the mission of the National Department of Agriculture that supported these objectives (RSA, 1995a).

The then Department of Land Affairs (DLA), now the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF), through provincial agencies became responsible for the processing of grants to emerging farmers. However, other options such as using the provincial departments of agriculture and the Land Bank or Khula Enterprises (a parastatal development finance institution) to enter the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) programme were also made available to the

applicant (Jacobs, Lahiff & Hall, 2003). However, it depended on the applicant to utilise the services of an extension officer or engage an agent to assist in all stages of the process as required. This includes to identify land for purchase, preparation of a farm plan and land-use proposals and to facilitate the process of grant approval, if the approval committee has queries (RSA, 2000; Kariuki, 2004). The application for grants were done by applicants themselves with the assistance of extension officers. After completion, they submit all documentation to the local agricultural officer for an opinion, assemble the completed proposal package and forward it to the provincial grant committee (RSA, 2000; Kariuki, 2004).

The idea was that the department should provide training for beneficiaries, design agents and local land and agricultural officers despite a lack of enough post-transfer support services as envisaged within the policy itself (RSA, 2000; Kariuki, 2004). This is a problem that has persisted since the inception of South Africa's land reform implementation programme in 1994 as experienced through the old Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) redistribution programme.

Despite a period of twenty years in a democratic era of agricultural policy implementation within the South African farming sector, (Machethe, 2004; Vink, 2004; Oford, 2005; Makhura, Mdluli & Senyolo, 2006) inequalities still exist. Available evidence (Human Sciences Research Council, 2003; Bradstock, 2005; RSA, 2006b; Hall, 2007) argue that there are still some conflicts of interest with the policy itself. On the one hand, it intends to support emerging farmers to adapt to new farming needs even though they do not have prerequisite knowledge and skill. On the other hand, it aims at supporting other sectors of the economy as well as political objectives of poverty alleviation and job creation. This constrains available resources for efficient service provision within the emerging farming sector.

Furthermore, the land reform policy with its land acquisition programmes, has had a negative impact on the previously marginalised poor emerging farmers (Lahiff, 2011) who had to adapt to the needs of the newly acquired farms and not the other way around. Many researchers (Mayson *et al.* 1998; Cousins & Hornby, 2002; Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), 2005; Everingham & Jannecke, 2006; Maisela, 2007; Manenzhe, 2007) have concluded that the policy

development and implementation mechanism were weak in defining clear criteria for the rights and responsibilities of accessing land. It did not define clearly the required capacity for dealing with business and administrative farming issues, especially to emerging farmers. This reinforced the existence of social and spatial inequality in land acquisition and separate resource provision in agriculture that existed due to decades of government intervention policies that have helped to develop the two South African agricultural landscapes (Mokate, 1992; De Villiers, 1995; Kargbo, 2006) to its present state that seem to be continuing.

The focus of the apartheid agricultural and economic policies was on the preservation and promotion of white interests and white large-scale commercial farming (Aron, Kahn, & Kingdon, 2009). The democratic government has made numerous attempts to redistribute land and develop the historically marginalised. However, the race and class distinctions and the spatial landscape resulting from the apartheid agricultural heritage, remain a feature of the post-apartheid agricultural landscape).

Cross-country comparisons regularly affirm that South Africa's unemployment rates are among the highest in the world (Kariuki, 2004; Stats SA 2014). In 2013, the youth unemployment rate was 63 percent of the youth labour force (3.2 million individuals) according to the expanded definition of unemployment, which includes as unemployed those who are not actively looking for a job (Stats SA 2014). Despite previous policy implementation in South Africa, youths often become unemployed due to lack of 'soft' skills such as communication skills, personal presentation and emotional maturity (Rees, 1986; Pauw, Oosthuizen & Van der Westhuizen, 2008; RSA, 2011a). They also lacked sufficient networking to obtain information on job opportunities, financial resources and mobility to seek work or relocate closer to the places where job opportunities exist, and their unrealistic expectations about their employment likelihood and reservation wage, thereby taking a long time to 'shop around' for a job that meets their expectations (Mlatsheni, 2007; Von Fintel & Black, 2007; Guma, 2011; Smith, 2011; Rankin & Roberts, 2011; Roberts, 2011, Stats SA 2014).

The democratic government's agricultural policy led to the emergence of a few commercial African farmers. The few African commercial and emerging farmers, together with the few white farmers, can however not absorb the existing youth unemployed in the country. As a result, the persistently high youth unemployment level that has long been a socioeconomic problem of South Africa continues (StatsSA, 2014). The perception that emerging farmers can reduce unemployment rate in South Africa leaves much to be desired unless drastic steps towards the support of this sector is taken through policy and its appropriate implementation backed up by adequate resource provision.

1.3.6 Policy implementation in South Africa and agricultural development

Changes of governments have an impact on the implementation of government policies. In Section 1.3.5 the post-apartheid government had committed itself to eradicate the racial legislation of the apartheid regime with mixed results. This section addresses policy implementation in South Africa on agricultural development. According to Handelman, (2011), a country's agricultural development depends not only on its agricultural resources, but also on government policies in the areas of agriculture. Within the country, agricultural policies evolved over time as evident from Section 1.3.4 to 1.3.5, whereby the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid policies were systematically developed and implemented in favour of a racially and lately of a non-racial developed agricultural sector.

The implementation of policies, as indicated above, did little to improve the development of the agricultural sector in the country, especially in market access and development for emerging farmers (Jacobs, 2008). These perpetuated and sustained the basis for territorial segregation and development between rich commercial farmers and poor emerging farmers, leading to the continued existence of different pockets of spatial and uneven development within the agricultural sector. The weaker support for the emerging farmers compromises the development of agriculture and food security in the country (Hendricks & Lyne. 2009). These differences which ranged from colonial to apartheid and now to democratic reforms have had particular consequences for the spatial distribution of African emerging farmers.

But despite the steady evolution of the democratic agricultural policy implementation in SA to develop agriculture, many of the emerging farmers have been affected negatively. While support for commercial farming has had a spatial dimension in the sense that only specific farmers in some areas have qualified for this type of support, most of the emerging farmers in former homelands also display a spatial dimension representing a different and retarded economy. More significantly, agricultural policy rarely focuses on the entire spatial distribution of emerging farmers activities.

It is, however, important to also refer to the gap created by the apartheid legacy with the dual system in agriculture that the democratic government must address. While the National Development Plan (NDP) intends to contribute significantly towards addressing the objectives of the RDP since the end of apartheid in 1994, studies done by Hebinck, Fay and Kondlo, (2011) and Sender (2012) have found that there still exist controversies in the development and implementation of policies, especially in rural areas where emerging farmers are found.

In the post-apartheid agricultural policy implementation era, the volume and impact of investment for the eradication of emerging farmers' deprivation and marginalisation remained the conceptual flagship for defining the causes of rural and emerging farmer underdevelopment (Aliber, Kirsten, Maharajh, Nhlapo-Hlope & Nkoane, 2006; Westaway, 2012). As a result, space-bound development approaches were established targeting especially towards previously marginalised localities in rural areas such as emerging farmers.

Following in the footsteps of other developing countries, South Africa has since the mid-1990s adopted the use of participatory approaches in its agricultural development planning and implementation of intervention strategies wherein emerging farmers have been included (Hendricks & Green, 1999; Nel & Rogerson 2009). This has, as Sender (2012) noted, necessitated a systematic analysis of the logic inherent in the functioning of policies and structures which ought to implement them together with their priorities.

In a study by Vink and Kirsten (2003), it has been argued that policies such as the trade policy, technology innovation and fiscal policy, and the youth unemployment

policy are essential. The study indicates that this will develop the agricultural sector, especially for the previously marginalised sector. An existing challenge, however, that seems to constraint government's intervention strategy, could be attributed to, among others, insufficient funding, many initiated projects which collapsed due to under-capitalisation, vandalism of infrastructure, competing land claims, inappropriate implementation and planning models that assumed that land use by claimants should be the same as the previous owners (Andrew *et al.* 2003; Aliber, 2013).

As a result, the progress of agricultural development was slow, empowerment of the previously marginalised disrupted and the spatial differentiation between rich and poor farmers persisted during policy implementation. Therefore, the spatial distribution of farms and the benefits of agricultural development were not even and rural-urban inequalities continued to rise at an increasing pace (Kirsten & Machete, 2005; Conway, 2014). This suggests that adequate and fair policy implementation as a form of agricultural development through government intervention to reduce the unequal spatial distribution of land, resources and benefits of policy implementation need to be evaluated and monitored. The lack of proper policy implementation thereof can be attributed to what Adams, Sibanda and Turner (1999) regard as the gap between political expectations and administrative incapacity that is difficult to bridge (Kariuki, 2004). This deprives emerging farmers of the opportunity to progress or develop in order to produce products that can be taken to the market for income generation.

Although a study by Martinez-Vazquez and McNab (2003) has concluded that decentralised administration and expenditure are eminent during transformation, this, should be matched with ability, capacity, efficiency and competency that will promote equity. These attributes are lacking in the country to roll out proper development plans. This reflects the change in leadership structures in the Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs that delays implementation processes because of incapacity. It remains to be seen though whether such challenges can be overcome by the provincial agricultural sectors in the Limpopo province. Although the necessary institutional structures have been put in place, the low rate of policy implementation still retards progress due to institutional, financial, and a

lack of adequate resources (Kariuki, 2004). Although the economy has been liberalised (RSA, 2004a) it has the potential to affect the emerging farmers in the province and its district municipalities negatively.

The fact that the majority of emerging farmers are still marginalised implies that the benefits of policy implementation are not evenly shared among all emerging farmers. As a result, the distribution of resources due to a liberalised economy should be distributed equally among not only emerging farmers but even among the rural and urban populations. This is supported by a study done by Conway (2014), which concludes that government intervention to assist in farmer development should be more supportive and not regulatory. Thus, equitable allocation of resources is essential.

The implementation of agricultural policy helps in the allocation of land to farmers for improving their production. This has been evident in South Africa where the government has transferred land to various districts in the country. Although much emphasis in policy has been on the provision of land for agriculture, not enough has been achieved. However, evidence from existing literature (Perrings, 1996; Cline, 2004; Groenewald, 2004) shows that policy implementation in agriculture leads to a division between the rich farmers and the farmers. This causes dissatisfaction amongst farmers. Nevertheless, policy implementation in agriculture has long been focusing on generating external support to farmers' needs by encouraging dependence on external inputs, though they are costly, environmentally damaging and economically inefficient.

It is important to note that different government policy and implementation documents use different terminologies to refer to black farmers as indicated in table 1.1. The department of Agriculture in the Limpopo Province do not have its own locally-based terminology but use the concepts and terminology found in the different government sources as indicated in table 1.1. The terms that are mostly used are “smallholder”, “small-scale”, “emerging” and “resource poor” farmers.

Table 1.1: Clarification of terminology

Source	Terminology
National Department of Agriculture (2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Smallholder
AgriSETA (2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emerging Farmers
Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF 2012)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small-scale • Resource poor • Smallholder • Peasant
Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emerging Black Farmers

1.3.7 Policy and development of emerging farmers in the Limpopo province

The implementation of apartheid's agricultural policies has had a negative impact, not only on the country as a whole but also on its individual provinces. Section 1.3.6 outlines its impact on the agricultural sector and support services that are aimed at redressing the apartheid legacy. This section deals with the development of emerging farmers in a province as a result of policy. The Limpopo province, like the rest of the country, has been subjected to the 1913 and 1936 Acts that emphasised segregation based on racial lines. In particular, they focus on the dispossession of land from Africans, which affect the farming rights of emerging farmers who are confined within the borders of the former homelands of South Africa (RSA, 2002).

Within the domain of the historical dispossession, the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994, was enacted (RSA, 1994a). It was directed mainly at the previously marginalised communities (refer to Figure 1.2) including those in the Limpopo province due to the 1913 Act to assist with government settlement/land acquisition grants for land (Bradstock, 2005, Lahiff, 2011).

The new government promised to address the unequal land distribution (White Paper on Land Policy, 1997) but it has mostly failed to meet the promised equitable land distribution as only about 10% of land has changed hands under the redistribution policy (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2013).

The distribution, as shown in Figure 1.2, is still very unequal and shows the disparities that are prevalent in the country and in particular in the Limpopo province.

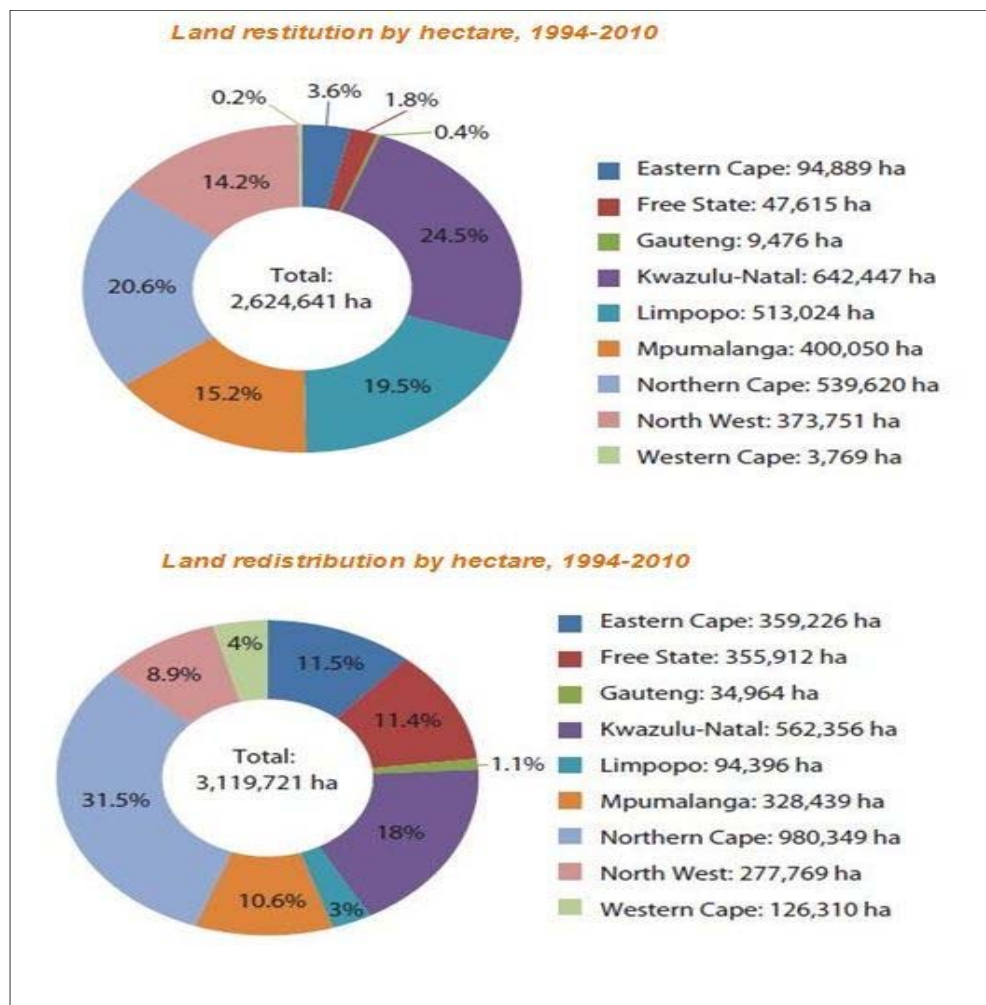


Figure 1.3: Restitution and Redistribution of land in South Africa (Source: Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2013).

Despite the liberalisation of the economy that had the potential of affecting the previously marginalised sectors such as emerging farmers in the Limpopo province little was achieved (RSA, 2004a). In addition to the liberalisation of the economy, numerous policy interventions and programmes after 1994, which affected emerging farmers in the province, were put in place (Hall, 2007; Hall & Aliber, 2010). This deracialised agricultural system helped some of the emerging farmers to acquire larger farms (RSA, 2004a).

Given the above legacy, Limpopo Department of Agriculture (LDA) embarked on massive programmes implementation. It also initiated its farmer support and development programme that aimed at providing farmer settlement and post settlement support to land and agrarian reform projects (Limpopo Province, 2010a). Since 1994 a series of programmes were initiated to be in line with the national policy mandate. They included programmes such as Land and Agrarian Reform Programme (LARP), Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD), Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS), and Settlement/Land Acquisition Grants (SLAG) (Limpopo Province, 2008; Limpopo Province, 2010b; Limpopo Province, 2010c) to assist the previously marginalised in the areas of land, funding and post-settlement support.

Furthermore, the provincial department of agriculture has introduced a farmer settlement (Land and Agrarian Reform) programme to facilitate access to and settlement of black farmers, as well as to communities living on commercial agricultural land to ensure equitable redistribution of resources and opportunities. This has greatly influenced the locational distribution of emerging farmers in the province.

In addition to this, a comprehensive agricultural support for land and agrarian reform project to enable competitiveness of the settled farmers has been envisaged by the department. It is an attempt to assist emerging farmers and to provide for infrastructure after settlement (Limpopo Province, 2010b). This also includes the involvement of women in agriculture and youth farmer programmes. With regard to the policy mandate, the LDA has the following policies to implement for further development of the emerging sector. First, there is the Mechanisation Revolving Credit Access Scheme of 2006. Through establishing an Agribusiness Development Unit, the department has provided support for farmers to acquire mechanisation equipment. Second, there is the Crop Input Supply Policy, of 2007. Through the Crop Production Unit, the department provides crop production inputs for farmers. Finally, the Land and Agrarian Reform Programme is also utilised, aimed at increasing agricultural trade and, increase agricultural production, and providing universal access to agricultural support services for targeted groups (Limpopo Province, 2010c).

The policy and its programmes are aimed at serving and changing the African agricultural landscape that was deprived of resources into a new profitable landscape that opens up opportunities for large-scale commercial farming. Although the LDA is introducing several programmes in response to policy changes in agriculture, it is important to remember that the Limpopo province is one of the poorest provinces in South Africa (Gyekye & Akinboade, 2003). The question of how these programmes are going to be maintained and sustained given its shortage of adequately qualified human resources, shortage of infrastructure and financial constraints, poses a serious challenge to the future development of the emerging farming sector, which needs special attention.

Despite these attempts some of the emerging farmers are still without adequate policy support and this has made it difficult for them to develop into commercial farmers (Aliber *et al.* 2006). Given the level of poverty that deprives them of adequate support it has become an impediment for emerging farmers to develop due to their constraints. Although there are contextual constraints that have emerged from the previous policy implementation they have tried to be competitive. These emerging farmers face constraints such as poor infrastructure, a lack of market transport, a dearth of market information, insufficient expertise on grades and standards, an inability to have contractual agreements and poor organisational support (Jari & Fraser, 2009). These constraints have led to the farmers not using markets efficiently within the agricultural sector, thus creating commercialisation bottlenecks (Louw, Vermeulen, Madevu, 2006; Matoti, Vink & Bienabe, 2007).

Thus, not only need emerging farmers in the province to adjust the way they have been farming over the years, but they also should act strategically to compete with other commercial farmers in the same value chain. This is done through the technical agricultural production advisory section and extension services. However, it is acknowledged that numerous policy interventions and programmes have been put in place after 1994 (Hall, 2007; Hall & Aliber, 2010) to address the plight of emerging farmers. But some of the emerging farmers still lack supportive organisations which make it difficult for them to develop into commercial farmers (Aliber *et al.* 2006).

This segregation deprives the entire African emerging farmers in the province of what Sebopetji (2008) regards as years of experience that could count in the management of credit in technology adoption and to ensure economic efficiency. It is, however, important to note that the many years of experience by emerging farmers is now being challenged by the current need for a more sophisticated agricultural sector to meet the needs of the changing population and global changes in policy. This requires immediate alignment and support.

According to RSA, (2004a), the South African economy which previously marginalised the emerging farmers, who required to be in line with international trends, has been liberalised. This has the potential of affecting the emerging farmers in the province and its district municipalities. But the low rate of policy implementation that retards progress partly due to the institutional, financial, and resource handicaps still afflicts the current policy though the necessary institutional structures have been put in place (Kariuki, 2004). This can also be attributed to what Adams *et al.* (1999) refer to as the gap between political expectations and administrative incapacity which is particularly difficult to bridge.

This challenge in policy reflects the change in leadership structures that have taken place in the Department of Land Affairs (Kariuki, 2004). Although a lack of adequate support for emerging farmers makes them to produce products mainly for family subsistence or for poor consumers (Murray-Prior & Ncukana, 2000), the cardinal focus of policy is to gradually change their structure by opening opportunities for a significant number of black commercial farmers to operate on medium and large-scale farms. It is this view that is supported by Martinez-Vazquez and McNab (2003) who state that decentralised administration and expenditure are eminent during transformation.

Unfortunately for emerging farmers in the province, the timing of the efforts to link them to markets corresponds with major changes occurring in the agri-food systems. These systems are changing in response to the forces of globalisation and global liberalisation, which have led to 'new kinds' of consumers and producers (Jordaan, 2012). Shifts in technology and government policies affect both producers

and consumers, ultimately causing a shift in agriculture from a commodity industry to a differentiated product industry (Louw, Kirsten, & Madevu, 2005). Therefore, this shift has become an impediment to the emerging sector due to existing constraints. How the problem of technological advancement within the emerging sector is to be solved remains to be seen, as there are no concrete steps that are being put in place except policy pronouncements.

Despite the above-mentioned challenges, several success stories where emerging farmers participate in agri-food chains are well documented (Jordaan, 2012). Such studies include those done by Weatherspoon and Reardon (2003), Bienabe, Coronel, Lecoq and Liagre, (2004), Louw, Jordaan, Ndanga and Kirsten (2008) and Hendriks and Lyne, (2009). These studies highlight the impact of policy and attempts by emerging farmers in their response to the new agricultural policy environment. Since as of now, there are no clear programmes that address the financial, educational and infrastructural needs of the formerly marginalised persons, the gap between the few successful emerging farmers due to policy and the majority of those who are still poor is likely to continue for some years unless drastic and practical steps of funding and supporting the latter are found.

Despite different initiatives aimed at supporting emerging farmers to enter the mainstream commercial farming sector, available literature (Sanginga *et al.* 2004; Byerlee *et al.* 2005; Sendall, 2007; Vorley & Bienabe, 2007; Swanson, 2008; Cloete, 2010; Ozowa, 2011; Vink, 2012; Chah *et al.* 2013; Knox & Pinch, 2014; Cousin, 2014; Mpandeli, Nesamvuni & Maponya, 2015) on this subject has as of yet not captured any significant information concerning the spatial distribution of emerging farmers elsewhere in the country based on policy implementation. It follows that there seems to be little or no research so far conducted on this topic in the country. This shows that there is a gap in the knowledge about the topic. As a result, the timing and relevance of this research study is important and justifiable.

1.4 The research problem

South Africa has a land area of some 122 million hectares across seven climatic regions but only 14 % of land can be used for crop production (RSA, 2010a:43). Regrettably, from 1994/5 to 2002/3, the area farmed declined by 10 percent

(Bernstein, 2013). In South Africa, white farmers were an important political constituent of the apartheid state. Resultantly, past governments and their associated institutional structures protected and subsidised production of white farmers (Karuiki, 2004). They made available large tracts of land, ample water supply and cheap labour for the white farmers with no regard for black emerging farmers in their reserves (De Villiers, 1996; RSA, 2010b). The former black reserves that are shaded in Figure 1.4 were not supported by policy in areas of funding and infrastructure (De Villiers, 1996). This deprived the emerging farmers of the opportunity to compete with their white counterparts and even enter the national as well as international markets. Spatially, the commercial farms were located in the former white South Africa while subsistence farming occurred in communal areas, mainly in former homelands. The shaded areas in Figure 1.4 show the impact of a series of law structures, which divided land ownership in South Africa along racial lines. This deprived emerging farmer of the opportunity to develop (Kargbo, 2006).

The implementation of the policy seems to be creating yet another form of racial and class-biased farmer inequalities. Some researchers (Barke & O'Hare, 1991; De Villiers, 1996) state that the uneven development within the agricultural sector is ascribed mainly to the way in which land is held, owned and utilised. It can be privately, communally or state owned. Sufficient evidence from available literature (Hall, 2004; Vink, 2012) acknowledges that, although land restitution in South Africa focuses on fostering justice and reconciliation between different races, it has not been served equally by policy in the past.

Nevertheless, it was aimed at ensuring a fair and equitable redistribution of land, as well as to contribute to the economic emancipation of the previously oppressed black majority and emerging farmers (ANC, 1994; Ntsebeza, 2007). Hence, land in particular, as many scholars believe, is a form and symbol of conquest (Kepe, 1999; Hamilton, 2003) and still remains one of the most important issues that the post-apartheid government had to face (Ntsebeza, 2007). This view has been supported by Kariuki (2004) who argue that a policy which is aimed at making farming a career would enhance agricultural development.

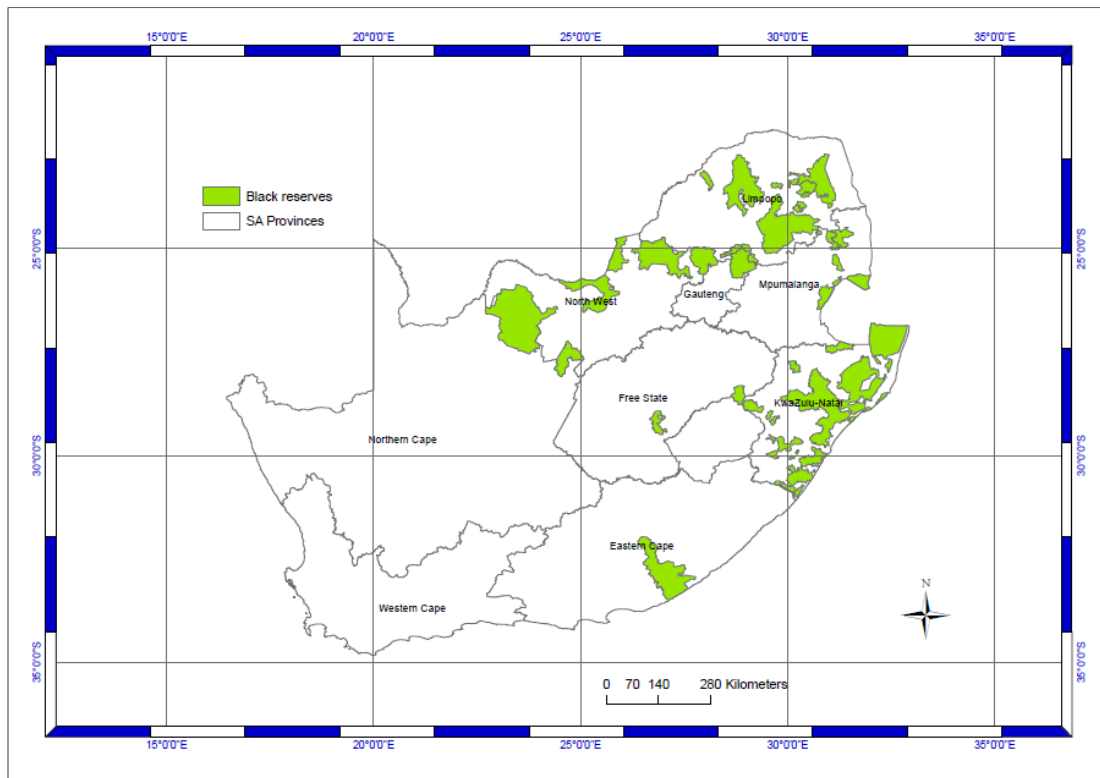


Figure 1.4: Black reserves in South Africa, 1980 (Source: Adapted from Urban LandMark 2016).

The poor performance of emerging farmers in South Africa is also ascribed to their lack of appropriate resources and irrigation schemes as the current ones as well as other resources falling into disuse (Van Averbek, Denison, & Mkeni, 2011). These so-called farmer constraints as a result of policy (Matungul, Lyne & Ortmann, 2001; Anseeuw, Van Rooyen & D’Haese, 2000; De Bruyn, De Bruyn, Vink & Kirsten, 2001; Bienabe, Coronel, Lecoq & Liagre, 2004; Wynne & Lyne, 2004; Louw *et al.* 2006; Vermeulen, Kirsten & Sartorius, 2008; Jari & Fraser, 2009; Denison *et al.* 2010; Randela, Alemu & Groenewald, 2010; Van der Heijden, 2010; Baloyi, 2010; Khaile, 2012) have been compounded by both institutional and physical factors (Jordaan & Grove, 2012). As a result, emerging farmers in South Africa and its provinces cannot contribute meaningfully towards the creation of job opportunities and poverty alleviation. The apartheid agricultural policies led to the decline in the contribution of the sector to South Africa’s gross domestic product (GDP) of this particular sector from 14 % to 21 percent during the 1920/60 period to 4 or 5 percent in the early 2000s (RSA, 2004a; Kargbo, 2006).

The Limpopo province covers an area of 12.46 million hectares and the countryside is described as the garden of South Africa in terms of agriculture (Limpopo Province, 2008). This province has also been affected by the division into commercial and emerging farming landscapes due to the country's formerly biased policies (RSA, 2008). The province is one of South Africa's richest agricultural areas, regardless of being one of the poorest provinces in South Africa (Oni, Nesamvuni, Odhiambo & Dagada, 2003; Mnisi, Tefere, Gayathri, Mukisira, Muthul, Murungweni & Sebitloane, 2004; Munyai, 2012). Despite this, its most limiting factor, like in most parts of the country, is water. Most of the commercial farms in the province are mechanised and depend mainly on a significant amount of irrigation schemes and other inputs. They also have a well-developed infrastructure and good marketing outlets, as has been the modus operandi in apartheid South Africa.

The emerging farmers owned small units of land in the province which they use for subsistence farming. These farms usually have exhausted soils that are generally unproductive. They often lead to the decline in overall production, thereby causing the retrenched employees to become wage earning labourers in the urban areas (Stats SA, 2014). Nevertheless, the emerging commercial farmers who are in transition between subsistence and commercial farming intend to break away from the cycle of poverty. However, they still occupy a different area in the province with typical features of emerging farmers in developing countries. Consequently, some emerging agricultural activities are highly concentrated in some areas, while in other areas they are poorly represented or even completely absent.

This has deprived some young people and females of employment opportunities in the province. With an estimated mid-year population of 5 630 500 in 2014 (Stats SA, 2014) who must equally be fed and employed mainly by agriculture (Stats SA, 2014), which is about 10,4 percent of the country's population, this presents an enormous challenge for the agricultural sector in the province. According to Stats SA (2014) Limpopo is estimated to have had an out-migration of nearly 303 101 people for the period 2011 to 2016. This is the result of the inability of the province to absorb and accommodate the existing labour force. This same situation has also been prevalent during the apartheid era.

In the Mopani district, like in the rest of the province, agricultural policies have caused spatial inequalities within the farming sector. There is spatial variation in resource provision according to policy in different districts, municipalities and ward areas for different racial groups and individuals. The spatial and socio-economic levels are increasing. There is conflict between the commercial and the emerging farming sectors. Policies that have emerged from the democratic government seem not to speak to this inequality but rather tend to favour commercial farmers in specific areas above emerging farmers in other areas.

However, recent policy focus in the province aims to improve their efficiency through its Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) that provides production inputs (Limpopo Province, 2010c). The existing challenges, which are the result of different policies, racial groups, locational set-ups, political affiliations, socio-economic and organisational structures are to a lesser or greater extent responsible for division between the agricultural landscapes and their overall contribution to economic development and poverty alleviation. In addition, the competing and conflicting ideas about methods of policy implementation and relevant structures, as well as legitimate structures are areas of great concern.

The broader problem that has emerged from this study can be investigated by answers to, amongst others, the following questions:

- What was the spatial pattern of farming in the Mopani District of Limpopo at the dawn of democracy in 1994?
- How has the spatial pattern of emerging farmers in the Mopani District been influenced by the implementation of government policy?
- How has government policy implementation influenced the changing agricultural landscape in the Mopani District?
- How did the implementation of policy affect the reduction of uneven spatial patterns of farming in the Mopani District?

1.5 The aim and objectives of the research

The main aim of this research is to describe, analyse, explain and evaluate the impact of the implementation of agricultural policy on the spatial distribution of the emerging farming sector in the Mopani District of Limpopo Province in South Africa.

The objectives of this research are to:

- Describe the spatial patterns of the emerging farming sector in the Mopani District of the Limpopo province at the dawn of democracy in 1994.
- Evaluate how the implementation of government policy has influenced the spatial distribution of emerging farmers in the Mopani District.
- Analyse how the implementation of government policy influenced the changing agricultural landscape in the Mopani District.
- Explain the contribution of policy on emerging farmers towards the reduction of uneven spatial patterns of farming in the Mopani District.

1.6 Research design

The research design is the plan that guided the research process from the first to the last step in terms of how the research was carried out to address the research problem (Mouton & Marais, 1990; Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995). According to Kerlinger (1986) it is a way of investigation which facilitates the effectiveness of the research. A research design that has been thoroughly structured can show how the research is to be conducted (Moulton, 2001) thereby focusing on the way data are collected and analysed to answer the research questions (Kerlinger, 1986). It is defined by Huysamen (1993:10) as “a plan or blue print according to which data are collected to investigate the research question in the most economical manner.” These definitions indicate that without a research design the researcher is likely to lose focus of the research.

The study is largely based on empirical research, field work and observation of emerging farmers’ activities on their respective farms. This investigation is done within the framework of the postmodernism paradigm. This paradigm focuses on the representation of shift and resultant variations due to different behavioural patterns caused by cultural and political regimes in time and place (Bourdieu, 1990; Silverman, 1993; Silverman, 2013). It is concerned with events in their natural settings and interprets them within the context and interpretations of the actor (Johnson, 2010; Reed, 2010).

This research takes place in the Mopani District Municipality of the Limpopo province in South Africa. This is one of five districts municipalities in the Limpopo province. The Limpopo province is regarded as the second poorest in the country. Despite being endowed with a variety of agricultural resources, the district also has numerous constraints, which impact negatively on its development, and this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. The study area, data collection and analyses, and the research methodology are also presented fully in Chapter 3. To achieve the aim of the research a mixed method research design is used to ensure that the evidence obtained assists in answering the research questions.

Although the study relies heavily on the qualitative research method, it will also use quantitative research methods to respond to both the “What” and the “Why” questions in this study. It also relies on both primary and secondary data on the implementation of government policy and development of emerging farmers during the post-apartheid era.

Primary data was collected through a survey of sampled emerging farmers in the Mopani District Municipality. The sample was based on the farmer population provided by municipality extension officers. The research study focused on black emerging farmers who were historically disadvantaged in the district through policy implementation. For that reason, all the respondents were drawn from the district municipalities.

Focus group discussions were held in local halls that were accessible to all emerging farmers. Interviews were also conducted with municipal officials from the Mopani district and with a provincial official in their respective offices. The collected data related to personal details, farm inventory, farming activities, policy implementation and income generated from farming in the rural area of the Mopani district. Various techniques such as questionnaires, fieldwork, interviews and focused group discussions were used for data collection.

Secondary data was obtained from the internet and libraries in the form of books, journals and government sources that document Acts, policy, programmes and intervention strategies, locally and internationally, about emerging farmers. The

data analysis is highly descriptive. By using a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research methods as well as primary and secondary data, triangulation is ensured (Tracy, 2010).

1.7 Rationale

During the apartheid era, government policies in South Africa separated support services of the large-scale white modern farming sector from the emerging African farming sector. This resulted in the formation of spatial inequality in terms of policy available and policy implemented in various parts of the country.

The study has been motivated by the interest of government in reducing the spatial distribution of economic situation in the country through policy reforms. This emanates from the constitutional mandate that directs all institutions of state to uphold democratic principles in the execution of their duties and responsibilities in promoting equitable service delivery to the country and its economic sectors and people.

The researcher was inspired by the change of government policies and its potential impact on the spatial distribution of the African black emerging farmers in the Mopani district after the dawn of the new democracy in South Africa. In the Limpopo province, in which the Mopani district is situated, there are many policies, challenges and opportunities for the emerging farmers (Swanson, 2008; Oladele, 2010; Ozowa, 2011; Moagi & Oladele, 2012; Chah *et al.* 2013). However, they lack sufficient support in important aspects such as policy on agricultural, dissemination of agricultural information, and market and management information (Lerman, Csaki & Feder, 2002; Michelson, 2013). This dichotomy has shown that the agricultural landscape in the province is unequal, while there is also an unequal spatial distribution of socio-economic aspects within communities living in different areas who have different income levels.

1.8 The contribution of the study

The discussions above indicate how the study was focused specifically on the spatial distribution of the emerging farming sector as a result of policy implementation. One of the roles of municipal officials in the district is to implement

policy. The study contributes information about the nature and extent of the challenges faced by emerging farmers. The information is valuable in the strategic planning, especially where resources are to be utilised.

Geography as a discipline is concerned with spatial distribution of different variables over time. In the Mopani district, no study has been conducted on the spatial distribution of farms and no study has been done in either Geography or Agriculture on the because of policy implementation. Due to this gap in knowledge, the study contributes towards a body of knowledge in both disciplines. The post-apartheid government intended to reduce imbalances that had been created by the previous government. The study highlights areas that are further in need of government intervention. The information will assist the district and province in their budgets to assist the local municipalities in implementing policy with adequate resources to address areas of obvious need.

Existing policies and programmes as well as institutions that support emerging farmers have been documented from within and outside the district. The literature reviewed for this study provides some highlights on success stories from other areas and countries from whom the emerging farmers can learn. This can contribute towards their competency and productivity. The literature also showed some of the consequences in resource provision and inequitable policy implementation that have contributed to the uneven spatial distribution of farms in the agricultural landscape.

The study is important to other researchers who plan to conduct further research concerning constraining factors in individual municipalities in the district. Such research will shed further light on factors behind the uneven distribution of farms. One of the challenges identified in the study was a lack of coordination in policy implementation among various stakeholders and institution. This has led to a waste of resources and duplication of services. This problem needs to be addressed. When it has been corrected, it can benefit all stakeholders as well as the target group that would progress and develop in their different local municipalities. It is against this background that the significance of the study is realised.

1.9 Reliability and validity

Reliability and validity are essential components of research approaches (O'Brien, 2010). According to Curtis and Curtis (2011), reliability measures the extent to which the analysis of data yields reliable results that can be repeated or reproduced at different times or by different researchers. The researcher used a case-centric approach that allowed for an understanding of social relations in depth and increased the reliability of the study. According to Yin (2012), a case protocol strategy assists in ensuring reliability in case-centric research when it spelt out an overview of the case study, research procedures of accessing participants, the schedule of questions, and the guide for data analysis and reporting.

In this research, these requirements have been adhered to, to promote reliability of the research. The personal profiles provided by different respondents are considered to be reliable irrespective of possible reservations that could have occurred. The researcher did not speak on behalf of respondents. As a result, sampled groups of respondents were not marginalised by the researcher but given an opportunity during interview and discussion to provide their actual meanings within their own circumstances.

There is no measure that is perfect in all ways. According to Ramler and Van Ryzin, (2011), validity should be measured, based on the purpose for which the measure is used for. For this reason, for the results of the research to be valid it, should provide convincing evidence of cause and effect. In this research, a combination of interviews, questionnaires, observations and qualitative analysis methods have been used to capture the real experiences and motivation of the respondents to undertake farming. The results obtained from the different methods correspond. This relationship between the findings and the conclusion confirms the validity of the study. Furthermore, because two or more methods of data collection and data sources were used to examine the impact of policy with the aim of getting closer to the truth of the matter, triangulation was ensured. This was a way of capturing multiple facts and truths (Silverman, 1993; Gliner, 1994; King, Finlay, Ashworth, Smith, Langdrige & Butt, 2008; Tracy, 2010; Silverman, 2011) to strengthen analytic claims (Smith, 1996) to get the real experiences.

Studies conducted by Gliner (1994) and King *et al.* (2008) found that three forms of triangulation existed. Firstly, through collecting data from different sources, the second one was using different methods of data collection and the third one was the use of different methods of data analysis. Validity involves the use of multiple lenses (Tracy, 2010).

In this research, multiple sources of evidence were used along with the researcher's personal account. Furthermore, a follow-up study was done in May and July 2015 to confirm the results of the field work. This provided the respondents an opportunity to critique the information gathered during the first visit. The researcher then compared results of their profiles, interview results with secondary data collected to establish validity of the research study.

Like reliability, the component of validity within the research study was reinforced by the real-life setting situation that was tested through interpersonal checking and analysing focus groups information (Liamputtong & Lizzy, 2005; Wilkinson, 2011) during farmers day meetings held in the municipalities' halls. The limited number of respondents chosen provided a fuller understanding of the situation (Curtis & Curtis, 2011) than, for example, a larger number would. This implied that, although validity was crucial, different criteria related to specific methods exist although they have limitations (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). As a result, the study has ensured that validity was established due to the various tools used during data collection and analysis (Razon & Ross, 2012).

It is the purpose of the researcher to provide credible information. Consequently, the research strategy and data analysis methods are described in detail. The data analysis methods such as thematic analysis, content analysis, grounded theory and analytic induction are clearly explained to present and describe the farming practices correctly. Apart from these, the theoretical framework from which the interpretation of data took place was made transparent (Kirk & Miller, 1996). The inclusion of these methods together with different methods of data collection made the result of the thesis to be reliable and valid. This suggested that, should another research study be conducted, using the same methods and tools, the results would still resemble the outcome of this research study, hence, its reliability and validity.

1.10 Organisation of the study

The thesis is organised into six chapters. Chapter one provides an introduction and a background to farming within the South African context under different political ideologies. The importance of the emerging farming sector is highlighted since it is heavily influenced by policy changes in the country. Government policy in agriculture is influenced by political transformation and that impacts enormously on agriculture as an economic sector. The chapter further describes the research problem, and the research questions, aim, and objectives that flow from this problem. The research design is briefly explained with some details of the data collection process. The chapter ends with details of the significance of the study and the organisation of the thesis.

Chapter two contains a review of literature on policy implementation in agriculture. The literature review discusses agricultural policy and policy implementation in different countries and regions as they manifest differently during different time frames. The institutional dimension addresses the role of institutions in policy implementation. This is followed by how policy in agriculture is implemented and how it affected the spatial distribution of farm activities. The global perspective focusses on the division of the world economy into developed and developing countries with particular focus on agriculture and policy. Attention is also given to the African context and on how the African farming system differs from other countries as a result of policy implementation. South Africa has been subjected to different policy frameworks due to different political systems. This has impacted on the agricultural system. In the last section of the chapter the policy environment and implementation of policy in South Africa is discussed and attention is given to aspects such as land reform, funding for agriculture, the role of transport in agriculture and policy implementation at provincial level.

In chapter three the focus is on the study area and the methodology used for data collection. The reasons for using a mixed method research methodology is explained in more detail. Data collection techniques such as semi-structured interviews, fieldwork observation and questionnaires are explained. The use of both primary and secondary data is discussed and in the last section of the chapter

attention is given to some limitations of the study and some problems that were encountered during the research.

In chapter four the findings from the interviews and fieldwork done in the five municipalities in the Mopani District in Limpopo Province is presented using a descriptive approach. The chapter documents the results of the fieldwork and interviews conducted and provides photographs taken during field work showing participants, their products and resources used. The impact of policy implementation on their projects are also presented. The constraints and development of the emerging farmers in the district are presented with the aid of tables, graphs and maps that show the spatial distribution of farms due to the implementation of various new government programmes. The data obtained from the various officials are also reported and the challenges and solutions explained by the officials are presented.

In chapter five the collected data is analysed and interpreted. The analysis and interpretation is organised using the objectives of the research. The analysis is both quantitative and qualitative in nature due to the mixed method research design that is used in the research study.

In chapter six the general findings and conclusions on the impact of policy on the development and spatial distribution of farming in the Mopani district of the Limpopo province is discussed. These findings and conclusions are again organised according to the objectives of the research. Some implications for policy development are presented and some recommendations are made for further research.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a background for the research problem, has described the research problem and has given the aim and objectives and the research design that was used. The background included a discussion of policy implementation and its impact on development and agriculture. A background on impact of policy implementation in developing countries was also given before details of the South African context were provided. Both the apartheid and the new democratic era

policy were discussed before details were given of policy in agriculture in the Limpopo province in which the Mopani district is located.

Numerous studies were discussed which revealed that the emerging farming sector experienced numerous constraints despite the implementation of policies. Though changes of government brought about political changes their impact on the emerging farmer in the district is not significant due to its bias against the poorest sector of the population, including emerging farmers. Implementation of government policy can reduce uneven spatial distribution of the emerging farming sector if done correctly.

In the next chapter a literature review on policy and policy implementation in agriculture is provided. International literature on aspects such as the aim of policy and the institutional framework is discussed. Literature on global perspectives on policy implementation, the African context and the South African context is reviewed.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

2.1 Introduction

The background for the research problem that is investigated in this research was presented in Chapter 1. This chapter provides a review of literature on the implementation of government policies by various countries in the world and the impact of such policies on the spatial distribution of the agricultural sector, particularly on emerging farmers. The review begins with a discussion of the aims of agricultural policy implementation and the institutional policy framework as well as a global perspective on agricultural policy implementation. This literature provides a broad background for the investigation of the impact of agricultural policy on the smallholder farming sector in the Mopani district of Limpopo province of South Africa.

To evaluate agricultural development and policy implementation in the Mopani district within the African and the South African context, literature on agricultural policy in Africa in general and South Africa specifically is reviewed. The implementation of agricultural policy in the colonial era is analysed within the African context and literature on the apartheid policy implementation is reviewed within the South African context. New policy initiatives in the post-apartheid era in South Africa receive attention since it is the impact of these policies that are the main area of interest in this research. Within this section attention is given to literature on land reform policy and funding for the new policy initiatives in agriculture.

To provide further background for the local study, the policy framework and implementation of agricultural policy at provincial level is reviewed. Specific attention is given to policy implementation in the Limpopo province and within the Mopani district. Literature on the influence of transport on agriculture in general and on smallholder farmers are analysed and attention is given to transport development and policy in South Africa that impacts on agriculture and smallholder farmers in various areas.

2.2 Aims of agricultural policy implementation

The definition of an agricultural policy differs according to regions and authors. As already mentioned in Section 1.3.1 “policy” in this study is taken to mean the decision and actions of government authorities which intend to increase economic and social welfare, with intermediate objectives of improved efficiency and equity. According to Contreras (2011), different agricultural policies exist in various countries such as India (Vyas, 2008), Finland (Finland Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2010), Saudi Arabia (Lippman, 2010), Europe (Iliopoulous & Stratakis, 2011) China (Huang, Wang & Qiu, 2012), and the European Union (Piot-Lepetit, 2011; Eurosif, 2014). However, the implementation of such agricultural policies depends on a number of factors guided by the aim of each country. According to the European Commission (2014), one of the major aims of an agricultural policy is about food production for survival, although the way in which food is produced by different farmers in rural communities differs from one country to the other as a result of aims in policy implementation.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2015) considers the aim of policy implementation within the agricultural sector as multifaceted. They include, among others, development-oriented aims, aims biased towards productivity and aims for enhancing competitiveness as well as promoting protectionism. Such differences among countries can be attributed to their different levels of socio-economic status and the interest of government guided by its resource endowment. This, however, is not only limited to agricultural policy in the worldwide, but is also true for policies in other sectors of the economy, which have led to spatial variation in economic and regional agricultural development. The differences in policy implementation have been evident in countries such as U.S.A whose aim it is to respond to its internal economic distress in agriculture within the country (Dimitri, Effland, & Conklin, 2005) as compared to Japan that aims at achieving competitiveness targets within the agricultural sector in the long-term (OECD, 2015). This follows that different countries have their own aims, decisions and choices to achieve their set development targets in different time frames within the agricultural sector.

It has been argued by Obasaju, Oloni, Obadiaru and Rotimi (2014) that the choice and implementation of aims are not a means to an end. They are also influenced by other factors. According to the authors, these include macro-policy instruments such as trade and exchange rate policies, public expenditure and taxation that also influence agricultural aims and their implementations. Together, the aims and other factors contribute towards different levels of agricultural development in different countries and regions. For example, the choice of an aim by countries such as the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996a) and China (Groenewold *et al.* 2008) would result in different outcomes. This would further differ from a country such as Great Britain (Amstrong & Taylor 2000; Crush & Frayne, 2011) whose intension it was to address economic aims by improving access to markets for farmers.

Similarly, policy implementation in Eastern Africa would be different from that in Southern Africa (Neven, Reardon, Chege & Wang, 2006). Although the same aims could be chosen, studies by Boldrin and Canova (2001) and Nijkamp, Resmini and Traistaru (2003) had concluded that their impacts would differ from one region to the other. Hence, the difference between the rich commercial farmers and poor smallholder farmers in various countries has resulted from choice of agricultural aims and their implementation. Consequently, numerous studies (Boldrin & Canova, 2001; Nijkamp *et al.*, 2003) are of the view that policy implementation by governments aims at reducing spatial disparities in and areal differentiation at various levels. This could improve agricultural development, thereby promoting economic growth as well as balanced development.

In addition, Martin (2005) and Kanbur and Venables (2005) argue that it could enhance mutual relationships that would reduce ethnic, religious and political tensions between and within countries. Despite the existence of the above aims and their implementation, none of them seem to have aimed specifically at reducing the uneven spatial distribution of the agricultural landscape. Thus, Tulla, Vera, Badia, Guirado and Valldeperas (2014) have noted that the existing inequalities between rural and urban areas as a result of the multi-functionality of the agricultural sector would be alleviated by the choice and implementation of aims that address areas of need in agricultural policy.

2.3 The institutional policy framework in agriculture

The implementation of agricultural policy by different institutions in various countries has the potential of influencing the sector either positively or negatively. The result will be an even or uneven spatial distribution of farms. There is no agreement in the definition of the term “institution”. According to Hodgson (2006;2) an “institution” is defined as “systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social interactions.” The definitions of Kherallah and Kirsten (2001) and Cloete (2010) include, among others, political systems, organisations, laws, social trends and values. These definitions encompass a spectrum of attributes all of which would impact on the development of the smallholder farmers and their spatial distribution at different places.

“Institutions” in this study refer to the rules of conduct used to facilitate co-ordination and govern relationships between individuals as well as groups for a common purpose of developing the historically marginalised farmers. It has emerged from studies conducted by Adebayo, Babu and Rhoe (2010b) and Cloete (2010) that the existence of an institutional framework is essential, especially in agriculture, for the successful implementation of government policy. This will lead to the development of the farming sector resultantly shaping it towards a progressive economic sector. Consequently, the provision of institutional support will help smallholder farmers to transit from the more traditional farming sector to the more mainstream commercial farming sector.

The most commonly known institutions that had an impact on agriculture were the Bretton Woods institutions. They are the International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2002) and the World Bank (WB) (Hudec, 1990; Hopkinson, 1993; Cottier & Oesch, 1995; Van Dijk, 2000; Williams *et al.* 2009). According to Cline (2004), the original aim of such institutions has been to, amongst others, address the plight of the farmers and promote free trade between nations. Such institutions, although responsible for financial assistance have distributed it inequitably. This follows that, despite the implementation of their agricultural policy, spatial disparities in terms of accessing funds in various regions were experienced that affected their development. In other words, the aims of the policies were not properly implemented by existing institutions.

Advanced industrial countries have strongly protected their domestic producers against developing countries. This was done by means of trade restrictions, direct price or income supports, and public investment through implementation of agricultural policy (Fulginiti & Shogren, 1992; Cantore, Kennan & Page, 2011; Markovic & Markovic, 2014). This has led to different agricultural landscapes between advanced industrial countries and developing countries. The unfair and biased policy implementation has affected the existence and participation of the smallholder contract farming sector negatively (Barret, Backe, Bellemare, Michelson, Narayanan & Walker, 2012). In order to correct this situation there was a need for a structural transformation of the agricultural policy (Losch, Freguin-Gresh & White, 2012). This has led to fair trade that may ensure equality within countries (Mahutga, Kown & Grainger, 2011).

Even though the implementation of agricultural policies and programmes is biased toward one group of countries and farmers as against the other, numerous studies (Blandon, Henson & Islam, 2009; Maertens & Swinnen, 2009; Wang, Dong, Rozelle, Huang & Reardon, 2009; Bellemare, 2012) still argue in favour of the intervention of government institutions. They believe that institutions of government will assist and support smallholder farmers to develop into the mainstream commercial farming sector. Hence, decision-making and policy implementation in agriculture continue to be undertaken by various groups such as individuals, agents, bodies and organisations (Potter, Binns, Elliot & Smith, 2008) although their macroeconomic policies differ (Obasaju *et al.* 2014). Although policy implementation involves various parties, no significant progress has been achieved to reduce an uneven spatial distribution of the emerging sector.

Notwithstanding the existing gaps in policy implementation, institutional support is viewed as essential in underdeveloped areas, especially in empowering women in rural development as part of social protection (Holmes & Jones, 2010). As a result, the availability of institutions and their capacity to operate efficiently form an integral part of agricultural development and poverty alleviation. Available literature (Sikwela, & Mashunje, 2013; Odini, 2014; Wright, Vermeulen, Laganda, Olupot, Ampaire, & Jat, 2014) has cautioned that unless the failure of institutions to provide

agricultural support in areas like technical skills, credit and policy support are addressed, they are likely to aggravate the situation and increase the gap between rich and poor farmers. To avoid regional development that can promote spatial differentiation (Trove & Berriet-Sollicec, 2010) it is, therefore, essential that such potential risks are managed and eradicated urgently to avoid widespread food insecurity (Tangermann, 2011).

Such measures will ensure a positive agricultural development in the long-term that is sustainable and able to pave the way for uneven spatial distribution and poverty eradication (United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 2011). Unless these are addressed, they would compromise the ability of smallholder farmers to afford higher food prices, provided they have access to institutional support. The efficient participation of smallholder farmers requires institutional support to avoid being retarded (Sial, Awan & Waqas, 2011; Sigei, 2014) and to enter the mainstream commercial farming sector. Consequently, the provision of institutional policy support as an intervention strategy (Mudhara, 2010) will in turn, promote domestic support and reduce regional disparities in the sector as it has been the case in India (Kumar, Singh & Sinha, 2010) and the EU (Urban, Jensen & Brockmeier, 2014).

An analysis of the above sources on institutions reveals that institutions are important in the reduction of uneven spatial distribution of the farming sector that has been biased toward the smallholder farming sector. Without a fair institutional support an uneven development of the farming sector around the globe would always exist. Contrary to the existence of institutions it has become evident that this unfair treatment and neglect of emerging farmers through policy is ascribed to institutions' failure to reduce uneven spatial distribution of the agricultural landscape.

This segregationist approach has had some serious consequences on future prospects for the smallholder farming sector, and a negative impact on the socio-economic situations of poor countries that depend mainly on the emerging farming sector not only for subsistence but also its potential to create job opportunities. Consequently, its negative impact on unemployment means that poverty alleviation cannot be dealt with easily and resultantly it may thus influence political instability

in affected countries. As a result, the prevalence of the smallholder farming sector that is not supported will transcend the divide between rich and poor countries, between different political systems and different ethnic groups.

Even though organic farming can be practised to supplement chemical fertilisers (Reddy, 2012) that are mainly used by commercial farmers the absence of adequate institutional support (Wolvekamp, Kessler, & Ritsema, 2013) to the marginalised smallholder farmers will still create a gap between the rich and poor farmers as well as rural people and the urban population. This implies that the formulation of agricultural policies to achieve their development objectives and implementation through programmes and projects depends mainly on institutional capacity and resources that should be made available through government agencies and private sector investment. It will reduce the intensity of territorial and regional differences (Van Dijk, Folmer & Oosterhaven, 2009). It then becomes evident that the role of agriculture in socio-economic development and growth must be acknowledged and supported by providing efficient resources and ensuring that agricultural activities through institutions are not discriminated against, particularly in developing countries (Valdes & Foster, 2010; Valdes, 2015).

Although in practice the policy statements and actual decisions have been frequently inconsistent with the underlying implementation principle, the need for policy implementation cannot be underestimated. It promotes public benefits from emerging subsistence farmers (Redman, 2010). Indeed, economic reform could have the opposite effect if it results in fewer resources being made available for the implementation of programmes and projects especially a shortage of skilled planning personnel within institutions. However, the development and implementation of agricultural activities should not compromise the security of tenure by different institutions to promote smallholder farmers' commercial endeavour (Van der Ploeg, 2010; Van der Westhuizen, 2013).

2.4 Global perspective on policy implementation

Generally, agriculture has been an important economic component of people's livelihood in different countries. However, its spatial distribution over space has been mainly influenced, among others, by human decisions on policy development

and implementation. Consequently, this has led to the spatial differentiation of agricultural activities due to policy implementation in the world that can be traced back to the development of the old international division of the world into the northern and southern regions which resulted in the emergence of the “North–South Line” (Brandt, 1980). It was during this era that certain areas began to specialise in particular types of economic activities as a process of regional and national specialisation (Healey & Ilbery, 1990).

The North–South line did not only divide the agricultural markets into north for export of manufactured products and south for exporting raw materials (Diao et al. 2002) but also into countries. It was, therefore, regarded as a socio-economic and political divide (Mimiko, 2012), which led to, on the one hand, a completed historical process in the developed north, while in the south the process is contemporary and continuing. This division between the two sides with their agricultural landscapes indicated the core-periphery relationship that led to uneven regional development as a result of the imbalance in the distribution of political and economic powers (Klak, 2014).

On a global scale, policy implementation has established a spatial division between a rich powerful north including North America, Western Europe and developed parts of East Asia (the developed countries or the First World) and a poor and marginalised south consisting of Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and developing Asia, including the Middle East (commonly known as developing countries or Third World) (Brandt, 1980; Reuveny & Thompson, 2001). It is in the south in which most of the poor emerging farmers live. The south is classified as a source of raw material for the north. The south is also known for lacking appropriate technology and characterised by political instability as well as the economies that has been disarticulated (Mimiko, 2012), which has little to offer to the emerging farmers.

The early studies by Amin (1989) and Blaut (1993) argued that the construction of the south is based on a Eurocentric approach. This means that the European policy or parts of the European policy experience is placed at the centre and viewed as superior while the lives and cultures of other people in other countries are viewed

as inferior. Therefore, the world's agricultural and trade policy agenda has been used by countries in the north as an instrument through which to frame countries in the south, though there is no consensus recorded about this classification (Graham & Mark, 2001). Hence, the Third World is viewed as situated outside the capitalist First World domain.

The economic and socio-political interactions between the north and south within the agricultural landscape has stratified the world into two unequal parts. This spatial trajectory between both north and south (Nijkamp *et al.* 2003; Lees, 2011) is also evident within the commercial and emerging agricultural landscapes, and between developed and developing countries. To be associated with development, the agricultural development policy followed by most governments from both developed and developing countries with interest in agriculture have generally been more biased towards commercial farming with its increased production levels (Rigg, 2007; Cantore *et al.* 2011) to the detriment of the less developed subsistence farming sector in terms of policy support.

This trend has been evident between non-industrial countries which supply raw materials and agricultural products to the north and industrialised countries which have produced manufactured goods and exported some of them to the south. Such policy imperatives have had both a positive and negative impact on their agricultural sectors (Boysen & Matthews, 2012). Cantore (2012) argue that, while the impacts will stimulate exports from some developing country producers for certain countries' commodities, they will harm food-importing countries.

Existing literature (Cantore *et al.* 2011) indicates that decades of restrictive and detrimental government legislation used by European countries has been promulgated through the implementation of policy such as the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). The implementation of this policy has had dual results. According to Cantore (2012), CAP measures and the European Union's (EU) agricultural policy have exacerbated price volatility at the level of the world, thereby making access to regional markets by smallholder farmers difficult.

In addition, Ortmann and King (2010) state that emerging farmers from the developing countries characterised by poor populations in rural areas are unlikely to attract market chains on their own. Although success stories do exist, for example in Mozambique on contract farming to access markets (Barrett *et al.* 2012) to develop emerging farmers' produce, Te Velde, Page, Cantore, Matthews, King, Boysen, and Keijzer, (2012) argue that the EU's agricultural policies, though implemented, have had major effects on the rest of the world, and in particular on developing countries where agriculture has often been the driver of their livelihood. This has had both spatial and developmental implications.

On the spatial front the developed and the commercial landscapes would continue to flourish while on the developmental side the emerging farmers would continue to be deprived of access to supportive measures and policy to address their plight of development. It did not affect emerging farmers alone but even the youth who continued to have a negative attitude against agriculture (European Commission, 2010) both within and outside Europe. As a result, farming would still remain the domain of the elderly, as the new generations are reluctant to taking over.

The continued implementation of such segregationist policies is likely to have a negative impact on food security in the future as well as on the industrial sectors processing agricultural products. Ultimately, job opportunities would be affected, leading to socio-economic problems, not only in developing countries but also developed countries. Although CAP has been reformed to support agriculture due to external factors such as economic, environmental and territorial issues (European Commission, 2014), it was through the implementation of such a policy and others that a division between the EU and other developing countries, which was not a positive one on the poor smallholder farmers, was entrenched. Found mainly in the rural south, this implies that the smallholder farmers in most developing countries with deficient resource base and inappropriate technology would not be able to develop adequately as compared to commercial farmers. This has compromised their ability to advance in their farming due to lack of resources and policy support.

The contribution of smallholder farmers towards economic development as a result of policy was then limited and resultantly they could not create reasonable job opportunities that would alleviate poverty within rural communities in which they farm (Hart & Aliber, 2012). As a result, smallholder farmers in poor countries continued to be characterised as marginalised farmers belonging to the poorest of the poor who, very often than not, struggle to transit into the mainstream commercial farming sector but always referred to as smallholder farmers even though policy was available.

The continued differences between the commercial and smallholder farming sectors bear testimony to this, as noted above under the Eurocentric ideology (Amin, 1989). Based on this ideology, the smallholder farmers were viewed as inferior based on their numerous constraints like the quantity and quality of products. The inferior position of the smallholder farmer has influenced their livelihood negatively and their immediate rural people who, by virtue of wealth, were viewed as poor. Evidently, the support of agricultural protection by some countries (Bellemare & Carnes, 2014) and the existence of spatial variation in the implementation of agricultural policy in different countries has had a major negative impact on both the economy and the development of the emerging farming sector and its farmers together with their families. This socio-economic stigma on the smallholder farmer requires policy intervention to assist them to transit and develop into better farmers who could begin to compete, not only locally and abroad. It might be argued here that it was then not necessarily a north and south dichotomy but also a commercial and smallholder farmer support policy dilemma.

To maintain and sustain their economic hegemony, the developed countries have further used price mechanism as a strategy to segregate developing countries despite its negative impact (Cavalcanti, Mohaddes & Raissi, 2011). Studies by Curtis (2011) and Fritz (2011) have confirmed that the EU's countries have used exports tariffs with low prices on the markets of developing countries, which have impacted negatively on their agricultural sectors. As a result, the poor emerging farmers' products could not earn much profit from such international markets. Instead it plunged them into a serious debt because they would have incurred

exorbitant amount of money throughout the period of ploughing and harvesting as well as transaction costs.

Resultantly, the gap between the developed and developing as well as between smallholder farmer and commercial farmers widened even further than before due to, for example, resources' differentials (Salami, Kamara & Brixiova, 2010; Saleem & Jan, 2011) as it destroyed good trade relations (Sandrey, Punt, Grinsted & Vink, 2011). This has affected individual farmers and countries differently based on their level of economic development and policy implementation (Boysen & Matthews, 2012). The smallholder farmers' products were resultantly compromised by low EU prices despite the fact that OECD (2013) stated that the share of trade-distorting support has fallen significantly.

Lately, this decrease in prices had an added impact on other sectors of the economy. This included the secondary and tertiary sectors, as they experienced a broad-based price volatility decline in the fourth quarter of 2014 (World Bank, 2015). They were utilising raw materials from the smallholder farming sector. The continued application of EU policies acting against developing countries further implied that, despite the EU's policy aim of increasing the advancement of smallholder farmers, this policy mandate also impacted negatively on their inability to fulfil their mandate of job creation and reduction of poverty.

The hardest hit sector of the population would always be the poorest of the poor living in rural areas where poor smallholder farmers were found. This would lead to food insecurity in developing countries (Engel, Lein, Seters & Helden, 2013), as developing countries and their smallholder farmers would continue to suffer the consequences of their inability to successfully solve their problems brought about by policy implementation (Hallsworth *et al.* 2011). Despite world economists' criticism on the negative results of these agricultural policies, the same distortionary policy was applied by the United States and other developed markets (Clifton, 2014).

Another strategy within the agricultural sector on a global scale impacting on smallholder farmers is the implementation of a policy known as protectionism used

by different countries to restrict foreign countries against their agricultural products (Zahrnt, 2010; Woods & Roberts, 2011). Protectionism is defined by Marković and Marković (2014) as a government intervention strategy that promotes domestic agricultural production by applying barriers from foreign competition. It is viewed as a measure that is used by not only Western countries but almost every country.

According to Zahrnt (2010) and Pettinger (2013) this approach is used by focusing on selected steps of foreign trade and their policies. It includes steps such as quotas, subsidies, tariffs and embargoes to enforce barriers against foreign competition. The authors argue that protectionism is part of every agricultural policy for nearly all countries, both developed and developing. It is, however, evident that the enforcement of barriers from foreign competition act against the advancement of developed and developing countries. The enforcement was also applied within continents and regions as well as against racial groups such as between the commercial and the emerging farming sectors. Some countries' inability to provide subsidy to local farmers had relied mainly from food import that impact negatively on local farmers as they were sold at lower prices than local farmers' prices (Zahrnt, 2010; Pettinger, 2013).

The negative impact of protectionism has been noted by Pustovit and Schmitz (2003) and Posthumus (2010). They alleged that agricultural protectionism in industrialised countries and price distortions in developing countries had a negative impact and hamper the economic and agricultural development of smallholder farmers. The authors argued that this approach was partly responsible for poverty and hunger because governments, through policies, have developed two different worlds that portrayed spatial inequalities characterised by different socio-economic landscapes as a result of policy. The result was that the rich countries and farmers would remain the core with their commercial bias that tended to exploit the periphery dominated mainly by the poor emerging sector.

It is this system of economic relationship in a market system that promotes dependency through a hierarchy of countries into developed and developing, and the farming sector into commercial and subsistence farming (Fenyves, Van Zyl &

Vink, 2008). This political pendulum perpetuates the dependency syndrome between countries acting at different levels of the economic lever.

Despite numerous regional, national and international spatial inequalities, countries such as China, Brazil and India, through policy implementation, have promoted agricultural development. These countries, through policy implementation, are now regarded as emerging countries by refocusing their policies towards export markets (Obasaju *et al.* 2014). Be that as it may, protectionism in agriculture by various countries still remains a factor that continues to disadvantage the smallholder farmers. This continued protection and policy on subsidies, especially by rich-countries, have been devastating to the emerging farming sector, particularly in developing countries. Resultantly, the overall GDP of underdeveloped areas and their relationship with the developed countries would continue to be strained, given the level of poverty and political instability in poverty stricken areas. The lives and standards of the poorest of the poor in those areas would continue to be compromised while the rich countries, through their exploitative policies, were continuously subjecting poor countries to the dependency syndrome by serving as the core while the poor remained on the periphery.

The analysis of the discussion on the global scene showed that there was a marginalisation of the poor, developing and emerging farmers in the international, national, regional and local economic landscapes due to policy implementation. Such policies, which led to the marginalisation of emerging farmers, resulted in the continuation of the vicious cycle of poverty for the poorest sectors of society and a highly uneven spatial distribution in different agricultural locations.

2.5 African context: the colonial era in Africa

Africa is home to millions of people, and agriculture remains an important component of their livelihood (Ayittey, 1989; Bagchee, 1994; Asfaw, Shifera, Simtowe, Muricho, Abate & Federe, 2010). However, both the internal and external political and economic factors have had an impact on the performance of the agricultural sector, especially the smallholder farming sector in terms of support from governments and their institutions.

Different terms are used in the literature on farming in Africa during the colonial era. The term “subsistence farmers” were mostly used, according to Rigg (2007) to refer to those farmers that were farming within an isolated landscape and that were separated from commercial farming by legislation and geography in former colonial areas. These subsistence farmers lagged behind in terms of development with little progress visible in their circumstances. This separation was evident within the continent in the former black and white territorial areas (Potter, Binns, Elliot & Smith, 2008).

Because of agrarian reform and policy adjustment in Africa (Kishindo, 1994; Kwanashie *et al.* 1998; Karuiki, 2009), today’s emerging farmers are keen to promote themselves. Reputable farmers in their respective places are now able to offer some job opportunities while simultaneously alleviating poverty and creating a more equitable developmental path. Such small economic islands at the economic peripheral margins of the modern global economy have created an economic sector of formerly marginalised on the continent. According to Rigg (2007), the unfair implementation of agricultural policies has unfortunately continued to tie them in a relationship of interdependence through capitalism.

In Africa, two schools of thought are blamed for the under-performance of the agricultural sector. The first school of thought argues that the penetration of the colonial regime in Africa has brought with it a different model of agricultural production that deprived African farmers an opportunity to farm and access markets and credit successfully (Mabogunje, 1980). The distinctive feature of the colonial regime was that it established in African farming policies, which were unfortunately used to subjugate colonies population leaders to the colonists’ rule (Lahiff, 1997; Wolf, 2000) to enhancing production of cash and export crops. This was done to the detriment of the local traditional African farming communities in the colonies. As a result, the contact between Africans and colonists created a great farming divide between black and white farmers on two different farming areas based on different perceptions about their farming models.

According to Vink, Kirsten and Tregurtha (2000) the implementation of agricultural policies and regulations on issues such as access to land, marketing policies,

policies on soil quality, finance and conservation have impacted negatively on the colonies' agricultural practice since they were foreign to the African traditional farmers. It is these policies, especially in terms of access to land, support services and marketing that have created the two farming worlds, which were differentiated on the basis of resources that promoted development. This has constrained agriculture, especially the development of emerging farmer, and has made rural development continually a major drawback and a serious problem of insufficient crop output (Smith, 1996; Lahiff, 1997; Brixiova, Kamara & Salami, 2010) in most African countries.

Consequently, colonialism provides the most useful paradigm for the understanding of perceptions and changes that became inevitable in Africa as they created the two agricultural landscapes that were not evenly distributed (Igodan & Osaghae, 1995). It is this artificiality and arbitrariness of the colonial divisions of farming that have led to the emergence of agricultural landscapes of different sizes with unequal natural resources and economic potentialities in which some areas were less suitable for crop and market combinations (Leavy & Poulton, 2007). This has led to food insecurity that requires structural transformation (Binswanger-Mkhize *et al.* 2010). The variations and complexities of the economies created by European colonialism in Africa can be ascribed partly to the different stages in the formation of a capitalist and political world economy (Bernstein, Johnson & Thomas, 1992).

According to Eicher (1986), it led to different forms of colonial incorporation and exploitation of African populations as well as to completely alter the colonies' way of life. This then led to the emergence of a typical specific group of people with a unique socio-economic status called 'poor traditional farmers' mainly located in infertile areas whose status of uneven development was interlinked at both macro and micro levels of society by way of agencies such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other international agencies (Ferguson, 1990; Escobar, 1995; IMF, 2002).

Contrary to this, the second school of thought argued that the African communal model of farming might have had a negative impact on the success of the traditional farming system (Ghatak & Ingersent, 1984). De Villiers (1996) argued that the

African primitive farming model was heavily depending on a subsistence approach that was dominated by traditional ethics with little intension for profit. This was different to the white colonial method that was more competitive, placing emphasis on policy implementation, profit maximisation and division of labour.

Because of this, the colonists began having a different perception about the African farming model, and undermined it as inferior and backward (Bennet, 1987). The studies further argued that they then began conceptualising colonial people and their farming method in terms of race, gender, knowledge, ethnicity and class. This led to the distinction of two different farming landscapes within the continent with white commercial farmers and black emerging farmers. It had a negative impact on the emerging farming sector, thereby threatening food security in Africa. Evidently, the two schools of thought seemed to have contributed towards the emergence of the two farming models that influenced the spatial distribution of the two agricultural landscapes.

The underperformance of the emerging farming sector led African leaders begin focusing on the type of policy needed for its development while neglecting how to implement it (Cabral & Scoones, 2006; Zimmerman, Brúntrup, Kolavalli & Fla, 2009) and the required resources. This led to a lack of private investment in farming, credit, infrastructure, farm input supply and processing, loss of domestic markets to foreign imports and export markets to countries in Asia, the Middle East and Latin America (Development Support Monitor, 2012; Ehikioya & Mohammed, 2013; Cleaver & Donover, 2013) as a result of insufficient support to farmers (Dorin, Hourcade & Benoit-Cattin, 2013). Consequently, spatial inequality and poverty within the farming sector as well as hunger were some of the features that characterised the African continent. The weaker support from government to the agricultural sector to fulfil its mandate meant that creation of job opportunities was compromised while poverty alleviation was widened. It was this inconsistency and ignorance for implementation of agricultural policies by governments that tore the continent apart, and caused adverse poverty and hunger.

Apart from inadequate resources (Molua & Rajab, 2002), drought, floods, pests, economic-downturn, internal conflicts and wars affected the poor region, thereby

aggravating the poor agricultural activities in the continent. As a result, farmers were exposed to high risks, low-input agricultural production and market underdevelopment, and demand scarcity that required new agricultural paradigms (Janvry, 2010). They also required grants to develop institutional and technical expertise (Jari & Fraser, 2009) that would unlock the sector's potential and minimise transactional costs (Jacobs, Baiphethi & Van Schalkwyk, 2008; Jacobs, Baiphethi, Ngcobo & Hart, 2010). Their inability to access financial capital to purchase agricultural inputs (Jagwe, Machethe & Ouma, 2010) resulted in their low economic performance as African countries. This is ascribed to the neglect of government in implementing policies that support them.

It further increased the risks of transaction, thereby generating a vicious circle of underdevelopment. In addition, fixed tariffs, variable tariffs, quotas for both import and export, and price volatility further constrained the functioning of the small farmer sector. Hence, food security, especially in East African countries and Southern Africa, became a matter of serious concern although the situation in sub-Saharan African countries exhibited an improving trend (Von Braun, & Tadesse, 2012; Engel *et al.* 2013). However, there were some modest agricultural performances in countries such as Uganda, Tanzania, Nigeria, Mauritius, Benin and Guinea as a result of policy implementation, while the performance in sub-Saharan Africa was still slower (Cleaver & Donover, 2013).

The preoccupation of governments with internal conflicts and wars is blamed for compromising governments' intervention in the emerging farming sector. Consequently, this has undermined the development of the emerging farming sector and resultantly rendered it underdeveloped. This implies that their unequal spatial distribution in relation to the commercial farming sector can become uneven instead of even. Thus, there is a need for policy transformation within the economic, social and political situations in some African countries. This may reduce the impact of their current agricultural policies that segregate traditional farmers from commercial farmers.

Despite the global trend in transforming the agricultural sector (Dimitri *et al.* 2005; Murphy, 2012; OECD, 2015) there are still problems related to policy that retard its

implementation, especially price volatilities (Kabwe, 2010; Kaspersen & Foyn, 2010). This creates spatial inequalities, within African countries, regions and local districts in their agricultural sectors, as it happened with European agricultural policy (Trouve & Berriet-Sollic, 2010). Consequently, problems such as the stagnation of the agricultural sector, inequality, hunger, poverty, food insecurity, neglect of the sector by both governments and donors have prompted different institutions such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), the economic programme of the African Union (AU), the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) through its Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources (FANR) to embark upon various intervention strategies to develop their agricultural sectors (Zimmermann, 2009; SADC, 2013). In addition, Viljoen (2015) argued that Article 21 of the SADC Treaty identified agriculture as one of the pivotal components for the region's development through the Regional Agricultural Policy (RAP). This undertaking emphasises the significance of government intervention in the development of the agricultural sector.

The intervention strategies initiated by the above institutions are justifiable due to the need for state's interventions to reduce spatial inequality in development. According to Zimmermann *et al.* (2009), the existence and persistence of distributional inequalities in most African countries were associated with a lack of adequate political intervention. Its involvement would launch a better African emerging farming sector that would be transformed into the mainstream commercial. This would address the problems of market failures and poor performance of the emerging sector and better extension approaches. Resultantly, it is likely to reduce spatial inequality within the sector, for example, like in countries such as Western Uganda, Ghana and Tanzania (Komarek, 2010; Makorere, 2014; Kwadzo, 2014).

As evidence of the need for developing the sector a regional agricultural policy was adopted that aimed at promoting equality and sustainable economic growth. This was done by enhancing sustainable agricultural productivity and competitiveness within the SADC region (SADC, 2013). In addition, NEPAD's initiative aimed to improve agricultural policies on the continent through CAADP as well as APRM that

is supposed to impact on agricultural performance in African countries. Available literature (Culas & Hanjra, 2011; Moyo, Mudimu & Vitoria, 2012; Rutta, 2012; Muchopa, 2013; Njaya & Mazuru 2014) in Southern Africa, Mashonaland Central in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe acknowledged that this would yield appropriate farming practices. It would further improve farmer's credits especially after the post-independence policies to impact on the agricultural systems in for example Zambia, thereby enabling farmers to access markets.

The purposes of these supportive mechanisms were to develop the economy of the African continent that would stimulate positive agricultural activities. However, their impact on the traditional farming sector and its spatial distribution seemed to be unachievable given the volatile situation under which some countries and their farmers operate. Their lack of stability, credit and infrastructure as well as information on technology constrained their progress in the field of agriculture that needed adequate budget and proper planning (United Republic of Tanzania (URT), 2011; Zimmerman *et al.* 2015).

In the long-term there would be a need for new policy development and implementation strategies that would address the real farm challenges when the political situation and economic ills have improved. However, the poverty of the traditional farmers may further impact heavily on the socio-economic status of the continent, thereby aggravating unemployment rates and food insecurity. Although the contribution of small scale farmers towards food security and food supply was acknowledged by institutions such as the United Nations Commission on Development (UNCD), (Piebalgs, 2012), a lack of sufficient support from African governments undermined the potential of the sector to promote food security and food supply.

It further perpetuated dependency on foreign aid for import of food products thereby increasing the number of malnourished people in the continent. Apart from characterising the traditional or emerging farming sector in the continent as a resource poor sector, the continent itself bears the stigma of a developing area whose position was in the periphery when associated with developed countries in the core. Despite these shortfalls in the continent these traditional or emerging

farmers were committed to farming for their livelihood and to supporting the rural population against all odds.

2.6 The South African context

As part of the African continent, the socio-economic and political policies of the colonial regime in Africa have also had an impact on the politics of farming in South Africa. This has influenced the spatial distribution of farmers and economic activities of the country. Among other sectors of the economy that were affected was the agricultural sector, especially the emerging farming sector. In this section, a brief agricultural policy implementation in South Africa is discussed briefly.

Land remains an essential resource for agricultural development as it impacts on its productivity. According to Bundy (1972) a commercially-oriented peasantry thrived in certain areas of South Africa, prior to the discovery of diamonds and gold. However, the arrival of the colonial farmers in South Africa brought about a division between black and white farmers (Rungasamy, 2011). This division was continued by the apartheid regime in which the constitution largely determined the agricultural policy of the country (Jooste *et al.* 2001).

2.6.1. Apartheid era

The implementation of apartheid policy deprived the African farmers of their land and separated them from white farming areas (Klaus, 1999; Vink, Kirsten & Tregurtha, 2000; Pienaar & Von Fintel, 2013). This was done through a series of proclamations such as the Land Bank Act of 1912, Land Act of 1913, Cooperative Societies Acts of 1922 and 1939, the Native Administration Act of 1927, the Land Act of 1936 and Marketing Act of 1937 (De Villiers, 1996; Vink, Kirsten & Tregurtha, 2000) that provided agricultural land on a racial basis.

Consequently, the operation of the country's agricultural sector was completely separated and ultimately a dual economy of white commercial farmers and black traditional farmers was established. It however, did not serve the interest of the country as it was biased towards white farmers (Louw & Kendall, 1986). These government policies restricted emerging farmers to segregated homelands thereby promoting unequal spatial distribution and a dualistic nature of agriculture in the

country (RSA, 2002). In these territories, the black farmers farmed on communal land where they shared land for both farming and residential purposes. The farmers were often only allocated small areas of land that were not viable for commercial agriculture and only allowed subsistence farming. According to Randela *et al.* (2010) this did not promote enough job opportunities for the farmer, the rural poor and a surplus for the market.

Available literature (Ngqangweni & Delgado, 2003; MacLeod, McDonald & Van Oudtshoorn, 2008) argue that the allocated small pieces of land without funding meant less productivity on the farm of smallholder farmers. The implementation of such a discriminatory funding agricultural policy against African farmers during the apartheid era became the norm (Doyer, 2002; Vink, 2004) and it made it difficult for smallholder farmers to develop without challenges. It became evident that the biased agricultural funding policy was damaging the image of the agricultural landscape, as it focused mainly on white farmers and resourceful black farmers (Vink, 1993, Jooste *et al.* 2001) over the emerging black farmers (Berry *et al.* 2004).

According to Rother, Hall and London (2008), the current uneven spatial distribution of the agricultural landscape emanated from the apartheid legacy. Thus, although land was a key input in the black farming sector, the apartheid government, through its policy, used land mainly as a political component rather than an economic resource to advance the aspirations of the ruling party while marginalising some of the societies of South Africa. The history of land in South Africa is an important issue in this discussion because historically black emerging farmers were not adequately supported by policy to acquire land, while the white farmers were given preferential treatment through government legislation (Lahiff *et al.* 2012). It is these racially discriminatory laws, which caused uneven distribution of farms.

The apartheid government's segregationist model ushered in the foundation for South Africa's large-scale commercial farming sector which was supported by government policy implementation between 1910 and 1980 in two ways. Firstly, by legislation that facilitated an orderly marketing system for whites only. Secondly, by interventions and direct subsidies that encouraged mechanisation while segregating and depriving black farmers of policy support (Vink, Kirsten &

Tregurtha, 2000; Rungasamy, 2011). As a result, and, due mainly to the apartheid agricultural policies, two distinct agricultural landscapes in South Africa were created. The first was the white agricultural landscape of medium- to large-scale commercial ownership farming while the second one was the African agricultural landscape in the former homelands, mainly of small-scale farming plots (De Villiers, 1996), (see Figure 1.2).

South Africa had a potential in agricultural development but was characterised by insufficient rainfall and climate change that affected the farmers' activities (Blignaut, Ueckermann & Aronson, 2009). This view was supported by a study done by Fandzo, Chiduzza and Mnkeni (2010) on smallholder irrigation schemes (SIS) in South Africa. They argued that the country was characterised by a semi-arid climate. The apartheid government established some irrigation schemes for agricultural activities but these were not evenly shared by both white and black farmers (Barron, Enfors, Cambridge & Moustapha, 2010). This skewed implementation of policy limited the productivity of the African farmers. As a result, farmers, particularly poor farmers in the former homelands, had to contend with variable weather conditions. During drought periods crops withered while floods cause the yields to be poor. This impacted upon the output of the black farmers. Droughts and too much rain had a negative impact while moderate rain had a positive impact (Chisasa, 2015). Although these farmers wanted to supplement their water requirements for agricultural use, irrigation schemes were not easily accessible as a result of policy (Chisasa, 2014).

Apart from water resources, the black farming landscape was further characterised by lack of access to land, market and institutional membership of various support services all of which were limited by legal restrictions based on racial grounds (Van Rooyen *et al.* 1987; Berry *et al.* 2004; O'laughin, Bernstein, Cousins & Peters, 2013). Thus, the apartheid policy implementation has created what has been perceived as two different societies with two distinguished agricultural sectors. Researchers interpret the mainly rurally based African farmers as developing farmers and rurally based white commercial farmers as developed farmers. It increased the gap between the economic development of the African farmers and

commercial farmers creating social problems of poverty and unequal incomes (Bernstein *et al.* 1992; Kepe, 2012).

These state policies undermined and restricted the African emerging agricultural sector from contributing towards the reduction of poverty alleviation and uneven socio-economic development in the country. Like in most developing countries, agriculture was generally discriminated against and there was a lack of well-coordinated structures (Jordaan & Grove, 2010; International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), 2015).

The apartheid agricultural policy led to territorial segregation between black farmers and white farmers reducing the participation of black farmers in the commercial mainstream. It compromised job creation and better standards of living for black farmers (Botlhoko & Oladele, 2013; Daniels, Partridge, Kekana & Musundwa, 2013). This had a negative impact on the employment opportunities of the rural areas of the country. In the absence of enough job opportunities the exodus from rural to urban areas in search of better standards of living by the rural African youth became eminent (StatsSA, 2014).

During the period 1970 to 1994 the credit to black farmers lagged behind that of commercial farmers (Chisasa & Makina, 2012). They became poor farmers due to inadequate financial resources to finance their farm activities due to apartheid regulations (Fatoki & Odeyemi, 2010). It became difficult for them to afford the necessary transaction costs to manage their development and productivity. Hence, the Land Bank (2011) and Chisasa and Makina (2013) concluded that insufficient credit had a negative impact on agricultural output during the apartheid years (Chisasa, 2015).

This was further aggravated by their low inputs that were not suitable for agricultural production geared towards the market (Meyer, 2011; Luan, Cui, Ferrat & Nath, 2014). It further led to the underperformance of black farmers. Like developed countries have side-lined developing countries and confined them to the peripheral regions (Klak, 2014), in South Africa, black farmers experienced a similar treatment from the apartheid regime. In the light of these problems Black, Conradie and

Gerwel (2014) concluded that agriculture, especially for African farmers, did not receive support from policy implementation agendas. As a result, black farmers could not play a significant role in reducing of spatial inequalities of farmers, job creation and poverty alleviation to the rural poor population. This even had a negative impact on the livelihood of their families and was a threat to food security. The black rural populations were regarded as the poorest of the poor due to lack of sufficient policy support.

The studies reviewed in this section agreed that black farmers suffered because of numerous constrains during the apartheid era but none of them addressed the relationship between resource provision and spatial distribution of emerging farmers (Chisasa, 2015). During the late 1970s and mid-1980s, a plethora of policy reforms occurred in the agricultural sector, including market liberalisation (Vink, 2004). Because of this, white farmers lost some of the privilege afforded to them by the early apartheid government. The division of land on racial basis however existed until the demise of the apartheid rule in the early 1990s. The post-apartheid government inherited a variety of challenges from the apartheid regime such as unequal distribution of land. According to Rother, Hall and London (2008), the current uneven spatial distribution of the agricultural landscape emanated from the apartheid legacy.

2.6.2 Democratic era

After the democratic election in 1994 the 1983 Constitution of South Africa was replaced by a new Constitution of the Republic of South (NCRSA), (Act 108 of 1996) that became the new supreme law in South Africa which aimed to eradicate all existing discriminatory laws (RSA, 1996b). One of the aims of the new Constitution was to bring about changes to redress the imbalances including in agriculture that were brought about by the apartheid regime. Consequently, the dawn of the new democratic government in the country ushered in many agricultural policies that intended to transform the entire agricultural landscape which is dominated by a capitalist model (Eyre & Smallman, 1998; Zalk, 2012; Natrass, 2014) that caused youth unemployment in the country (RSA, 2014).

A study by Chisasa (2015) indicated that South Africa had a growing population of 52 million in 2013 that was estimated to reach 95 million by 2050. Like all other African states, the country was not immune to a need for agricultural transformation to provide food for its growing population. At the time when South Africa entered its new democratic era in 1994, the focus of the new government was however to address the dualistic nature of the agricultural system (Karaan & Vink, 2014), characterised by uneven distribution of resources including land (Ntsebeza, 2007; Kepe, 2012). The government established a new agricultural policy, which could bring about a unified agricultural economy (RSA, 2001), to enhance agricultural development. Resultantly, the newly elected ANC-led government enhanced the participation of non-whites in the process of the 'transformation in commercial agriculture'. This was done by, for example, involving the emerging farmers, white farmers and private sector in decision-making about agricultural development (Zimmerman, 2000; Mather, 2002; RSA, 2004b; Mwale, Sarfo-Mensah, Zwane, Netshandama & Mudau, 2012). The transformation of the agricultural sector in the country paved the way for policy reforms in other sectors of the economy to promote the development of the African emerging farming sector. These included, among others, land, funding and transport policies, which were important for emerging farmers' development and productivity.

2.6.2.1 Land reform policy

To make land available for agriculture in South Africa (Singini, Sartorius, Bach & Kirsten, 1992), it was acknowledged by various researchers (Machete, 2004; Dorward & Kydd, 2005; Terblanche, 2011) that land reform policies should be enacted. As a result, land redistribution became essential to reallocate the ownership of land to the formerly disadvantaged (Ellis, 1993; RSA, 1994b; Kirsten, Sartorius von Bach & Van Zyl, 1995; Hendricks & Green, 1999; Terblanche, 2011). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) set out the legal basis for the land reform process in the country (RSA, 1996a). According to Section 25, it is the responsibility of the state to carry out land and related reforms. Consequently, the policy framework regarding land reform in the country was provided in the 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy. The principal components of the government land reform programme are "land restitution, land redistribution and land tenure reform" (RSA, 1997; Meer, 1999).

The Natives Land Act of 1913 had dispossessed people of the land. The restitution policy adopted in 1994 aimed at redistributing land rights from white to black South Africans. This is the process whereby the government compensate (monetary) individuals who had been forcefully removed from their lands. The dispossessed people could therefore, either receive a cash compensation or return to their land following due process of the law (Mosely & McCusker, 2008). It affected people who lost their land since 19 June 1913 (RSA, 1997).

The restitution programme has been unsuccessful and the policy shifted to redistribution. Redistribution is the most important component of land reform in South Africa (Lahiff, 2008). The focus of government on land reform aimed at redistributing land through a market-led agrarian reform approach. Initially, land was bought from its owners (willing seller) by the government (willing buyer) and redistributed, in order to maintain public confidence in the land market (Lahiff, 2008). Although this approach has worked in various countries in the world, in South Africa it has proved to be difficult to implement. This is because many owners do not actually see the land they are purchasing and are not involved in the important discussions made at the beginning of the purchase and negotiation. According to Mkhize and Mwelase, (1996), the land redistribution programmes had some challenges such as poor funding and disagreement on the implementation of the programme.

According to Lahiff (2007) redistributive land reform will be largely based on willing seller arrangement. This “willing seller” “willing buyer” entered the discourse on land reform during the period 1993 to 2000. By the time of the White Paper on South African Land Policy of 1997, a market-based approach had become the cornerstone of policy. Until 2000 redistribution policy centred on provision the Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG). The SLAG programme was targeting the “poorest of the poor” (Lahiff, 2008). It was however, criticised of dumping large groups of poor people on former commercial farms without the skills or the required resources for agricultural production (Deininger & May, 2000). From 1995 to 1999 land was made available through SLAG. The SLAG programme ended in 2000 and the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) was established in 2001 (Bradstock, 2005, RSA, 2008; Lahiff, 2011). The LRAD was earmarked specifically

for commercial oriented agriculture. While SLAG was eligible for the poor, the applicants for LRAD needed not be poor and hence, they could afford to contribute a sum of R20 000 to acquire land. Under LRAD there was a move towards smaller groups, including extended family groups due to availability of finance (Lahiff, 2007).

The third component of the land reform policy is the land tenure reform. Land tenure reform focuses on occupiers of privately owned farms, state land and the reform of the system of communal tenure. Land tenure reform is the most complex area of land reform. It aims to bring all people occupying land under a unitary legally validated system of landholding (Lahiff, 2007). In addition to the above reform policies on land reform, the Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) (Department of Land Affairs) (RSA, 2006b) and the Land and Agrarian Reform Project (LARP), (RSA, 2008) that focus primarily on farming were also established. The PLAS focused specifically on the poor and is based on the state's pro-actively purchasing land with high potential for agriculture.

The government indicated that from 2009 to 2011, 823 300 hectares of land were acquired and allocated to 20 298 beneficiaries. Furthermore, in its mid-term review process in 2012, the government indicated that between 1994 and 2011 they transferred over 6,8 million hectares of land to people dispossessed by apartheid. (RSA, 2012). This improved intervention led to an increase of farms size and productivity by some beneficiaries. In a study conducted by Deininger (2003), it was found that efficiency in the allocation of new farms was not considered. This had some negative implications on the productivity of the newly allocated farms. It, however, would benefit the farmers who use family members for labour because their transaction costs would be less than those who use hired labour, especially on big farms (Van den Brink, Glen & Bingwanger, 2007). Nevertheless, the programmes served as farmer support initiatives that extended land rights to some of the formerly excluded (Jordaan, & Grobler, 2011). It was even hoped that this would help the youth to become involved in the agricultural sector and become productive farmers through co-operative farming but in vain (Smith, 2011; Sparks, Ortmen & Lyne, 2011).

In a further attempt to address the issue of insufficient land owned by black farmers, there was yet another development in 2013 pertaining to the land question, known as the state land lease and disposal policy that was promulgated. It replaced all existing policies on the leasing of immovable assets of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (RSA, 2013b). This further strengthened the development of a black farming landscape by making land accessible to potential beneficiaries.

The implementation of the restitution, redistribution, SLAG, LRAD and PLAS programmes and policy to improve the efficiency of the agricultural sector were partially successful. Although in its Quality of Life Report of 1998, the Department of Land Affairs indicated that there were few achievements regarding the land reform programmes (RSA, 1998), this was attributed to a number of causes such as vested interests, lack of finance, lack of proper participation by those affected and the land tenure system itself (RSA, 2001). Just like farmers in Zambia (Chomba, 2004), the programmes, however, did not benefit all farmers equally (Moloi, 2010).

Despite the success stories of a few beneficiaries of land reform policy in which an estimated 6,27 million hectares of land have been allocated to successful beneficiaries through land reform programmes (Cousins and Hall 2011) it still left many of the previously marginalised without land, thereby showing the failure of the policy due to the high price of farmland (Klaus, 1999; Mokoki, 2006). According to Van Niekerk, Groenewald and Zwane (2014), for black farmers to manage the allocated land there was a need for mentorship by commercial farmers so that they could benefit from this endeavour. This would help them to be productive and access markets through their operations (Van Schalkwyk, Groenewald, Fraser, Obi & Van Tilburg, 2012). However, access to agricultural land is not a panacea for smallholder farmers' development (Moloi, 2010).

2.6.2.2 Funding and the agricultural landscape

Finance is the fundamental determinant of spatial differentiation in agriculture. According to D'haese and Mdula (1998) adequate access to finance either from private, own or government can assist greatly in developing emerging farmers. Therefore, it became essential that in the liberalised agricultural economy in South

Africa the distortions that existed between the commercial agricultural landscape and the emerging farming landscape as a result of unfair policy practices be addressed. This would relieve the sector of its funding challenges that needed to be addressed by government (Sukume & Hungwe, 2011).

In order to assist the previously marginalised societies in the country the post-apartheid government introduced a funding model that operated on a sliding scale (Zalk, 2012). This was, however, provided indiscriminately by government and credit providers (Moyo, 2002; Machete, 2004). Thus, accessing funding was subject to numerous factors such as sizes of emerging farmers' farm lands (Fatoki & Odeyemi, 2010), ability of the emerging farmer to satisfy credit requirements (Hedden-Dunkhorst, Mathonzi & Mphahlele, 2001) and the ability of the farmer to afford high level of interest rates charged by credit providers (Machete, 2004). Due mainly to their limited alternative information on the impact of funding on their farming activities as emerging farmers, it rendered credit provision insignificant (Mmbengwa, Groenewald, Schalkwyk, Gundidza & Maiwashe, 2010). Such a biased provision of funding within the agricultural sector favoured some emerging farmers at the detriment of others, thereby causing disparities in the sector's development. Consequently, emerging farmers were perceived as inferior, traditional, subsistence farmers, poor, black, and not developing. It affected their ability to buy appropriate inputs to supplement their low productivity (Reardon, Timmer, Barret, & Berdegue, 2003; Thamaga-Chitja & Morojele, 2014). Consequently, emerging farmers were unable to access the markets that were likely to impact positively on their lives due to insufficient funding (Magingxa, Alemu & Van Schalkwyk, 2005). Hence, they could not easily transit from emerging to the mainstream commercial.

Then the government introduced another model aimed specifically at promoting the previously marginalised emerging farmers (Chandra *et al.* 2001), thereby transforming the traditional organisation of the agricultural sector and reducing the spatial inequality that exist between the two landscapes (Taruvinga, 2011; Keahey, 2013). This was done through the extension of funding to include Khula Enterprise Finance (KEF), Agriculture Bank of South Africa (LBABSA), Khula Small and Medium Enterprises (KSME) and Micro Agricultural Finance Institute of South Africa

(MAFISA) to fund the needs of developing farmers and agricultural businesses to emerging farmers.

Furthermore, the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) was also implemented to support the sector (Senyolo, Chaminuka, Makhura & Belete, 2009). Consequently, through the Land and Agriculture Development Programme (LRAD) and its funding mechanism, emerging farmers gained access to credit. Through these models the government aimed at creating a favourable financial environment for emerging farmers who were previously operating in a segregated landscape which was not adequately funded as a result of government policy. The impact of this assistance was however minimal and therefore requires some economic literacy to assist the implementers in allocating available resources evenly and appropriately (Van der Merwe, 2012).

However, it is important to note that experience from other countries is worth mentioning for South Africa to learn from. For example, in a study conducted by Kumar *et al.* (2010) in India it was found that regional disparities in the distribution of institutional credit seem to have declined over time from 2000/-01 to 2007/-08 as a result of government policy (Chisasa, 2015). This intervention strategy continues to exist and still characterise the rural credit system. Chisasa (2015) further argues that credit can only increase the intensity of use of fixed inputs like land.

In another study by Gosa and Feher (2010), on agriculture performance in Romania, they allege that credit can enhance farmer profitability if provided adequately. Within the South African context, it cannot be disputed that improved seeds and other inputs like tractors, fertilizer and biocides that play a significant role in agricultural production are hard to find by emerging farmers due to a lack of funding (Chisasa, 2015). As a result, the guaranteed provision of credit by government to assist the agricultural sector like in Nigeria is indispensable (Ammani, 2012). This implies that the provision of credit to emerging farmers is an essential component of their farming activities (Simsir, 2012; Chisasa, 2015).

Contrary to these studies, a study by Obilor (2013) has noted that commercial banks credit does not significantly influence productivity. Despite this counter argument,

the strategic role of funding by government in agriculture is essential and should facilitate the reduction of uneven development and agricultural production as it serves as one of the most important determinants of growth in agricultural output (Chisasa, 2014; Chisasa, 2015). Although it needs to be noted that the inclusion of credit per se does not necessarily affect the farmer's output directly, it, however, has an indirect effect on output through easing the financial constraints of emerging farmers in purchasing inputs (Chisasa, 2014).

These studies indicate that institutional credit positively impacts on productivity in agriculture in various countries. As a lesson to learn from in South Africa, it is evident from these studies (Ammani, 2012; Simsir, 2012; Chisasa, 2015) that area-specific credit supply patterns have a significant impact on the spatial distribution of crop patterns, capital requirements and inputs in relation to the targeted group and its growth rate output. But taken together the studies indicate that funding provision as a result of policy has an impact on the spatial dimension of the smallholder farming sector. It becomes evident that without policy on adequate funding for agriculture the existence of the uneven spatial distribution of the agricultural landscape would continue to widen despite other intervention strategies by government.

The earlier studies (Vink, 1993; Jooste *et al.* 2001, Taruvinga, 2011; Keahey, 2013) have shown that in South Africa there still exists a major gap between funding policy and its implementation, which highlights some imbalance between policy development output and realities on the ground. This indicates that much of what has been established within policy development circles has not been adequately implemented to reach the beneficiaries of the policy who are the emerging farmers.

Given different funding models by various credit providers including government in South Africa it becomes evident that emerging farmers still need to have sufficient access to agricultural funding in order to finance their factors of production. As Enoma (2010), Gosa and Feher (2010) and Chisasa and Makina (2013) have noted, funding contributes positively and significantly towards agricultural inputs and output. Contrary to these views Nkurunziza (2010) believes other factors are also equally important in promoting productivity within the farming sector. Nevertheless, in support of Chisasa and Makina's (2013) view, Kumar, Turvey and Kropp, (2012),

allege that funding, apart from its significance in accessing land, it also contributes towards the performance of the agricultural landscape. These studies show that the significance of funding to emerging farmers differs spatio-temporarily and that the country's agricultural landscapes differ and are uneven.

2.6.3 Provincial policy implementation

This section focuses on the provincial process of policy implementation to develop the historically excluded smallholder farmers. The apartheid policies in the province, like the entire country, were systematically developed and implemented in favour of the white farming community over black farming community. The implementation of agricultural policy in the province segregated black farmers from white farmers as well as rural and urban areas (Altman *et al.* 2009) thereby increasing the spatial inequality in service provision, adequate funding, proper management and coordination (Van Biljon, 2010). This led to unsustainable agricultural development. in the former white area of the Transvaal and the smallholder farming sector in the former homelands. that represented the second economy. Like in the country, this led to an uneven spatial distribution of the agricultural sector in the province.

In the Limpopo Province, the agricultural sector is practised and supported according to traditional model within the African domain and modern farming models using racial lines that represent the Western doctrine, which is biased towards certain sectors of the population. As a result, the productivity that came from mainly black male farmers and white farmers that dominated the farming sector in the province has created an agricultural landscape that declined. For the smallholder to develop, it is important to, amongst others, use fertilisers, like in China, which are essential as they would trigger a rapid economic growth (Huang *et al.* 2012). These are the lessons from which the provincial department could learn from as they are not widely used in the province as a policy mandate.

According to McGregor (1990) and Erasmus and Hough (1994) the farming sector was not equally and evenly supported for better development. To counteract such a decline in food production, the application of the land reform policy must be a priority (Kwaw, 2000). This historical legacy of deprivation characterised two agricultural landscapes and resultantly led to the division of the provincial population

into rich and poor sectors of society. Because of poverty and lack of employment opportunities the migration of people from rural to urban areas became evident (RSA, 2011a; StatsSA, 2014). This was a major constraint as a result of policy implementation (Oni et al. 2003) which created an uneven spatial distribution of the population and farmers that needs to be reduced.

Unlike in Ghana (Adjei-Nsiah, 2012; Messmer, Hildermann, Thorup-Kristensen & Rengel, 2012) where organic farming and fertilisers were largely applied, there was no adequate application of organic farming and fertilisers in the province (Thamaga-Chita & Hendricks, 2008). These negatively affected sustainable agriculture within the emerging sector in the province. Sustainable agriculture is defined by Grace Communication Foundation (2013) as the production of food and plants using farming technologies that protect both the environment and living organisms. The application of these inputs, like in China, are essential as they would trigger a rapid economic growth (Huang et al. 2012). These are the lessons from which the provincial department could learn from as they are not widely used in the province as a policy mandate.

Numerous studies (Makhura, 2001, Oni et al. 2003; Thamaga-Chita & Hendricks, 2008; Altman, Hart & Jacob, 2009; Kgonyane, Marika & Dimes, 2013) on emerging farmers have been conducted in the Limpopo Province. At provincial level, empirical studies on policy implementation and spatial distribution of emerging farmers are limited if available at all. Yet, the province is one of the richest agricultural areas in the country (see Figure 1.2).

The contribution of emerging farmers to food security is essential. However, their poor status and deprivation in former homelands has led to little surplus for the market due to small farms, as well as inadequate infrastructure and institutional support (Giurca, 2008). Therefore, their production is mainly subsistence with a minimum surplus for the market. Thus, if supported by policy, the productivity of emerging farmers in the province would have increased food security and minimised uneven spatial distribution of food, resources and wealth. It can be argued that food insecurity in the province has become inevitable both in urban and rural parts of the former homelands because of the South African policy mandate and climatic

conditions (Altman *et al.* 2009). This approach has been supported by Abdu-Raheem and Worth, 2011) who conclude that food security is still a great concern for many households. It is aggravated by unpredictable rainfall, late planting and a lack of marketable surpluses, especially in areas of Limpopo (Kgonyane *et al.* 2013). It is this political mechanism that directs the support of government to one sector of the economy over another sector. This leads to an uneven share of the wealth of different geographical territories that affected emerging economies such as the emerging farming sectors. Hence, there is an uneven spatial distribution of different agricultural landscapes in different districts of the province. It is these differences that need to be addressed by the provincial department of agriculture to reduce inequalities in the provision of services in the province. However, the financial situation of the province is not different from that of the country, which struggles to maintain the balance in reducing the backlog.

Emerging farmers in the province and its districts were also affected by the transformation that brought about few changes within the sector. These programmes led to a significant improvement of 110 849 hectares of land allocated to the previously marginalised, thereby slightly changing the agricultural landscape in the province's districts (RSA, 2006b; Limpopo province, 2010c). Although low levels of production of individual producers existed (Sustainable Development Consortium (SDC), 2007) few emerging farmers benefited from these interventions by government. For example, two former Agricultural Rural Development Corporation (ARDC) projects were handed over to the Baphalaborwa-Ba-Seloane and Ba-Nkuna communities to give secure tenure to the black farmers through long-term leases consisting of 26 farmers, nine of whom were women (RSA, 2006a). However, many of the other emerging farmers were still without any significant support.

To extend its support to the historically marginalised emerging farmers, more programmes and strategies such as LDA customised policies, the state land lease and disposal policy, Agricultural Inputs Support Policy (AISP), Agricultural Disaster Management (ADM), Mechanisation Revolving Credit Access Schemes (MEREKAS), Agro-Processing Strategy (APS) and Rural Development Strategy (RDS) were also established (Nesamvuni, 2011; RSA, 2013c). These were the

intervention measures after the dawn of the democratic era to reduce the differences between the two agricultural landscapes created by the apartheid policy. They had a small positive impact on the reduction of the gap between the rich and poor in the district.

In addition to these programmes, as part of the Limpopo province, other initiatives in the Mopani district as part of Limpopo Province such as Area-Based Planning (ABP), the Micro-Agricultural Finance Initiative of South Africa (MAFISA), the Settlement and Implementation Support Strategy (SISS) particularly within restitution, the Land and Agrarian Reform Programme, the Llima/Letsema campaign, the Settlement Production Land Acquisition Grant (SPLAG) as well as the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) were put in place to promote the productive use of available land for the farmers (Sebopetji, 2009; RSA, 2010c; Limpopo Province, 2010c).

Finally, the Land and Agrarian Reform Programme was utilised (LARP) to increase agricultural trade, agricultural production and provide universal access to agricultural support services for targeted groups (Limpopo Province, 2010b). However, the RSA (2010c) cautioned that the nature and implementation of such programmes were likely to undermine the needs and development of emerging farmers.

The implementation of policies, programmes and strategies cited above were part of the province and its districts' growth strategy. It was aimed at commercialising emerging farmers and enabling them to be productive and competitive (Sendall, 2007; Limpopo Province, 2014). For example, the provincial department of agriculture targeted the settlement of emerging farmers and the provision of infrastructure required for their settlement (Limpopo Province, 2010a). Furthermore, it aimed at promoting food production and the involvement of women in agriculture and youth programmes (Limpopo Province, 2008).

Through these programmes, the province intended to address the plight of the emerging farmers, thereby creating employment opportunities that would reduce poverty and hunger, particularly in rural areas where most of the formerly

marginalised people are located. To ensure equitable redistribution of resources and opportunities the farmer support and development programme was implemented through technical agricultural production advisory and extension services aimed at farmer settlement and post settlement support to land and agrarian reform projects (Mchau, 2002; Limpopo Province, 2010a).

The implementation of these programmes and policies were not without problems. The way in which the government policy was implemented showed that a gap between the smallholder farmers in the former homelands and the commercial farmers in the former white areas still existed. It became evident that there was a challenge of adequate human resources to support smallholder farmers. It became evident that the province should invest much in its human resources who could channel existing material resources into areas of need. To overcome the challenge an appropriate Human Resource Development Strategy aimed at improving skills base of the smallholder farmers was implemented (RSA, 2010c).

Despite the intervention, the lack of capacity and resources continue to limit emerging farmers' opportunity to effectively compete with their commercial counterparts. This inequitable functioning within the agricultural sector prevents emerging farmers from gaining the skills and resources to transcend historical resource exclusion (Keahey, 2013). As a result, the problem of the structural inequality still remains a politically sensitive matter within the African emerging farming sector itself that makes the province and districts to be characterised by sharp spatial distribution. The existence of this agricultural structural element still differs across time and space.

Given such challenges and opportunities facing emerging farmers that reveal the uneven spatial distribution of the agricultural sector it is necessary that policies be shifted more towards their support and development. According to Maponya and Moja (2012), biased policy that is pro-poor in the provision of smallholder farmers' agricultural resources could promote opportunities to improve farm productivity, thereby taking more produce to the markets. This would impact positively on their livelihood and create job opportunities for the rural poor. It would further enable

them to enter the mainstream commercial farming sector creating a new territory of smallholder farmers.

This view is supported by a study conducted by Maponya *et al.* (2014). They argue that a community-driven agricultural production and processing environment with a complete and viable agro-value chain can be created through policy support. As a result, agriculture will retain its status as the main vehicle for economic growth and poverty reduction, not only in the province, but also both nationally and internationally (Maponya *et al.* 2014).

These studies indicate that the fight against uneven spatial distribution and economic development is still not over yet. They further emphasise the significance of agriculture in the reduction of disparities in the province. The importance of the sector has been acknowledged by StatsSA (2011a), which reported that agriculture, for example, in the district of Waterberg in the Limpopo Province, is a key catalyst for significant economic development. These interventions by government, intended to support the emerging farmer, to become more viable and competitive, thereby creating more conditions for economic development. Although a study by Jacobs *et al.* (2010), has concluded that, no significant improvement in the productivity of smallholder farmers, has been achieved, despite policy support. Xaba and Dlamini, (2015) argue that policy support may alleviate poverty.

Despite the implementation of the CASP programme, Blattman and Annan (2012), Xaba and Dlamini, (2015) found that no significant change in the income for the CASP programme participants was recorded. As a result, the status of poverty in the province hinders significant progress and competitiveness of the smallholder farmers due to resource constraints. The view is further supported by Mpandeli and Maponya (2014) who argue that smallholders' productivity has also been affected negatively by inadequate property rights and climate variability. In addition, most people are poor and lack access to production, credit, information and markets which aggravated their situation. Further constraints experienced by smallholder farmers include credit information and markets access (Sebopetji 2008) as well as inadequate property rights and access to factors of production (Mpandeli & Maponya, 2014). The smallholder farmers therefore, depend more on their own

experience on farming, environmental decisions, and credit facilities (Afful & Lategan, 2014).

Thus, poverty for the majority of the increasing population and failing emerging agricultural sector (Groenmeyer, 2013) retard smallholders' competitiveness. Due to rising rural population densities and that puts pressure on the available farm land and policy support programmes the farming system is affected (Jayne, Chamberlin & Headey, 2014). Despite these, they are regarded as an important source of employment (Hall & Aliber, 2010). Taking into consideration numerous other challenges such as soils infertility, lack of water, farm infrastructure, poor labour force, capital and good management resources (MacLeod et al. 2008; Chemnitz & Hoeffle, 2011; Mwale et al. 2012; Burke, 2012; Mpandeli & Maponya, 2014) smallholder farmers in the province are segregated from the commercial farming landscape.

Although the National Development Programme (NDP) made some estimation of employment potential within the agricultural sector of about 643 000 primary jobs and 325 500 secondary jobs by 2030 (RSA, 2012; NPC, 2011; Black, Conradie & Gerwel, 2014), factors such as pricing, tariffs and lack of sufficient infrastructure support led to the decline of this sector in the province and its districts including Mopani. The result is that, agriculture in the province, like in the rest of the country, has not improved significantly and is among the lowest in the world (Black et al. 2014). Addressing the issue of equity, not only for smallholder farmers and even in gender, as well as across the colour bar, by aligning policies towards maximum women participation, to redress their time long exclusion as a result of policy could improve the agricultural sector (Raynolds & Ngcwangu, 2010; Bitzer & Bijman, 2014). However, this indicates that an uneven spatial distribution of the agricultural sector is not only a district, provincial or national feature but also an international characteristic caused by varying policy implementation methods that differ from country to country.

Drawing from international experience this would, like in Ghana, contribute substantially to food production growth in the country (Chapoto, Mabiso & Bonsu, 2013). Although smallholder farmers play a role in the creation of employment

opportunities (Kotze, 1993; Mokitimi & Nieuwoudt, 1995; RSA, 1995b; Akinboade, 1996), the poor smallholder farmers in rural areas in the province, like in Papua New Guinea, continue to be in a stage of semi-subsistence agriculture, marked by a slower process of policy implementation and transformation (Limpopo Province, 2011; Wickramasinghe, Omot, Patiken & Ryan, 2014). Despite this challenge and the infertility of the soil in some areas of the province, using indigenous knowledge on intercropping and eco-friendly cultivation methods to maintaining the fertility and productivity of the soil can be the best option (Meyer, 2011). Furthermore, continuing joint ventures approach that included joint production, agri-processing and marketing initiatives to market smallholder farmers produce for commercial purposes such as the one established in the Sekhukhune district in the Limpopo Province (Tapela, 2005) could alleviate some constraints like lack of resources. This would mean that adequate policy support to smallholder farmers can promote their efficiency thereby helping them to access national and international markets and even address poverty. through middlemen to increase their overall incomes. As (Musyoki, 2012) argued, providing jobs and addressing poverty issues in the province and its districts would require interventions at both local and regional levels to bridge the gap between policy and implementation in the Limpopo Province. In addition, Mukwevho and Anim (2014) claimed that access to irrigation, capital farm infrastructure and labour force in Vhembe district of Limpopo province enabled smallholder farmers to benefit from opportunities in agricultural markets, thereby partially narrowing the existing disparities within the sector.

Although policy implementation, especially in market access and resource provision to smallholder farmers, could contribute towards the improvement of their livelihood and lead to poverty reduction (Cai, Dai & Zhou, 2012) in the province, it has operated contrary to the interests of smallholder farmers (Dagada et al. 2015) due to a biased policy implementation. As a result, there is a need to implement policies that are responsive to the needs of smallholder farmers, and direct resources to areas and sectors that would develop their efficiency and competency. It is through such intervention measures that uneven spatial distribution of farms can be tackled, thereby opening opportunities for job creation.

2.7 Transport and emerging farmers

According to Rostow (1962) roads are thought to be the catalyser in the process of economic development. Many years ago, Frank (1967) and Colman and Nixon (1986) found that transport and agriculture promoted a positive relationship between agriculture and industry for economic development. In a study by the World Bank improvement of roads has been labelled as an instrument of poverty alleviation in developing countries (World Bank, 2007). In line with this assertion, studies on the impacts of road infrastructure in Asia and Latin America have shown positive impacts on several outcomes such as crop intensification and other production decisions (Van De Walle, 2009).

However, the effectiveness of transport system in the country depends largely on policy and its implementation strategies (RSA, 1996b; DBSA, 2012). Consequently, governments around the globe rank infrastructure policy among their greatest concerns (DBSA, 2013) as they consider transport as a key component of modern economies for the economic advancement of different nations in the world (European Commission, 2010). The European Commission (2010) has further concluded that good quality infrastructure is a key ingredient to promote sustainable development. This is supported by a study conducted by Platteau (2010) who argued that inadequate transport has long been considered as an impediment to agricultural growth and poverty reduction in Sub-Saharan Africa. As Sub-Saharan nations depend on agriculture as the backbone of their economy, Gollin and Rogerson, (2014) assert that improvement of roads will have far reaching effects on agricultural productivity. The Urban Land Institute, Ernst and Young (2011) and the DBSA (2012) ascribe this to the need for the modernisation of transport development to become competitive within various countries. This has led to some improvements of roads in developing nations, especially rural roads that have received growing funding and evaluation interest (Estache, 2010). Hence, many developing nations have viewed road infrastructure development as a means of alleviating poverty (Kiprono & Matsumoto, 2014) because availability of transport facilities stimulates economic growth and increased accessibility.

In South Africa, the division of people's residential areas into black and white territories has had a negative impact on the development of transport. Studies done

by numerous researchers (Freeman, 2004; Dorward, Kydd, Morrison & Poulton, 2005; Zalk, 2012) found that areas such as former homelands where markets were located far from the farm, transport was a constraint. Consequently, available literature has concluded that transport policy in the country was used as the main political strategy through which white farming lands were linked to markets (Aderamo & Magaji, 2010) not only locally but even nationally and internationally (Tunde & Adeneyi, 2012) at the detriment of black farmers' territories that provide markets for raw goods. As a result, historically during the apartheid regime, white farming areas and to a lesser extent, Asian and Coloured areas had access to road networks. In contrast, in the African areas, especially former homelands with these amenities were substantially lower. This was the continuation of the colonial model that relied on the Eurocentric thought to undermine the legitimacy of other societies and their agricultural model.

It becomes evident that the unequal access to transport and other infrastructural services were based on complex rules rooted in racial discrimination that found its implementation within homeland territories as a continuation of the colonial model of racial segregation. As a result, smallholder farmers were mostly devoid of infrastructure and services that could support their economic development (Mitchell, 2009). This necessitates a sustainable transport network to facilitate economic needs and development (Mitchell, 2009), which was aligned to poverty reduction and agricultural development.

Given this apartheid spatial geography, for the majority of the population, transport was used to link distance locations of residence with those of employment rather than for sustainable and convenient service provision (RSA, 2009b). Consequently, the need to overcome and address the transport backlogs in historically marginalised African farming areas and invest in infrastructure to support equitable and efficient economic growth has shaped the government's infrastructure policy provision since 1994 (RSA, 2011b).

Hence, after one-and-a-half decades of democracy the South African economy still continues to face serious challenges to further infrastructural improvements (Kumo, 2012) which the NDP regards as a critical component for development (National

Planning Commission, 2011). This showed that transport provided in line with apartheid settlement patterns led to severe and enduring contradictions across the economy that requires highest costs for future provision of these services in the formerly marginalised communities. Consequently, policy needs to shape development onto a coherent, integrated alternative path for both economic growth and equity as well as being evenly distributed across space in the country.

The apartheid transport policy led to an estimated 940 000 smallholder farmers experiencing some difficulties in accessing agricultural commodity markets (Vink & Kirsten, 2003). As a result, most smallholder farmers in South Africa relied on public transport (Jayne, Govereh, Mwanamo, Nyoro & Chapoto, 2002) to access markets as compared to some smallholder farmers in other countries who used their own means of transport. This lack of access to transport routes deprived smallholder farmers of their opportunities to market their produce for the betterment of their farming activities. It subsequently continued to confine smallholder farmers in an isolated economic enclave that had the potential of reducing the quality of their transported produce, thereby leading to lower pricing and a decrease in income. This has negatively affected rural poverty in the provinces and districts. Although there are complex relationships that vary both spatially and over time between transport and funding, government intervention to lower transaction costs in terms of transportation may lead to high value addition and better prices to producers (International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), 2015).

Unlike smallholder farmers with own transport, smallholder farmers without, experience an increase of transaction costs, which resultantly reduce their ability to market and sell their produce (Zaibet & Dunn, 1998). It is evident that smallholder farmers are unable to access transport due to their inability to raise funds for transport. This would have helped them to reach out to potential customers (Makhura, 2001). According to Kariuki (2004) this has a negative impact on the operation of the smallholder farming sector in the country. Mbuli (2008) on poverty in South Africa concluded that poverty has a strong rural and regional dimension in the country that was unevenly distributed among South Africa's nine provinces. This could be ascribed to lack of transport network in rural areas to develop their economies. In a study by Vink and Van Rooyen (2009) it was found that, due mainly

to their level of poverty and lack of support on transport, the level of smallholders' productivity has declined over the past ten years while their income and production were not improving (World Bank, 2008; Denison et al. 2010). This further polarised a spatial difference between smallholder farmers and commercial farmers even after the new democratic government. This implies that a lack of supportive policy on transport has had some serious implications for smallholder farmers. As a result, the chances of accessing more buyers have been minimised because of the problem of transporting their produce to the market late and not regularly.

As a response to the transport challenge in the country, the democratic government through the National Transport Policy White Paper of 1996, has laid out the broad goals of national government's transport policy that are, among others, to improve the country's competitiveness, and that of its infrastructure and operations (RSA, 1996b). Flowing from this policy intervention, Kumo (2012) argues that the South African government aims to achieve rapid economic growth by investing in infrastructural development because sufficient and good infrastructure accelerates farmers' access to markets. However, despite the deteriorating roads infrastructure in the country due to over-utilisation and under-investment there are provinces that have recorded some areas of positive progress in transport. For example, the Free State and Limpopo provinces are described as best performing areas with less than 10 % of their roads in poor or very poor condition while less than 10 % of national roads are in a poor to very poor condition (DBSA, 2012). Hence, infrastructure, especially transport networks lies at the heart of government's stimulatory fiscal package and is a pivotal component of the New Growth Path (Department of Economic Development, 2010). It is further viewed by the National Development Plan (NDP) as a critical enabler of most economic and social activities and services, as it has implications for and is significantly affected by the spatial basis of economic development and human settlements as indicated in the National Planning Commission's report (RSA, 2011c). Therefore, the role of government's policy on transport in the economic relations of provinces and districts to boost economic development and promote the empowerment of the previously dispossessed smallholder farmers becomes indispensable (Tessema, 2012).

However, the challenges of past policies and present practices still reinforce exclusionary transport infrastructure, transport mode and inefficient settlement patterns that have resulted in debilitating and unsustainable outcomes (RSA, 2003). In a country such as South Africa whose transport is dominated by state-owned enterprises, the economy, especially within the smallholder farming sector, has already been constrained by inadequate and ineffective operation and maintenance of existing infrastructure. The National Planning Commission (NPC) (RSA, 2011c) attributes these to failure to implement policies and an absence of broad partnerships as the main reasons for progress towards reducing the country's divided society. Although the NDP was initiated to significantly reduce inequality in the country, there is some concern that the state does not have the institutional and financial capacity to implement the investment plans needed to finance infrastructure on the required scale (DBSA, 2013). This state of affairs contributes to the problem of low production by smallholder farmers in the Limpopo Province as transport budget is a national problem in the whole country. It is, however, essential that, while on the one hand, policy should support agricultural activities, it should, on the other hand, reduce the differences between the commercial and the smallholder agricultural landscapes with their transport networks.

2.8 Conclusion

In Chapter 2, a review of existing literature has been given to indicate how government policy is implemented on a global scale and what its impact is on the spatial distribution of farms. It has been shown that policy implementation yields various results in different countries that reveal uneven spatial distribution of farms. Their differences are ascribed to the aims of governments and institutions that differ from one country to the other. In South Africa, the change of leadership from apartheid to a democratic government and its policy implementation has had an insignificant impact on the reduction of uneven spatial distribution of land.

In the Limpopo Province where the Mopani district is found, the uneven provision of agricultural resources due to policy implementation has been evident within the African smallholder farming sector. This has created a new agricultural landscape of large farms owned by Africans with limited ability to manage them and small-sized farms still operated by previously marginalised farmers facing numerous

constrains due to policy. The differences between the two groups seem to be increasing than decreasing. This however, indicates the uneven distribution of farms because of policy.

Chapter 3 documents the study area and methods of data collection. The methodology section, together with a data analysis is also presented and discussed. This chapter ends with a conclusion that summarises the discussions.

Chapter 3 - Study area and data collection

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, literature on the existence of the uneven spatial distribution of land in different countries of the world was reviewed. This chapter documents the background of the study area in terms of location, size, climate and the demographic characteristics of the emerging farmers, and the methods and procedures used to achieve the objectives.

In the first section, the focus is on a description of the geographical area of the study. A description is provided of the Limpopo Province and then of the Mopani district, and how it relates to other districts in the province. The methodology and the theoretical framework used in the study is explained in sections three, and four, while the study population and sample procedures are explained in sections five and six. The data collection process, analysis and procedures are discussed in section seven. In section eight, the limitations of the research study and possible measures taken to minimise the negative impact thereof on the project are outlined. It is followed by details of the problems encountered in data collection and analysis. Although some problems were experienced, their impacts were minimal and solutions to that effect were sought to safeguard the integrity of the study.

In this study, the researcher was inspired by the change of government policies and their potential impact on the spatial distribution of the African black emerging farmers in the Mopani district after the dawn of the new democracy in South Africa. Furthermore, it was also motivated by the interest of government in reducing the spatial distribution of economic resources in the country through policy reforms. This emanates from the constitutional mandate that directs all institutions of state to uphold democratic principles in the execution of their duties and responsibilities in promoting equitable service delivery to the country and all its economic sectors and people.

3.2 Study area

While South Africa is situated in the southernmost part of Africa, the Limpopo Province is South Africa's most northern province, as can be seen in Figure 3.1. The Limpopo Province is one of the nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa that came into existence in 1994 after the democratic election. It covers an area of 12.46 million hectares and accounts for 10.2 percent of the total area of the Republic of South Africa (refer to Figures 2.1 and 3.1). A number of former homeland areas are included in the borders of the Limpopo Province (refer to Figure 1.1). The province is bordered by Botswana to the west, Zimbabwe to the north and Mozambique to the east. It is divided into five districts, namely, the Waterberg district, the Vhembe district, the Capricorn district, the Sekhukhune district and the Mopani district (Thomas, 2013).

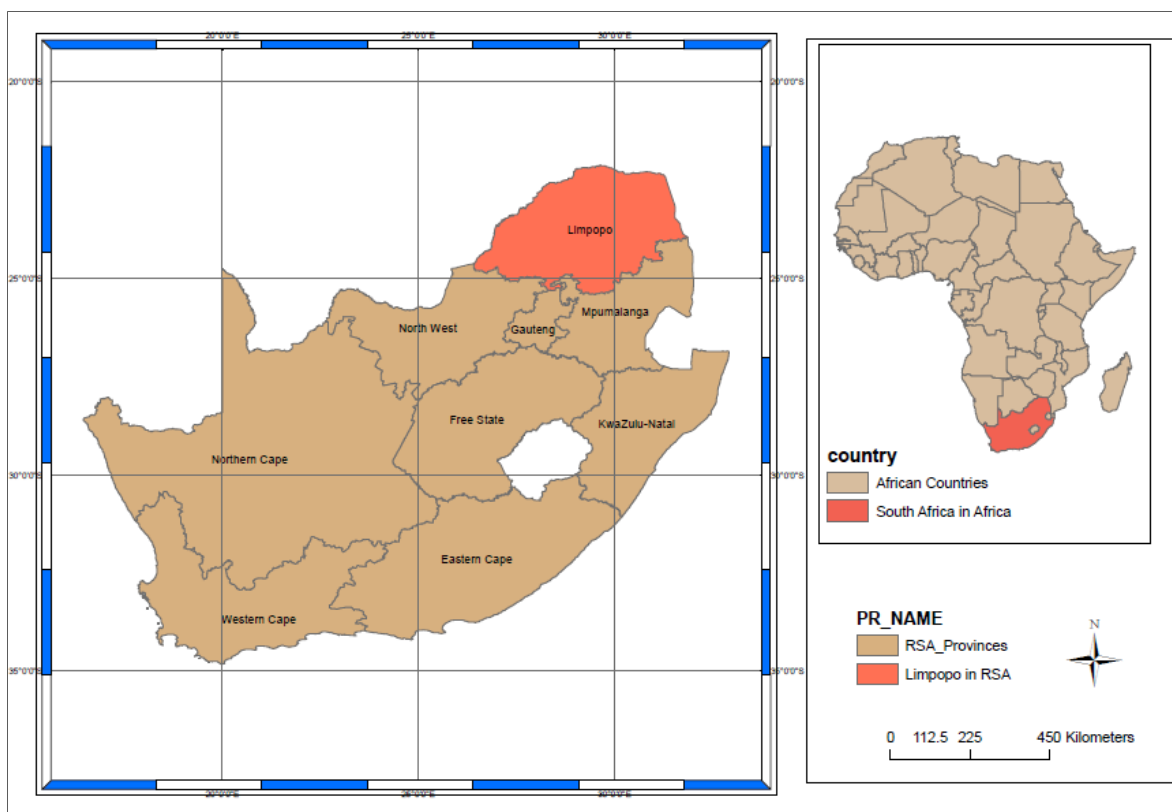


Figure 3.1: Limpopo Province in South Africa (Source: Geography Division of StatsSA, 2016).

The Limpopo Province has four distinct climatic regions with the Middle veld, Highveld (semi-arid), Lowveld (arid and semi-arid), and the Escarpment (sub-humid climate with rainfall more than 700 mm per annum) (RSA, 2008). The province has

a high climatic variability that requires farmers to have seasonal climate forecast information and projections in advance for them to be able to plan their farming calendar accordingly. According to Maponya (2013), it is a drought-prone province, which faces challenges of drought from time to time. These climatic conditions regularly create problems, not only for the emerging farmers, but also for the commercial farmers in the province (Mpandeli *et al.* 2015). Due mainly to drought across the Limpopo Province crop production is heavily affected (Mpandeli, 2014). Besides, the province has other physical factors like soil that must be utilised, though not fertile (Odhiambo, 2011). This factor affects emerging farmers' agricultural activities negatively, especially irrigation due to their lack of credit to supplement their shortage of water by devising alternative irrigation methods that require funding.

In its annual report, the provincial government of the Limpopo Province argues that the province produces up to 60 percent of all fruit, vegetables, maize meal, wheat and cotton. Consequently, the province has become one of South Africa's richest agricultural areas (Limpopo Province, 2010). The provincial report further indicates that 45 percent of the R2 billion annual turnover of the Johannesburg Fresh Produce Market comes from Limpopo. It also produces 75 percent of South Africa's mangoes, 60 percent tomatoes and 285 000 tons of potatoes mainly from white farmers such as ZZ2 due to an adequate resource base (Limpopo Province, 2010a). Horticulture remains the mainstay of the province (Michau, 2011).

The Mopani District Municipality is the study area for this research. The district is located in the north-eastern part of the province (See Figure 3.1). The Mopani District Municipality covers an area of 1.14 million hectares (Limpopo Province, 2008; Department of Agriculture, 2008). In terms of relative location, the district is situated about 70 kilometres from Polokwane, the capital city of the Limpopo Province, using the R81 and R71 provincial roads. It is presently part of the political divisions of the RSA, that came into existence in 1994 after the democratic election, covering an area of 12.46 million hectares. This accounts for 10.2 percent of the total area of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 2008; Oni *et al.* 2003), (see Figure 3.2).

The district is bordered by Mozambique in the east, by the Vhembe District Municipality (VDM) through the Thulamela and the Makhado District Municipalities (MDM) in the north, the Mpumalanga province through the Ehlanzeni District Municipality (EDM) in the south, the Capricorn District Municipality (CDM) to the west and in the south-west by the Sekhukhune District Municipality (SDM) (Limpopo Province, 2011), (See Figure 3.3).

According to Mopani District Annual Report (2011), there are 16 urban areas (towns and townships), 354 villages (rural settlements) and a total of 125 wards (Mopani District Municipality, 2011a). The main towns are Tzaneen, Hoedspruit, Giyani, Phalaborwa and Modjadjiskloof. The seat of the Mopani District Municipality is Giyani and part of the district is included in the Kruger National Park which forms part of the Great Limpopo Trans-Frontier Park (Limpopo Province, 2011).

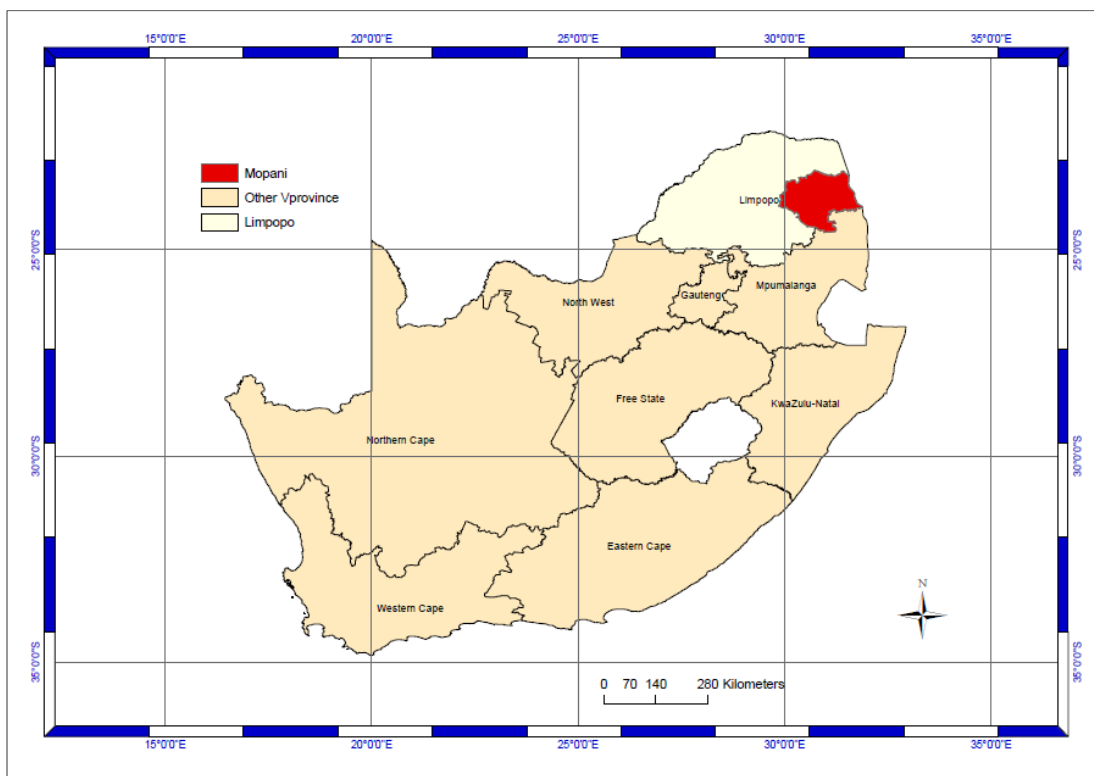


Figure 3.2: Mopani District in South Africa (Source: Geography Division of StatsSA 2016).

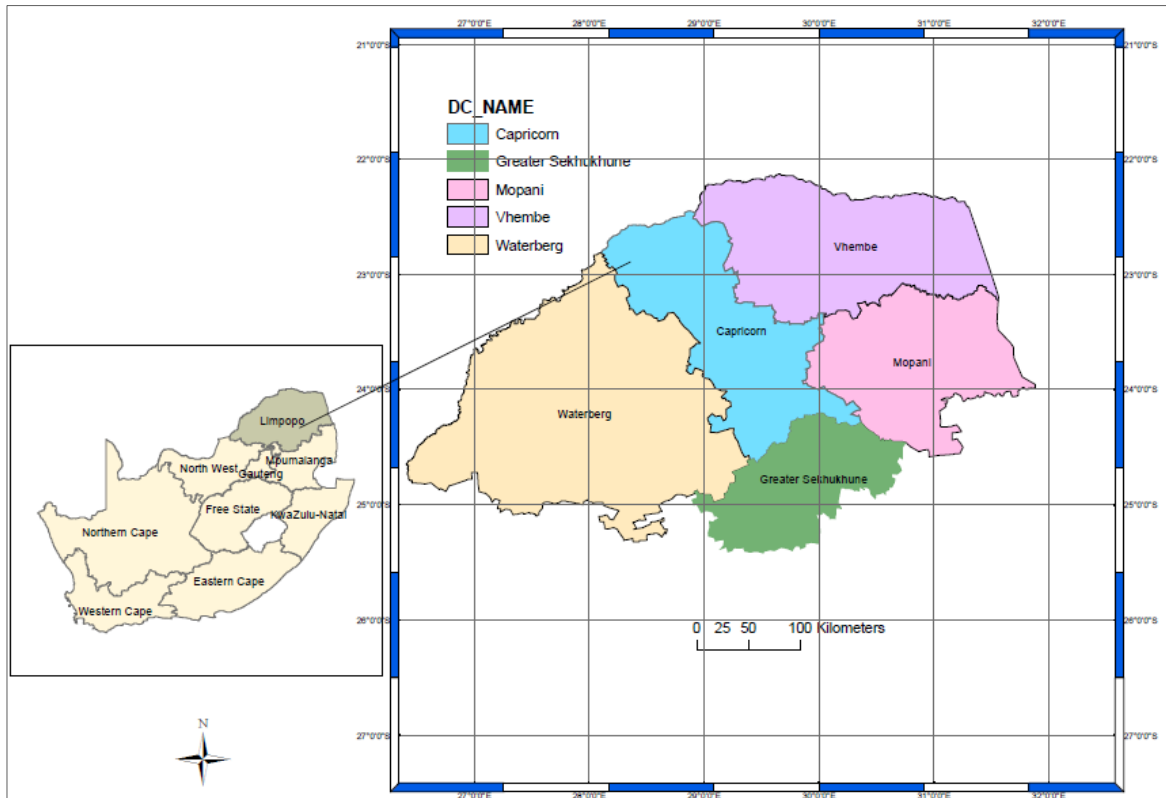


Figure 3.3: Limpopo Districts (Source: Geography Division of StatsSA, 2016).

The Mopani district is endowed with different development potentials (Thomas, 2013). The development potentials of the district are indicated in Table 3.1. Although the district prides itself on its development potential, the emerging farmers are not sharing in the prosperity of the district. They struggle to sustain their farming activities because of numerous constraints they experience. It impacts negatively on emerging farmers' productivity and income. The constraints affect them adversely to progress into the mainstream commercial farming sector and to become competitive with other commercial farmers. As a result, they will not be able to market their products locally and nationally. There is, therefore, a need for government intervention to assist in developing emerging farmers through policy support. Despite their constraints the various districts in the province have some development potential.

Table 3.1: Development potentials of Limpopo District Municipalities

District	Development potential
Waterberg	Agriculture, mining and tourism
Vhembe	Trading, tourism, game farming and agri-processing
Capricorn	Financial, manufacturing, trade, transport and construction
Sekhukhune	Mining and agriculture
Mopani	Mining, agriculture and tourism

Source: Compiled by the researcher, 2016.

According to the Integrated Development Programme (IDP) of the Mopani district, the various municipalities are characterised by different potentialities (Limpopo Province, 2008; Mopani District Municipality, 2008). Their potential can be beneficial, given the weather conditions in the district. In terms of climate, the MDM generally has a warm, dry, frost-free and sub-tropical climate with summer rainfall. Its temperature ranges from the minimum of 14 to 17°Celsius, and a maximum average of 28 to 30°Celsius (Limpopo Province, 2008). Formerly, it was known as the Lowveld region that contributed significantly towards the activity of agriculture on the provincial level. These favourable weather conditions can help farmers to be more productive, although the area sometimes experiences drought-related conditions. The farmers can depend on the existing climatic conditions and cultivate the type of crop that will not pose a serious risk. It can assist them in producing not only for subsistence, but also for commercial purposes. Formerly, the district was known as the Lowveld region that contributed significantly towards the activity of agriculture on provincial level. The development potentialities of the different local municipalities in the district are indicated in Table 3.2.

However, the district has further been sub-divided into five local municipalities. The distribution of the population in the district differs from one municipality to the other. According to StatsSA (2007), the population of the Mopani District Municipality was 1 068 569 in 2007 and has increased to 1 092 507 in 2011 (StatsSA, 2011b). The census indicates that, out of the entire district population, the majority (81%) reside in rural areas, 14 percent in urban areas and five percent on farms. This shows that

the Mopani district is predominantly rural and the population densities vary from one municipality to another, with an average of 23 people per hectare. This further indicates that people are sparsely populated with sufficient land around them that could be utilised for agricultural activities to earn a living. However, the problem of land shortage for economic development is perpetuated by the vast land occupied for dwelling purposes, leaving very little land for economic growth.

Table 3.2: District municipalities potential

District	Potential
Ba-Phalaborwa	Mining and tourism
Greater Giyani	Agriculture
Greater Letaba	Agriculture, forestry, tourism and small-scale mining
Greater Tzaneen	Agriculture, forestry, tourism and small-scale mining
Maruleng	Agriculture, tourism and mining

Source: Compiled by the researcher, 2016.

The average ratio male to female in the Mopani District Municipality as a whole is 46 percent to 54 percent and these tendencies and trends are still prevalent. In almost all the local municipalities there are more females than males (StatsSA, 2011b). This is most significant in the Greater Giyani and the Greater Letaba municipalities, which are primarily rural/non-urban in nature.

The 2011 Census further shows that the current highest population numbers existed in the age category 15 to 19 years, whereas, in the previous years, the highest was in the category 10 to 14 years. In the age group 20 and above, females out-number males significantly. Population numbers decrease with age increase, which indicates that the older generation is smaller than the young generation. The government's policy focuses on female and youth, which is in tandem with these trends in the province. However, their problem of a lack of interest in farming, especially among young people, compromises the government's intension to empower both the youth and females (StatsSA, 2011b). The location of the five district municipalities in relation to one another is shown in Figure 3.4.

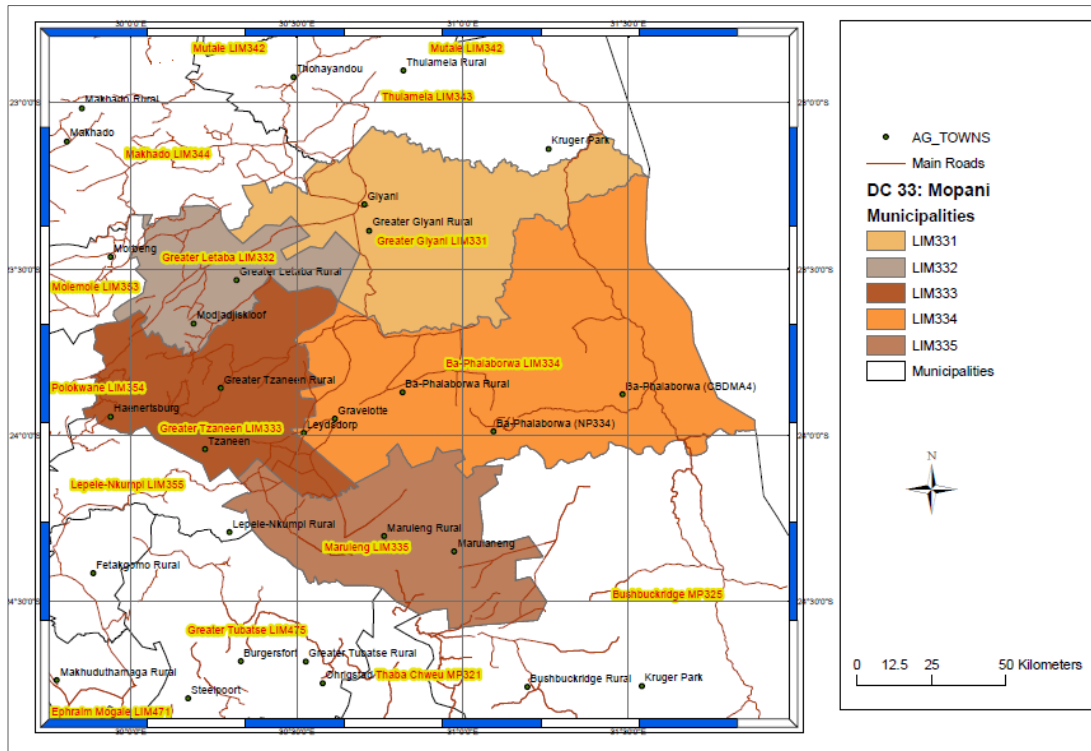


Figure 3.4: Mopani District Municipalities (Source: Geography Division of StatsSA, 2016).

In the Mopani district, most of the rural residents are poor. The settlements in this district are served by emerging farmers with their agricultural produce. Among others, there are economic activities such as mining, government departments and community services in the district while agriculture forms the fourth largest sector in the district. It predominates more in Tzaneen, Maruleng and Letaba although it is also significant in other districts. According to Limpopo Province (2008), the most important irrigation schemes in the region are Lower–Letaba, Blyde Irrigation and Middle Letaba. It has future agricultural potential in subtropical fruit, citrus fruit production and vegetables, but its unutilised land potential is estimated at between 10 000 to 70 000 hectares. According to the Provincial Economic Development Strategy (Limpopo Province, 2010c), 10, 000 hectares of the district’s potential can be brought into production over the next five years, mainly in new orchards in the Letaba/Letsitele basin area with about 1500 hectares in the Klein Letaba area.

It was further indicated by the Annual Performance Plan that a bigger share (50%) of the farm income in the province came from horticulture in the district. Most important crops in terms of monetary value are citrus, vegetables and subtropical

fruit (Mnguni, 2010). At least 6,7 percent of the land can be considered arable of which 43 percent is under irrigation, which is by far the most of all districts in the province (Limpopo Province, 2014).

Despite the above-mentioned economic sectors, a notable percentage of people in the district have no income. Income in rural areas is constrained by the rural economy that is unable to provide people with remunerative jobs or self-employment opportunities. According to the Mopani District Annual Performance Report (Limpopo Province, 2010a), the district contains the country's least developed and poorest communities. The study further shows that in 2006 at least 11 percent of the population live in a state of absolute poverty. Underdevelopment and high inequality have been caused by a concentration of economic power in certain sectors in some regions as compared to others.

In addition, 55 percent of the population in the Greater Tzaneen region, 48 percent in the Greater Letaba region and 46 percent in the Greater Giyani forms part of the most deprived 25 percent of the population in the province while 71 percent of the population of Ba-Phalaborwa region are registered among the least deprived 25 percent of the provincial population (StatsSA, 2011b).

Given the agricultural potential of the district, the introduction of the new policy intervention in agriculture is likely to benefit emerging farmers if properly implemented and appropriately resourced. The previous agricultural policy has impacted negatively on the spatial distribution of farming in the district, which has resulted in many problems and challenges for emerging farmers (StatsSA, 2011b). This forms the basis of the investigation and focuses specifically on emerging farmers' distribution and development in this district.

3.3 Conceptual framework

To analyse these complex variables, the post-modern theory is used in the research. Theorists use cultural, physical, social, economic and political components to explain societal patterns in different parts of the world to constitute worldviews as part of social research (Venkatesh, 1999; Pieterse, 2010; Punch, 2011; Rogers, 2011). However, different worldviews exist which cannot be fitted in

a single conceptual framework. According to Venkatesh (1999), the term that has been used to capture the conditions of the current worldview, is postmodernism which describes the different social, economic and political developments that follow modernity. It is against this background that this thesis focuses on the postmodernism framework. This post-modern theory will be pursued to ensure that policy-making is enhanced by a more economic, social, political and culturally informed framework (Jehlicka & Smith, 2011) within the emerging farming sector. This will bring with it issues concerning the impact of policy on spatial distribution of farmers in different areas under varying conditions that assist in the construction of the geographic knowledge on farming (Saitluang, 2013).

Regarding modernity, there are different views about its meaning and origin. It is defined by postmodernist as a particular view of the contemporary social world and its ongoing rapid transformations and it is not restricted to the recent and current time period (Johnson, 2008). Some of the notable features of modernity include progress, use of technology and class-based social structure that believes in the principle of an objective reality, the rejection of mysticism, a universal system of knowledge and truth, reason and individualism (Midmore, 1996; Venkatesh, 1999; Cembalo, Milgliore, & Schifani, 2015).

According to Sellamna (1999), the rise of the modernist theory is associated with technological and industrial achievements of the post-war period (Adelman & Yeldan, 1999). The term refers to the time in Western history since the dawn of the Age of Enlightenment. As a result, the modernist approach is viewed as the processes and changes that have occurred since the Industrial Revolution to transform the traditional, social, political, economic and culture of the pre-modern worldview (Sellamna, 1999; Andykalan, 2012).

Modernism emphasises order in social, economic and political systems, and has sought theories and generalisations to explain the complexities of human life. Historically, as more changes occur, challenges in life emerge. The social, economic and cultural problems of the seventies changed perceptions and led to disillusionment with the modernist theory (Sellamna, 1999; Adelman & Yeldan, 1999). The end of the social, economic and political trends in various spheres of life

in history have signalled the end of the period of modernity, which has long been characterised and largely defined by scientific advance, industrialism, capitalism, urbanism and bureaucracy (Bauman, 2000). It has resultantly marked the dawn of the post-modern theory.

Contrary to modernity, post-modern theory represents a reaction to the disillusionment that sets in when developments in the social world no longer conformed to intellectuals' idealistic faith in reason as a foundation for continued progress (Johnson, 2008). While Saitluang (2013) argues that it has first emerged in the fields of architecture and literary theory, and then incorporated into social sciences afterwards, Puja (2015) alleges that it seems to have been used first in 1917 by Rudolf Pannwitz to describe Western culture and resurfaced in 1934 to refer to the backlash against the literary modernism by Ferderico de Onis.

The origin of postmodernism is a matter of some great controversy that cannot be traced to a single source or a set of conditions in time and place. On the one hand, the origin of postmodernism is traced back from the sixties with the use of postmodern architecture World War II, which is the radical break from modernity (Englehart, 1997; Andykalan, 2012). Although it is not clear whether postmodernism is a break-away from modernism or its continuation, the theory has been chosen as a tool that is in line with the dawn of the global village (Stewart & Zaaiman, 2014) that represents the post-industrial age in which emerging farmers operate.

Thus, postmodernism has been described as post-paradigm and refuting the necessity for theory building. In furthering this view, Corbin and Strauss (2015) regard the theory as a mere tool and not a set of directives that helps analysts to carry out axial coding around a category. The theory emphasises its significance and reference in this thesis, especially in this age in which ownership of wealth and resources should no longer be the monopoly of a chosen few but be widely dispersed among numerous stakeholders where capitalism is transformed into post-capitalism (Johnson, 2008).

According to Bauman (2000), postmodernity represents the era and a process whereby customary boundaries of time, space and tradition are being dissolved,

allowing for more fluidity in social arrangements and activities. The changing features of the formerly excluded emerging farmers qualify for this description. This view is supported by Cohen and Kennedy (2013) who argue that the moral and political certainties about the nature of truth and destiny, which are associated with modernity, have largely disintegrated and society is left free to forge its own identities out of an increasingly diverse cultural repertoire. So is the case with the apartheid hegemony. In this context, the legacy and formalities of apartheid with its betterment policy has disintegrated and emerging farmers are free to forge their economic path ahead.

There are no specific structures and values that shape all farmers behaviour within the farming industry. The construction of their farming activities is complex and influenced by not only the individual but other factors such as gender, government institutions, policy or race. This postmodernist theory is more relevant in this context as it emphasises an open and multiple interpretations to farmers' activities (George, & Bennett, 2005). The understanding of the development of emerging farmers will be open to different interpretations within the economic, social, political and agricultural sectors given their unique conditions and landscapes (Warren, & Karner, 2015).

Like the development of societies during the pre-modern era when they transited from hunting and gathering, from food gathering to production (Starr, 2005), emerging farmers have developed from the traditional, modern and now technological eras. It becomes evident that, while food production has led to the emergence of social inequality, policy has led to the development of uneven spatial distribution of land. In its changing policy, intervention strategies to support agriculture, government has perpetuated socially related policy layers within the farming sector through different policies in different municipalities in the district.

The appropriateness of the postmodernism theory in the emerging farming sector needs to integrate those excluded by policy and be socially reconstructed with the inclusion of the knowledge production capabilities of all marginalised groups (Kloppenburger, 1991; Adelman & Yeldan, 1999; Sellamna, 1999). According to Kelly and Armstrong (1996), this could be achieved through a situation-specific and place-

sensitive approach of power to address poverty and inequality in development. The nature of the agricultural segregationist landscapes of the former homelands and their emerging farmers require such a situation-specific and place-sensitive policy support approach to accommodate their differences and uniqueness. As a result, emerging farmers' needs and values should be applied in their relevant context but not universally because there are different individual farmers with different farming areas (Adelman & Yeldan, 1999). Although emerging farmers lack adequate policy support, they continue to be an important component for the survival of poor rural communities (Davidova, Fredrikson & Baily, 2009) and serve as a way of resistance against economic and political empires (Van der Ploeg, 2010).

The support for individual and groups of emerging farmers in the district and its municipalities need to be provided against the background of a deprived legacy. This brings about the importance of space for social reality and theory from a geographical perspective (Lagopoulos, 1993). As a result, both external and political intervention strategies should be guided by local and internal social milieus that promote their progress rather than transplanting external and foreign aid that do not match the farmers' local knowledge, constraints, experience, expectations and needs.

However, this does not imply that emerging farmers should be treated as an island without external and foreign aid but rather that they should be developed within their economic and social backgrounds. It should interrogate different situations under different conditions of emerging farmers to arrive at results that are conceptualised differently. It should avoid explanations which claim to be valid for all groups, cultures, traditions, or races but rather focus on the relative truths of each category of farmers and the individual farmer. Hence, emerging farmers from former homelands or white former South Africans cannot be treated in the same way. This shows that postmodernism focuses on power relations and hegemony, and is a general critique of Western institutions and knowledge bases.

Available literature (Silverman, 1993; Lagopoulos, 1993; Kuznar, 2008; Reed, 2010; Johnson, 2010; Stewart & Zaaiman, 2014; Cembalo *et al.* 2015) acknowledges that the postmodernism theory allows for in-depth interpretations of specific variables as

they occur in different locations. In this thesis, the understanding of emerging farmers in the district requires an in-depth interpretation of their activities as they occur under different circumstances in their different areas. Within this context, their different complexities that emanate from various shifts in the complex systems of politics, culture, ethnicity, race, and gender as well as power relations that have taken place due to a number of shifts in political leadership from the colonial, apartheid and even post-apartheid eras can be understood. It can, therefore, be argued that, transformation in South Africa, through its Constitution, allows a new interpretation of events, values, policy, human relations, economic activities, development agendas and social relations that best accommodates the emerging farmers' plight in different areas. Thus, by taking into account the various circumstances that affect individual farmers and groups of farmers in different municipalities with different features, this theory proves to be useful in discerning why and how emerging African farmers are likely to respond differently to agricultural policy implementation in search of better avenues to develop themselves.

As Maxwell (1994) has pointed out, postmodernism rejects the privileging of one interpretation over another. With the prevailing acknowledgement of diversity of emerging farmers by government, complexities within the emerging farming sector and the need for flexibility in policy implementation, policy on emerging farmers can conform to postmodernism principles in terms of the imperatives of farmers. Consequently, in following the postmodernism theory, the appropriate method of defining emerging farmers' activities is to explore its multiple cultural, economic, political, human, and its environmental meanings.

This view is supported by Cembalo *et al.* (2015) who argued that postmodernism calls for a new intellectual landscape that rejects the rational thought of absolute truth. As a result, the diverse and complex situations of emerging farmers require an open-ended and subjective perception of their conditions, given the multiplicity of other sectors of the economy. Government policy therefore, needs to recognise the diversity of farming situations and their activities as being contingent on particular circumstances. It should give priority to providing poor emerging farmers with choices, which will contribute to self-determination and autonomy in their

development towards commercial farming under different situations. However, under such conditions the responsibility of intervention should not just lie with government, but also with communities and the private sector to strengthen and develop emerging farmers within the postmodernism perspective.

When consolidating the various arguments on emerging farmers within the postmodernist theory, it can be alleged that the origin of agriculture has become a subject of research caused by changes in agricultural activities from one stage of development to the other. It is this transition from one level of development to the next that has brought about the spread of new concepts, new categories of people, new technologies, policy and innovations that have characterised different countries and their agricultural phases and landscapes (Kostov & Lingard, 2004). The developmental phases were given labels such as subsistence, household and emerging farmers although there were some controversies surrounding the shifts of paradigms that associated emerging farming with scarce resources, low levels of technology, poverty, inefficient production and low levels of commercialisation (Kostov & Lingard, 2004; Mathijs & Noev, 2004).

One of the features of small-scale farming that falls within the category of emerging farming (Redman, 2010) is that its characteristics differ from commercial farming. This societal stratification of farming can be viewed as a result of family origin, the complex social background of farmers, policy, the educational path that reveals social inequality, policy support and economic survival. The prevailing differences and various places in which emerging farmers operate under different policies are best deconstructed within the postmodernism view of agriculture.

One of the popular words used for postmodernism is deconstruction that is defined by Rosenau (1992) as “tearing a text apart to reveal its contradictions and assumptions”. Consequently, any stereotyped interpretation and value judgement of emerging farmers that justifies a superior knowledge and economic hegemony by the chosen few should be deconstructed. As MacDonald (1999) and Gardner and Lewis (1996) point out, the validity of the construction of universal knowledge should be questioned. Thus, the voices and preferences of the emerging farmers should be upheld and supported. Given the nature of emerging farmers’ various

needs and abilities for development in different local municipalities in the district under different conditions in time, postmodernism will be a useful guiding theory towards their economic, social and political freedom.

3.4 Methodology

Research methodology refers to the way the researcher approaches and executes research activities as it provides the principles for organising, planning, designing and conducting research (Ethridge, 2004). Furthermore, it also reflects the overall research strategy to be used. Based on the nature of the main research questions and the objectives of the study both qualitative and quantitative methods were adopted in this study. Both primary and secondary data were used to respond to the research questions and objectives. According to Cameron and Price (2009), quantitative data are represented in the form of numbers while qualitative data are represented in the form of descriptions and opinions.

This study thus makes use of a mixed method research design and methodology. This method uses triangulation (Denzin, 1978; Jick, 1979; Rossman & Wilson, 1994; Tracy, 2010) that brings data from different sources to corroborate, elaborate and illuminate the research question by means of questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussions, field work and a literature review. It strengthens the study's usefulness in its setting, and incorporates both primary and secondary data.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2013), the qualitative research method draws and uses the approaches, methods and techniques of ethnomethodology, phenomenology, hermeneutics and survey research. Some of these components are even used in other contexts in the human disciplines. Although there are critics of the qualitative approach, the authors acknowledge that it is an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and sometimes counter-disciplinary research method. Denzin and Lincoln (2013) further argue that the weakness of the critics is that they do not recognise the influence of indigenous, feminist, race, queer, or ethnic border studies. In addition, the method explores the different perceptions, understandings and experiences among the different stakeholders. It explains how a group, organisation or farming community have lived, experienced and made sense of their lives and their world.

The features of the qualitative research method are in line with the typical characteristics of emerging farmers in terms of their circumstances and working environments. The purely qualitative methodology does not have a distinct set of methods or practices that are entirely its own. Instead, it uses semiotics, narrative, content and discourse.

The appropriateness of the qualitative method stemmed from the fact that it relied on language, texts, visual images and other non-numerical data (Koop, 2009). Through this approach, the researcher revealed how the social reality was constructed by the respondents in their everyday practices and knowledge (Flick, 2008), even texts were used as empirical material. This research method is supported by Denzin and Lincoln (2013) who conclude that qualitative approach locates the researcher in the world of the respondent. Hence, the study focused on how meaning is attached to the way in which policy implementation impacts on the spatial distribution of farmers and their development. The qualitative data collected was richer and more shaped by the researcher's perceptions than the quantitative data that was collected.

Quantitative methods were used for the collection of primary data in the form of numbers and quantities. It entailed the counting of responses from the different respondents and presenting the data in graphs and tables and maps (Koop, 2009; Ramler & Van Ryzin, 2011). This helped the researcher in capturing the numbers of different role players and beneficiaries to reflect on policy impact. The classification of emerging farmers was associated with the quantitative approach in terms of the numbers obtained from each category of farmers. Various variables were used to understand the conditions that enable and inhibit the farmers

To conduct a detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events, conditions and their relationships, the research focuses on the case study method. The chosen case study method has been widely acknowledged by different researchers in various disciplines (Dowell, Huby & Smith, 1995; Shaw & Gould, 2001; Dowell *et al.* 2005; Greene, Creswell, Shope & Clark, 2007; Ellis, 2007; Etherington, 2007; Yin, 2012).

Available literature by Merriam, (1988), Stake, (2006), and Bailey, (2007) argue that the case study method has different meanings for different people and in different disciplines from an individual to a group of individuals. According to Stake (2006), it concentrates on the particularity and complexity of a multiple case study analysis, each of which constitutes a single case in order to understand its activities within important conditions. This best suit the individuality of each emerging farmer in the district and existing groups of farmers. It is acknowledged that studying the particular phenomenon in depth and examining it in action has a potential to yield insights of universal significance (MacDonald & Walker, 1975).

Merriam (1988) has concluded that the case study method is particularistic, descriptive and heuristic. The author further argues that it relies heavily on inductive reasoning in handling multiple data sources, thereby investigating a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. The significance of the case study is that it uses a triangulation strategy that relies on multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2012; Vogt, Gardener & Haeffele, 2012) to confirm the validity of the process of events.

This research study views a case study method as a study of a single phenomenon in depth with its complexities in space and time. In this sense, it provides a more realistic response than a purely statistical survey. This approach was useful because it involved and was accessible to multiple audiences such as emerging farmers and departmental officials who took part not only in policy development but also in its implementation and support.

Grounded theory was also used in the collection and analysis of data. Grounded theory is a systematic, inductive and comparative approach for conducting research (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). According to the authors, it is the most widely used and popular qualitative research method across a wide range of disciplines. Hood (2007) has concluded that grounded theory is guided by the theoretical relevance of each additional piece of data, and new data are selected because of its probable theoretical importance.

Data collection and analysis in grounded theory proceed simultaneously, and each informs and streamlines the other. This definition informed the inclusion of the grounded theory in this research study. Methods in grounded theory are both inductive and qualitative. This theory is preferred, as it reveals the essence of the situation under investigation. Within the context of this research study, grounded theory is more relevant as it assigns primary importance to diversity and assumes that changing demographics, and emerging interactions across racial and ethnic groups are central to the phenomenon under investigation (Green *et al.* 2007). It allows for changes during the process of investigation to accommodate new views and strengthen research. As a result, decisions such as the sampling process and the replacement of the respondents who had withdrawn from participation was made during the research process itself.

3.5 The study population

The population for this research is all African farmers in the Mopani District Municipality (MDM) in the Limpopo Province of South Africa who have been farming since 1994 up to 2014. In its 2007 community survey, Statistics South Africa found that about 21 736 people were engaged in agriculture in Mopani, 16 115 in Vhembe, 13 802 in Capricorn, 15 681 in Waterberg and 8 269 in the Greater Sekhukhune districts (StatsSA, 2007). The total of 21 736 represented all farmers in the Mopani District Municipality. This district houses about 29 percent of farmers in the province. According to Thomas (2013), emerging farmers are settled on about 33 percent of the farming area in the Limpopo province.

3.6 The study sample

According to Saris and Gallhofer (2014), sampling is a procedure used to select a limited number of units from a total population in order to describe this population. A random sampling unit was used to draw the sample for this study. The different municipalities in the district, namely, Ba-Phalaborwa, Greater Giyani, Maruleng, Greater Tzaneen and Greater Letaba constituted the primary areas from which emerging farmers were selected.

The respondents for this study consisted of ninety (90) farmers with good resource provision and ninety (90) farmers with poor resource provision, two (2) officials, one

from the district office in Mopani and one from the Provincial Department of Agriculture in Polokwane, and eighteen (18) local municipal officials. Lists of farmers farming in the five municipalities were obtained from the district agricultural offices (21 736 farmers in total), and from these lists a total of 180 emerging farmers were selected. The first stage involved drawing a sample of emerging farmers from each of the selected municipalities. From each of the numbered lists, the first emerging farmer was selected randomly as the starting point and the rest were selected systematically by means of a sampling interval related to the initial random number chosen. The study targeted only previously marginalised African emerging farmers. These were distinguished from other farm operators by their limited resource base and the fact that they were formally marginalised by apartheid government policy. Their characteristic features were that they mainly used hand tools, limited mechanisation and predominantly family labour as well as limited purchased inputs like seeds and fertilisers for both their own subsistence requirements and the market.

The farmers selected were all residents of the Mopani District Municipality engaged in crop farming and constituted male and female persons aged between 18 to 50 plus years. The manager or head of each farm was selected to participate in the research. The research focused mainly on crop farming especially vegetables. The sample was limited to 180 farmers because of limited funds and the time factor on the part of the researcher and to promote in-depth data collections and analysis. Furthermore, because the study used quantitative and qualitative data and methods, which is time consuming, it was appropriate that a small sample be used. The variables on which data was collected from the emerging farmers in the sample included farm inventory, educational background, age, farming experience, residence, policy, population group and financial support. It also considers whether farming activities are geared towards marketing or subsistence farming. These variables are essential to enable the researcher to collect the type of information responds to the research questions, as well as the objectives of the study, as set out in Chapter 1.

3.7 Data collection

Data gathering for this research study as shown in Table 3.3A, took place from 14 October to 25 October 2013 in the five local districts (Maruleng, Greater Letaba, Greater Giyani, Greater Tzaneen and Ba-Phalaborwa) of the Mopani District Municipality of the Limpopo Province. The data was collected locally to minimise travelling expenses for emerging farmers. Data collection instruments included questionnaires (Refer to appendices 3, 4 and 5), interviews, observations and content analysis.

Table 3.3A: Data collection from respondents in Mopani during Week 1

Dates	Municipality	Activities	Facilitator	Respondents
14/10/2013	Maruleng	Interviews/questionnaire completion/focus group discussion/field work	Researcher	Emerging farmers/municipal officials/departmental representative
15/10/2013	Greater Letaba	Interviews/questionnaire completion/focus group discussion/field work	Researcher	Emerging farmers/municipal officials/departmental representative
16/10/2013	Greater Giyani	Interviews/questionnaire completion/focus group discussion/field work	Researcher	Emerging farmers/municipal officials/departmental representative
17/10/2013	Ba-Phalaborwa	Interviews/questionnaire completion/focus group discussion/field work	Researcher	Emerging farmers/municipal officials/departmental representative
18/10/2013	Greater Tzaneen	Interviews/questionnaire completion/focus group discussion/field work	Researcher	Emerging farmers/municipal officials/departmental representative

Source: Compiled by researcher, 2013

According to Curtis and Curtis (2011) an interview can be either structured, unstructured or semi-structured depending on its structure while containing open-

ended questions or closed-ended questions. The researcher used both open-ended questions and closed-ended types of questions. The primary objective was to gather the maximum amount of relevant data without the process becoming tedious to the respondents. Direct observations of how the individual/group of emerging farmers understood and implemented policies to develop their commercial orientation provided the data required to verify and corroborate the information gained as guided by grounded theory.

The distance between different local municipalities impacted heavily on the aspect of time. Consequently, a longer period of time was necessary to enable the researcher to reach all the identified emerging farmers included in the sample of 180 in their respective local municipalities. In view of these factors it was necessary to schedule the interviews and questionnaire completion over a two weeks period. Travelling to all the farms and cost centres also required more time. The schedule for the meeting with the respondents for interviews, completion of the questionnaire, focus group discussions is provided in Tables 3.3A and 3.3B.

3.7.1 Primary data collection

3.7.1.1 Emerging farmers

The first data was collected from the 180 emerging farmers at their respective local community halls in the five local municipalities. At these meetings questionnaires were completed and informal focus group discussions were conducted. Data were gathered from the farmers in a cyclical process guided by a questionnaire and a time-table drawn up by the researcher (appendix 3). The researcher started each day's proceedings at the community halls with a discussion to familiarise respondents with the purpose and procedures in data gathering for this research study. The researcher conducted the interviews with the assistance of extension officers who facilitated the meetings with emerging farmers. Interviews were conducted at the community halls since there were facilities available for the people. Interviews lasted for about forty-five minutes (45) and after the interviews, respondents completed the questionnaires for 15 minutes and then had a short break of five minutes. The main items in the questionnaire (appendix 3) pertained

to personal details, farm inventory, policy implementation, spatial distribution, infrastructure, markets, transport and income.

Table 3.3B: Data collection from respondents in Mopani during week 2

Dates	Municipality	Activities	Facilitator	Respondents
21/10/2013	Maruleng	Interviews/questionnaire completion/focus group discussion/field work	Researcher	Emerging farmers/municipal officials/departmental representative
22/10/2013	Greater Letaba	Interviews/questionnaire completion/focus group discussion/field work	Researcher	Emerging farmers/municipal officials/departmental representative
23/10/2013	Greater Giyani	Interviews/questionnaire completion/focus group discussion/field work	Researcher	Emerging farmers/municipal officials/departmental representative
24/10/2013	Ba-Phalaborwa	Interviews/questionnaire completion/focus group discussion/field work	Researcher	Emerging farmers/municipal officials/departmental representative
25/10/2013	Greater Tzaneen	Interviews/questionnaire completion/focus group discussion/field work	Researcher	Emerging farmers/municipal officials/departmental representative

Source: Compiled by researcher, 2013

After a short break the respondents returned for an informal focused in-depth group discussion on matters pertaining to the questionnaire scheduled for 20 minutes. This was a way of collecting qualitative data involving a small group of people in an informal group discussion (Wilkinson, 2011). It was a semi-structured interview in which the researcher knew in advance the areas to be covered and the people to be interviewed, as Mogalakwe, Mufune and Molutsi (1998) have noted. During the interview, the researcher took some notes from the discussions, taking into consideration the respondents' tones, pauses, language that indicated sadness, stress especially on issues related to funding and infrastructure, body language and

expectations on matters about the potential impact of policy implementation that they perceived as a priority for their plight. All of these added values to their construction of reality.

A group of five (5) emerging farmers in each municipality and seven (7) Community Property Association (CPA) members from the Maruleng municipality were identified for further discussion. The focus was on issues like policy implementation, farming activities, tenure systems, spatial distribution of farms, infrastructure, markets and transport during the two regimes, past and present regimes. The Maruleng Municipality was selected for the CPA because it is alleged to be active due to the contested restitution of land. It was also found to be active in agriculture.

During the focused in-depth group discussions, mainly open-ended questions were used. According to Noaks and Wincup (2004), open-ended questions allowed the interviewee the freedom to talk and ascribe meaning to the situation under review. The discussions used the same questionnaire schedule as given in Appendix 3. A study by Fontana and Frey (2004) concluded that this method of data collection helped the researcher to understand the language and culture of the respondents.

During the discussions responses were noted and readily recorded for analysis. It also allowed probing when the discussions continued to gather more information and clarity on every aspect as perceived and interpreted by the respondents. The focus group discussion was mainly guided by the interview schedule. Conducting in-depth focused group discussion took place in a relaxed environment.

Upon completion of the questionnaires and when the focused group discussions were done, the researcher and identified emerging farmers went to their respective farms for further primary data collection through observation and discussions. This practice was supported by Creswell (2009) who argued that qualitative researchers also tended to use observation to collect data in the field where participants experienced the problem under study. The focus on farms was based on the type of crops, infrastructure, distance to the market, spatial distribution, transport and policy support.

The repetition of the interview questions was to confirm the responses on the questionnaire and focused group discussions. In addition, field work was undertaken focusing mainly on observation of farmers' activities and to understand the conditions under which they operate. This, helped in the interpretation of policy implementation, and circumstances under which emerging farmers operate, as they constituted a case (Hays, 1958; Stocking, 1983; Curitis & Curtis, 2011).

In the field, the researcher observed the physical space on which the farmers worked, the people who worked on the farm whether they were male, female, youth or a combination of the three, to establish the implementation of policy that favoured both female and youth. It also focused on the type of equipment such as ploughs and infrastructure like irrigation schemes, type of fencing used and vegetation types, whether fruit or vegetables, to confirm what was contained in the questionnaire schedule and the interview.

During the field work the researcher took notes about the role each of the individuals played on the farm. This included the role, for example, of the manager to understand the management structure on the farm. Furthermore, the experience of the employees in farming was also established. In addition, field work has helped to provide information on the role of the farm in job creation and alleviation of poverty.

Due consideration was also given to the expectations of the respondents such as the improvement of their living standard and becoming commercial farmer. The responses were associated with the sections in the questionnaire schedule of whether they worked for subsistence, to maximise profit, to improve productivity and becoming mainstream commercial farmers. The primary data collected were important to address the objectives of the study especially on spatial distribution of land, farmer development and reduction of poverty.

The researcher served as the key instrument for collecting data (Creswell, 2009; Curtis & Curtis, 2011). With regard to the role of extension officers in terms of support, they handled the developmental component of emerging farmers as part of government set objectives of the policy mandate.

3.7.1.2 Officials

The research also included officials from the institutions and agencies chosen by government to develop and support emerging farmers by means of providing them with knowledge. Their knowledge and perception on the role of government to inform and promote decision-making within the sector based on existing policy and resources was a valuable source of data. It provided information on, for example, the aspect of judgement and determination of the merit or worth of programmes such as LRAD, SLAG and PLAS.

The completion of the questionnaires and discussions for the 18 extension officers took place in their respective offices at the cost centres of the district municipalities using the questionnaire given in appendix 4 that mainly focused on government policy and supporting mechanisms together with challenges and programmes to address them. The questionnaire in appendix 5 was completed by the one district council official selected. Regarding the provincial official of the Department of Agriculture, a questionnaire (Refer to appendix 5) was submitted to the office for completion. Because of the official's tight work schedule and other commitments, it was not possible to interview him personally. After completion, the questionnaire was again collected for analysis by the researcher.

A further primary source of data was a discussions and in-depth interviews with the 19 extension officers responsible for different farming sub-sections. The interviews were conducted in their respective offices. A semi-structured questionnaire guided the proceedings, focusing on agricultural policy and programmes regarding emerging farmers on their respective farms, as contained in Appendix 4. This method of data collection, especially open-ended questions, allowed for the use of data collection techniques that encouraged the researcher to dig deeper and probe further into the experiences faced by extension officers in order to answer the main research question.

3.7.1.3 Other sources

The process of primary data collection in its entirety consisted of the four methods discussed above, namely, interviews, questionnaires, in-depth focus group

discussions and observations. In addition to the these, general participant observation was also carried out during the local municipality farmers' day. There were three farmers' days that were organised by extension officers for emerging farmers. The researcher was invited to these meetings in October 2013. The focus of the meetings was on service delivery, especially the provision of seedlings, fertilisers and appropriate methods of utilising fertilisers to yield a better output, based on the soil type. They also delved into the way in which policy is implemented within the province and district. This clarified some of the misconceptions of some emerging farmers, especially concerning the two main programmes of restitution and redistribution through Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) as policy mandate.

A bit of light was also shed on the settlement/land acquisition grants (SLAG) that were replaced by other programmes. The meetings proved to be quite helpful to the researcher in looking at the interaction between the farmers and officials from the department within the district. It even revealed a gap that existed between emerging farmers and extension officers in terms of knowledge about policy and its implementation.

The responses from all of the above-mentioned methods of primary data collection added a great deal of insight and strength to the research. The semi-structured technique of data collection proved to be most appropriate, as it allowed the respondents to express their feelings and emotions, and it also enabled the researcher to probe beyond the answers for the purposes of seeking clarification of and elaboration on the answers given by the respondents. It created a lively environment for the researcher, as the respondents felt comfortable and were willing to speak freely and openly.

3.7.2 Secondary data collection

In investigating policy implementation and the development of emerging farmers, two approaches were used. Firstly, as Karaan and Mohamed (1998) suggest, a literature survey of relevant national and international secondary material was conducted. The aim was to acquire data on the impact of government policy on emerging farmers as a development strategy. According to Cameron and Price

(2009), data refer to given facts or verifiable observation. This enables comparable and contemporary experiences to be incorporated, and to establish an important frame of reference for the study. The study covered a wide field of sources to enrich its content. This represented the secondary data.

The literature further accorded the researcher an opportunity to identify existing gaps in knowledge with a view to adding new knowledge in this field of study. Field work as described above was undertaken to collect primary data from emerging farmers themselves (Karaan & Mohamed, 1998). The primary data was gathered by the researcher (Ethridge, 2004; Cameron & Price 2009). The empirical data are essential to understand the conditions under which the farmers operate as required by the objectives of the policy.

The secondary data were mainly documentary in nature. For the purpose of this thesis it was collected from provincial annual reports, workshop reports, conference reports, books, the Constitution, policy documents, journals and internet sources. These helped in identifying knowledge gaps in the research topic. The secondary data were collected from library services and the internet.

3.8 Data analysis

In terms of analysis, the qualitative research method relies on various methods of interpretation (Ramler & Van Ryzin, 2011). The raw data from qualitative research typically take the form of field notes, interview transcriptions, recordings and documents. It involves the organisation and interpretation of those materials as well as humans and their interaction in their natural settings (Lichtman, 2014). This has made the emerging farmers' world more visible to others by revealing and focusing on how their social actions and experiences are created (Hammer, 2011; Packer, 2011; Damico & Ball, 2011). Thus, different methods of analysis were used.

Qualitative data were analysed following the different methods outlined below. In this thesis, the causal relationship among various variables such as the farmers, infrastructure, policy, transport and credit were identified and studied by using a limited set of cases (Gobo, 2009). For this purpose, it used the analytical induction

method of analysis. Analytic induction method is defined by Patton (2002) as a way of identifying the pattern and themes in the data after it had been collected.

The distribution of farms became evident when data were gathered through different methods and then a pattern of emerging farmer's activities emerged. It was only after data were gathered that it was evaluated and patterns, together with themes, could be described. This method of analysis was in line with thematic analysis that is used after data gathering (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The thematic method of analysis was recognised and widely discussed in various sources (Howitt & Cramer, 2008; Whittaker, 2009; Stainton, 2011; Joffe, 2011) and provided a method for data analysis which is flexible.

An inductive data analysis was also used to build patterns, categories and themes from the bottom up (Creswell, 2009). The researcher interpreted what has been seen, heard and understood to develop a coherent picture of the situation about emerging farmers' daily practices in the district. After all the data had been gathering it was arranged according to their similarities and differences.

It was further noted during secondary data collection that texts were used. Furthermore, in Chapter 4 statistics about the chosen sample was used to draw graphs and tables. The statistics were considered quantitative data. It was against this background that the content analysis was chosen and used that appeared to fit neatly into this quantitative version of data analysis (Silverman, 2011; Silverman, 2013). The analysis represented yet another way of data analysis that the researcher used. The content analysis helped to establish categories of instances in the research study for inclusion in the overall analysis of data. According to Silverman (2011), content analysis is an accepted method of textual investigation and hence, it was used for that purpose.

To position the development of emerging farmers in the district in its proper perspective required analysis of the evolution of the emerging farming sector in time and place. To present this properly, a historical analysis method was used. Historical analysis of emerging farmers' demography, land tenure and policy from colonial, apartheid to democratic regimes, as perceived by farmers and researchers

past and present, were analysed. It was important to use a historical approach to present data in its evolutionary stages according to different time frames.

The changes were investigated in relation to particular times, though not tied to specific dates. Photographs were used in the analysis to provide a visual tool around which land use practices and cropping patterns were discussed. As a result, analytical induction, thematic analysis, content analysis, historical analysis and grounded theory all aimed at searching for patterns of and understanding the meanings in the data as perceived by respondents. They were mostly used in analysing in-depth interviews and discussions. According to Braun and Clarke (2013), analytic analysis and grounded theory are both key tools of analytical induction.

3.9 Limitations

The research study was not without limitations. One of the major limitations was the language barrier due to different cultural differences. This made it difficult for the researcher to probe further and get clarification from respondents. The problem was observed, especially in Greater Giyani, in which the main language spoken was XiTshonga during the pilot study. However, despite the limitation, the researcher ensured that a translator was available. The translator was an extension officer with a good understanding of the research objectives, questionnaire and the language. Although the questionnaire was in English, it did not serve as a major constraint. The translator assisted in both the semi-structured interviews and the focus group discussions. This strategy was an attempt to avoid limitations during data collection. The responses were then compared with the responses from the questionnaire to ensure consistency. All interviews and focus group discussions were tape-recorded to ensure a high level of accuracy while transcribing.

The other limitations were distance and finance. The district municipalities were situated far apart and that impacted negatively on travelling distance and finance. This reduced the number of scheduled meetings, as indicated in Table 3.1. As a result, meetings were centralised at cost centres to overcome the distance constraint.

Regarding the financial aspect, it became a problem to finance the field work and scheduled meetings, because the research was not funded. Furthermore, the respondents were served a mini breakfast during the first short break to sustain the second round of the meetings. Making copies for all respondents also impacted on the financial resources of the researcher, which added to the burden as did accessing internet sources for secondary data collection. Hence, meetings were limited to the ones appearing in the Tables 1 and 2.

Another limitation was that of the provincial departmental respondent who was not available for interviews and discussions due to the official's workload and several other departmental meetings that necessitated the respondent's attention. However, the participant responded positively to the completion of the questionnaire, conducted by the researcher, and to additional information relevant to the research study. The survey data only captured small and medium-scale emerging farmers, and all the data were focused on only a few types of vegetables. The sampling strategy did not explicitly consider localised crops such as fruit, maize and beans. As a result, very few vegetable producers were captured. The survey also did not collect data on some of the variables purported by literature to influence sales decisions such as contractual agreements and full details of market information and credit facilities available. It, however, confined itself to government policy implementation, and the spatial distribution of emerging farmers and their development.

3.10 Problems encountered in data collection and analysis

There was a general problem of some respondents who misunderstood and perceived the research as a tool and mechanism of assessing the new government's performance within the agricultural sector, especially in the emerging farming sector. As a result, they saw the research as an opportunity to criticise government for failing to support them in terms of funding and resource provision such as tractors, fertilisers, regular training, allocation of bigger farms and irrigation schemes. Hence, it took quite some explanation to convince them to understand and participate in the research study.

Other problems encountered in the process of primary data collection included the long distances to travel to different farmers' plots for observation in different district municipalities on poor roads conditions, and secondly, the time it took to reach the farms. Thirdly, the associated expenses to pay for transport and some refreshments for participants were problematic for the researcher. However, in some instances the cost was kept low by taking advantage of farmers' days in their respective local halls, especially during interviews, questionnaire completion and focus group discussions.

A fourth problem was the lack of responses from two (2) extension officers who failed to return and attend the focus group discussions despite many days and several follow-ups to give them an extended time to come forth. This delayed data analysis and the compilation of the thesis. The other three (3) respondents did not answer the questions in Greater Giyani, as they were suspicious of the end use of their answers. The researcher, however, managed to identify three (3) other respondents, (emerging farmers) and two (2) extension officers from the list provided to replace them. They responded positively because they were present during meetings held in their respective halls so they were conversant with the purpose of the research and procedures of the research study. They also completed the consent form without problems.

It was, however, difficult for the researcher to obtain data from the different provincial directorates dealing specifically with emerging farmers and land reform programmes in the Mopani district despite numerous promises and agreements they had made to supply same. They regrettably never fulfilled their promises.

3.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, the study area was fully described and the research methodology section provided information about the process of undertaking the research. Both primary and secondary data were collected in the processes and the data collection process was explained in the chapter. Attention was also given to how the data will be analysed. In the last sections of the chapter the limitation of the study is discussed as well as some of the problems that were encountered during the collection of the data.

In the next chapter (Chapter 4) the data obtained during the data collection process is presented. The chapter begins with an outline of the demographic features of respondents, followed by farm inventory. The inventory includes a description of the farms, factors influencing production on the farms, policy implementation and perceived differences between apartheid and the democratic agricultural policies are also considered in Chapter 4. The chapter also presents data on the location of markets that are serving the emerging farmers in the district and some of the challenges the emerging farmers are faced with in accessing markets. Furthermore, details are provided about transport and other problems emerging farmers encounter in taking their produce to the markets. This includes the type of transport and related transaction costs incurred while products are in transit.

Details of the data obtained from municipal officials and the district municipality in terms of policy and support to emerging farmers in the district are also given in Chapter 4. Their perceived possible solutions to existing problems that were inherited and perpetuated by the post-apartheid government are also presented. The response of the provincial official of the Department of Agriculture is further presented in Chapter 4. Data obtained about the department regarding the inherited backlogs and challenges is presented as well as some of the envisaged solutions considered by the department to be appropriate.

Chapter 4 - Presentation of findings

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the study area, conceptual framework, methodology and data collection process were described. In this chapter, the focus is on the presentation of the findings from the local municipalities in which emerging farmers operate. The Limpopo provincial department of agriculture, including the agricultural extension officials in the Mopani District, do not use the term “emerging” farmers, they use the national terms given in policy documents. This makes it easy for them to utilise the budget that has been earmarked for “smallholder” farmers as allocated by the national department. In this thesis, as already explained in chapter 1, the term “emerging farmers” are used to refer to all the previously marginalised African farmers with limited support, both in human and material resources. In this chapter, the term “respondents” are used to refer to both the emerging farmers and the officials from whom the data was obtained during the data collection phase of the research.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first main section (Section 4.2) the responses from the 180 emerging farmers, to the questions in the questionnaire given in Appendix 3 and some of the responses obtained during the focus group discussions, are presented. The responses to the different parts of the questionnaire are discussed in separate subsection. The findings include aspects such as demographic features of emerging farmers, farm inventory and description of farms, perception of respondents about policy and policy implementation, satisfaction with policy, training needs of emerging farmers, products produced on the farms and markets, transport and economic benefit and income. In Section 4.3 the findings obtained from the municipality officials in the district are discussed. These include their responses to the questions in the questionnaire in Appendix 4 and questions put to them in the interviews. In Section 4.4 the responses to the answers in the questionnaire (Appendix 5) provided by the provincial official are presented.

4.2 Responses of emerging farmers

4.2.1 Demographic features of respondents

This section gives a brief presentation of the demographic characteristics of the 180 respondents that were part of the first data collection process as explained in chapter 3. The section has been divided into a number of subsections. It gives an outline of the gender, age, educational status, marital status, period of stay of the respondents as well as the local municipalities in which their economic activity is taking place. This subsection also presents the distribution of the respondents in different municipalities.

4.2.1.1 Gender and residential area

To ascertain the type of participation of the respondents in each district, a gender breakdown of the results into male and female has been compiled from the questionnaires completed by the respondents as explained in Chapter 3. This subsection focuses on the information pertaining to the distribution of gender and residential areas.

According to the information provided by the municipality officials during the interviews and focus group interviews there were 20 205 emerging farmers in the district. This differs slightly from StatsSA's total of 21 736 (StatsSA, 2007). The information provided by the municipal officials concerning the distribution of emerging farmers shows that Greater Letaba had 5 839 farmers, Ba-Phalaborwa 5 274, Greater Giyani 4 041, Maruleng 2 586 and Greater Tzaneen 2 465.

The data obtained from Question A1 (Appendix 3) revealed that the participation of males and females who are involved in agricultural activities in their respective local municipalities differs (see Figure 4.1). The results show that the majority (58,5%) of respondents are women. The number of sampled males (41,5%) is 17% less.

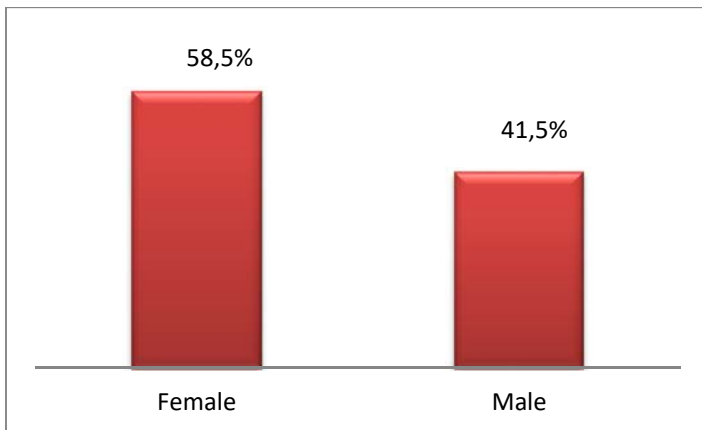


Figure 4.1: Gender breakdown of respondents (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2013).

The distribution of the sampled respondents differs from one district municipality to the other, as indicated in Figure 4.2. From the answers to Question A8 (appendix 3) it is clear that the local municipality with the largest number of respondents (28,9%) is Greater Letaba compared to the one with the smallest (12,2%) which is the Greater Tzaneen local municipality. It is also evident from the survey that the Ba-Phalaborwa municipality has the second highest number of respondents (26,1%), followed by the remaining two local municipalities of Greater Giyani (20%) and Maruleng (12,8%).

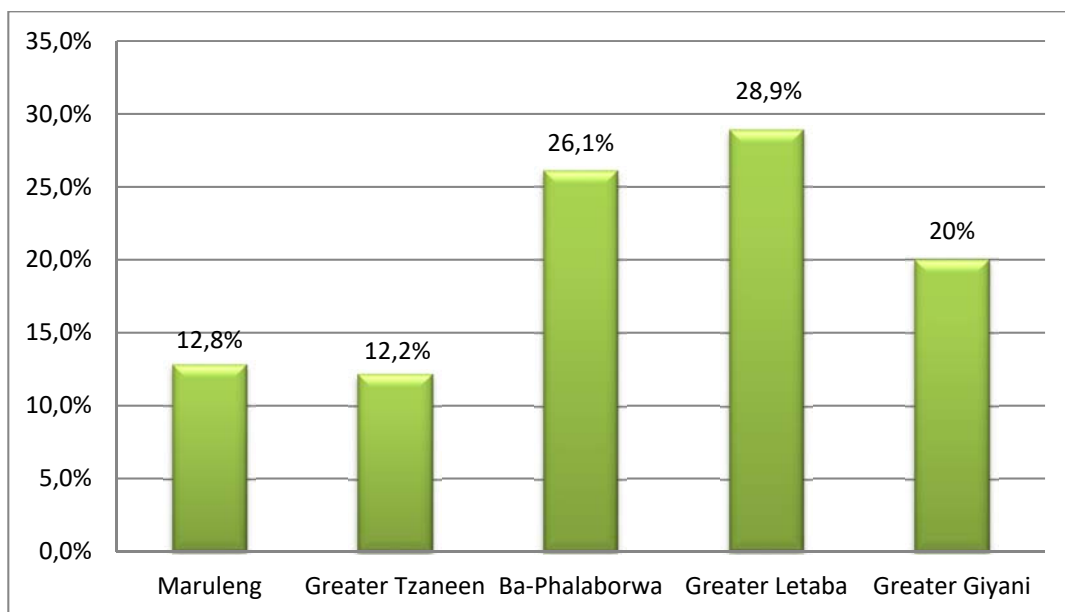


Figure 4.2: Number of respondents per local municipality (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2013).

In terms of gender breakdown (Question A1 in Appendix 3) the survey shows that the involvement of female respondents in agriculture in the district differs according to local municipalities, as illustrated in Figure 4.3. Similarly, like the results of the overall survey of farmer participation in various municipalities in the district, Greater Letaba still has the highest (32,29%) participation rate of sampled female respondents while Greater Tzaneen has the lowest number (13,54%) of female respondents.

The surveyed results further show that Ba-Phalaborwa has the second highest (22,95%) female respondents while both the Greater Giyani and Maruleng municipalities have the same (16%) number of female respondents. The surveyed results with regard to female involvement in agricultural activities in Figure 4.3 do not differ much from those of Figure 4.2 in terms of percentages.

Despite the differences in percentages, as shown by these figures, the importance of agriculture as a source of livelihood is clearly illustrated in these different local municipalities. Their differences could be attributed to a number of factors with which the respondents are faced in their different local municipalities.

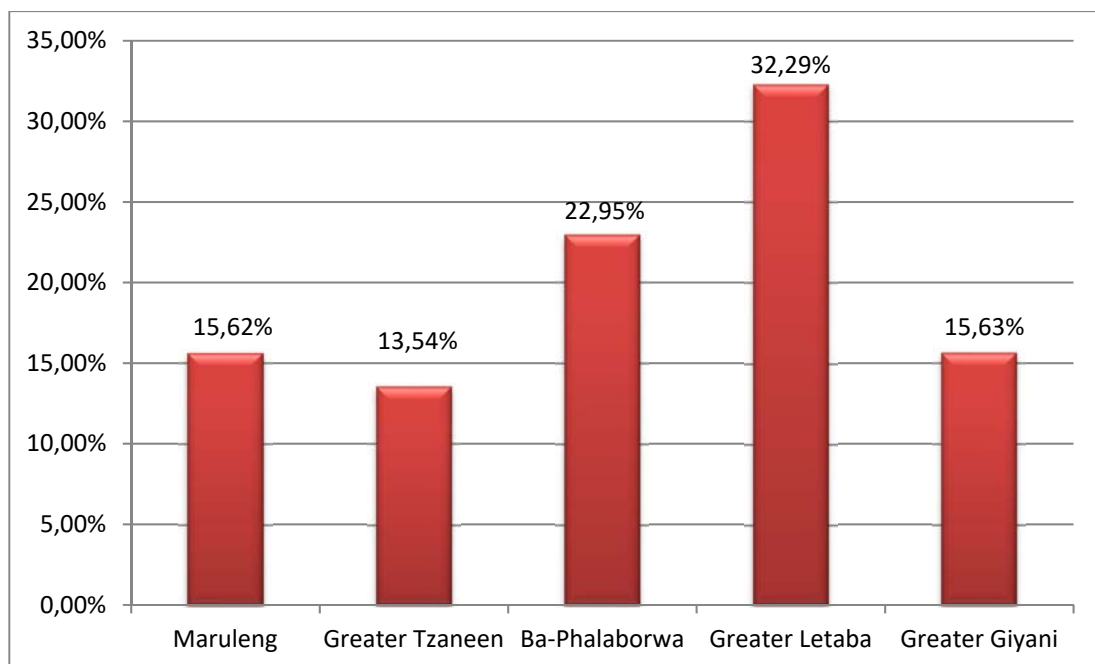


Figure 4.3: Sampled female respondents per municipality (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2013)

A further gender breakdown of male respondents in the district shows that their involvement in agriculture is lower than that of female respondents. It however, displays a similar distribution of different participation rate per local municipality (see Figure 4.4).

The results indicate that both the Greater Letaba and the Greater Giyani have the same (25%) distribution of male respondents in the overall sample. The Ba-Phalaborwa local municipality has the highest (29.8%) male participation rate in the district. Greater Tzaneen (10,7%), is higher than Maruleng local municipality with the lowest (9,5%) participation of sampled male respondents in the district. A further gender breakdown of male respondents in the district shows that their involvement in agriculture is lower than that of female respondents. It, however, displays a similar distribution of different participation rate per local municipality (see Figure 4.4).

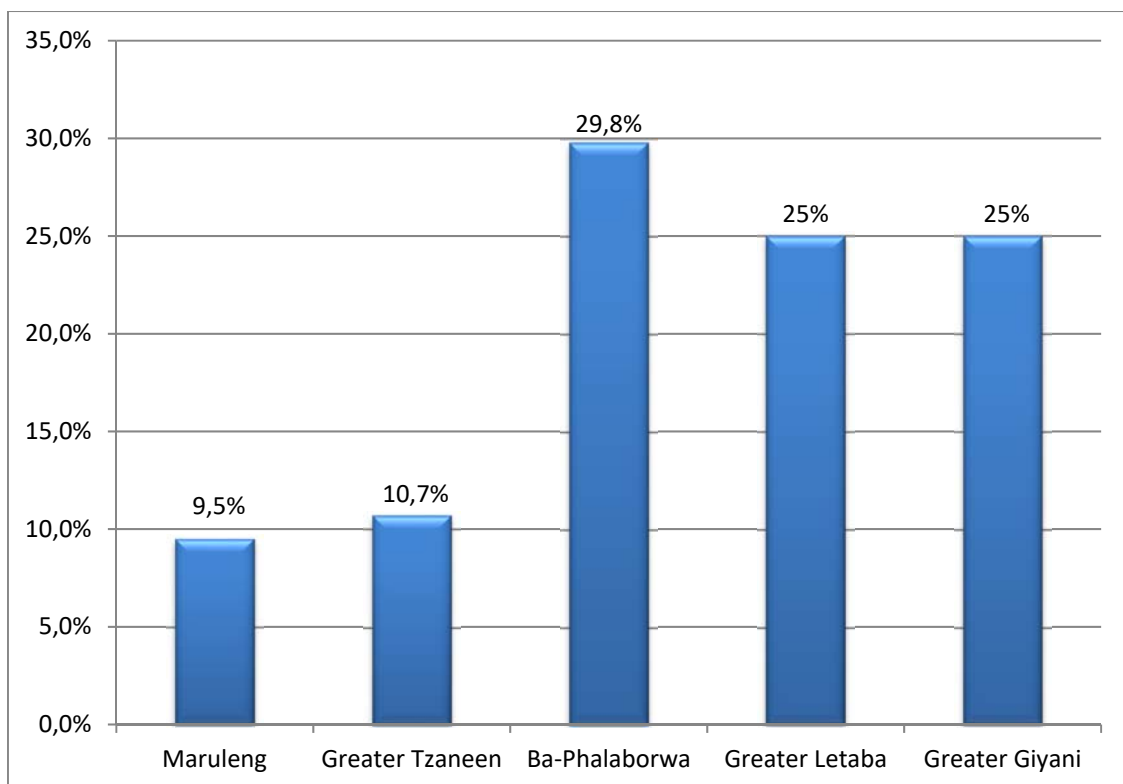


Figure 4.4: Sampled male respondents per municipality (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2013)

The representation of the distribution of the sampled respondents (see Figure 4.4) shed some light on how policy could impact on uneven distribution of farmers in the

district. The local municipality of Maruleng with 9,5% male farmers compared to the Ba-Phalaborwa local municipality with 29,8% shows that, emerging farmers are not spread evenly throughout the district. This is also true with other local municipalities of Greater Giyani (25%) and Greater Tzaneen (10,7%). Their spatial distribution is indicated in Figure 4.5

Responses to Questions A8 (in Appendix 3) were used to establish the residential areas of the sampled emerging farmers and the respective districts to which they belonged. The distribution of sampled emerging farmers in the five local municipalities of the Mopani District Municipality were analysed, using their responses. According to the data obtained, most of the respondents resided in the Greater Letaba local municipality (28,9%) and the second most resided municipality was the Ba-Phalaborwa local municipality (26,1%), followed by the Greater Giyani local municipality (20%). The number of respondents living in the Maruleng (12,8%) and the Greater Tzaneen (12,2%) local municipalities were much lower than the other three municipalities. The results showed that all 180 sampled respondents indicated that they resided in rural areas.

4.2.1.2 Age

According to the data obtained from Question A2 in the questionnaire (Appendix 3) and presented in Figure 4.5, the different age categories of sampled respondents played a pivotal role in agriculture. The results revealed that the majority of respondents (54%) were aged between 26 years to 55 years and a further large group (42%) was more than 55 years of age.

A striking feature of the results is that only a small percentage (5%) of respondents is below 25 years of age. There is a great gap between the older and younger generation of the respondents. Furthermore, the data indicates that the second highest category of sample respondents (41%) consists of respondents more than 55 years of age. There is a gap between the aged and the youth that needs to be filled before a crisis develops.

The results in general illustrate that the five local municipalities in the district consist mainly of the older farmers. The small (5%) of young respondents poses a threat to

the future of agriculture in the district because they will not be able to support the growing population and create enough jobs for the unemployed. It also offers a challenge to the youth who intend to undertake this challenging industry because the older farmers who were to serve as their mentors shall have withdrawn from participation in farming due to old age and other factors. The age structure of sampled respondents indicates that under normal circumstances they are of an age when people are normally married. However, some respondents were not.

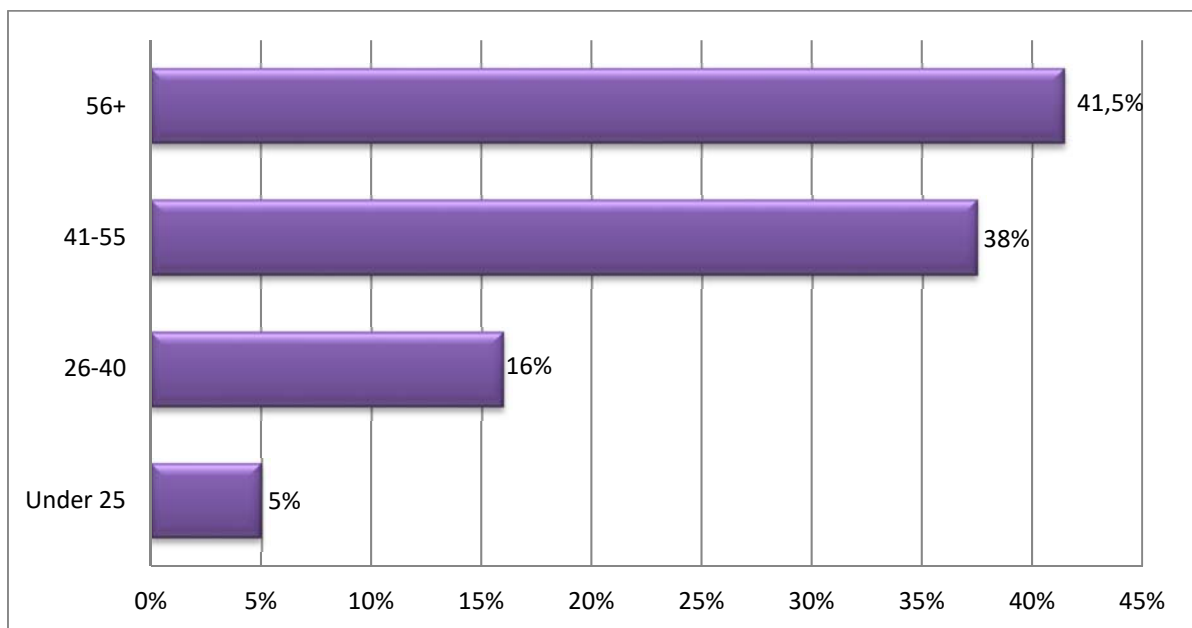


Figure 4.5: Age of respondents (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2013)

4.2.1.3 Marital status

In response to the question on marital status (see Appendix 3) it becomes evident that there are different types of marital status among respondents. Most of the sampled respondents (60,6%) were married. According to the survey, only a small percentage (0,6%) represented sampled farmers who lived together when the research was conducted in the district. The single respondents (12,2%) represented the second largest group of surveyed sampled farmers, which was followed by the widowed (10,6%) component.

The table shows a small gap (1,6%) between farmers who are separated (8,8%) and those who prefer not to disclose their marital status (7,2%). The marital status of respondents could influence their stay in their respective areas to establish a

stable family and farming industry. Despite the higher percentage of married couples (60,6%) the remaining categories of unmarried respondents are contributing towards the well-being of the district's economy.

The table also shows that the number of separated, single and widowed persons were males respondents. They constitute almost 68,4% of the total number of respondents whereas the separated, single and widowed female respondents constitute only 20%.

Table 4.1: Marital status of respondents

Criteria	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Married	62	47	109	60,6
Separated	11	5	16	8,8
Single	13	9	22	12,2
Widow	14	5	19	10,6
Living together	0	1	1	0,6
Rather not say	7	6	13	7,2
Total	107	73	180	100

(Source: Compiled from data collected, 2013)

This further indicates that their farming operations, although aimed at making a profit, are also farming for family support, as some were married, and have had to care for more than themselves.

4.2.1.4 Period of stay

It was important to investigate respondents' period of stay in their respective municipalities to establish the background information about the study area and its physical, economic, political and social dynamics. For farming to be practised effectively, requires a stable farmer who would pay attention to the various farming activities, as highlighted in Section 4.2.1. The responses to Question A10 (Appendix 3) in terms of period of stay, show that the respondents have been living in the district for different periods, as indicated in Figure 4.6. Like all other survey results, the period of stay also differs for the different local district municipalities.

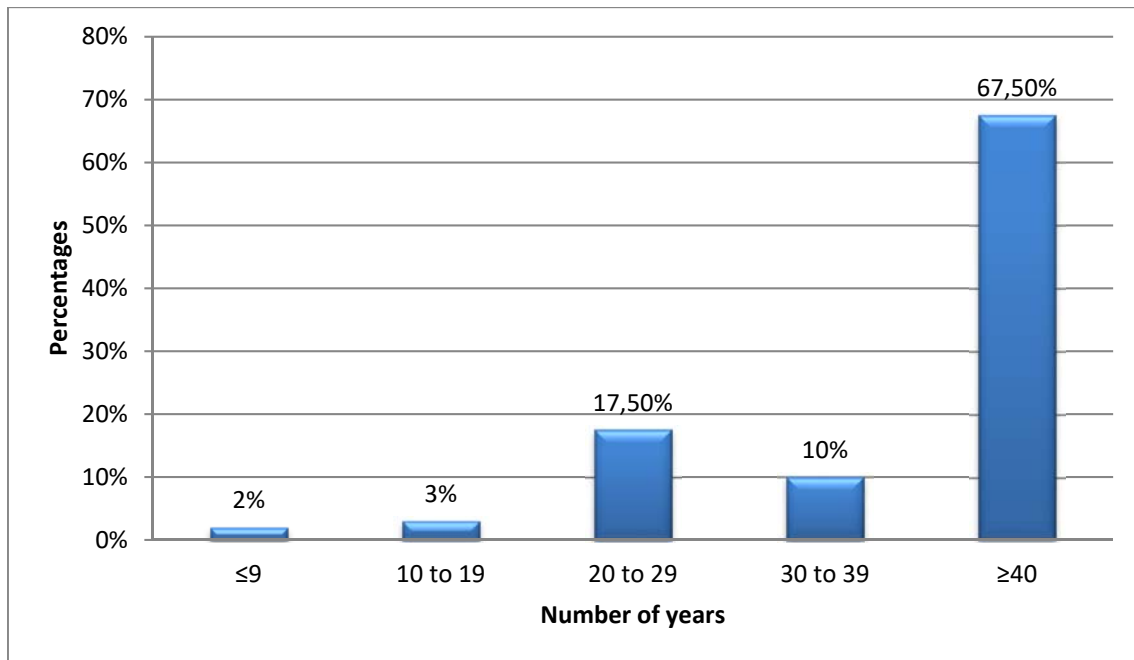


Figure 4.6: Period of stay for respondents (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2013)

According to Figure 4.6, the majority of respondents (67,50%), have been living in the district for more than forty years. Only five percent of the sampled respondents have been in the district for less than nineteen (19) years. Figure 4.6 further indicates that 27,5% have been in the district longer than 19 years but less than 40 years.

4.2.1.5 Educational status

Given the fact that the respondents have been living in the district for different periods of time, it was necessary to investigate their level of education that helps them in their farming activities. This is because farming, like other economic sectors, requires basic knowledge of the farming industry to maximise one's profitability to become a successful farmer, and the level of education is, therefore, important. The results from the responses to Question A3 (Appendix 3), as illustrated by Figure 4.7, show that the majority (56%) of respondents only have a primary schooling qualification and that 41% have completed their secondary school education. Although the highest educational level attained in the district by sampled respondents was a degree, this represents a very small proportion (1%) of the total sample. Figure 4.7 further shows that a small number of respondents (3%) have a

technical qualification. The fact that a large percentage of the sampled respondents have a very low educational level is likely to impact negatively on farming practices.

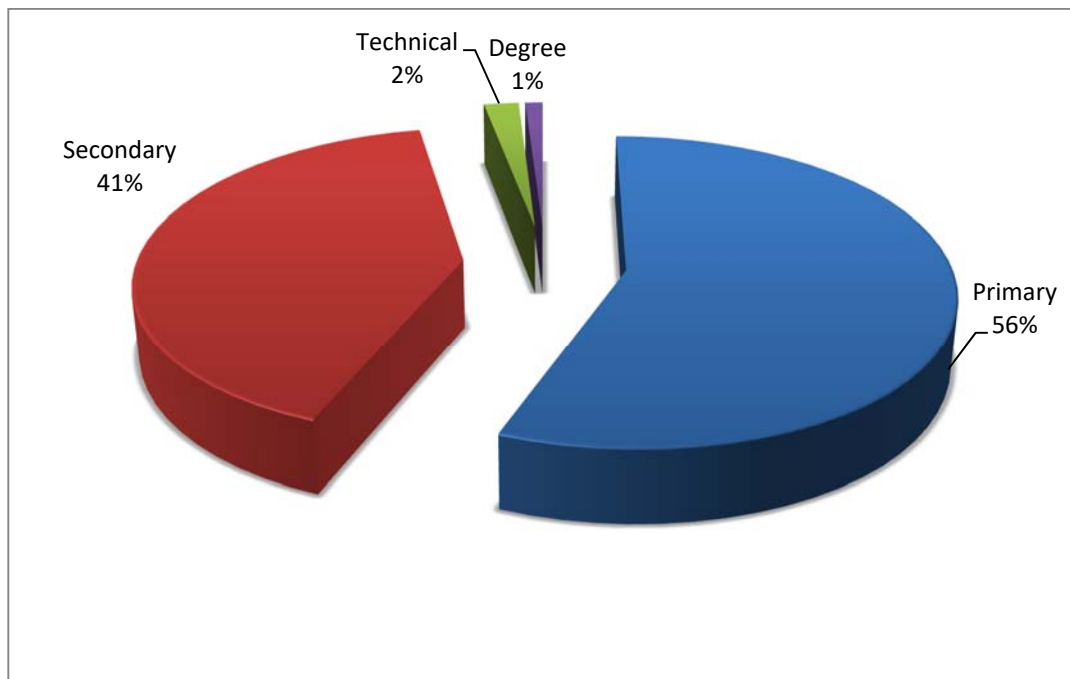


Figure 4.7: Educational status of sampled respondents (Source: Compiled by researcher, 2013)

Despite their low levels of education, they continued to practise farming in their different local municipalities. It was then important to investigate how they had acquired and rated their knowledge (Question A4 in Appendix 3). According to the respondents, the majority (97%) acquired their knowledge through trial and error during their many years in the farming industry. They learnt from their elders during the different stages of farming, from preparing the soil to harvest time. Subsistence farming was important in giving them more information about farming. They further stated that their interaction with more knowledgeable farmers and limited support from government had increased their information and skills in farming. Given their regular contacts as group of farmers, they rated their acquired knowledge as moderate because it enabled them to contribute, even if it were minimally, to the family's income (see Question A5 in Appendix 3).

4.2.2 Farm inventory and description of farms

During group discussions after completion of the questionnaires by the emerging farmers in the districts information was shared about respondents'. The information gathered during the focus group discussion, through probing questions, is presented in this subsection. The researcher asked additional questions during the discussions that were not included in Section B the questionnaire (Appendix 3) but that was important and relevant to this research study and the responses to these questions are also included in this section.

According to some of the respondents, emerging farmers with different demographic characteristics tended to operate in different farming areas. They stated that the distribution of farming land was not distributed evenly among different farmers in their respective local municipalities. Some respondents argued that the unfair distribution of land characterised the different agricultural landscapes in the district between commercial farmers and emerging farmers. They conclude that it was this unfair allocation of land that resulted in different types of farms in terms of farm size, infrastructure and provision of resources.

4.2.2.1 Land tenure system and land in use

Given the different characteristics of farms in the district, important questions included in the questionnaire were on how respondents acquired the land they are farming on (Questions B1.1 and B1.2 in Appendix 3). According to respondents, land tenure in different local municipalities in the district is done through two major models, namely, the traditional and the political form of ownership. The political system uses different laws and policies to facilitate land ownership in favour of the previously marginalised. Private ownership, although still applicable, does not form part of the research study.

The results obtained from the question on the tenure systems in the district are given in Figure 4.9. According to these results, the majority (71%) of emerging farmers have been allocated farming land through the communal model, while the post-apartheid government with its programme -based approach has made land available to some respondents through restitution, SLAG, PLAS and LRAD

programmes. The communal farms have been allocated by their respective traditional leaders as chiefs or herdsmen. The percentage of farm land made available through government programmes is less than the communal method.

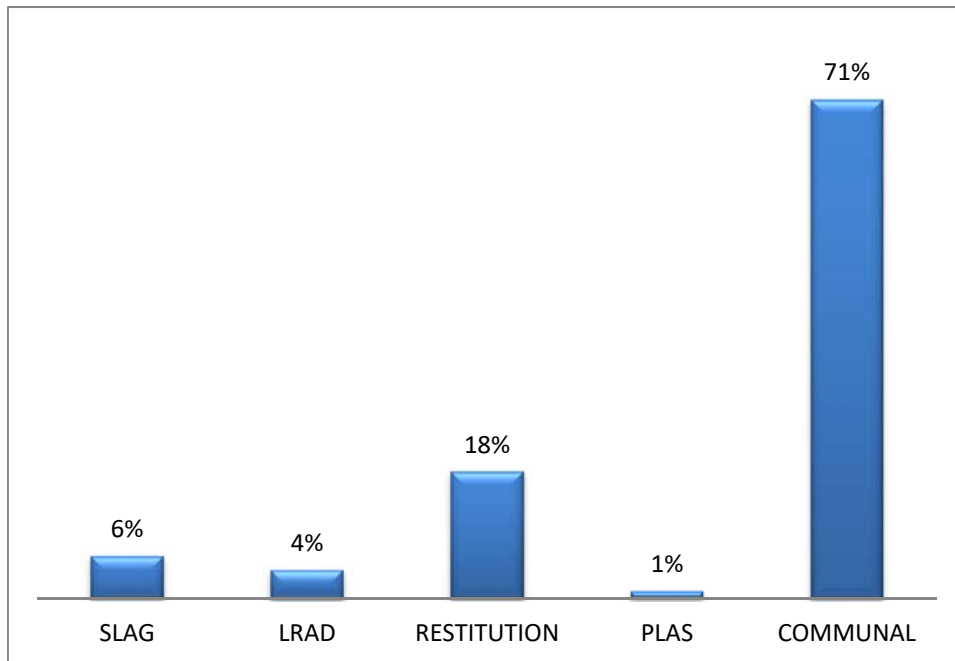


Figure 4.8: Land tenure system on land in use (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2013)

Since the communal model has been in place for many years, the respondents accede that their farms on which they operate have been allocated through the communal model. Consequently, they have inherited the land from their elders. Greater Giyani was not influenced by the new land reform programmes. According to the respondents, eight respondents operate on a leased farm system, while one farmer rents part of the farm to a white farmer and uses the rest with limited resources.

4.2.2.2 Reasons for the choice of farm and ownership status

The land tenure system has made it possible for respondents to own farm land. It was necessary to investigate if the farm is their choice and belongs to them (see Questions B1.3 and B1.4 in Appendix 3). The results show that the choice of respondents' farm land differs because of the manner in which they have acquired it. In acquiring the land, the majority of the respondents (68%) based their choice of the farm land on the fertility of the soil for subsistence reasons as a result of their

socio-economic status. The other (24%) of the respondents preferred bigger farm land to engage in commercial farming.

However, the remaining respondents (8%) mentioned the need to create job opportunities for the majority of unemployed people in their municipalities as secondary aims, provided that the farming business flourishes. Despite the different views on the choice of farms, the respondents who have inherited the farm from their ancestors on communal land allege that they are the owners of the farms. Some of the respondents rented the farm for a few years until they could acquire resources to operate fully on the farm. The implementation of government policy has enabled some emerging farmers to own land individually. As a result of the restitution, the other respondents who represent a small number (0,04%) acquired farm land as a collective. This group of respondents have established the Community Property Association (CPA) and together owned a farm land (see Figure 4.9, photos A and B). Upon the completion of the questionnaires like other respondents, (photo A), one of the CPA members indicated the farm land that is owned by all the CPA members. It is on this farm land where they operate as a collective as 'commercial farmers'.



Photo A



Photo B

Figure 4.9: CPA members in the Maruleng local municipality (Source: Photos taken by researcher, 2013)

Given their choices and ownership status, the answers to Question B2 in Appendix 3 indicate their satisfaction level with arrangements made concerning ownership. The respondents indicated some level of dissatisfaction about ownership arrangements, which differs from one emerging farmer to the other. According to the data collected, none of the respondents is satisfied with the arrangements. While those who own farm through a communal model complain about the small size of their farms, others complain about allocated farmers without title deeds and a lack of post-settlement support.

4.2.2.3 Farm finance and size in hectares

Funding is the engine of development. In terms of financing the farms, (see Question B3 in Appendix 3), 4% of the respondents indicated that they received government assisted credit while only 1% had access to institutional credit. The other 95% used their own financial resources to finance their farms. As a result, they are generally reluctant to cultivate many crops due to financial constraints. They stated that it is difficult to access funds from lending institutions due to their poor socio-economic status.

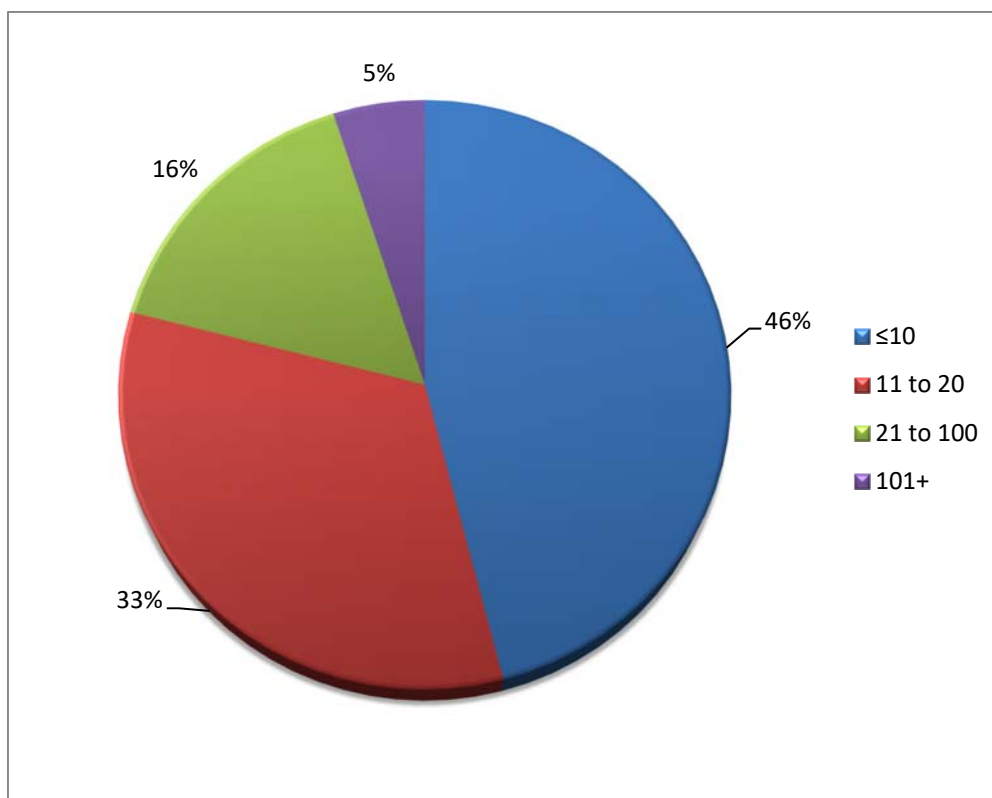


Figure 4.10: Farm size in hectares (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2013).

The respondents were asked to provide details of their farm size (Question B4 Appendix 3) and the data showed that farm size was very varied. The responses indicate that most respondents (46%) occupying smaller plots of less than 10 hectares of farm land. Very few (5%) farm on an area of more than 101. The data further shown that 33% have farms of less than twenty (20) but more than eleven (11) hectares. The information, as illustrated in Figure 4.10, indicates that there are two categories of sampled respondents. The first category consists of respondents who operate on bigger farms (5% and 16% respectively), while the second group (46% and 33%) owns smaller farms. This shows an uneven distribution of farming land.

The result regarding farm size as illustrated in Figure 4.10 further indicate that 79% of farms are smaller than 20 hectares in size. The difference in farm sizes is attributed to the government land reform policy that uses different programmes to provide land to the previously marginalised. Their implementation of its policy differs from one local municipality to the other, depending on the availability of supporting resources to facilitate its implementation. The Municipalities have, however, reached some of the targeted groups in different municipalities. The respondents who are still farming on small farms argue that they are still neglected by the new post-apartheid government.

4.2.2.4 Respondents' experience in farming and with implements

The period of farming has a significant impact on the total output of the crops. Data on experience was obtained from the responses to Questions B5 and B6 in Appendix 3. According to the results, more than 60% of the respondents have been in the farming sector for more than fifteen years. This has had a positive impact on their understanding of the various problems that are prevalent within the farming business in the area. The remaining 40% indicate that their team-work with experienced emerging farmers has benefited them despite their limited contact period. Both categories of emerging farmers agree that their many years in farming has taught them more about weather-related problems and soil that are good for specific vegetables. They constantly refer to their experience when encountering some problems.



Figure 4.11: Respondents using hoes and with hands (Source: Photos taken by researcher, 2013).

With regard to farming implements, a response from the majority of respondents (80%) indicates that they use simple tools to produce their crops and their farming technology tends to be slightly primitive while productivity remains low. Consequently, their farming practices in the study area are mainly labour intensive due to little access to agricultural equipment and technology supplied by government. The respondents who do not have ploughing equipment and infrastructure argue that they experience labour shortages, especially in peak periods and during crop harvesting. Some of them hire a tractor to till the soil and then clear the farm with bare hands. They further indicate that this leads to untimely

planting, which results in smaller total output and less income. Poor and dilapidated fencing facilities further attract thieves and stray animals that destroy their crops. The type of farming equipment for emerging farmers is shown in Figure 4.11.

As Figure 4.12 illustrates, there are respondents who use advanced implements such as tractors, which is common among some emerging farmers in the district. The respondents who own cultivation equipment can cultivate all their available land, and this leads to a better and larger total output.



Figure 4.12: Cultivation implements (Source: Photo taken by researcher, 2013)

The respondents further indicated that those who use departmental support tractors incur lower cultivation costs compared to those who hire tractors because they pay for hiring and fuel costs. It was further indicated by the respondents that socially and politically undesirable allocation of agricultural resources, confirmed by the latest policy implementation, are at the root of many of the problems besetting the democratic environment.

Consequently, the type of agricultural activities practised in the study area is mainly labour intensive with very little, if any, access to agricultural equipment or technology. This further increases the divide between the rich emerging farmers and the poor emerging farmers. The respondents indicate that unless appropriate monitoring mechanisms are put in place, the eradication of agricultural injustices similar to the ones created by the former regime will take time to be realised.

Despite the constraint of cultivation implements, respondents feel that as part of affirmative action they should get inputs, seeds and seedlings. The questionnaire included questions on how emerging farmers obtain inputs. The responses to Questions B7, B8 and B9 in Appendix 3 indicate that, until 1994, the sole suppliers of seeds were the respondents. Since the dawn of the post-apartheid government the Department of Agriculture provides certified seeds to different emerging farmers as part of policy implementation. However, the respondents have indicated that the district does not have the capacity to provide certified seeds to all needy emerging farmers in the district through its seeds division. As a resultantly, they supply seeds to selected farmers while leaving others without support. They have further indicated that private sector has, nevertheless, during the past years till to date, managed to build up a reasonable partnership with emerging farmers. The respondents further indicate that the supply of seeds, seedlings and planting material by the government and private sector is inadequate to meet the annual demand (see Figure 4.13). They then resort to sub-standard seeds and planting materials which affect their agricultural production and income negatively. In Figure 4.14 the respondents, the private sector official and the municipality officials discuss the values and suitability of seeds and seedling in specific soil types.



Figure 4.13: Discussions on inputs and seeds with the private sector and municipality officials (Source: Photo taken by researcher, 2013).

Furthermore, the respondents claim that their serious problem is the lack of seeds and planting material of suitable varieties of vegetables. The respondents assert that the local seed industry focuses on long-term sustainable seed, government institutes supply the breeder seeds, while farmer organisations, NGOs and the private sector produce the commercial seeds. Their serious concern is that there is

no coordination and cooperation among these suppliers with the result that they remain without a reliable source of input supply.

The respondents recommend that the private sector and the NGOs be encouraged to undertake extension services in a broad-based manner with the Department of Agriculture in the areas in which they are involved. The respondents believe that this may be more effective and efficient than the department, especially in input supplies, marketing and transport of inputs. Consequently, many new varieties of seeds, especially vegetable seeds, would become available to respondents, although at a higher price than local suppliers.

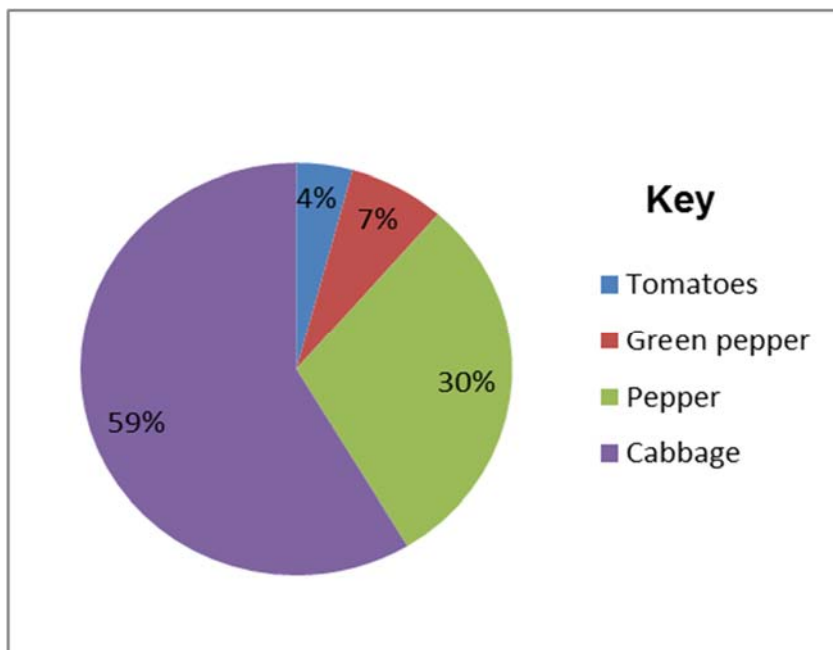


Figure 4.14: Types and percentages of crops produced (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2013)

Although limited quantities of fertilisers force them to reduce the total area farmed, they are not totally discouraged because their interest is to become commercial farmers who would be able to produce for local markets and export markets. In responding to the type of crops provided (Question B9 in Appendix 3), the respondents indicate that the type and quantity of crops produced depend of their availability and supply from the municipality. The types and percentage of

vegetables produced are illustrated in Figure 4.14. These types consist of vegetables such as tomatoes, cabbage, green pepper and pepper.

According to the results, cabbage (59%) is the most cultivated crop whereas tomato (4%) is the least planted crop. In terms of percentages the crops range from tomatoes, green pepper, pepper to cabbage (with the highest percentage). The results from the data obtained from Question B9 in Appendix 3 show that farming was concentrated largely on vegetables within the district and has been successful in increasing yields in some areas compared to others in terms of total crop output.

4.2.3 Perception of agricultural policy

The existence of an agricultural policy is important for the development of farming. Questions were included in Appendix 3 to the investigation whether the respondents are informed about policy, types of policy and their knowledge about those policies (see Questions C1, C2 and C3 in Appendix 3). According to the results obtained only a few (15%) of the sampled respondents knew about agricultural policy while the majority (85%) did not know. Very few respondents could specify which policies are specifically meant for emerging farmers and which are general agricultural policies. Most of the respondents had no idea about that there were different policies.

In response to questions about the types of policy and their knowledge about them, the majority (75%) did not even know what policies are in place and what they entail. A few of the respondents claim that the aim of the policy is to assist the previously marginalised black farmers but they have no further details about the policy. The rest of the respondents were unable to make any comment about the aims of the policy. With regard to the importance of the policy, 74% of the respondents stated that they are not aware of its significance because they are still without funds, infrastructure, and they are also operating on small farms.

The respondents were asked about the implementers of the policy (see Questions C4 and C5 in Appendix 3). A small group (3%) of respondents indicated that the policy is implemented by the extension officers. They ascribed this to the regular meetings that are often convened by extension officers. The majority (97%) had no

idea of who implements the policy. However, among those respondents who attended the meetings organised by the extension officers, only one percent regard extension officers as officials from the department of agriculture in their municipalities because meetings for farmers' days, involve different officials. As a result, the purposes of the officials' visits are not clear, whether they are implementers or participants during farmers' day's programmes.

In response to whether the policy is implemented correctly, none of the respondents could indicate whether it is implemented correctly or not. They only know that extension officers provide agricultural support to farmers such as information on plants, animals and seeds. During the focus groups discussion, the respondents indicated that their level of knowledge about policy serve as a constraint towards their successfulness. They further indicated in the focus group discussions that they require some intervention from government to address their perceived needs. These needs are presented in Figure 4.15.

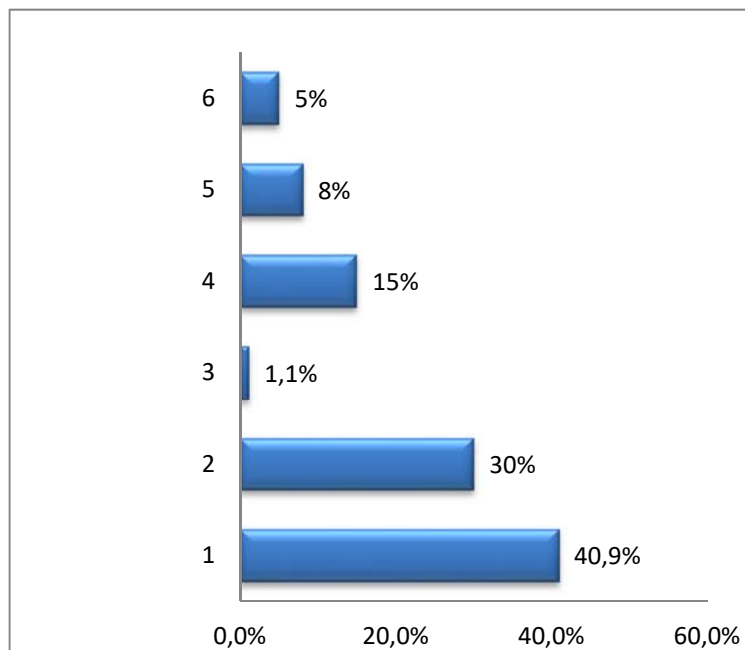


Figure 4.15: Respondents' needs (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2013)

In terms of their needs, finance is rated the highest (40,9%), while policy is the least rated challenge by respondents. Given the prevalence of unfavourable rainfall in the district 30% of the respondents indicated that they need irrigation systems followed by 15% who rated the need for markets the highest. Although fertilisers (5%) play a

pivotal role in crop production, it was rated lower than transport (8%). As already indicated in Section 4.2.2.3 only 4% of respondents received government-assisted credit, while 95% do not receive either government or institutional support and finance all their farming activities on their own. According to respondents, market access (15%) is also important to develop their farming status, although their background makes it difficult to gain access to funding to obtain such access.

It has emerged from the respondents' answers that they lack awareness of existing insurance schemes. This deprives them of an opportunity to access funding to pay their indemnities. Consequently, sufficient funding for farming activities remains the responsibility of the owner. This naturally affects their overall crop production. Hence, they need assistance from the government in financing some of their running costs on the farm.

4.2.4 Perception of policy implementation and its significance

Given the availability of the new agricultural policy that is being implemented, it was important to investigate the extent to which policy helps respondents to improve their farming and what level of assistance they receive. Responses to questions C6 and C7 (in Appendix 3) indicate that the majority of the respondents (74%) did not see any changes or improvements resulting from policy implementation. In the focus group discussion, the respondents indicated that there is limited support in terms of resources, and they complained about the timing, inadequate quantity of supply of seeds or seedlings, and fertilisers and its distribution, which is discriminatory according to them. On the other hand, 16% of the respondents, viewed the implementation of policy as important because they receive seedling, fertilisers and some funding.

The responses obtained from the questions on policy support further reveal that different categories of respondents have come to the fore. The first category consists of respondents who have poor resources. They form the majority (74%) of those respondents whose level of operation has not been affected by policy assistance at all. The second category of respondents (16%) consists of those who are gradually experiencing some improvement due to government support. They

receive support in various forms, depending on what is available at district level in their local municipalities.

The responses show a divide among emerging farmers in their different local municipalities. As a result, the level of satisfaction differs from one farmer to the next. In response to this disparity, the respondents state that policy is not reaching them in all the local municipalities. Policy implementation tends to favour some farmers over others in some municipalities and even within the same municipality. They regard this distorted nature of implementation as being unfair because it divides the African emerging farmers into rich and poor farmers.

4.2.5 Satisfaction with agricultural policy

The existence of the agricultural policy means different things to different emerging farmers. In order to understand their views on policy questions were asked on how they perceive the policy itself (see Questions C8 and C9 in Appendix 3). The responses show that in terms of their satisfaction with the policy itself, none of the respondents responded positively. According to respondents, it is still too early for them to judge the success or otherwise of the policy because they are not yet convinced that the policy is serving them well. Furthermore, they allege that they are not sure about the existence of different policies for emerging farmers and agricultural policy and as such they did not have more details about the agricultural policy.

Regarding the differences between apartheid agricultural policy pre- and post-1994, there are two schools of thought among the respondents. The first school of thought indicates that the current agricultural policy is better than the apartheid policy because it supports them through programmes to access funds and markets. The second school of thought sees both apartheid and current agricultural policies as the same because they are still discriminated against, as their situations have not changed in anyway but rather worsened.

Asked about the types of activities and marketing policies available that satisfy them, almost 90% of the respondents could only cite the provision of seeds, seedlings and fertilisers as to what they could view as activities (see Questions C10,

C11 and C12 in Appendix 3). The rest of their farming enterprises are characterised by different problems of different magnitudes in different areas such as electricity bills, irrigation schemes, storage and markets wherein government intervention is not visible. The remaining 10% add activities such as workshops and land reform programmes. None of the respondents identified the type of marketing policy about which they have been informed and could not provide any further information about their satisfaction in this regard.

4.2.6 Training needs

The development of respondents depends, among others, on the type of training provided. To find out more on training for emerging farmers, questions were asked about attendance of workshops, the type of training programmes they recommend, training challenges and the training needs respondents have (Questions D1, D2, D3, D4 and D5 in Appendix 3).

According to information obtained during the focus groups on the majority of the respondents (74%) work as owners of farming enterprises with fewer than five employees. They do not have any training programmes for their employees but rather resort to their experience that they apply on the farm. The remaining 26% of the respondents have more than five employees but still do not have any training programme in operation to capacitate their employees. They only attend farmers' day meetings for information sharing but the content of the programme remains the facilitator's domain. The frequency of such meetings is unknown, as they are determined by extension officers, based on the availability of transport in different municipalities and are therefore, not predictable. The respondents were unable to indicate the frequency of such meeting as they occur very far apart.

With regard to the target group, the respondents consider themselves as the target group. They attribute this to their being Africans, previously marginalised and being poor. Furthermore, they indicate that in most of their meetings, the rich commercial farmers do not attend, as they are not invited due to their level of development. They also state that issues deliberated upon in such meetings encompass support, funding and training for emerging farmers. It is on the basis of this that they regard themselves as such.

The respondents further indicate that they did not attend any training programmes themselves. The respondents indicated that aspects such as farming skills, farm management, policy development and implementation as well as financial management and marketing are important aspects that they may require training for. The respondents also indicate that other training programmes such as bookkeeping and office administration were necessary to develop their skills further.

On the issue of challenges the respondents indicate that they are not providing any training on their farms. They are, therefore, not experiencing any training challenges. Given the evidence that there are no training challenges, it emerged from the discussions with some respondents that they have no specific way of dealing with challenges that they experience but apply a trial and error approach. In terms of further training the response from the respondents has been unanimously positive. They all require training on policy, focusing on actual farming management and farm practice.

The majority of respondents 68% indicated a keen interest to know more about policy and application of technology. Ten percent of the respondents prefer to learn more about the policy which deals with management of production phases especially during harvesting times and packaging, while the remaining 22% prefer to know more on the policy which focuses on marketing strategies. They indicate that they are loaded with a lot of information within a short period of time during local workshops. This makes it difficult for them to develop practical skills, initiative and communication. They further indicate that there is need for a policy that deals with communication skills.

4.2.7 Products produced

Section E of the questionnaire completed by the 180 emerging farmers required them to provide details of what they produce on their farms and how they market their crops. The responses provided to questions E1, E2 and E3 (Appendix 3) provided data on the type of products they produce, how they market the products and where they sell them. According to the respondents, a variety of vegetables are produced throughout the district in different locations. However, the production of

these products depends on favourable factors such as the weather, credit, fertilisers, market access and irrigation schemes. In terms of combination of products, the data shows that the majority of emerging farmers (85%) cultivate green peppers, cabbage, and tomatoes. Cultivation of these vegetables by some respondents is shown in Figure 4.16.



Figure 4.16: Types of crops produced (Source: Photos taken by researcher, 2013).

Some respondent also grows Okra, butternuts and peppers on small scale which also varies widely by area and emerging farmer. According to the respondents, the cultivation of these products is mainly driven by demand within and outside the district. This has been evident in some areas in terms of total output of crops. The cultivation of cabbage is common in some areas in the Greater Giyani local municipality despite a lack of policy support and poor irrigation schemes. In the Maruleng local municipality, irrespective of the restitution challenge, some respondents cultivate tomatoes and cabbage.

In the focus groups the respondents indicated that although the cultivation of vegetables is a source of livelihood for emerging farmers in the district, in the Greater Letaba local municipality some emerging farmers experience difficulties in cultivating sufficient vegetables on their acquired farms due to a lack of credit as Figure 4.17 illustrates. The respondents also indicated that they only manage to utilise a small portion of the farm due to limited resources and a lack of post-

settlement support from government. Despite existing challenges, the respondents indicated that vegetable production in the Mopani district is widespread and its demand is relatively large.



Figure 4.17: Underutilised acquired farm (Source: Photo taken by researcher, 2013).

4.2.8 Markets for farm produce

4.2.8.1 Urban markets

The purpose of market orientated agricultural activity is to sell for profit. To find out how respondents sell their products, what the availability of markets are and whether all products are sold at once, questions E4, E5, E6 and E7 (as given in Appendix 3) was put to the 180 emerging farmers during the data collection process. The data obtained from the respondents as already discussed in the previous section indicate that vegetables are produced in all five local municipalities although the types differ from one municipality to the other.

For the products to be sold the respondents indicate that they use different methods to market them. While some respondents market their vegetables in town, others use the local villages as their markets. It is only those who can afford transport who regularly market their products in town. According to the respondents some of the emerging farmers market their produce next to the farm along the main roads and even in their homes. Only a small number of respondents (5%) indicated that they market their products over a long distance. The data obtained show that most of the products are sold in the villages and in town. Another area where they market their products is to hawkers who buy and sell in different locations.

In terms of sales the respondents stated that there is no fixed method of pricing their products. They indicated that their products are perishable, therefore, this affects the quality and consequently the price. According to the respondents, they depend to some extent on the previous day's sales to ensure that there is no spoilage. They indicated that if not all has been sold for some days then they share it with neighbours or donate it to the needy. As a result, the way in which the product is sold, is not easily predictable.

In terms of markets all respondents acknowledged that markets exist for agricultural products in the Mopani district. However, the distance to the markets depends largely on the location of the farm, which ranges from approximately two kilometres to 80 kilometres. The data obtained from the respondents show that few emerging farmers in the district tend to sell their produce to public stores due to distance. Most respondents in the sample (40%) cite distance to national and international markets as a major constraining factor and hence they rely on road stalls to sell their products.

The respondents indicated that they often experience problems with transport to markets because it is not reliable and as a result, the quality of their products is affected negatively. According to the respondents, the markets where they sell their products are found in town in the local area as urban markets. These are the fresh produce markets as well as public stores, as shown in Figure 4.18. The existing urban markets are Checkers, SuperSpar, Pick-n-Pay and Food Lovers Market. According to respondents, these markets serve not only the emerging farmers by

buying their products that are of good quality but also the general public who buy their food regularly.

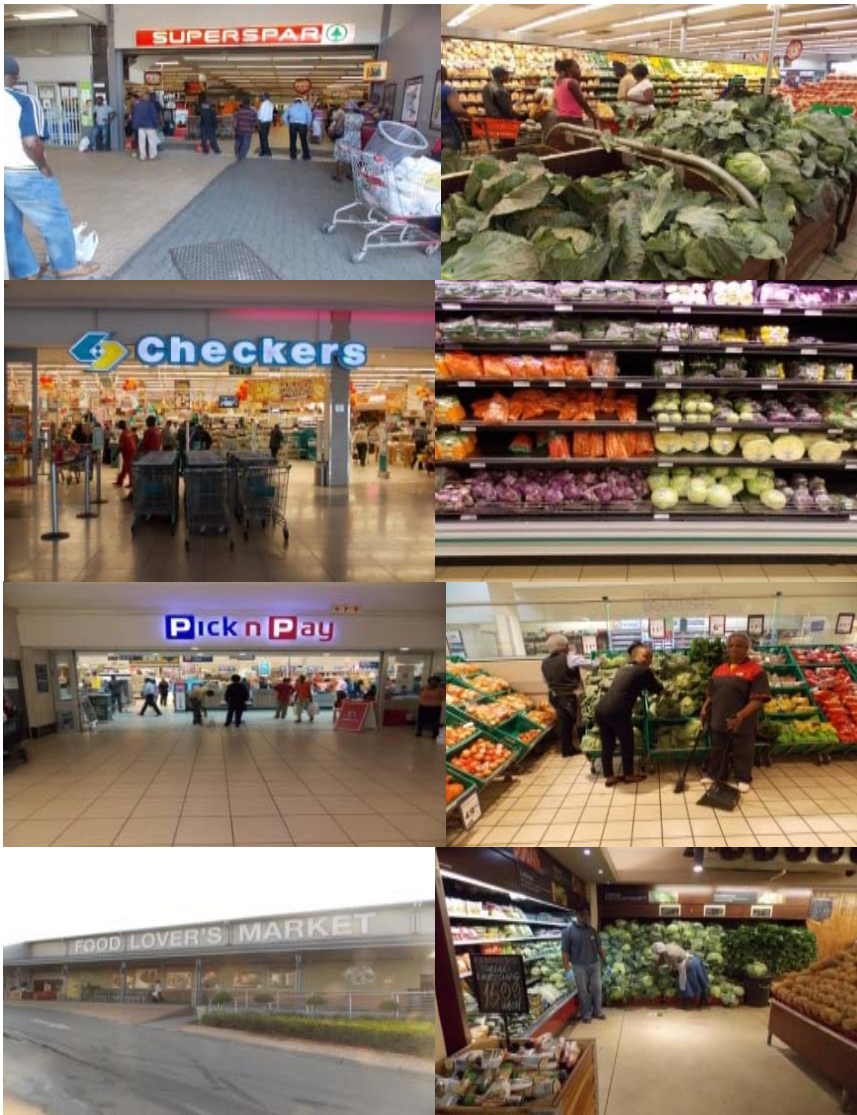


Figure 4.18: Urban markets (Source: Photos taken by researcher, 2013).

The urban markets are, however, situated in different parts of town. For example, Pick-n- Pay and SuperSpar are found in the CBD while Checkers and Food Lovers Market are situated on the outskirts of the town. These markets are always available to respondents, depending on their ability to deliver some products. The most common types of vegetables marketed in these stores are cabbage, tomatoes and green peppers.

Despite the existence of urban markets some respondents have trouble in accessing the markets due to different factors such as quality of their produce and distance from the market. The availability of these markets indicates the potential for development, should respondents be able to use them adequately. According to respondents, the markets themselves should also make conditions conducive for them by extending their support to those farmers who are still struggling to make progress in the sector.

4.2.8.2 Road stalls

According to respondents, road stalls are mainly situated along the main roads that connect different villages with various towns (see Figure 4.19). They usually buy their products from the farm and then sell them to the motorists along the main roads. According to respondents, this is an added advantage, as they have a variety of markets situated in different areas to choose from.



Figure 4.19: Road stalls (Source: Photos taken by researcher, 2013).

The respondents indicate that, although markets are always available, the rate at which their products are bought is discouraging and they then remain with surpluses that cannot be sold as they will have been damaged. They utilise road stalls but they are few and small in size to serve all emerging farmers. Consequently, they lose and cannot benefit from their harvest which becomes a drawback. It impacts negatively on their ability to settle their debts and they remain within the ranks of emerging farmers with little hope to become commercial farmers.

4.2.9 Transport

The production of different vegetables requires regular transport to take them to the markets. In the questionnaire and in the focus groups respondents were asked about the way in which products are transported, the ownership of transport and problems experienced (see Questions F1, F2 and F3 in Appendix 3). According to respondents, their products are transported by different types of transport, depending on the quantity of the products and affordability of the transport. The transport belongs to different owners and companies. Very few respondents (26%) own transport that helps them to transport their products. Different types of transport used by some respondents are shown in Figure 4. 20. However, the data obtained indicate that a limited transport network exists in the peripheral areas of the district.



Figure 4.20: Types of transport (Source: Photos taken by researcher, 2013).

The majority (58%) of the respondents argue that it hinders not only the physical mobility of people and goods and the transportation networks, but also reduces easy access to telecommunication systems and electrical grids. Therefore, it deprives them of some opportunities to improve farming and marketing conditions that would enable them to realise their agricultural potential. The respondents state that, in peripheral areas, only five percent of respondents have a limited road access while in dispersed settlements major transport challenges exist which hinders remote

respondents to benefit from existing market outlets. They further indicate that poor rural roads and transport systems result in high transaction costs. These are among their main areas of concern for development. As a result, their performance is affected right from the production stage to marketing domestically and even internationally. This reduces their expected income, as it is spent on transport costs. It resultantly divides the respondents into two groups with different access to services and support.

4.2.10 Economic benefits of policy on respondents' activities

In order to ascertain the impacts of the implementation of the agricultural policy on the activities of emerging farmers questions were asked about the economic benefits or income the respondents derived from the farms (see Question G1 in Appendix 3). The majority of the respondents (92%) would not disclose the specific income they made on their farm or how much they contributed as they considered it to be confidential. However, according to information obtained during the focus groups most respondents earned less than R30 000 annually from vegetable production. Two percent of the respondents did not answer the question.

In response to the contribution of farming to their income (Question G2) most of the respondents (70%) allege that their farming activities do not contribute significantly to their monthly income because of maintenance and transport costs to the market. They attribute their failure to earn a good income to the transport owners' system of charging them exorbitant amounts while they are not reliable in collecting the produce on time and regularly. This makes the farmers to lose their profit due to the quality of the products deteriorating and lost produce while in transit. Only a few respondents (10%) earn a good profit that contribute significantly towards their monthly income.

The respondents further indicated that sometimes their produce is rejected at the market and they then must find alternative markets within a short space of time, given the perishable nature of the product. As a result, they incurred losses as the rejected produce would go bad before being sold on the informal markets. Consequently, their income is not sustainable and the produce is not giving them a good return. In addition, the respondents stated that they do not make a meaningful

profit to sustain their income given the volatility of prices in the market place. Amid their frustrations they indicate that it is difficult for them to improve their profitability. They attribute this to a number of constraints such as funding, transaction costs, poor farming skills, insufficient and irregular training programmes, and inappropriate timing of programmes before the planting seasons. Furthermore, they stated that there is no regular monitoring of their performance by extension officers that could improve their profitability. Over and above that, they expressed a shortage of better strategy to link them with successful white farmers to share some good practices that could make them successful and even to share not only expertise but also resources to improve their retarded progress.

Given the challenges that emerging farmers are faced with, answers to questions on the sustainability of their farming and possible solutions to such constraints (see Questions G3 and G4 in Appendix 3) provided interesting responses. According to the respondents, it is difficult to sustain the current monthly income because prices are always fluctuating. They also indicate that the prices which they get either from the markets or local community customers are low. The conditions of the roads are also deteriorating and this incurs additional expenses for their transport unless the support from the department is forthcoming. Consequently, their produce is not giving them high prices that allow them to expand a sustainable business. The result is that they do not make a meaningful profit that can be sustained. Some of the respondents indicated that it is difficult for them to improve their profitability and they could only improve their profitability if the Department would link them with successful white farmers to share some good practices. They were also of the opinion that if constraints such as poor farming skills and insufficient and irregular training programmes are addressed their farming could be improved. The respondents further indicate that the appropriate timing of such programmes before the planting seasons is essential. Most importantly, they asserted that their performance should be monitored regularly by extension officers to improve their profitability.

4.2.11 Repeat visits to the district

The data and findings presented in the previous subsections were derived from the field work undertaken in 2013 in the study area. In an attempt to assess the impact

of policy on some of the respondents, some farms were re-visited in the middle of 2015 by the researcher to observe any changes that had taken place on these farms. Changes on two of these farms are illustrated below. The outcome of the 2015 visit revealed that there were some changes, that had taken place as a result of policy implementation.



Figure 4.21: A farmer on his farm in 2013 (Source: Photo taken by researcher, 2013).

Figure 4.21 shows the situation that one of the respondent was faced with in 2013. It was difficult for the farmer to water the vegetables due to a lack of a proper irrigation system. The pipes were old and too thin to provide sufficient water for the tomatoes that were drying up. The employees were struggling to fetch enough water for the crops from the nearby stream.



Figure 4.22: Farmers working on their land in 2013 (Source: Photo taken by researcher, 2013).

Another respondent had the same problem of cultivating some crops without an irrigation system. The only source of water supply was the stream next to the farm on which the farmer depended, as Figure 4.22 shows. Although they had some smaller pipes to irrigate their vegetables, the water was not sufficient for the area to be covered. They were both struggling to produce enough vegetables of good quality for the market.

During the second visit in 2015, the situation had improved on both farms. Figures 4.23A and 4.23B illustrate the changed environment on their farms. The department has assisted them with some irrigation pipes to supplement the ones they had on their farms. This served as an improvement and a positive support for respondents who were looking forward to transiting into the mainstream commercial farming sector. Both photographs indicate that although policy could impact negatively on emerging farmers' activities, it, however, has some positive effects on some farms. The changes illustrated in these figures bear testimony to the necessity of policy support to emerging farmers so that they could become commercial farmers and market their products even internationally. New irrigation resources and water tanks have been provided to the respondents as part of government support. The respondents who benefit from the support make positive developments in terms of cultivation.



Figure 4.23A: Improvement in 2015 (Source: Photo taken by researcher, 2015).



Figure 4.23B: Improvement in 2015 (Source: Photo taken by researcher, 2015).

Although the respondents indicate to the researcher that there was no change in their situation on the farm, the images tell another story. The cultivated vegetables on these farms were impressive showing signs of development and the products were of a good quality. This shows the importance of government support to the previously marginalised emerging farmers to unlock their potential to contribute towards the overall development of the sector and other economic sectors as well.

4.3 Responses of municipality officials

4.3.1 Policy issues

Implementation of agricultural policy plays an important role in regulating the operation of the industry, especially for emerging farmers. In their response to questions on agricultural policy in the study area all the municipal officials acknowledge that the apartheid and democratic governments both used policies to support agriculture, but in different ways.

In response to a question on how the apartheid policy influenced the distribution of farmers in their district (see Question 1 in Appendix 4) the municipal responded that previous government legislation such as the Land Act of 1913 and 1936 respectively was mainly responsible for the distribution of African farmers. They alleged that the Acts forced the African farmers to move away from their original fertile lands to the so-called homeland territories where they were given small plots to utilise while the fertile lands of which they were deprived were given to white farmers. The

respondents further stated that the African farmers were forced to be crowded on the lands that were ruled according to the communal model of agricultural practice. In their view, it was these apartheid Acts that had created a black agricultural landscape as opposed to the white agricultural landscape, which differed in a number of ways. Consequently, the differentiated implementation of policy led to the rich and poor farmers residing in spatially separated areas, as defined by policy.

In response to the question on how the policies changed over time (see Question 2 in Appendix 4) the municipal officials indicated that apartheid policies were not sustainable and could not address all the social ills with which the people were confronted in the district such as funding, resources in agriculture and training opportunities. Consequently, the segregated model was reviewed and a biased model that favoured white farmers in most of their agricultural activities like subsidies, irrigation systems and land distribution was revisited and changed sequentially. After this, a new democratic government was phased in with new agricultural policies that liberalised the agricultural industry. It is this change of policy that now embraces the emerging farmers, especially the previously marginalised farmers who are prioritised as the beneficiaries of the new policy directives. The officials further concluded that it is now the marginalised black farmers whose agricultural landscape is being targeted which will be transformed and developed. They, however, stated that the former white beneficiaries of the apartheid policies were fairly discriminated against as a result of the land reform policy and the Black Economic Empowerment model. Consequently, the changing political machinery is focusing on the spatial configuration of the two landscapes with their different dynamics. They further state that the distinguishing feature of the new policy was that it was more inclusive than the previous regime's policy.

The change of policy has come from the change of government and questions were asked regarding what policies are now available, how they assist the emerging farmers and what policies exist in the sector (see Questions 3, 4 and 5 in Appendix 4). According to the responses obtained from the municipal officials, numerous policies have been brought about by the new democratic government. These include among others, restitution, land redistribution and tenure security, all of which have a profound influence on the spatial distribution of farmers. These policies

replaced the previous apartheid policies that have created a division between black and white farming areas. However, the municipal officials state that there are no specific policies designed for assisting emerging farmers. Instead, the mechanisation policy, market policy, land reform policy and credit policy mainly target the historically marginalised sectors of the economy and the racial spectrum in different areas of the economic landscape, including emerging farmers. In addition, there is the input policy in which the government intervenes to support emerging farmers to strengthen and improve their farming activities. The municipal officials further state that there are, however, numerous programmes that are focusing specifically on emerging farmers such as Letsima, the CASP programme and MAFISA to address their plight in farming.

4.3.2 Perception on supporting programmes

The officials were asked in the questionnaire and in the interviews to explain who the emerging farmers are that are assisted by policy, how the implementation of policy assists the emerging farmers and if they had informed the emerging farmers about the agricultural policies that supported them (see Questions 6, 7 and 8 in Appendix 4). In the interviews, it was explained to the officials that for the purpose of this research the previously marginalised African farmers in the district are all viewed as emerging farmers. They are predominantly farmers found in the former territorially segregated homelands due to the apartheid policy. The officials responded that they regard these farmers as being characterised by poverty and deprivation by policy rather than the incapacity of the individual farmers. They are also considered as having invested interest in farming and need support. The officials explained that due to the process that is used to benefit farmers, some of the farmers could not be included for benefits because of the selection procedure. Not all farmers benefit from the new agricultural policy dimension.

The municipal officials further stated that emerging farmers who received support are the Letsima, CASP and land reform beneficiaries. According to the municipal officials, the policy has a number of programmes that support emerging farmers. Through the implementation of such programmes they are benefiting. These include the LRAD, PLAS, CASP, Letsima, and MAFISA programmes to address the plight of the emerging farmers. The programmes are focused mainly in the areas of land,

credit, mechanisation and education. These programmes, as the officials allege, have not been previously accessible to the black African farmers in terms of policy. Hence, they are specifically aimed at the historically marginalised farmers to address the racial spectrum in different local municipalities within the agricultural landscape.

The municipal officials indicate that the aim of this discriminatory practice is to reduce uneven spatial distribution of farms and resources. However, for the respondents to access the programmes, they have been informed of the new policies and programmes available and have been invited to apply. After applying, the qualified respondents will be informed of various selection processes by different officials at different levels. Then the respondents will be notified of the results.

Once they qualify the support goes to the farmer and the impact will be evident due to the type of support given. However, the officials acknowledge that not all emerging farmers are duly informed because of logistical problems. In addition, they allege that even though the information is disseminated, the criteria used to inform them are not reliable and cannot reach all emerging farmers at the same time. This leads to an uneven spread of information, which hinders some needy emerging farmers to be part of the new programmes that are intended to improve their poor state of farming. As a result, it perpetuates a biased support mechanism that promotes uneven impact of development on emerging farmers. According to an official, this has been mostly noticeable in Greater Giyani where the respondents are not affected positively by the new policy implementation and programmes. As the official has indicated, the reason is mainly ascribed to insufficient water resources in the area.

The aim of the programmes, according to the municipal officials, is to eradicate uneven development between emerging and commercial farmers. They claim that, in accessing funds, the qualifying respondent will be able to finance their farming activities such as purchasing land. The acquisition of land through some of the programmes such as LRAD, restitution and PLAS will give the respondents an added opportunity of accessing bigger farms to diversify their operations and join

the market value chains. The fund is also used to acquire resources, paying for their transaction costs and developing their existing infrastructure as well as meeting the transport costs to the market. This kind of support was only meant for commercial farmers in terms of the apartheid policy.

The officials further indicate that, since the market is liberalised, the respondents, through funding norms, can access information and technology that assist them to become competitive internationally. According to municipal officials, these funding norms will contribute towards the reduction of inequality between emerging farmers and commercial farmers in the different local municipalities in the district. They further argue that the funds will promote opportunities for job creation thereby fighting poverty. This kind of assistance becomes available in specific areas where qualifying respondents operate. Therefore, there is a locational dimension in the sense that identified areas receive resources and programmes, and are developed over others. Resultantly, islands of development emerge as a result of policy implementation. Despite the unfortunate situation of depriving other emerging farmers of policy support, the officials added, this is to try and balance the uneven development of the past between emerging farmers and commercial farmers.

The municipal officials state that the support given to entitled emerging farmers is a policy procedure. They indicate that the given support does not necessarily meet all the respondents' requirements but rather a portion of them. The support has created a major challenge to the benefiting respondents who do not have additional resources. As a result, they are unable to progress well due to the lack of resources and adequate support from government. Although they received initial support, they are still not able to develop and resultantly, they leave part of the acquired land unattended.

According to the municipal officials, it is this selection criterion that stipulates the beneficiaries. It creates a distribution of emerging farmers on new larger farmers with and without adequate resources. The process has created a new agricultural landscape of 'newly rich' black respondents who have benefited from policy implementation within the broader black emerging farmers and poor respondents without. The officials, however, acknowledge that policy implementation has

benefitted some respondents but has introduced another form of discrimination within the previously marginalised black farmer community. Despite this discrepancy, policy should be implemented.

4.3.3 Policy implementation in the Mopani District Municipality

The implementation of agricultural policy is done by municipal officials and therefore questions were included in the questionnaire to these officials on how policy is implemented, what challenges the respondents' experience, how they deal with the challenges and how the policies assist commercial farmers (see Questions 9, 10, 11 and 12 in Appendix 4).

In their responses to the questions the district local municipal officials state that there are numerous agricultural policies that are appropriate for implementation. Therefore, they perform their duty of policy implementation as stipulated by policy through various extension programmes in terms of their field of specialisation in each local municipality. The officials indicated that the implementation is done in the form of support programmes in the district in conjunction with the provincial department of agriculture. However, the support given through policy implementation does not include commercial farmers. It is argued that commercial farmers are already developed and hence, they are not part of the target group.

They indicated that one of their most important roles in policy implementation is to create a link between the emerging farmers and the district department of agriculture. The intention is to help emerging farmers in improving agricultural productivity, and sharing technologies and knowledge among various actors working at various levels and in different localities. However, the officials indicated that policies are introduced to emerging farmers during isolated farmers' days. Consequently, the policies are not widely adopted or implemented correctly. It has further emerged from the municipal officials' statements that the problem with all agricultural policies is that they are finalised at higher levels of government before extension officers and local emerging farmers get to see and know them. According to municipal officials, the implementation of such policies has been successful in areas where the policies have been widely discussed, properly disseminated and adequately monitored by extension officers who understand them better. Unlike in

other areas, in the Mopani district they have scant knowledge about policies, let alone the implementation thereof due to a lack of adequate coordination and discussions. The separation between people who develop policies in offices and those who should implement them partially contribute to spatial differentiation of policy implementation. However, the officials acknowledge that the prevalence of uneven distribution of knowledge will take a long time to eliminate. According to the municipal officials, this is part of a transformation phase. It undergoes different stages and is supported by various stakeholders with different perceptions and sometimes even conflicting interests in the development of the previously marginalised emerging farmers in the district. The municipal officials further stated that, despite existing challenges and problems of discrimination against some of the emerging farmer in the district it is in the interest of government that the uneven distribution of development between commercial and emerging farmers be eliminated.

4.3.4 Challenges in policy implementation

The role of municipal officials is to promote the development of emerging farmers through policy implementation and programme establishment. However, the implementation of policy has not been without challenges in the district. According to officials, one of the challenges reported is vandalism in different local municipalities. They stated in the interviews conducted by the researcher that the farming land in Maruleng local municipality, which was properly maintained by the former white farmers, has been made available to the local communities through restitution programmes. As part of policy implementation, the government, through district officials has established the CPA to promote the interests of emerging farmers.

However, according to municipal officials, the farms with mangoes and vegetable have caused division among community members. One group wanted to harvest the fruit and vegetables without cultivating and working on the farms, while the other group intended to develop their farming interests and become commercial farmers. Consequently, the scramble for the restituted farms began and acts of vandalism became evident when trees were chopped and burnt down with fruit. Other property

was also damaged (see Figure 4.24). This became a challenge to the municipal officials when they intend to support the respondents but have no products to do so.



Figure 4.24: Vandalised farms in Maruleng and Greater Letaba (Source: Photos taken by researcher, 2013).

In a different area in the Greater Letaba municipality the department had provided agricultural equipment for the respondents to utilise. According to the officials, most of the parts have been stolen and the remaining ones rendered dysfunctional. As a result, the respondents have been unable to progress, while municipal officials cannot replace the stolen parts to ensure that the respondents are supported. Consequently, the property has been abandoned. This presents a serious problem for officials in their efforts to support poor respondents without having the necessary resources (see Figure 4.25). According to the municipal officials, they realise that they experience a serious challenge to ensure that there is security on farms to secure the property provided by government.

According to the municipal officials, there is still a challenge about sufficient information about agricultural policies and programmes from both the side of the extension officers and emerging farmers. This creates a gap in concept meaning at national, provincial, district and municipality level. Such a challenge results from inadequate coordination.



Figure 4.25: Abandoned property (Source: Photo taken by researcher, 2013).

The officials further indicate that while they understand when policy is developed at departmental level, the challenge is that it is not properly and adequately shared with the lower ranks in the district, especially local municipalities, which actually have to implement the policy. The situation is aggravated by a major gap among policy aims, both material and human resource availability as well as the rate at which government wants policy to be implemented. This causes distortions because more often than not it is implemented without being understood properly. The officials also allege that there is a challenge concerning the use of a mentorship approach, which causes duplication of services. It ultimately renders some municipal officials within the department redundant and strains the limited financial resources of the department.

4.3.4 Perception on reduction of uneven spatial distribution of farms

The introduction of the post-apartheid policy in the country, especially within the agricultural domain by government, is aimed at transforming the agricultural sector. It is hoped that this will reduce the uneven spatial distribution of farms, particularly between the commercial and emerging farming sectors by liberalising the economy. In the interviews conducted with the municipality officials they stated that there is little achievement in reducing inequalities in the sector. According to them there is evidence of a few beneficiaries of policy support who have now entered the mainstream commercial farming sector and selling their products internationally,

although it represents an insignificant reduction. This achievement does not only bridge the gap in exports, but also in financial benefits and ownership of land. It also increases the number of workers employed by the new successful African commercial farmers. However, there is still a large number of respondents within the previously marginalised category who are still without policy support.

Despite limited achievements, the officials acknowledge that the majority of emerging farmers are still trapped in the poverty cycle. Some are even worse off than ever before as their ambitions are not met. The result is that the two agricultural landscapes still exist, though in different forms, and still need attention. The officials have also indicated that, given the short period within which the new policy environment has operated there can be more achievements in the long-run if existing challenges were addressed properly, adequately and strategically. As a result, more still needs to be done in terms of policy implementation to reduce the existing uneven spatial distribution and development of farm land in the district.

The municipal officials claim that the reduction of uneven spatial distribution of farms will take a long time to be realised. They state that, as implementers of policy, they still lack sufficient information about the new policies and programmes. In addition, they allege that they often lack proper training in policy implementation matters, which is necessary for programme implementation. Consequently, it becomes difficult for them to support emerging farmers with practical and communication skills, initiatives and proper application methods required for the farming industry. They ascribe these issues to the pace at which programmes are changed and implemented. According to municipal officials, this does not give them enough time for information-sharing, coordination and monitoring mechanisms from national to municipality level. These challenges resultantly affect the reduction of uneven spatial distribution of farms as policy implementation is compromised by introducing ambitious programmes without accompanying resources.

The officials argue that the major problem experienced during the implementation phase is a mismatch between policy objectives and the availability of the required personnel, resources, material as well as financial resources to support implementation. This creates a serious problem, more so as the implementation

process is expected to yield immediate positive results to support political objectives.

The officials even alleged that, regrettably, the agricultural credit available to support programmes for respondents tends to diminish over time and continue to decline. The officials further stated that, although there are a number of institutions that have been involved in financing emerging farmers over time, the actual investment in the sector has been minimal. It follows that the reduction of uneven spatial distribution of farms is not yielding the required standard. The complexities of the situation and lack of adequate coordination and resource support imply that the gap between the commercial and emerging farmers is widening instead of reducing. Consequently, policy implementation *per se* does not adequately address the problem of a reduction of uneven spatial distribution between the two sectors.

4.3.5 Perceived solution to challenges

In the interviews, the municipal officials were asked what their perceptions are regarding the reduction of uneven development between the commercial and emerging farming sectors. Their answers show that there are challenges in the district's municipalities. According to the municipal officials, the solutions to the above challenges are multifaceted and differ in terms of their level of complexity and jurisdiction. Furthermore, they argue that problems such as access to land, credit and policy development are beyond their level of competency. To address these matters, they constantly refer them to the higher authorities through the district management structure.

The municipal officials state that the challenges of transport, human resources and funding are well-known by the district management structure and are being given attention by the relevant directorates. They further indicate that, in the interim, they capitalise on farmers' days to disseminate information to minimise costs. They club together as extension officers with different expertise to empower the emerging farmers. In addition, in addressing the challenges they experience, they also invite farmers to their cost centres to conduct experiments and demonstrations to reduce travelling expenses.

They agree that this is indirectly a transfer of the financial burden to emerging farmers who are poorly resourced and not evenly distributed across the district's geographical area. According to the officials, some of the solutions that they apply especially in disseminating information, are to issue information pamphlets and irregular farm visits while monitoring and evaluating progress. Municipal officials indicated that they assist those farmers within their easy reach, although this is not sufficiently done in almost all the district municipalities as a result of little funding and transport problems. In doing all that they (the municipal officials) hope that the problems and challenges they submitted to higher authorities will be addressed. That, in turn, will enable them to execute their policy mandate if resources are available.

According to these municipal officials, the issue of vandalism should be addressed by emerging farmers through the establishment of security guards that can be paid by farmers. They also indicate that linking themselves with law enforcement agencies to assist them with strategies of securing their property is essential. The involvement of the provincial department of agriculture has not been ruled out in supporting them with subsidies to supplement their income so that they are able to hire security guards and also help with guidance.

Regarding the development of policy from the higher levels the officials have indicated that they have forwarded it to the district management for consideration. The same applies to the mentorship approach and inadequate coordination on policy, availability of resources and provision of human resources. They argue that most of their challenges are beyond their jurisdiction and some are not within the competency of the district. As a result, they cannot comment further on possible solutions, especially policy-related matters and funding norms.

4.3.6 Perceived Impact of policy on respondents

Apartheid agricultural policy has caused the uneven distribution of farms. It was therefore, important to ask the municipal official how they think the post-apartheid policy has influenced the distribution of emerging farmers (see Questions 13 and 14 Appendix 4). According to municipal officials, the respondents are supported through policy implementation. However, the level of support, especially through

programmes, has had a limited influence on the distribution of emerging farmers in the district. They indicate that it is only a few emerging farmers who have physically moved from their previous communal farming lands to newly allocated farms as a result of restitution and land redistribution.

The majority of emerging farmers remain unaffected by the relocation process. The officials ascribed this to limited funds and rapid change-over of policy within a short period of time. This has unfortunately caused uneven distribution of emerging farm. They argue that the major impact of spatial distribution of farm will be realised in many years to come due to insufficient funding and conflicting views as well as different interests from various stakeholders.

Despite uneven distribution of farm land, the municipal officials' knowledge and skills need to be transferred to emerging farmers as part of institutional support to give them proper capacity for development. The municipal officials were asked to give their opinions regarding training for the emerging farmers in their districts (see Questions 15, 16, 17 and 18 in Appendix 4). According to municipal officials, there are no specific training policies for emerging farmers aimed at helping them to become commercial farmers. However, they indicate that training and workshops are held, though not regularly, to support them as part of institutional support. They only have a limited resource base to help them in view of insufficient funds and technology within the district. The officials indicate that the level of support given to emerging farmers is sufficient, given the capacity of each resource base of local municipalities.

4.4 Responses of provincial officials

4.4.1 Agricultural policy

The provincial department of agriculture's involvement in the development of the previously marginalised emerging farmers is essential for their advancement. This will facilitate other stakeholders' roles in developing the sector. As explained in Chapter 3 the provincial official was not available for an interview but he completed the questionnaire left at his office in writing. The Mopani district, like the rest of the country, has experienced three major political regimes. These are the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid eras that have shaped the current emerging farming

sector. In response to the questions on the policy environment (see Questions 1, 2 and 3 in Appendix 5) the provincial official stated that, although three political eras have existed, there is no specific policy, which has been developed for emerging farmers in the country. There is only one agricultural policy for the entire agricultural sector, irrespective of its dual nature. This policy has an impact on the commercial and emerging farming sectors alike.

According to the provincial official, the political, social and economic situations in the district have changed, as a result of the post-apartheid government. This means that the agricultural sector needs to change even more so that it can develop from the previous segregated system into the mainstream commercial farming sector. The official argues that it is only through policy implementation that the transformation of the sector can be achieved.

The official stated that, in response to the growing demand for emerging farmer development, policies are developed by the National Department for Agriculture (NDA) and the provincial department of agriculture with different objectives and aims in mind. These include, the National Agricultural Policy (NAP) for promoting respondents' crop production, as well as set-up strategies and programmes in cooperation with provincial governments and districts. In addition, there are programmes in place from national level down to municipal level in the new dispensation that address the plight of emerging farmers. These include, programmes such as SLAG, LRAD and PLAS by which respondents who qualify in accordance with the model receive assistance for better productivity and even for extending their expertise to other respondents who do not qualify. The official claims that, the apartheid regime, unlike the democratic government of today, did not have such programmes for black farmers but only supported white farmers as guided by the then policy.

In terms of implementation, the provincial official stated that, the districts and local municipalities in the province implement policies and programmes to provide all agricultural sectors with support services. The main purpose is to restore land and rights to the previously marginalised farmers. In addition, the aim is to put on par the production of existing emerging farmers with their commercial counterpart, in

the province. According to the official, this will reduce uneven spatial distribution of farms between commercial and emerging farming sectors.

The provincial official further indicated that the success of the implementation has been of a limited scale. Hence, only a few benefiting respondents can produce larger quantities of products than before. According to the official, this is a positive step in the right direction of channelling the respondents into mainstream commercial agriculture. The official also claimed that evidence of the usefulness of this endeavour is that a few successful emerging farmers are now entering major national and international markets as a result of agricultural policy. According to the provincial official, for these formerly disadvantaged black emerging farmers to market their products internationally is a historic landmark in developing their level of productivity, efficiency and compatibility in the district.

4.4.2 Agricultural support institutions

In view of the existence of the new policy environment, the provincial official was asked how this is in line with the changing agricultural environment in the district (see Questions 4 and 5 in Appendix 5). It has been explained previously that extension services have traditionally been the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture. According to the provincial official, the responsibility for extension services is passed down from the national department to the provincial department and by them to the district through municipalities. The official indicated that there are also extension services in place from the national down to municipality level. This is especially true for the overall land reform programmes established after 1994 to address the plight of emerging farmers in areas of land, credit, fertilisers and seedlings.

However, the provincial official acknowledged that there are not enough extension officers to provide skills and basic inputs required to emerging farmers in the district. As a result, production levels and yields of many emerging farmers have been low. The district also suffers from an underutilisation of extension officers in its different local municipalities. Hence, the establishment of the mentorship model, which unfortunately charges exorbitant amounts and does not service the entire emerging farming sector. This is ascribed to the fact that the post-apartheid regime does not

have a specific policy developed for the emerging farming sector to focus especially on their unique problems and consequently, they outsource.

4.4.3 Challenges and solutions

The implementation of policy in the district is constrained by numerous challenges that need solutions. The provincial official was asked what the challenges are in his department, how they respond to the challenges and what difficulties they encounter in building relationships between emerging and commercial (see Questions 6, 7 and 8 in Appendix 5). In terms of challenges, it was reported by the provincial official that the department's work is seriously constrained by a lack of sufficient human and institutional capabilities to implement policy. Inadequate physical infrastructure, shortage of key skills and poor resources that are essential for providing efficient and effective services, present other challenge to the department.

The official further indicated that the low educational level of emerging farmers requires serious attention to equip them with the knowledge and information that serve as prerequisites to a proper functioning industry. Moreover, the most destabilising factor within the province, as noted by the official is the ageing cohort of emerging farmers without a succession plan in place. This is not only going to affect the level of productivity but also food security in the province. The youths' lack of interest in joining the industry despite its positive prospects, and the uneven distribution of male and female emerging farmers in higher positions are other challenges. Given the changing environment within the agricultural sector, a lack of capacity to meet required levels is a major challenge to the department. Furthermore, a lack of appropriate skills by emerging farmers is a constraint to cope with the ever-changing agricultural scenario.

The official further reiterated that there are funding constraints in support services and outreach programmes. Funds allocated are inadequate and result in inefficient operation of supporting services. It has, moreover, been acknowledged by the official that, there is a poor formal monitoring mechanism of the agricultural production system for respondents to identify new problem areas and to provide information systematically for purposes of research planning.

The limited number of well-trained and experienced field extension officers is the principal constraint in improving production capability in nearly all districts and their municipalities in the province, especially for emerging farmers. Moreover, a lack of sufficient and relevant as well as updated information systems to support research and development activities within the emerging sector further retards efficiency.

In terms of skills, the official indicated that, although there is no specific skills development policy, some emerging farmers in big projects are linked to commercial farmers via mentorship to assist them in practising farming as a business. According to the official, the process has been implemented adequately so far since no complaints have been received. Furthermore, he indicated that institutions such as universities and government institutions also help to sustain the process. Resources such as bulk water infrastructure, finance and infrastructure are being provided, though not sufficiently. Hence, the level of capacity that the department utilises is moderate for the implementation of policies. According to the official, simple demonstration sessions are conducted to offset some challenges. The outcomes of these sessions are forwarded to the farmers through demonstrations in farmer field-work programmes, workshops, and farmers' day. In addition, training is conducted in the agricultural cost centres as well as through extension services in the form of presentations and leaflets.

4.4.4 Institutional reform and reduction of inequality in Mopani district

Building a mutual relationship between commercial and emerging farmers has not been without its problems. Questions were asked about the need for institutional reform, distribution of emerging farmers and their reduction of the gap between the two sectors (see Questions 9, 10 and 11 in Appendix 5). According to the provincial official, the implementation of government policy in different institutions and agents in the five municipalities of the Greater Giyani, the Maruleng, the Greater Tzaneen, the Ba-Phalaborwa, and the Greater Letaba does not address the plight of emerging farmers adequately. According to the provincial official, a platform has been created for the emerging and commercial farmers to negotiate a way of working cooperatively in order to alleviate many problems between the respondents and commercial farmers in the district. Through mentorship programmes and strategic

partnerships better consensus can be reached that brings the two closer than before.

To strengthen their relationship, it is further envisaged that one farmer organisation be established as an umbrella of the various existing farmer organisations in the province. The official stated that the umbrella body will then pioneer the merging and coalition of the various bodies. Once that has been achieved a major progress will have been enhanced in which a new democratic agricultural landscape will be fully established in the province. This will cater for the entire agricultural sector, thereby minimising the running expenses. Allocated funds can also be released appropriately to close the gap in areas of obvious need. The official also noted that the formation of such an umbrella body could even assist in utilising the existing human resources with their levels of expertise in terms of their educational backgrounds.

According to the provincial official, the land reform policy has minimally affected the respondents' locational feature, as some of them have moved from the previous communal areas to the new farms to practise commercial farming. Through programmes such as LRAD, PLAS and the land restitution policy some of the emerging farmers have been given farms, which were previously owned by white commercial farmers. That represents a historic move in South Africa that changes its agricultural landscape. The official further alleged that this has reduced spatial inequalities between the two racial farming groups in terms of resources and wealth. This is ascribed to policy and programmes that allow emerging farmers to access a better resource base of the new location with its better resources in terms of soil, equipment and proximity to the market. Such emerging farmers are well-supported by policy in terms of inputs and marketing skills.

The official stated that the existence of the gap between the commercial and the respondents has long been accepted as a major challenge. To reduce this inequality, a platform has been set up between commercial and respondents to discuss matters of common concern. There is a programme of mentorship in which commercial farmers assist the emerging farmers in terms of expertise and resource use. Despite these challenges, efforts are made to improve the respondents'

situation. This includes, among others, training workshops on new developments and technology transfer from commercial farmers to emerging farmers. It provides many essential services that are required by the emerging farmers in the district to improve their crop productivity and increase return. The official indicated that this has reduced spatial inequalities because some of the emerging farmers are no longer regarded as emerging farmers but they are now fully-fledged commercial farmers who export their products to international markets. Some are equal to and even better than some commercial farmers who have been in the business for years.

It is the opinion of the official that the implementation of these programmes has bridged the gap to some extent and continues to move emerging farmers into the mainstream commercial farming sector. However, policy implementation has not adequately addressed the needs of the previously marginalised emerging farmers in the district. Consequently, the problem of uneven spatial distribution of farms in the district still exists. This is attributed to a lack of properly coordinated institutions that cannot provide adequate support within the sector due to duplication of services.

The provincial official acknowledged that the need to reduce the gap between the commercial and emerging farmers remains a major challenge that requires competent institutions, not only in the district, but also the whole province. In addition, the official indicates that, although few success stories have been observed, the impact thereof has not been significant. It implies that the redistribution of land has slightly changed the status of the few beneficiaries in the district. According to the official, for major changes to be achieved, the institutional problem needs to be addressed by reforming all relevant institutions. This, however, would be a long process because it involves consultations, various stakeholders, capacity, funding and restructuring. For the process to be successful, it requires people with an understanding of agricultural policy formulation, implementation and evaluation to facilitate its effectiveness in the district. This would facilitate the progress of reducing the gap that exists.

4.4.5 Training programmes and institutional support

The importance of training cannot be ignored to develop emerging farmers by existing institutions and specific questions were asked about the skills available and the level of institutional support provided (see Questions 12, 13, 14 and 15 in Appendix 5). The Department of Agriculture's official in the district acknowledged the importance of skills development. However, he acknowledged that there is no specific skills development policy in place to support emerging farmers. Nevertheless, the process of linking commercial farmers through mentorship programmes with the respondents will improve their farming situation. Together with workshops supported by municipal officials, these are enough for now and relevant for emerging farmers' development.

According to the official, the relevancy and adequacy stem from the fact that they are provided by two different institutions led by people with knowledge, skills and experience in agricultural activities. However, more support is still necessary to empower the respondents adequately. This will, in turn, upgrade their skills content thereby improving their efficiency and reducing much dependency on external support. The provincial official stated that universities, parastatals and government institutions help to sustain the process. Resources such as bulk water infrastructure, financing, provision of infrastructure and pack houses, and environmentally controlled houses are available to promote the success of policies that are currently implemented. In terms of capacity, the official indicates that it is moderate. This implies that the availability of resources and support given by different institutions only partially address the needs of the emerging farmers and more still needs to be done.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings from the data collection process in the five local municipalities in the district. The presentation of the findings concentrated on the responses obtained from the 180 emerging farmers that were interviewed and who completed the questionnaires and provided information during the focus group discussions.

The findings include aspects such as demographic features of emerging farmers, description of farms, perception of respondents about policy and policy implementation, satisfaction with policy, training needs of emerging farmers, products produced on the farms and markets, transport and economic benefit and income. A visit to sampled farms was done to obtain information about farm inventory. This data has also been presented and the disparities evident between the beneficiaries of the policy and those who do not benefit from it was shown. The respondents' answers revealed that only a small group of emerging farmers benefited from policy implementation over a large number who remain without adequate policy support.

The findings obtained from the municipality officials in the district were also presented and discussed. These include their responses to the questions in the questionnaire and questions put to them in the interviews. The responses to the questions in the questionnaire completed by the provincial official was also presented. The provincial official's views on the role of the province in supporting emerging farmers correlated to some extent with those of the emerging farmers and municipal officials in terms of a lack of adequate resources and resultantly poor support. However, there were differences in terms of the adequacy of policy implementation and the availability of educational institutions, workshops and meetings. While the official was confident that adequate support, through these institutions, had been provided, emerging farmers complained about insufficient support to develop their potential. The conflicting views and allocation of resources were all the result of policy implementation that needed to reduce spatial distribution of farms.

Not surprisingly, the three categories of participants, namely, emerging farmers, municipal officials and provincial official all had different knowledge and understanding of the new policy dimension. The overall perceptions obtained from both emerging farmers and municipal officials on policy implementation differ greatly. This shows a gap of knowledge, which prohibited the flow of information and implementation strategies.

The next chapter provides details of the analysis and discussion of the research results. The analysis focuses on the four research objectives to ensure that the

research aim is achieved. The first section of the chapter focuses on the spatial pattern of the emerging farming sector in the Mopani district. It outlines how the emerging farming sector is distributed in the district. The next section speaks to the impact of policy on the spatial distribution of emerging farmers in the district. The section considers the impact of policy on the existing emerging farming sector to document its influence. The agricultural landscape consists of different features. In the third section the analysis discusses the agricultural landscapes that have emerged because of policy implementation. The contribution of policy towards a more even spatial distribution of emerging farmers is presented in the fourth objective. The last section of the chapter is a conclusion that summarises the description of data and the entire analysis thereof.

Chapter 5 - Analysis and interpretation of data

5.1 Introduction

The collected data presented in Chapter 4, showed that the changing political environment in the Mopani district has had some impact on the development of emerging farmers in the different local municipalities. The data presented included the perceptions and views of emerging farmers, municipality officials and the provincial official and showed that these different respondents have different views regarding the influence of policy on emerging farmers. This results in different views on how emerging farmers should be assisted.

In this chapter, an analysis of the results of the research is given linked to the objectives of the research. In the first section a short background to policy implementation in agriculture is given and then the results are analysed linked to each of the objectives. In Section 5.3 the spatial pattern of emerging farmers in the Mopani district is described and analysed. In the next section the influence of policy on the distribution of emerging farmers is analysed and then changes in the agricultural landscape in the district is described. In the last section, an analysis of the contribution of policy towards a more even spatial distribution of emerging farms is presented, followed by a conclusion.

5.2 Background for analysis

Reviewed literature indicated that there were three different political regimes with different policy objectives operating in the provinces and districts in the country. Starting from the colonial to the apartheid era and now the post-apartheid government, they all affected the distribution and development of farms in different ways. The result is an uneven spatial distribution of farms that still exists today.

In an attempt to change the situation, the post-apartheid government has brought about a series of agricultural reforms to improve the development of the emerging farming sector. One of the major steps undertaken by the post-1994 democratic government has been to eradicate all existing discriminatory laws to create a liberalised economy in the Mopani district in the Limpopo Province.

The impact of this transformation in agriculture within the district has been negative on the persons historically excluded in different local municipalities. While very few emerging farmers have benefited from policy implementation, the majority of the farmers remain marginalised and others have even retrogressed to subsistence farming. As a result, the gap between the commercial and emerging farming sectors have widened, while poverty and unemployment have increased.

This implies that policy implementation has not made a significant contribution to the reduction of uneven spatial distribution between the emerging and commercial landscapes. It was hampered by constraints such as a lack of adequate human and material resources. A lack of coordination and monitoring has had a negative impact on supporting the sector. As a result, benefits of policy are not shared adequately and evenly by all farmers in terms of their needs and constraints. Implementation of policy has, therefore, not reached and addressed areas of obvious need.

Despite positive steps of introducing policy reforms and programmes such as SLAG, LRAD, PLAS and restitution, mentorship programmes and involving higher institutions of learning to provide skills, the impact has been minimal. The implementation of post-apartheid government policy has benefited a small number of emerging farmers. Resultantly, this has established a new agricultural landscape of black beneficiaries who, by virtue of post-apartheid policy, have become commercial farmers. It is this group of few successful emerging farmers who indicate that policy implementation impacts positively on the spatial distribution and development of the emerging farming sector.

5.3 The spatial pattern of the emerging farming sector in the Mopani district

The spatial pattern of the emerging farming sector in the Mopani district is described with an analysis of the policies and their programmes that have been implemented by the apartheid and post-apartheid governments. Particular reference will be made to the first objective of the research. In Chapter 4, under sub-section 4.2.1.1, the residential areas of the sampled respondents have been established. It is in this area where the farming sector in the Mopani district is distributed among all five local municipalities of Maruleng, Greater Tzaneen, Ba-Phalaborwa, Greater Letaba

and Greater Giyani. These local municipalities are distributed in the former homelands of South Africa as a result of the Group Areas Act and the Land Act of 1913 (Kepe, 1999). According to apartheid policies, emerging farmers were not allowed to practise farming within the then white farming territories such as Tzaneen and parts of Maruleng. Hence, apartheid policy has established this spatial pattern, which divided the farming sector into black and white farmers.

In terms of distribution the local municipalities of Greater Letaba and Ba-Phalaborwa have the highest spatial distribution of emerging farmers, as Figure 4.2 in Section 4.2.1.1 illustrates. Greater Tzaneen is a predominantly former white farming territory; hence, it has the least spatial distribution of emerging farmers. It is in these local municipalities that small plots of farming lands have been allocated to emerging farmers (see Figure 4.10 in Section 4.2.2.3). Despite the fact that Greater Giyani is a predominantly rural area, its spatial distribution of emerging farmers is lower than the other rural areas. The distribution of emerging farmers is the second lowest because part of this area has formerly belonged to white farmers. Hence, those former white farms have been returned to their rightful owners through restitution programmes.

Thus, the spatial distribution of the emerging farming sector in the Mopani district is mainly found within the former homeland territories of South Africa which lack policy support and services as a result of the apartheid policy. Their distribution, however, differs from one local municipality to the other. As a result, the farming sector is characterised by poor emerging farmers who need policy support to transform their farming operations in the district.

5.4 The influence of policy on the distribution of emerging farmers

The spatial patterns of farms that have emerged as a result of land reform programmes in the district give an indication of how space is utilised by emerging farmers in the five local municipalities. This description considers patterns of farms and emergent ones, concentrating on beneficiaries' farms, programmes and their impact on the socio-economic features of the district's population. The patterns all influence the development of emerging farmers and their future prospects of becoming commercial farmers, as Figure 5.1 to Figure 5.6 demonstrate. The

distribution of sampled emerging farmers in the five local municipalities of Greater Tzaneen, Greater Letaba, Maruleng, Greater Giyani and Ba-Phalaborwa in the Mopani district is not even.

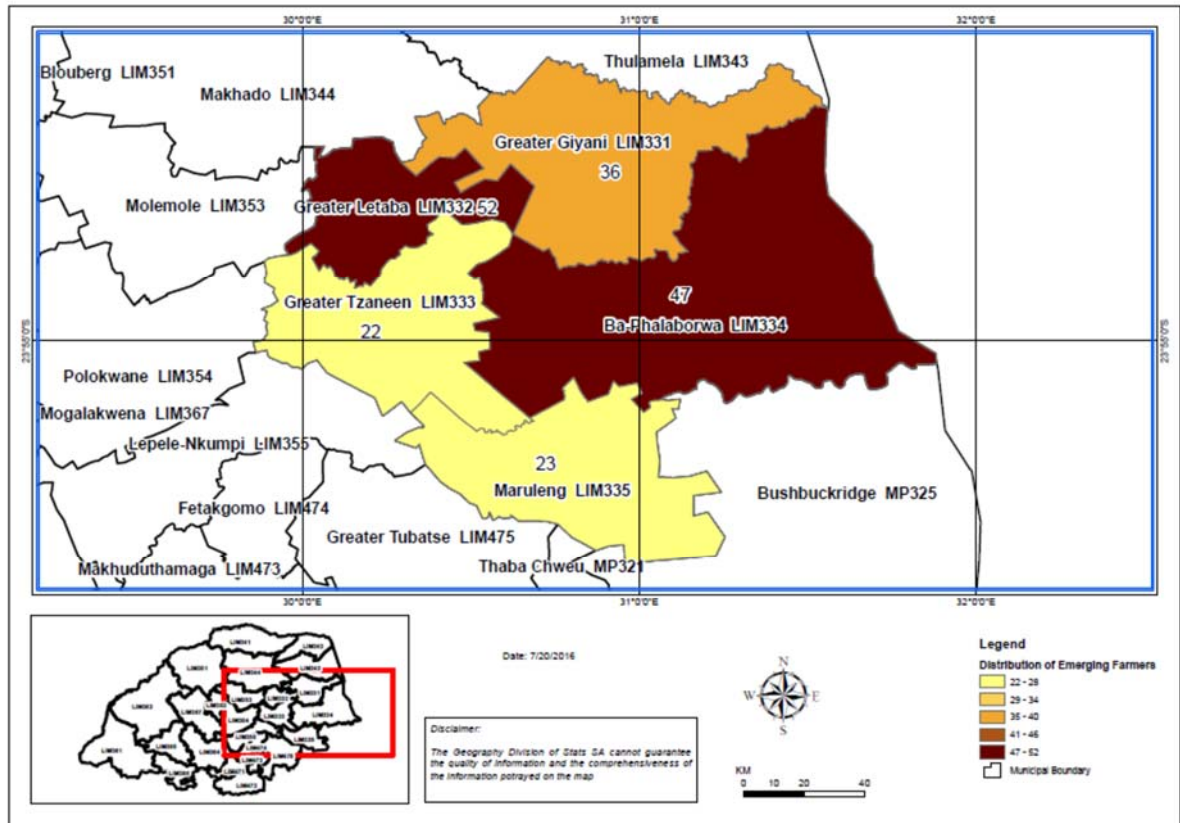


Figure 5.1: Distribution of respondents per local municipality (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2016).

According to Figure 5.1, the local municipality of Greater Letaba has the highest number of sampled emerging farmers. This is one of the municipalities that is predominantly rural in which most members of the population depend on agriculture for their livelihood (see Table 3.2). The local municipality with the lowest number of sampled respondents is Greater Tzaneen, consisting of 22 respondents. Greater Letaba is followed by the local municipality of Ba-Phalaborwa with 47 respondents.

Although Greater Giyani is predominantly rural, its problem of lack of sufficient water impacts negatively on the participation of emerging farmers as indicated in Chapter 4. It, however, has 36 respondents in the district. The local municipality of Maruleng is the second lowest with a total of 23 respondents. In Maruleng with a number of

Community Property Association (CPA), has a problem of splinter groups that fight for the restituted land. This has affected the participation of potential emerging farmers negatively as a result of vandalised property in this local municipality (see Figure 4.24).

However, the influence of policy on agricultural activities differs from country to country, depending on the type of leadership. The Mopani district in the Limpopo province is not different from other districts in terms of the distribution of farmers. For example, the apartheid policy confined black emerging farmers to the former homelands of South Africa.

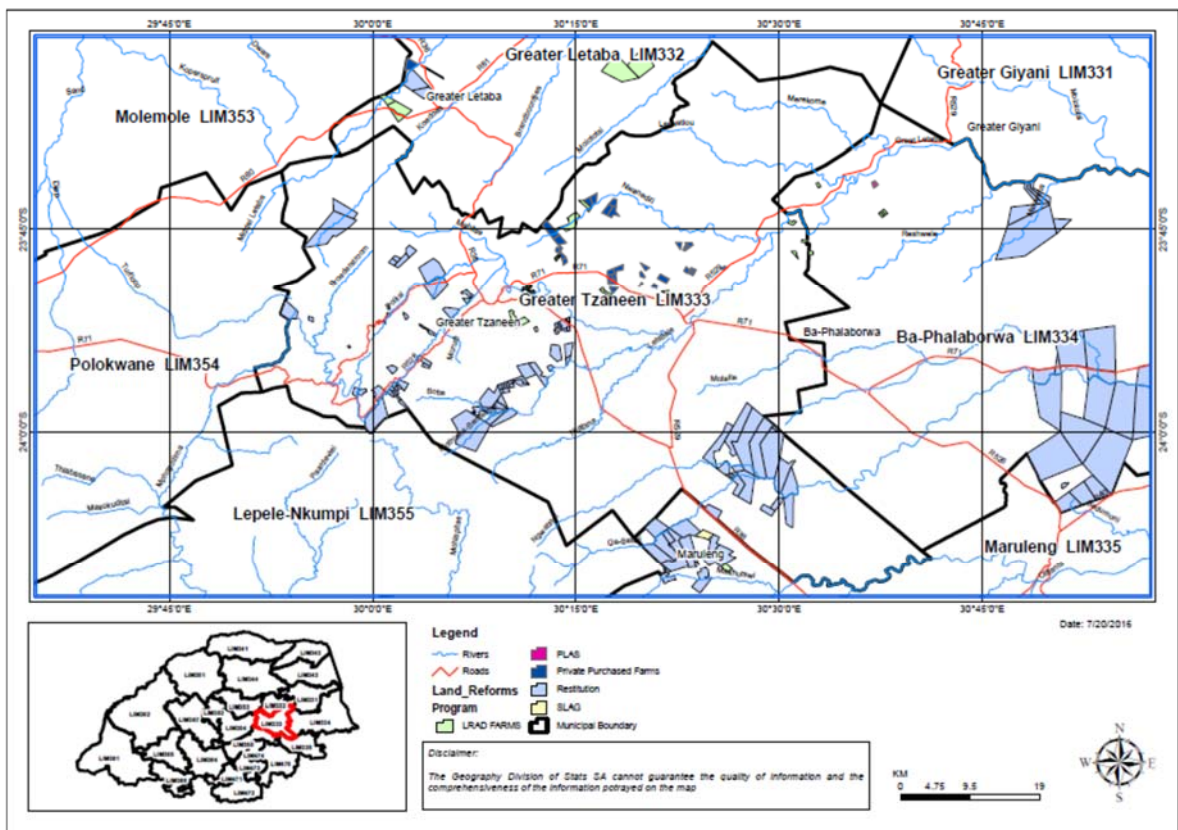


Figure 5.2: Distribution of land reform support programmes in Greater Tzaneen (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2016).

The analysed results show that after 1994 there have been some shifts in the spatial distribution of emerging farmers as a result of the post-apartheid policy implementation in the district (see Figure 5.1). This is in line with the national policy intervention strategy and programmes after 1994 (Hall, 2007; Hall & Aliber, 2010). The policy shifts are intended to introduce a new spatial distribution of farms,

consisting mainly of commercial emerging farmers in the district. Consequently, policy implementation has helped in the allocation of land to emerging farmers, especially in the former white farming territories (see Figure 5.2).

Consequently, some farms in the local municipalities of Greater Tzaneen, formerly belonging to white farmers have been given to some emerging farmers as a result of policy. This leads to a new distribution of emerging farms. In the Greater Tzaneen local municipality, most of the farms occupied by emerging farmers have been made available to farmers through the restitution programme. There is however, no evidence of the LRAD and SLAG programmes, which implies that they have not played any role in providing farms to emerging farmers. The total number of farms made available to emerging farmers through this programme in Greater Tzaneen is 14 (63,6%) of the emerging farmers in this municipality. This represents only a small proportion (7,7%) of the total sampled emerging farmers of 180 in the study.

In the Ba-Phalaborwa local municipality, the distribution of farms is different from that of Greater Tzaneen. The only programme in Ba-Phalaborwa that has helped in making farms available to emerging farmers is a restitution programme, as Figure 5.3 illustrates. However, out of a total of 47 sampled emerging farmers there are only eight (17%) emerging farmers who have benefited from the distribution. This represents 4,4 % of the total sampled emerging farmers in the district. There is no evidence of other programmes such as LRAD, PLAS and SLAG in this local municipality. The restituted farms are distributed in the eastern and northern parts of Ba-Phalaborwa. In the identified programme, the beneficiaries of policy implementation constitute a small proportion (4,4%) of the sampled respondents. Despite the small number of emerging farmers who benefited from this programme, the result indicates that policy has played a role in the distribution of farms in the district. However, considering this analysis, the higher percentage (95,6%) on non-beneficiaries demonstrates that policy has had the minimum impact on the distribution of emerging farmers in the local municipality of Ba-Phalaborwa.

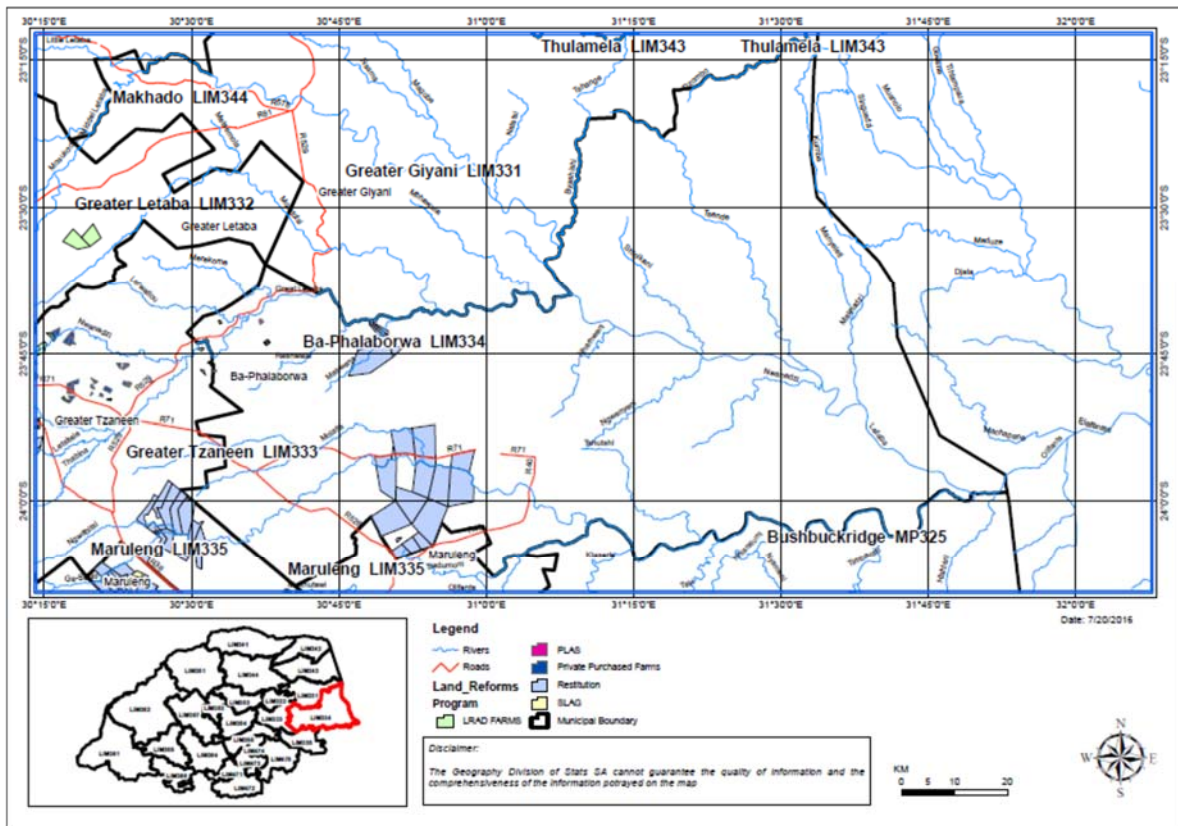


Figure 5.3: Distribution of land reform support programmes in Ba-Phalaborwa (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2016).

Unlike in Greater Tzaneen and Ba-Phalaborwa, in the Maruleng municipality most of the farms given to emerging farmers have been made available to farmers through the restitution programme. The LRAD and SLAG programmes have played an insignificant role in providing farms to emerging farmers (see Figure 5.3). The distributed restitution farms are situated in the north-western and south-eastern part of the municipality. It is evident that the LRAD and SLAG programmes are both found in the north-western part of the district. The programme that has greatly benefited emerging farmers is restitution with a 43,4 % compared to SLAG (17,3%) and LRAD (6,7%) respectively out of a total of 23 sampled emerging farmers in the Maruleng local municipality (see Figure 5.4). However, restitution programmes is only 5,5 % of the overall sampled emerging farmers of the 180 respondents in this local municipality. SLAG (2,2%) and LRAD (1,1%) have not helped emerging farmers to acquire farms as a result of policy.

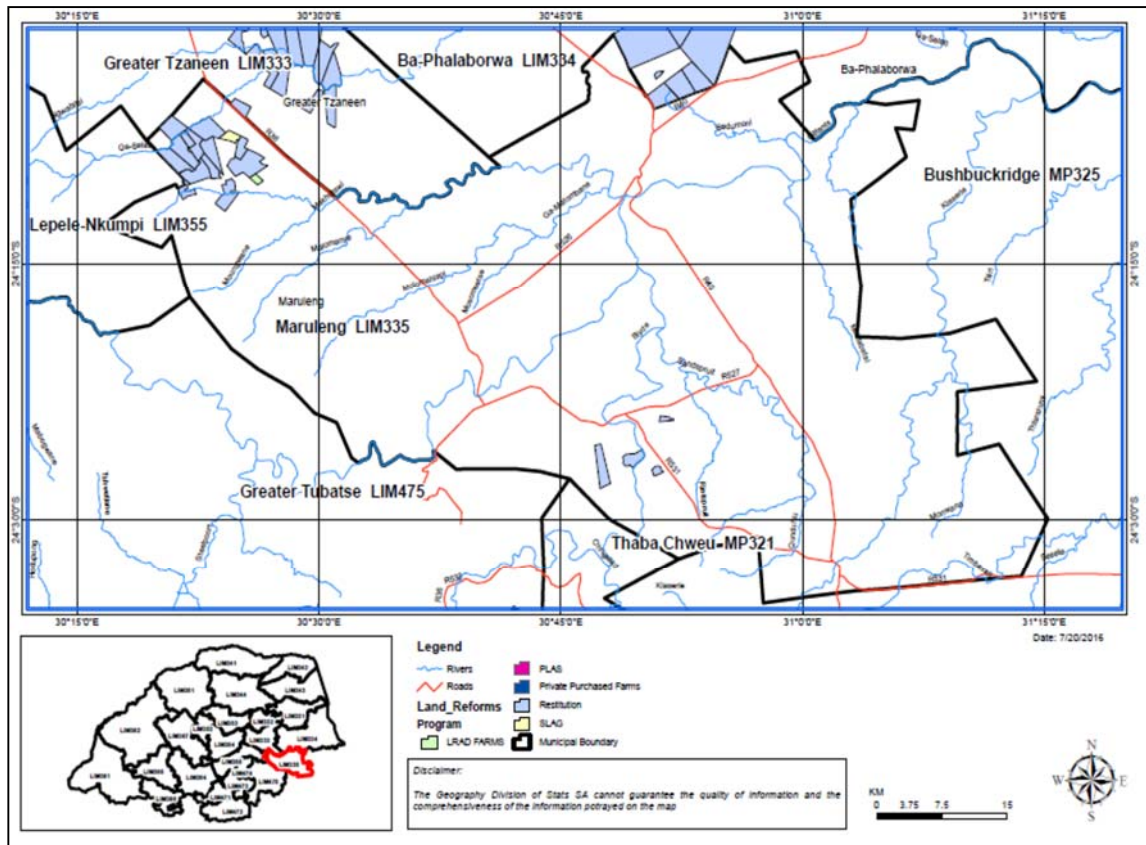


Figure 5.4: Distribution of land reform support programmes in Maruleng (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2016).

In Greater Letaba, the programmes that have made farms available to emerging farmers are the LRAD and restitution programmes. The restitution programme has played a major role in assisting emerging farmers to own farms compared to the LRAD and SLAG programmes that have played a smaller role, as Figure 5.4 illustrates. Out of the total sample of 52 emerging farmers in this local municipality seven (7) emerging farmers occupy farms through the restitution programme, which forms about 13,4 % of the municipality's total number of programmes. This represents only 3,8 % of the overall sampled emerging farmers in the district. Contrary to this, LRAD programme has made farms available to five 5 emerging farmers (9,6%) of the Greater Letaba local municipality, which is 2,7% of the sampled emerging farmers in the district. The distribution of farms as a result of SLAG is lower than the restitution, LRAD with 5,7% for the local municipality and 1,6% for the district's total of 180 emerging farmers.

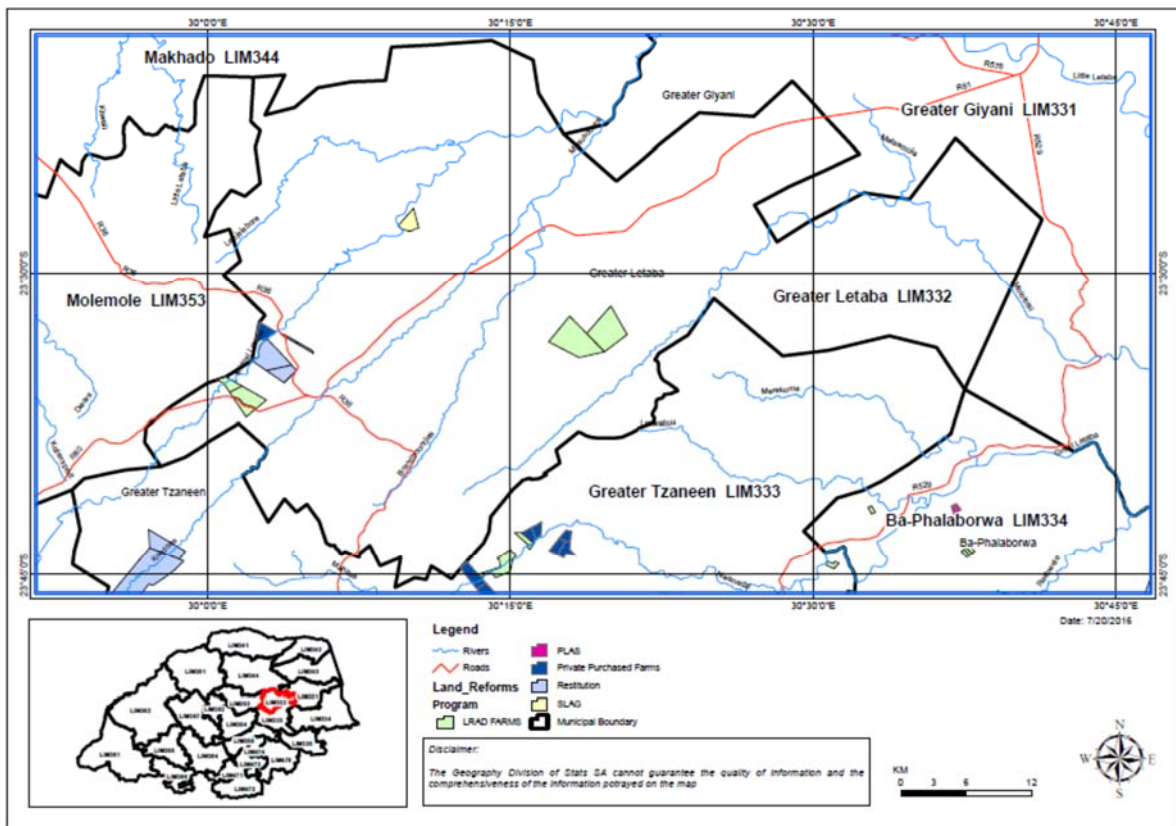


Figure 5.5: Distribution of land reform support programmes in Greater Letaba (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2016).

The analysis of data shows that the distribution of farms as a result of policy has been different in Greater Giyani. From a total of 36 emerging farmers in the local municipality of Greater Giyani all are still marginalised by policy implementation in the post-apartheid era. Thus, in Greater Giyani municipality there are no farms that have been allocated to any emerging farmers by using any of the programmes since 1994, as presented in Figure 5.6. Hence, there is no distribution of farms made available through policy implementation.

Furthermore, it has been mentioned in Section 4.2.2 that Greater Giyani was not affected by policy shifts in the district as a result of a lack of sufficient water resources in the area. However, there are emerging farmers who are engaged in farming activities in the area despite their exclusion by policy. As a result of poverty, this local municipality has been cited as one of the areas that consists of most people being unemployed and could not afford to contribute the minimum sum of money to own big farms. The area is said to be a predominantly rural area in which the communal model of farming still dominates where emerging farmers operate on

small farms to make a living. Although the study is concentrated on a small area and mostly related to vegetable farming, the data show that there is a distribution of farms that has emerged as a result of policy.

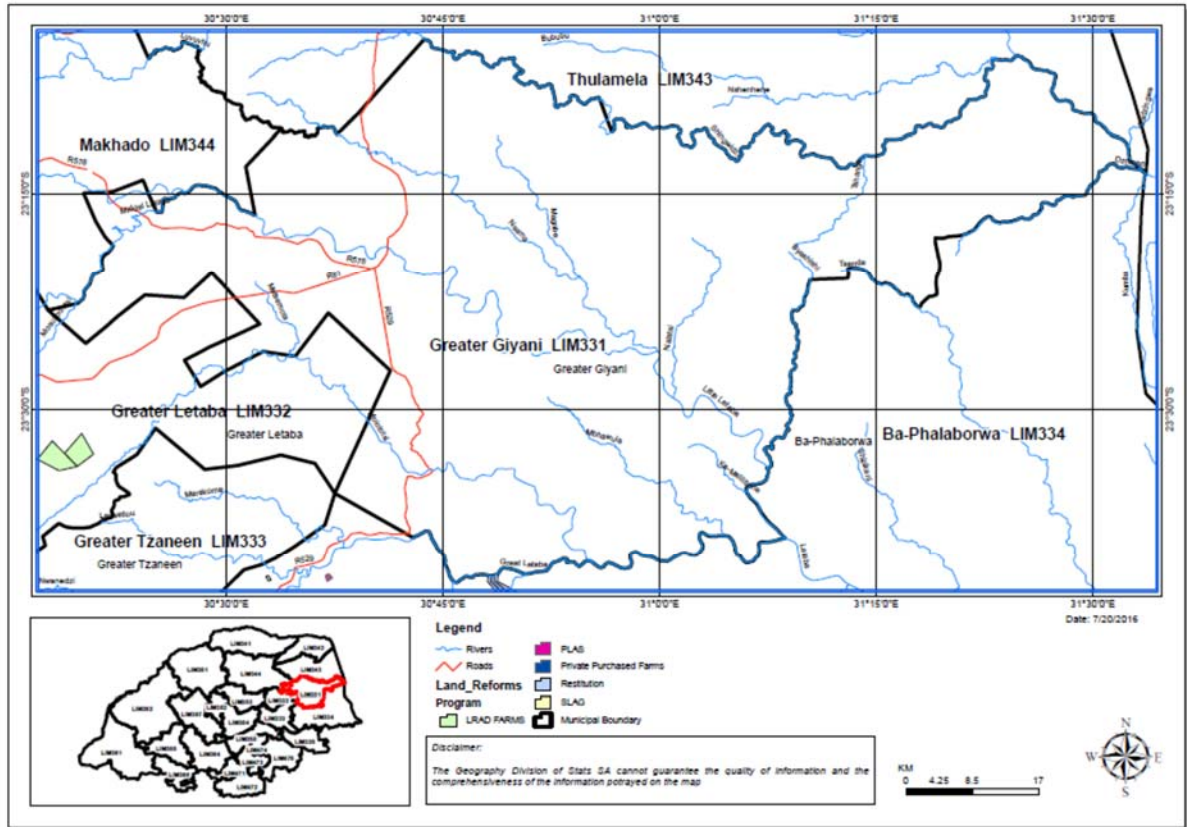


Figure 5.6: Distribution of land reform support programmes in Greater Giyani (Source: Compiled from data collected, 2016)

The analysis indicates, however, that the distribution of farms shows variations with respect to the type of programmes implemented. The restitution programme has been prevalent in all the local municipalities of Maruleng, Greater Letaba, Greater Tzaneen and Ba-Phalaborwa except in Greater Giyani, as indicated. The overall analysis of the distributed farms to emerging farmers as a result of these programmes is presented in Table 5.1. The table indicates the distribution of farms according to each category of programmes that have made farms available to emerging farmers.

Table 5.1: Spatial distribution of farms according to programmes

Municipality	Programme			
	LRAD	SLAG	PLAS	RESTITUTION
Greater Letaba	5	3	0	7
Greater Tzaneen	0	0	0	14
Ba-Phalaborwa	0	0	0	8
Maruleng	2	4	0	10
Greater Giyani	0	0	0	0
Total	7	7	0	39

(Source: Compiled from data collected, 2016)

It is evident from the analysis that the restitution programmes have contributed 21,7% to the distribution of farms availed to emerging farmers compared to both the LRAD and SLAG programmes that constitute a small proportion (7,8%) of the distribution. The analysis reveals that the dominance of the restitution programme in these local municipalities in the districts implies that these have been the territories that were mainly occupied by former white farmers and resultantly became the target of the transformation process that led to the new distribution of farms. The PLAS programme has, however, not contributed anything to the plight of needy farmers. The government expect the beneficiaries of PLAS to be productive and produce for the market. The emerging farmers who participated in this research in the five municipalities did not have the required knowledge, skills and capacity that would qualify them for the programme and hence, the programme has no farms represented in the table. In the identified programmes, the total beneficiaries (53) of the distribution constitute a small proportion (29,4%) of the sampled emerging farmers in the district. This implies that the previously marginalised emerging farmers still constitute a larger proportion (70,6%) compared to the percentage of beneficiaries. Thus, the majority of the sampled emerging farmers are not benefiting from the distributed farms despite their need for bigger farms to develop themselves.

The analysis shows that the distribution of farms, as a result of programmes, has not been evident in the Greater Giyani local municipality. The local municipalities of

Greater Tzaneen and Maruleng are identified as having a higher number of farms distributed through the restitution programme whereas the Greater Letaba and Maruleng local municipalities have more farms distributed through the LRAD, SLAG and restitution programmes. The results show that the influence of policy on the distribution of farms does exist but it does not affect all geographical locations in the district.

It further indicates that there is a variation in the distribution of farms because of bigger farms that have now been made available to emerging farmers through the LRAD programme in the Greater Letaba and Maruleng local municipalities while the remaining municipalities of Ba-Phalaborwa, Greater Giyani and Greater Letaba continue farming on some small pieces of farming lands.

Despite this challenge, the analysis shows that, the post-apartheid development indicates some emerging farmers moving into former white areas whereas the spatial distribution of the apartheid government was characterised by a concentration of emerging farmers in the former homelands. There is evidence of a new distribution pattern emerging. It shows that the number of distributed emerging farmers in the former white areas is increasing while the distribution of white farmers seems to be decreasing in the Greater Tzaneen and Maruleng local municipalities.

In areas such as Maruleng, the distribution is mainly the results of the implementation of the restitution programme in which former white-owned farms are given back to their rightful owners. Particularly restitution and LRAD programmes have played a significant role in the distribution of emerging farmers in the Greater Letaba and Maruleng municipalities compared to Ba-Phalaborwa and Greater Giyani. However, Greater Letaba has some pockets of distribution as a result of the LRAD and SLAG programmes but mainly because of the restitution programme. With regard to Ba-Phalaborwa, slight significant support has been achieved through the restitution programme compared to Greater Letaba.

The analysed data indicate that the new distribution of emerging farms in the former white areas is not without problems. There are situations in which farms are acquired by either an individual or a group such as CPA as a result of restitution.

The distribution of farms to this group is especially evident in the Maruleng municipality where the restitution of land has been contested between the emerging farmers and the local residents. It has led to the formation of the CPA who continues with farming in the Maruleng local municipality and has ultimately become black distributed farmers who own big farms.

Thus, the continued existence of the CPA signifies the emergence of another distribution of farms owned by a group of emerging farmers who are becoming successful commercial farmers. However, the new land use pattern of some of the farms distributed and acquired through post-apartheid policy implementation and which had a commercial set up, resembles that of small-scale farms. This has led to a new distribution of previously white- owned farms that have been viable now becoming underutilised under black farmers because of inadequate post-settlement support (see Figure 4.17 in Chapter 4).

The new occupants of the former white farms have established a distribution of a new group of black emerging farmers with different characteristics from that of emerging farmers in communal areas. Although operating in a new former white area their distribution is now described mainly by virtue of their poverty due to a lack of resources that are necessary for their farm operations. The results of the data indicate that the policy has only relocated poorly resourced emerging farmers from former communal land to a new former white area without resource provision just to enforce policy. Thus, since 1994, when the democratic government took over, the farming industry in the district has shown relatively little distribution of farms in some respects.

An analysis of the data in the district further reveals that there is a distribution that is male- dominated in the district resulting from policy and the programmes of the new agricultural regime. Although the government intends to empower and embrace females and youths, as indicated in Section 4.2.1, reality on the ground still reinforces the exclusion of female and youths led farms from the sampled respondents. In other words, policy implementation in the Maruleng, Greater Letaba, Ba-Phalaborwa and Greater Tzaneen local municipalities has brought about a new structural distribution of emerging farmers that has shifted from a

colour-driven model to a male-oriented regime. The Mopani district, like the entire country, is a district with many young people. According to StatsSA (2011b), young people in the district are more than the elderly. The results indicate that the distribution of emerging farmers in the study area is skewed mainly towards the elderly (see Figure 4.5 in Chapter 4). Despite the large numbers of youths in the district, the results show that the distribution of young people is very low (4.5%) compared to the other age groups. This has a negative impact on the succession plan to replace the elderly who by virtue of their age would retire from the agricultural industry.

In addition, an analysis of the results indicates that there has been no positive response to add to the existing distribution, although there are government awareness campaigns and educational programmes targeting the youth to encourage them to join farming. This remains a bigger challenge to the government and other stakeholders to increase the distribution of youths and support them to attract them to the agricultural sector.

Apart from the above programmes, the deracialisation of the agricultural sector through policy has introduced opportunities that lead to the distribution of emerging farmers. The analysed data show that the implementation of programmes such as CASP, MAFISA and Letsima, together with LRAD, as presented in Section 4.5.1 has brought about another category of distributed emerging farmers.

An analysis of these policy programmes indicates that their impacts lead to a class-specific distribution consisting of three spatial distributions of emerging farmers separated by resource provision. The first group consists of farmers who have acquired farms as individual's due to the principle of affordability. These emerging farmers could raise some money to acquire a bigger farm and sustain it. Secondly, a group of emerging farmers has formed a cooperative to advance the minimum money required to be allocated a bigger farm, as Figure 4.9 illustrates. This group that consists mainly of CPA members has combined their contributions to meet the required contribution. The third group consists of emerging farmers who have remained in the communal areas of the former homelands as a result of their lack

of sufficient funds to require farm land. They own their farms through the hereditary model.

The distribution of these three categories of emerging farmers has resulted from policy implementation, although they are farming in different areas under different working conditions. It is evident that they are not equally served by policy in terms of resource provision (see Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12 respectively). Therefore, they occupy different farming spaces. Given their differences, each individual or group needs to be studied uniquely with its own unique features in its area of operation.

This analysis of the results confirms the existence of excluded groups and differences among emerging farmers. It further confirms the importance and relevance of the postmodernism theory in this study introduced in Section 3.3 in Chapter 3. This theory accommodates the uniqueness of each phenomenon and its ever-changing characteristics in time and place. Within the postmodernism theory different spatial distributions of each unique respondent will be studied and understood within its unique existence, given the changing circumstances that have led to its existence.

Considering these findings, the results indicate that the majority of emerging farmers in the district have not been able to acquire farms made available through policy arrangements. Thus, the percentage of marginalised emerging farmers is significantly higher than that of the beneficiaries. A lack of adequate policy implementation has been identified throughout this section which indicates the existence of lack of policy support. The higher percentage of marginalised emerging farmers and their poverty level are found to be related. The result of spatial distribution further adds to the understanding of the economic, social and political forces that reinforce the segregation of poor farmers from rich ones as well as the persistence of segregation between certain racial and ethnic groups, irrespective of their socio-economic status. This suggests that the distribution of poor farmers increases more in the former homelands than in the former white farming areas. This further affects the distribution of poverty in the district. The results show that the number of implemented government programmes is higher in the former white

areas, thereby indicating the impact of apartheid policy on the distribution of farms. The results point out to the fact that policy implementation has not influenced the distribution of emerging farmers significantly in all the local municipalities of the Mopani district. Therefore, the little influence of policy in the distribution of emerging farmers in the five local municipalities of Maruleng, Greater Letaba, Ba-Phalaborwa, Greater Giyani and Greater Tzaneen in the Mopani district, needs further attention from government.

It has also been evident from the analysed data that the percentage of beneficiaries of farm distribution varies from one local municipality to the other. In addition to the above, this analysis shows the distribution of impoverished emerging farmers in the former homelands in the district and emerging farmers on newly acquired farming lands during the post-apartheid government. This bears testimony of how the spatial distribution of the social, economic, cultural and political forces have accelerated social polarisation. Furthermore, this analysis of data shows how actions and the evolving political, economic, social and cultural patterns and arrangements as well as how new spatial configurations are themselves constructed through policy and these processes. The analysis of the results shows that the establishment of these spatial distributions in different time-frames in various municipalities represent a historic landmark caused by policy in the district. However, it should be acknowledged that these spatial distributions of emerging farmers are the result of different programmes in different time-frames.

The analysis of the results further shows that one of the salient features of this implementation is that the programmes have had a very short life span and are changing very often. This makes it difficult to assess the future success or failure of these programmes that are sometimes abandoned abruptly to make way for another programme. Although one programme tends to replace the other due to some deficiencies a spatial distribution arose in which emerging farmers moved from homeland areas to the former white owned farming areas. But the question that arises is whether each programme and its spatial distribution would be sustainable in the future to sustain the agricultural landscape or not. Be that as it may, their existence in the district does not make any significant impact as a result of their short running period that nullifies their sustainability.

Thus, the implementation of government policy, especially in agriculture, is compromised by relevant government institutions and programmes due to lack of policy support. Given this uncertainty, it would be difficult for planners to develop new land use zones and map them for future developmental planning. The question that remains is whether the spatial distribution of beneficiaries of new farms as a result of policy would continue with their farming on the new farms without policy support or go back to their old farms that were not expensive to maintain with fewer resources? Despite the introduction of various policy reforms the analysis indicates that the distribution of respondents within the farming sector in the district was not even although the district has a potential of producing agricultural products. It is evident from the results of the analysed data that the influence of policy on the spatial distribution of the emerging farmers in Mopani district is not significant. Although the distribution of emerging farmers is evident, most of them in the district are not significantly influenced by policy implementation.

5.5 Policy and the changing agricultural landscape

The previous section has dealt with the distribution of emerging farmers as a result of policy. This has affected the visual features of the farming industry, both negatively and positively, by bringing about some changes in the agricultural landscape. The changing landscapes include intensively cultivated farms, security on farms, neglected farms, provision of infrastructure and reduction in the number of farm workers (see Section 5.3).

The changes that have taken place within the agricultural sector in the district should be viewed against a bigger picture of the province that has inherited an apartheid legacy of racial discrimination. This has led to a dual economy of commercial and emerging farming landscapes in separate black and white farming territories in the district. It is against this background that the changes within the emerging farming sector are analysed. It has been shown that the farming activities of the former white farmers have created a rich agricultural landscape due to policy support. The emerging farmers' activities, as a result of lack of policy support and resources, have shaped the landscape that often assisted in creating features that have lost

the competitiveness of the land. This section presents an analysis of the changes in the agricultural landscape in the district.

The analysis of results shows that numerous policy reforms have been introduced in the country that also have had a profound impact on the changes of the agricultural landscapes in the district. They include, among others, Restitution of Land Act No. 22 of 1994 (RSA, 1994a), White Paper on Agriculture (RSA, 1995a), White Paper on South African Land Policy (RSA, 1997a), Agricultural Policy in South Africa (1998), Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (RSA, 2000), Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (RSA, 2010a) and State Land Lease and Disposal Policy (RSA, 2013).

These are the Acts and policies that have affected the agricultural landscape in the district. They are implemented together with other programmes indicated in Section 5.3 above to effect changes in the sector. An analysis of the results indicates that the agricultural sector in the district has inherited the agricultural landscape characterised by black and white farmers in different farming areas. The post-apartheid government brought about changes that have removed the racial barriers and introduced a non-racial agricultural sector.

When the field-work was undertaken in 2013 emerging farmers, municipality officials and a provincial official were questioned about the significance of policy in changing the sector's landscape (see Appendices 3, 4 and 5). The result of the analysed data shows that emerging farmers are operating without enough resources. The results further indicate that, since 1994, the former apartheid policies that tied the provision of funding and grants to the former white farmers, have been changed radically. The emerging farmers argue that the previous policies retarded their opportunities of extending their farms.

They claim that they are now free to develop without restrictions. Since then some emerging farmers in the local municipalities of Greater Tzaneen and Maruleng own larger farms. However, these changes only apply to certain local municipalities and emerging farmers due to insufficient resources. The analysed data indicates that some emerging farmers in affected local municipalities could justify the eradication

of racially engineered apartheid agricultural policies and the introduction of a deracialised sector, although there are constraints in the process. It further shows that it is not emerging farmers themselves who have brought about these changes that occur but the policies which are in place.

It has emerged from the analysis of data from municipality officials and the provincial official that allocated funds for emerging farmers' development and grants have been reduced. There is also a perception among some emerging farmers that the changes could be limited as a result of restricted funding resources and due to disillusionment with government programmes in some local municipalities.

The analysis further shows that emerging farmers are of the view that, although the CPA and mentorship programmes are likely to have a positive influence on the changing landscape, their major influence remains to be seen. The analysed data also indicates that, although there are no clear statistics of the changes, the main practical changes that have taken place are a considerable reduction in the number of commercial farms. This further leads to some changes in the sector's landscape. The results imply that the reduction in the number of commercial farms leads to a reduction of employed farm workers. Resultantly, changes in the number of farm workers lead to changes in the agricultural landscape, as there will not be enough employees to maintain the agricultural landscape.

The analysed data show that the acquisition of new farm lands by some emerging farmers is a positive change of the agricultural landscape. However, the results show that the emerging farmers find it difficult to preserve the previous farm's landscape. According to the analysed data, this leads to a particular class of unappreciated agricultural landscape of poor emerging farmers in the former rich agricultural landscape. Despite their being given new big farms, their farming activities are associated with the traditional model of farming.

Although the class of emerging farmers on the new agricultural landscape is important and worthy of support, it is, however, not sufficient. The results show that, because they are not receiving sufficient attention, support and protection, the characteristics of their new agricultural landscapes have deteriorated. In addition,

the analysis shows that there is a decrease in their agricultural activities, which changes the new landscape and land use pattern (see Figure 4.12). Consequently, the results show some portions of the newly acquired farms being left without production. The landscape has changed in that the former characteristics of the rich farms have deteriorated.

Despite evidence of supported development programmes in crop production such as CASP and little post-settlement policy support, the results show that some of the emerging farmers produce limited quantities of products that are taken to the market (see Figure 4.14). Thus, although there are few changes that enable some emerging farmers to trade beyond the borders of the former homelands, the changes are not significant. The changes they experience include owning and using appropriate farm machinery, and tractors, which are appropriate inputs for farming that were meant for white farmers. Consequently, the analysis of data shows some noticeable evidence of changes in the agricultural landscape in the district. It has, however, been evident that a selected few emerging farmers have benefited from policy and the majority who do not benefit from the new policy arrangement have been affected negatively.

The analysis of the results shows that when the new changes set in as a result of government policy, some white farm lands and other old resources have been given to emerging farmers to effect transformation. This is a positive step towards the development of the sector despite the fact that some resources have fallen into disuse (see Figure 4.17 in Section 4.2.2.4). Although the resources are old and almost useless, they represent a change in its own right in the new landscape that confronts the respondents after the dawn of the new democracy.

It is clear from the analysed data that the respondents who move to new farms experience a new landscape of bigger farms that need maintenance. Because they do not have adequate financial resources, they then face a challenge of maintaining the farms. The analysed data shows that the status of the farms has changed and existing resources on the allocated new farms cannot add any value to the daily farming activities. This change, as a result of policy, has brought about a new agricultural landscape of respondents who are resource-starved. It impacts

negatively on the image of the farms, which are no longer cared for as a result of the poverty of the respondents. Resultantly, these respondents operating on former commercial farms are changing the status of the farms into that of emerging farms that fall within the ranks of the second economy.

The results of the analysed data further indicates that, while the large white farms have characterised the agricultural landscape of the apartheid, especially in Greater Tzaneen, today it also includes large African farms. Besides, previously the respondents had farms mainly characterised by infertile soil and lack of irrigation systems. The new landscape with fertile soil and infrastructure represents a milestone in the farming industry.

The results of the analysed survey in Figures 4.21 and 4.22 as well as Figures 23A and 23B indicate the differences between the old resources before support was given in 2013 and the new support provided after 2015. This further shows that the political regime that established the homeland system to advance the development of white farmers has limited the productivity and potential of respondents. The benefiting emerging farmers' landscapes have improved and this adds more opportunities for job creation in the neighbouring rural areas, thereby reducing poverty. The analysed results also indicate that the post-apartheid changes have created a new agricultural landscape within the ranks of the respondents that isolates black successful respondents from unsuccessful black respondents within the same district, although in different local municipalities.

The application of technology and use of fertilisers on the newly acquired farms leads to an improvement in the yield of vegetables per hectare. It also emerges from the analysis that the land, which has been invigorated by the application of fertilisers is able to produce more vegetables than it had done under the traditional system on the old farms. These changes and innovations have been the subject of policy implementation in the district after 1994. The results of the analysed data further show that this change enabled emerging farmers to market their produce nationally and locally. The vicious cycle of poverty in the few successful respondents in some municipalities has at least been reduced.

On the other hand, analysed data indicate that these changes do not affect the majority of poorly supported respondents in the communal areas of the former homelands. They are still faced with a declining production of vegetables and falling prices due to the quality of the vegetable. According to respondents, this opens up their way into the vicious cycle of poverty. As a result, poorly supported emerging farmers in communal areas are becoming poorer and are further marginalised both in terms of policy and resource provision.

According to the analysed data, these agricultural changes are the result of the political process, which produces inequalities between the communal areas and formerly white- owned areas within the black farming communities. An analysis of the results shows that the different changes that have taken place are more evident in municipalities such as Ba-Phalaborwa along the main road while randomly scattered in the Maruleng municipality. In the areas with great social contrasts like in Greater Giyani and Greater Tzaneen, the analysed data show that different social farming groups are found in the same district such as poor, middle-income and rich farmers.

The analysis reveals that, like the division caused by apartheid policy in South Africa (Bienabe & Vermeulen, 2007; Sendall, 2007), post-apartheid policy also causes yet another division among black emerging farmers themselves as a result of biased policy implementation. These changes about the empowerment of the few emerging farmers cause a divide within the wider black emerging farming sector in the district. The results further reveal that the reason for the contrasting changes of the rich and poor black emerging farmers lies mainly in the nature of policy implementation and its supporting services. Land ownership, for example, has presented only a few farmers, more opportunities rather than sharing among many farmers. These changes in land tenure are skewed against poor respondents.

The results show that while the traditional land tenure of the communal model has been transformed by a series of legal decisions, for example, restitution, a large number of emerging farmers are at the same time being coerced into small plots that are not enough for commercial farming. Thus, poor emerging farmers' security of tenure is not considered. By contrast, the majority of the poor emerging farmers

are driven out in favour of a few successful ones. Thus, the implementation of government policy has resulted in some changes in terms of movement from former homelands to former white areas. It has also enabled some emerging farmers to own larger farms with better resources. Despite these developments, changes in the agricultural landscape are not significant.

5.6 Contribution of policy towards a more even spatial distribution of emerging farmers

The previous section has shown how policy has contributed towards the shaping of the agricultural landscape in the district. This section considers the impact of policy in contributing towards a more even spatial distribution of farms in the district.

The results of the analysed data show that different social, political and economic policies have been enacted to reduce uneven spatial distribution of the agricultural landscape to comply with the principles of democracy. These undertakings have been highlighted in numerous sources (Dorward & Kydd, 2005; Lahiff, 2011; National Planning Commission, 2011; Zalk, 2012; Keahey, 2013), which have indicated the intervention of government towards reshaping the spatial distribution of the emerging farming sector within and outside the district to reduce uneven development. This intervention by government has also been accompanied by financial, infrastructural, institutional and political support from different stakeholders. They all aimed at providing adequate services to address the challenge of uneven distribution of farms. The analysis further shows that such policies have been introduced and implemented at different levels from the national, provincial and district down to local municipality level. Their impact differs from one level to the other.

The analysed data show that the post-apartheid regime has transferred some of the former white farms for redistribution to the previously marginalised African emerging farmers through restitution and redistribution. It becomes evident from the analysed data that the change in ownership has resulted in a slight reduction of uneven spatial distribution within the agricultural landscape in the district at different levels in different areas. This is ascribed to the fact that the emerging farmers have been given bigger farms of more than 20 hectares, as shown in Figure 4.10 in Chapter 4.

Furthermore, the analysed data about government programmes for youth and women (see Section 4.1.2) show that these programmes in agricultural activities have been established by government to close the existing gap. It was hoped that this would further contribute towards a reduction in the uneven spatial distribution of farms, especially when the elderly retires from the farming industry.

The analysed data also show that the inclusion programmes aimed at female farmers has been aimed at reducing the uneven participation of women within the sector, thereby bringing about equity in the industry. Over and above these factors, the analysed results indicate that numerous steps such as funding, training workshops, land reform and infrastructure development have been introduced to achieve equity within the various municipalities and to impact positively on the reduction of uneven spatial distribution of farms.

However, the analysis shows that the establishment of these programmes has not been spread evenly across the local municipalities in the Mopani district. For example, municipalities such as Greater Tzaneen, Maruleng and Ba-Phalaborwa have benefited more than Greater Giyani and Greater Letaba in terms of programme support. Therefore, it is generally acknowledged that the contours of deprivation and exclusion of emerging farmers have changed, although not significantly. The impact of these programmes on the overall reduction in the uneven spatial distribution could not be easily assured because the lifespan of the programmes has been short. Nevertheless, the few emerging farmers who are successful as a result of policy implementation have reduced uneven distribution of farms. This follows that there has been an insignificant reduction of uneven spatial distribution of farms as a result of policy implementation in the district.

Contrary to the contribution of policy as indicated above, there is an increase in the gap between commercial and emerging farmers, and poor emerging farmers and rich emerging farmers in the district. This division of emerging farmers into rich and poor farmers has had some implications on their income levels, since the more successful emerging farmers are likely to receive higher income than the less successful ones. These internal differences and variations in development within the district and among different emerging farmers in their respective municipalities

are partially ascribed to a biased policy support mechanism that has led to unequal distribution. They are all influenced by policy implementation in separate municipalities.

It is evident from the results that policy implementation in the five district municipalities has been of little or no benefit to the majority of African emerging farmers. Although few African emerging farmers have progressed, the benefits are unequally distributed among all emerging farmers within the district, especially among socio-economically marginalised farmers. The transfer of farms has mainly led to an overall decline in agricultural productivity in the district. This has had an added negative impact on the reduction of uneven spatial distribution and the socio-economic situation of the respondents and the rural people in the district. As a result, the problems associated with poverty among some emerging farmers and income disparities have become more evident than ever before.

It has further been revealed that the declining performance of the emerging farming sector in terms of its production has continued even after the post-apartheid years due to policy implementation. This decline has far-reaching implications in terms of employment opportunities and poverty alleviation which has continued to increase as well as food insecurity for the district. This negative growth continues to maintain the status of emerging farmers as subsistence farmers, thereby discouraging the private sector entrepreneurs to invest therein.

An in-depth analysis of the results indicates that the democratic policy implementation seems not to serve the desired purpose of emerging farmers, as it focuses on various aspects such as job creation, poverty alleviation, economic development and eradication of disparities instead of special emerging farmer programmes that are well-resourced and driven by competent staff and institutions. It is therefore, not very clearly articulated as to what the government intends to achieve within the agricultural sector in the district and hence, the limited funding allocated to the department of agriculture. These resources are spread across all the developmental needs that are straining the required resources earmarked for agricultural development and hence, have no positive results. A further scrutiny of the analysed survey results reveals that, given the decline in agricultural productivity

in the district, other sectors of the economy such as secondary and tertiary sectors are affected, further leading to worsening unemployment in the rural areas.

A further analysis of results shows that there are some portions of farming land in areas such as Maruleng, Greater Giyani and Ba-Phalaborwa that operate effectively but their contribution to the reduction of an even spatial distribution of farms is not significant. In the literature review, it has been acknowledged that the South African economy has been liberalised but policy, as Kepe (2012) has argued, continues to restrict emerging farmers from accessing land and markets. This follows that the liberalised economy has had an insignificant impact on the emerging farming sector. The analysed results also show that the polarisation of the commercial farming sector and the emerging farming sector continues to characterise the two agricultural landscapes in the district. This implies that the implementation of post-apartheid agricultural policy has not been monitored and evaluated adequately to identify areas that are in dire need of more policy support for development. Thus, the eradication of the apartheid policy in the district has not been accompanied fairly by sufficient policy support, allowing adequate release of supporting resources to reduce the existing imbalances.

It has become clear from the analysis that numerous constraints such as credit, infrastructure, transport, land access and market access still exist within the emerging farming sector in the five local municipalities but no major steps are taken to address these constraints. They impact negatively on the reduction of the uneven spatial distribution of farms. Furthermore, it is evident from the analysis that the role of municipal officials in implementing existing programmes to develop emerging farmers is also retarded by the lack of resources.

It has further emerged from the analysed data that emerging farmers' development especially in Greater Giyani and Greater Letaba is hampered by their predominantly rural character and lack of sufficient policy support from the municipalities. Although their previous pattern has come as a result of the apartheid policy, their present situation receives limited attention to improve their status. To compound the problem, some who have been progressing well have experienced financial problems and hence, instead of contributing to the reduction of uneven distribution

of farms, they have added to the majority of the poor in the district, thereby increasing the gap. As a result, policy has shifted from emerging farmer development to poverty reduction and food security as well as job creation.

It has also become evident from the analysis of the data that the participation of youths and the elderly is more biased towards the elderly, as Section 4.2.1.2 and Figure 4.5 have indicated. The gender problem further shows that, although gender and age participation rates differ according to municipalities, female participation is higher than that of males but their access to land, credit and opportunities to become farm managers is limited. This biased occupational structure indicates that, despite policy implementation, an even spatial distribution that favours females have not been addressed in a satisfactory manner.

The above analysis indicates that the district is still characterised by uneven spatial distribution of farms despite government involvement in the district through various policies and programmes. The analysed results also suggest that agricultural productivity in the district remains mainly of a subsistence model with an export-oriented model being skewed towards a relatively small island of advanced emerging farmers. Evidence from the analysed data concerning some emerging farmers moving from former homeland farming areas to previously advantaged farms to participate maximally in the national as well as international markets has been acknowledged. Thus, the uneven acquisition of unequal farms through various departmental programmes by emerging farmers in different municipalities within the district have now been evident but they have little impact on the reduction of the uneven distribution of farms that seem to be increasing. This implies that policy has not addressed all the concerns of emerging farmers in the five municipalities, especially in respect of funding, land and infrastructure, although it has been implemented. However, the division of the agricultural sector into rich and poor landscapes is not a unique feature experienced by only the Mopani district municipality. It has long been recorded by researchers such as Williams *et al.* (2009) elsewhere in the country.

On a racial spectrum, the distribution of wealth between black and white people is minimal although it signifies a slight change. Thus, uneven spatial distribution,

poverty and underdevelopment of the emerging farmers initiated by the colonial regime and perpetuated by patterns of policy implementation during the apartheid regime are now reinforced by the democratic government that has implemented distorted policies within different territories and municipalities. Hence, evidence from the study area provided by emerging farmers during focus group discussions indicates that emerging farmers have not been consulted adequately about what their priorities are and as a result, inequitable distribution of resources has caused disparities in the district.

The responses of the municipal officials and the provincial official, analysed in Chapter 4, show the need to address the problem of unequal spatial distribution of farms by involving the private sector, public sector, traditional leaders, emerging farmers and government. Thus, most of the rural and agricultural development policies and strategies that intend to bring about change to the emerging farmers have been put in place in a top-down model without considering a comprehensive approach that is more inclusive, which would be beneficial to emerging farmers and other stakeholders.

For this consultative platform to be effective it will require firstly an audit of available farm land in the district to be made through the expertise of relevant organisations and institutions that may assist in the allocation of land to emerging farmers to facilitate an even distribution of land. Then the result of the audit can be communicated to all role-players, including emerging farmers, for inputs that can assist in developing a policy that may be implemented, based on consensus and the realities of the situation on the ground. As a result, the available farm land will be distributed fairly in space with special focus on the previously marginalised but also obtaining consensus from the previous owners so that a mutual relationship can exist that can even be used as a source of mentoring emerging farmers. This requires collective participation from various stakeholders. Such a process should be monitored regularly and evaluated constantly to identify emerging problems and take appropriate actions to address these.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the analysis and interpretation of data collected during fieldwork surveys and a review of the literature. Evidence from the analysed data revealed that uneven spatial distribution of farms continued to widen. This was despite numerous policies and programmes implemented by government through its provinces, districts and local municipalities. Lack of proper coordination, inadequate provision of both human and material resources, monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of policies and programmes were cited as contributory factors. This led to little change from the colonial to the present post-apartheid democratic government.

Taking both the old and new political dispensations in the district, the results of the analysis showed that their policy implementations consistently advanced the interests of the more successful commercial farmer performance without adequate support to the poor emerging farmers. Although there were many progressive black farmers who became commercial farmers they were still prohibited by limited and discontinued policy support to become more prosperous.

The analysis also showed that the existence of the differences between agricultural landscapes in the district continued to reflect uneven spatial distribution of farmers as a result of government policy. An analysis and discussion of the field survey showed that the influence of government policy in the district maintained and sustained the pattern that the emerging farming sector is characterised by more successful and less successful farmers. This had a negative impact, not only on the poor emerging farmers, but also on the poor rural areas which suffered as a result of an increase in unemployment and poverty levels. Therefore, an uneven spatial distribution was evident among different sectors and classes. It increased over time, which further polarised the divide between the rich and the poor in the Mopani district, even within the local municipalities as well as within the individual municipality and social classes and among individuals.

In the next chapter, the findings, conclusion and recommendations of the study are presented. This is done within the framework of the four study objectives that have

been set out in Chapter 1. It draws on all the discussions, fieldwork results and literature reviewed to demonstrate the impact of policy on the emerging farming sector in the Mopani district of the Limpopo province in South Africa.

Chapter 6 – Summary and conclusions

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to investigate the impact of the implementation of government policy on the spatial distribution of emerging farmers in the Mopani district in the Limpopo Province of South Africa. This links to the aims of the National Development Plan (NDP): Vision 2030, launched in 2012 by the National Planning Commission (2011) that focuses on developing people's capabilities.

From the background and literature review it emerged that the emerging farmers in the country, and specifically in the Mopani district were previously excluded from decision-making processes that affected their daily activities on the farms. The research was done against the background of a transformation of the political and economic institutions, and within the context of the liberalisation of the South African economy and the changing political leadership in the country. These changes resulted in changes in policy and policy implementation.

These changes were highlighted in the background to the thesis in Chapter 1. The focus of the research was therefore on how policy development and implementation had impacted the emerging farming sector within one district in one of the provinces of South Africa. The data collected and fieldwork done in Greater Giyani, Maruleng, Greater Letaba, Ba-Phalaborwa and Greater Tzaneen (sub-districts of the Mopani district) indicated that there were still challenges and gaps in the implementation of policy in the district. Although their participation in the post-apartheid era was still limited, policy implementation provided opportunities for emerging farmers to develop and reduce uneven spatial distribution of farming in the district.

Qualitative and quantitative research methods were used to gather data from different types of respondents. Semi-structured questionnaires (see Appendices 3, 4 and 5), focused focus group discussions, and field observation were used as the main data collection methods. The collected data included, amongst other, aspects such as demographic characteristics of emerging farmers, farm inventory, policy implementation, infrastructure, markets, transport and credit. The researcher used

field observation to obtain information on the type of resources used by emerging farmers and how policy was being implemented. Data on policy implementation was also obtained from municipal and provincial officials. The fieldwork was undertaken in the five identified local municipalities of the Mopani district in the Limpopo Province of South Africa.

6.2 Main conclusions

The analysed data in Chapter 5 indicated the complexities of the spatial patterns of the emerging farming sector resulting from policy implementation in the five local municipalities of Maruleng, Ba-Phalaborwa, Greater Giyani, Greater Letaba and Greater Tzaneen in the Mopani district. The data showed that policy implementation in the Mopani District Municipality had led to different spatial patterns in the emerging farming sector. This confirmed the findings of RSA (2011) that revealed existing disparities in socio-economic status in the district, especially within the farming industry. The results described in Chapter 4 (Figure 4.10) on farm size, which was an important resource for agricultural activities, showed that the area of land shared by emerging farmers due to policy implementation was inequitable. It consequently created a spatial pattern of emerging farmers that was not desirable.

It is within these landscapes that farmers and people are characterised by different levels of education, development, wealth, poverty, socio-economic status and political power. The gap between these classes in their different municipalities, especially emerging farmers, is increasing instead of decreasing even after the dawn of the new democracy in 1994 (see Section 5.3). Thus, the impact of the agricultural policy of the previous government is still discernible within the emerging farming sector and it is perpetuated by the new democratic government.

In the next four sub-sections the results obtained are linked to the four objectives of the research. The first objective focuses on the spatial pattern of the emerging farming sector in the district, the second on the influence of policy on the distribution of emerging farmers, the third on the changes that have resulted from the democratic government and the last on the contribution of policy towards an even spatial distribution of emerging farmers in the Mopani district.

6.2.1 Impact of policy on agricultural patterns

The first objective of the research was to describe the spatial patterns of the emerging farming sector in the Mopani District of the Limpopo province at the dawn of democracy in 1994. The implementation of government policy influenced the previous pattern within the farming sector. In order to achieve this objective, the extent of the spatial pattern in the Mopani district and the reasons behind its existence were investigated.

A literature review was conducted to provide a global and national perspective on policy implementation in agriculture. From the literature, it is evident that agricultural policy impacts on the spatial distribution of farming activities. The patterns resulting from policy are not unique to South Africa but as indicated in the background and literature review, farming in South Africa prior to 1994 was based on racial lines as a result of the policy of previous governments (RSA, 2010a). Previous government policy in South Africa, resulted in different spatial patterns within the agricultural sector, which was divided into commercial and emerging farming sectors based on race. This deprived the black farmers of fertile land and resources that were only available to white farmers. Black farmers were unable to produce enough for the market and in the process, they became emerging farmers.

The dawn of democracy in 1994 brought about a series of policies to eradicate the injustices of the past. The literature review highlighted that policy implementation ranged from limited support for emerging farmers by the apartheid regime to the comprehensive reform by the post-apartheid government that held particular implications for the spatial pattern of the agricultural landscape in the Mopani district. Under the new democratic government large tracts of land were transferred to qualifying emerging farmers through the land reform programme. However, despite these policies and programmes only a few emerging farmers benefited from the land reform programme (Cousins & Hall, 2011).

The ongoing challenge of lack of credit and adequate infrastructure has a negative impact on the reduction of the uneven distribution of emerging farmers. The gap between the commercial farmers and emerging farmers has not yet been addressed adequately. The implementation of agricultural policy in the Mopani district is still

partially based on various forms of discrimination. It is this discriminatory nature of government policy that seems to lead to different spatial patterns within the agricultural sector. It has been shown in the literature review in Chapter 2 (Section 2.6.1) that, while the apartheid government used colour as a criterion for creating different patterns, the post-apartheid regime uses affordability as criterion for farmers to belong to a particular type of farming sector (RSA, 1996; Jacobs *et al.*, 2003).

In the Mopani district (Section 2.6.3 and Section 4.2) these discriminatory criteria for beneficiaries in the emerging farming sector include aspects such as farm size, funding, infrastructure, security, markets and resources as the focus of policy implementation gradually shifts from traditional subsistence farming support to a market-oriented commercial farming approach. Some groups of farmers own bigger farms and have appropriate resources to develop their farms. For this reason, infrastructure and farm sizes are different in different areas within the Mopani district.

Studies done by Kepe (2012) and Cousins and Peters (2013) have found that access to infrastructure, land, credit and institutional membership are essential for commercial farming. It is within the rich and resourceful commercial farming areas where these variables are found. Contrary to this, data from fieldwork (Chapter 4) shows that the majority of emerging farmers in the Mopani district still lack this kind of support. Policy that leads to differences in support results in different spatial patterns in the emerging farming sector in the Mopani district. This is evident in local municipalities such as Greater Tzaneen and Maruleng where there are larger farms than in the Greater Giyani and Greater Letaba local municipalities.

The emerging farmers, in their respective farming patterns, operate in specific geographically defined areas that differ from areas where non-qualifying farmers operate such as in the local municipality of Greater Giyani. The result is two spatially segregated patterns in the agricultural landscape. This classification of support into different patterns of the emerging farming sector shows how policies are selectively implemented in specific areas to bring about new distribution patterns. It is evident from the analysed results in Chapter 5 that the implementation of the agricultural

policy leads to the development of a pattern of new black elite of emerging farmers after the democratic dispensation.

These policies, as is shown in the analysis of Chapter 5 in Section 5.3, alter the spatial pattern of the agricultural landscape in different municipalities and hence, the new pattern of the emerging farming sector emerges. This is due to the implementation of the new agricultural policy that is in compliance with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 (Act 108 of 1996) (RSA, 1996). It helps a few emerging farmers from the former homelands to move onto former white farms.

It can be argued that the evolution of the agricultural policy and its implementation favour mainly the emerging farmers with resources over poor emerging farmers with very little resources. This creates and perpetuates a class of rich farmers while depriving the underdeveloped emerging farmers of support. The type of support and the existence of the two distinct patterns of the rich and poor emerging sectors seem not to differ much from that of the previous regime. Hence, since post 1994, the major support for emerging farmers in the district is directed at the development of resourced farmers over poorly resourced farmers in different municipalities within the Mopani district. This further indicates a spatial pattern of poverty in the district among various social groups in different areas which are characterised by islands of development in some areas.

6.2.2 Policy and distribution of emerging farmers

The second objective of the research was to evaluate how implementation of government policy has influenced the spatial distribution of emerging farmers in the Mopani district. It was the aim of the apartheid policy to separate black and white farmers. The intention was to promote separate development that was skewed towards white farmers in terms of resource provision. This object considered the new distribution that had emerged as a result of the post-apartheid policy intervention strategies.

The Mopani district is favourably situated for vegetable production although insufficient and unreliable rain serves as a constraint. Colander (2004) has found

that the distribution of farming activities is generally influenced by, among others, the physical, social, political and economic factors in different regions. Emerging farmers in this district are engaged in agricultural activities under different conditions caused by the apartheid and post-apartheid governments.

In Chapter 1, it was indicated that inadequate policy implementation skewed towards one sector of the farming community, leading to an underdevelopment of the other. This promoted two different spatial distributions of the emerging farming sector. In the five local municipalities of the Mopani district, policy implementation plays a minor role in the distribution of emerging farmers. This was confirmed by the collected data in (Section 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4). The data demonstrated that there was an uneven distribution of emerging farmers in the district. The distribution however, differed from one local municipality to the other, and also differed in terms of available resources on the farms. In addition, this influence of policy was also evident within the gender component as well as the spatial distribution of age group. It consequently influences the distribution of income and poverty levels across the five local municipalities in the district.

Evidence discussed in Chapter 5 demonstrates that there is still a major problem of many emerging farmers crowded on small areas of farm lands in the former homelands, while a small group of commercial farmers is distributed on large fertile areas of land on the former white farms. This is not different from the apartheid policy in which white farmers operated on fertile soil while black emerging farmers occupied infertile soils in the homelands (Wildschut & Hulbert, 1998). Black emerging farmers are found mainly in former white farming territories in the district although some are in the communal areas.

As an analysis of Chapter 5 in Section 5.4 and Figure 5.2 in Greater Tzaneen shows, capable farmers or group of farmers with better financial resources are distributed mainly in fertile and well-resourced farming areas, while Figure 5.6 indicates the opposite in Greater Giyani. This implies that, although the provincial government puts some institutional programmes in place in the district, the impact thereof on the distribution of the emerging farming sector is only limited to a few successful farmers.

An analysis of the data highlights the impact of the previous and current policy implementation that have caused variations in the distribution of farms in, for example, local municipalities such as Greater Giyani with small farms and Greater Tzaneen with large farms within the emerging farming sector. Most importantly, Greater Giyani is not at all affected by the changing distribution of emerging farmers resulting from post-apartheid policy.

Although there is a movement of a few emerging farmers from the former homelands to the new farm land in the former white areas as a result of policy, this distribution is not a significant shift because the majority of emerging farmers are still not affected by policy. Thus, while the distribution of apartheid policy implementation was biased towards racial lines, the democratic policy's distribution seems to be constrained by numerous factors such as funding.

This is supported by the district's municipality officials and the provincial official (see Chapter 4 Section 4.3 and Section 4.4) who indicated that financial constraints, negatively affects post-settlement support for emerging farmers. Thus, the distribution of beneficiaries of restitution, LRAD and SLAG also reduces due to insufficient funding. This declining distribution of productive commercial farms also leads to a decline in the participation rate of farm employees. It furthermore affects their income and employment opportunities which are likely to decline.

A further feature of the distribution of the emerging farming sector in the district is the smaller number of youths and the uneven distribution of females in the lower echelons of leadership and ownership of farms. This implies that agricultural policy does not impact meaningfully on the distribution of females and youths, as their numbers have not improved significantly as revealed in Chapter 5.

Literature has found that the failure of the land reform policy further complicates the distribution of the emerging farming sector (Cousins & Hall, 2011). This becomes a typical problem of a declining agricultural sector that affects the distribution of successful commercial farmers. As in the past, the distribution of poorly resourced emerging farmers continues to be the way of life for the majority of emerging farmers

in the district after 1994. Thus, the analysis of the data shows that the implementation of the agricultural policy introduces different categories of emerging farmers in the five different local municipalities in the Mopani district. This indicates that one of the influences in the distribution of the emerging farming sector in the district's municipalities is policy support to emerging farmers who are known to be resource-starved. However, policy seems not to be coordinated adequately to give effect to an even distribution of farms.

6.2.3 Policy and the agricultural landscape

The third objective was to analyse how the implementation of government policy influenced the changing agricultural landscape in the district. The post-apartheid government intended to eradicate all existing policies of the previous regime. Changes through transformation were inevitable. An analysis of the new landscape showed how policy had assisted some emerging farmers.

The aim of policy implementation in the district is, among others, to eliminate the injustices of the past. However, the implementation of policy has caused different agricultural landscapes in the district. In the analysis in Chapter 5, Section 5.5, it was found that limited success has been achieved. The two main agricultural landscapes still exist in the district. These are the well-resourced landscape for mainly commercial farmers and the less resourced landscape for emerging farmers. Furthermore, there is a movement of black emerging farmers to former white farms caused by the land reform programme (Jacobs, Lahiff & Hall, 2003). It creates an agricultural landscape that consists of new black resourced commercial farmers as a result of policy, especially in Maruleng and Greater Tzaneen, characterised by both black and white farmers. Contrary to this, the less resourced landscape is found mainly in the former homelands, consisting of marginalised black emerging farmers by the post-apartheid policy. Some black emerging farmers in these municipalities who have acquired bigger farms as a result of policy have led to the emergence of a new democratic agricultural landscape of big and small farms owned by black farmers. Together with big farms still operated by white farmers they represent three different agricultural landscapes. The first one is a commercial landscape for the white farmers, second is the commercial landscape operated by

black farmers and the third landscape consists of the poor marginalised emerging farmers who exist as a result of policy.

A division had been created by policy between black emerging farmers themselves by creating a class of rich and poor black farmers after 1994. Some black emerging farmers have acquired bigger farms, which has resulted in a new democratic agricultural landscape of big black farms and small black farms. This has the largest effect of programme-based support found in these municipal areas. It is policy that has provided them with farmland of generally good quality and land, which is generally good and land is still relatively good because it has been used by white farmers in the past. It is in these municipalities where a higher level of support is given with the effect of increasing their relative level of productivity. These are black farmers, who by virtue of their status, are able to market their products nationally and internationally. They are therefore, the beneficiaries of the new policy implementation of the post-apartheid regime, which has created a new agricultural landscape.

Contrary to this, less supported emerging farmers on smaller farms in the former homelands have a lower output but continue to operate on these types of farmland. This makes policy implementation a direct mechanism of creating different spatial agricultural landscapes operated by farmers with varying agricultural resources. It is, however, acknowledged that the acquisition of bigger farms by black farmers is an achievement in itself. This leads to an uneven spatial distribution of socio-economic landscapes in the district that impact negatively on its development.

For these different landscapes to be addressed, there is a need for appropriate policy implementation, taking into account, the individual and unique circumstances, in which they occur. However, these different landscapes do not occupy an exclusive site where they are easily noticed. In Greater Tzaneen, Ba-Phalaborwa and Maruleng there is evidence from the analysis in Chapter 5 that indicates that black emerging farmers have developed into commercial farmers. However, no evidence exists to indicate that white farmers have become emerging farmers. This indicates that much still needs to be done in the line of policy implementation.

6.2.4 Policy and reduction of uneven spatial distribution

The last objective was to explain the contribution of policy towards the reduction in the uneven spatial pattern of farming in the district. Looking to the past, the literature showed that the uneven spatial distribution of farms was established by the colonial and apartheid regimes. Their policies created large gaps between African farmers and white farmers. The distribution of the farms due to apartheid policy was not desirable and there was a need for a new spatial distribution of farms. The post-apartheid policies that are in place have liberalised the system. The racially biased legislation was abolished. It is against this background that the changes that have resulted from the democratic government are analysed. The implementation of the new agricultural policies has resulted in a new unique distribution.

In Chapter 5 (Section 5.6) the data presented in Chapter 4 was analysed. The analyses show that in the five local municipalities of Greater Giyani, Ba-Phalaborwa, Greater Tzaneen, Maruleng and Greater Letaba in the Mopani district an uneven spatial distribution of emerging farmers still exists. Farmers in the study area are still divided into commercial farmers and emerging farmers. Literature in Chapter 2 showed that policy implementation causes uneven spatial distribution of the agricultural landscape (Rother, Hall & London, 2008). The reduction of this uneven spatial distribution of the two sectors has, however, been a priority item of the democratic government's development agenda (Hall & Aliber, 2010).

Despite the introduction of programmes in the district to reduce the unbalance distribution, little has been achieved, as Chapter 1 Section 1.3.7 indicates. The aim of these programmes is to support emerging farmers thereby developing them to become commercial farmers. Evidence presented in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2.4 and Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12 indicate that the provision and distribution of support in terms of resources is not evenly divided. Although there are some municipalities that are partially resourced due to policy, there are still disparities and distortions within the borders of local municipalities. The data presented in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2 and Section 4.4.1 demonstrates that existing programmes are not enough to reduce uneven distribution. The distribution of government programmes summarised in Table 5.1 and presented in, for example, Figure 5.2 for Greater Tzaneen, and Figure 5.6 for Greater Giyani bear testimony to the existing disparities

in the five local municipalities. It is demonstrated through these diagrams that policy is not adequately addressing the problem of inequitable allocation of resources in various municipalities in the district.

Literature reviewed in Chapter 2 acknowledges that a gap exists between commercial and emerging farmers. This is ascribed to challenges such as funding that has been provided to address the problem. However, the funding and provided resources cannot close the gap between the two sectors, as it is not enough. This has been acknowledged and noted by the provincial official as shown in Chapter 4 Section 4.4.4. The official acknowledges that funding is still a challenge, together with institutional support that deprives other needy farmers in the district.

Although credit can help the poor emerging farmers, this analysis shows that they have often been kept outside the commercial banking system due to high costs and high risks. As a result, their disadvantaged position is compounded by their inability to improve access to credit that could have an immediate impact on income and the livelihood of participating farm workers. Faced with financial problems, it would be difficult for the farmers to attract the youth and female into farming, as it portrays a negative picture.

In Chapter 5 it was shown that one of the findings is that emerging farmers in the district have received little attention with regard to market access since 1994. This is related to transaction charges, hiring of transport to the market and distance to the market that reduce their profit. Lack of market access deprives emerging farmers of the opportunity to generate more income. Resultantly, this has increased the gap between commercial and emerging farmers. As indicated in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.4, this points to the fact, that service provision, as guided by policy, is discriminatory and causes uneven distribution. In addition to the problem, the challenge of the gap between the youth and the elderly, as shown in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.1.2 in Figure 4.5, is growing instead of declining. Although attempts by government to attract the youth have been made, the results are counter-productive.

This is also true of gender disparity. The distribution of female farmers within the leadership positions is still not addressed adequately. As much as a gap between the youth and the elderly is increasing, so is the gap between male and female emerging farmers in high positions of leadership. Despite numerous policy interventions and programmes, as indicated above, evidence as provided shows that emerging farmers still face various constraints of transiting into the mainstream commercial farming sector. In the five local municipalities of the Mopani district uneven spatial distribution of emerging farmers still exists. It is, however, acknowledged that the acquisition of bigger farms by black farmers is an achievement in itself. Thus, the effectiveness of policy implementation is questionable. It indicates that much still needs to be done in the line of policy implementation.

It has been noted from numerous sources that the government intends to establish an evenly distributed agricultural landscape. This is evident in Section 4.3.3 that shows that the Department of Agriculture operates from national to municipality level to provide services according to policy. Four structures have been put in place from national, provincial, district and ultimately municipal level for actual implementation of policy. Results from both literature reviews (Claassen, 2008, Lahiff, 2011, RSA, 2013) and fieldwork results in Section 4.3.2 indicate that municipalities provide support to emerging farmers with numerous and different constraints by means of appointing extension officers.

The distribution and provision of such support in terms of these resources are not even. It has been noted, that policy has not addressed the problem of inequitable allocation of resources in various municipalities adequately in respect of the previously marginalised farmers in the Mopani district. The poor emerging farmers in Greater Giyani continue to be poor, while the rich farmers continue to be rich, thereby maintaining the two uneven spatial distributions of the agricultural landscapes. Although there are some municipalities that are partially supported due to policy such as Greater Tzaneen, Greater Letaba, Ba-Phalaborwa and Maruleng there are still disparities and distortions within the borders of the municipalities.

Thus, with limited resources, extension officers are unable to service all municipalities adequately with such large numbers of emerging farmers. The limited success they register is acknowledged but they also face constraints that compound emerging farmer's development. They have limited financial support and transport as well as equipment to support emerging farmers. The result is poor provision of services in certain areas in different time-frames and they do not reach the entire district. Consequently, the reduction of uneven distribution between the commercial and emerging farmers is not achievable. Thus, the elimination of emerging farmer's challenges will take time to be realised unless resources, both human and material, are made readily available in the district. After 20 years of democracy, there is as yet no appropriate plan of how such constraints faced by emerging farmers and their officials should be addressed. An uneven spatial distribution of farms and uneven share of services provided by the district officials still maintain and sustain a divide between the rich and the poor while the gap is widening.

The overall results of the analysis show that in the Mopani district households and communities are affected negatively by government policy implementation due to the low productivity of the majority of emerging farmers. The farmers become unable to create employment, generate income and supply themselves with fundamental needs such as food, clothing and shelter. On the other hand, income from different branches of agriculture, are affected negatively, leading to unfavourable conditions for economic growth and development. The conclusion therefore, is that, service provision, as guided by policy, was discriminatory, thereby causing uneven spatial distribution with distortions.

6.3 Interpretation of findings

From the discussions in previous sections it can be concluded that the spatial pattern established by previous regimes has not changed significantly. The commercial and subsistence farming sectors that operate within the former homelands and former white areas still exist. Although a few emerging farmers moved to the white areas, the pattern of the rich commercial farmers on big farms and poor emerging farmers in communal areas is still the same. The spatial distribution of emerging farmers was also not significantly affected by the post-

apartheid policy implementation. The distribution is more skewed towards females and higher positions are biased towards males.

Since 1994, the implementation of government policy has introduced some minor shifts from the former homelands to the former white areas. This has brought about a different landscape of black farmers with adequate resources farming on big commercial farms formerly belonging to white farmers. The post-settlement support they received impact positively on the image of their farms. It is this new landscape that shows how policy has assisted some emerging farmers.

The provision of agricultural resources still remains a big challenge. Although resources as per policy have been provided, they could not reduce the gap between the two sectors significantly. Existing constraints have limited the ability of the government to bring about an even distribution of farms. Some achievements have been realised but the gap is still big. The gap, created by the colonial and apartheid policy, and the attempts of the post-apartheid government to eradicate this gap, confirms that the implementation of government policy is at the centre of uneven spatial distribution of farms. Despite these challenges the attempts made by the post-apartheid government through its policies to reduce uneven distribution of farms are acknowledged and commendable. As a result, the existing gap between the rich farmers and poor farmers needs to be addressed through policy implementation.

The post-apartheid government has inherited a divided agricultural landscape that provides resources on racial lines. This creates an uneven spatial distribution of the emerging farming sector in the district, as shown in Section 4.2. This uneven distribution of farms has been addressed by the post-apartheid government through policy implementation, as the findings in Section 5.3 have shown. This has led to the division of three categories of farmers, namely, white farmer, rich black farmers and poor marginalised emerging farmers operating in different agricultural landscapes as a result of policy.

Numerous Acts, policies and programmes have been put in place to reduce the injustices of the past (RSA, 1996; Mkhize & Mwelase, 1996; Cousins & Hall, 2011;

Lahiff *et al.*, 2012). However, due to numerous constraints such as a lack of sufficient funding, infrastructure, poor market access, transport-related problems and biased policy implementation towards the rich farmers (Section 4.2), the aim of developing emerging farmers into commercial farmers has only been achieved in part. Despite the availability of markets (see Figure 4.19 and Figure 4.20) and transport (see Figure 4.21), the reduction of uneven spatial agricultural landscape could not be reduced significantly. In spite of these challenges the findings and results show that policy implementation has helped only a few black farmers to become commercial farmers on big farms. This constitutes the landscapes created by the democratic government.

Based on the above findings and discussions, the study found that the post-apartheid government brought about many changes in terms of policy reform, land reform programmes and provision of support that affected the emerging farming sector in the district, both positively and negatively. On a positive note, more emerging farmers became commercial farmers on larger farms than those in the former homelands with their small farms. This achievement is commendable.

However, the unexpected result of policy implementation is that the aim of the Department of Agriculture to reduce the gap between the commercial and emerging farming sectors has not been achieved. The majority of emerging farmers, as the findings in Chapter 5 show, are still marginalised by policy. It was expected that policy implementation would reduce uneven spatial distribution of emerging farmers but as the findings in Chapter 5 in Section 5.6 show, the gap between few black commercial farmers and the majority of emerging farming has widened.

The rapid changes of the land reform programmes from SLAG, LRAD to PLAS, insufficient funding, a lack of proper coordination and infrastructural support are cited as some of the contributory factors. Furthermore, insufficient monitoring, evaluation and vagueness of some of the policies have slowed the development of emerging farmers due to a lack of proper accountability from different institutions and structures. These factors have led to the development of the new agricultural landscapes characterised by the spatial distribution of the rich and poor black farmers in the district. Consequently, the gap between emerging farmers and

commercial farmers, the rich and the poor, has increased. Therefore, the implementation of the agricultural policy meant mainly for the poor seems to have been more biased towards the rich sector of the farming community.

6.4 Implication of findings

Literature indicates that policy implementation influences agricultural development by reducing the gap between the commercial and emerging farming sectors. It further identifies the government as an important component in the implementation of policy to impact positively on emerging farmers' progress. The analysis of the field-work results (Chapter 5) shows that policy is essential for increasing in farmers' productivity and their capacity. It also improves planning by departmental officials and emerging farmers thereby ensuring quality products. Consequently, policy can shape a new agricultural landscape that has the potential of reducing the uneven spatial distribution between the rich and poor farmers, and among various socio-economic groups of the rural population.

The findings show that effective policy development and implementation identify with farmers' challenges and put strategies in place to reduce their constraints. Thus, establishing a collegial process of sharing skills and expertise related to farming practices between emerging and commercial farmers is essential. The provincial department of agriculture, in conjunction with district officials, should therefore carefully evaluate whether the manner in which emerging farmers programmes and policies is implemented is sustainable before the policies are implemented.

The results of the focus group discussions with emerging farmers, municipal officials and the departmental official reveal that their understanding of agricultural policy and its implementation in the district is complex. This shows that an interaction among all stakeholders is necessary to have a common understanding of policy and its processes. It further indicates that regular evaluation and monitoring can provide an opportunity of reviewing and refining policy programmes. This will enable extension officers to remain focused on key issues such as provision of resources for emerging farmers in their respective local municipalities with different characteristics.

The findings in Chapter 5 have shown that addressing the needs and challenges of various farming groups with individual and group needs is a challenging problem to extension officers. This requires a postmodernism theory that acknowledges individual differences and caters for diversity and unique farmers in specific environments with their typical features. As a result, the district officials could enhance a way of helping emerging farmers to become commercial farmers. Hence, the findings may be used in their plenary sessions to develop more sustainable policy, programmes and plans for emerging farmers.

This study is important because it provides insights into the spatial distribution of emerging farmers in the Mopani district as a result of policy. It further reflects a distribution of emerging farmers who are not equally served and unevenly distributed, while occupying different agricultural landscapes. However, interview results have also shown that it is important for the department to select institutions and employees with competencies and resources to undertake the implementation process forward. It facilitates a close relationship between officials and farmers to provide an opportunity of networking with commercial farmers to share knowledge and skills.

6.5 Implications for policy and research

In the previous section, it was demonstrated that, despite the implementation of government policies within the agricultural sector in the Mopani district, uneven spatial distribution of farms still exists in the local municipalities of Maruleng, Greater Giyani, Ba-Phalaborwa, Greater Letaba and Greater Tzaneen. The following are mainly policy-related implications that flow from this research.

- Further research is needed on the actual method of policy implementation to benefit both the Department of Agriculture and emerging farmers.
- Conceptualising policy and emerging farmers in different ways presents a problem of addressing the needs of emerging farmers. This research recommends that a common conceptualisation of both policy and emerging

farmers be developed to promote common understanding and approaches in addressing the plight of emerging farmers.

- It is further necessary to investigate the nature of the differences in participation rates between the elderly and the youth in view of the need to address the succession plan within the agricultural sector in the district.
- Policy makers and the Department of Agriculture should develop a funding model to develop the emerging farming sector. For example, if the mentorship model is costly, then an alternative model should be found to provide financial assistance to emerging farmers.
- Further research is necessary into the efficiency and effectiveness of the CAP programme in view of its intended purpose of improving the capacity of the emerging farmers.
- Policy that supports and encourages the reduction of the gap between emerging farmers and commercial farmers needs to be developed rather than widening it.
- Further research is required for policy that will support and regulate the emerging farming sector in such a way that it promotes insight into the farming industry to facilitate the commercialisation of the previously marginalised farmers.
- It is also necessary to investigate why the productivity of transferred farms through government programmes is declining.

6.6 Conclusion

This research has been conducted in the five local municipalities of the Mopani district in the Limpopo Province of South Africa. The findings and conclusions made are therefore just applicable to this one district and cannot not be generalised to other districts in the province or to districts in other provinces.

The results and findings from the fieldwork were interpreted in this chapter based on the four objectives of the study. The spatial pattern of farming in the Mopani District Municipality in the Limpopo Province was investigated. It was found that there was an unequal spatial pattern characterised by a white commercial farming sector and emerging and subsistence farming taking place in the former homelands which were incorporated into this district after 1994.

The spatial pattern of emerging farmers in the Mopani district in 2013/ 2014 was also investigated. The results from the fieldwork showed that the majority of emerging farmers in the district were still marginalised by policy and that the gap between the few black commercial farmers and the majority of emerging farming had widened. This new spatial distribution pattern resulted from the implementation of new agricultural and other policies in the district. These policies altered the spatial pattern of the agricultural landscape in the different local municipalities differently and a new spatial pattern of farming emerged in the district.

The implementation of apartheid policy caused the uneven spatial distribution of farms in this district and in many other districts in South Africa. Consequently, the post-apartheid government inherited these divided agricultural landscapes that provided resources on racial lines. This created an uneven spatial distribution of the emerging farming sector in the district.

This uneven distribution of farms was addressed by the post-apartheid government through policy reform, land reform programmes and provision of support that affected the emerging farming sector in the district both positively and negatively. The implementation of the new policies affected the distribution of income and poverty across the five local municipalities in the district differently but overall the

poor emerging farmers continued to be poor, while the rich farmers continued to be rich, thereby maintaining the dual uneven spatial distribution in the agricultural landscapes. The results and findings from this research showed that an unexpected result of this new policy implementation was the creation of three categories of farmers, namely, white farmers, rich black farmers and marginalised emerging farmers operating in different agricultural landscapes as a result of policy implementation in the Mopani district.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Participant consent form

Research title: The impact of the implementation of the new government policy on the spatial distribution of emerging farmers in the Limpopo Province of South Africa.

Researcher: Surname: Mamabolo **First names:** Makhudu Edward

Address: P.O Box 283, Sovenga, 0727

Cell number: 076 536 8105

- Your involvement in this study is voluntary, you are not obliged to divulge information you would prefer to remain private and you may withdraw from the study at any time.
- The researcher will treat the information you provide as confidential. You will not be identified in any document, including the interview transcripts and the research report, by your surname, first name, or by any other information. You will be referred to in the documents under a code name. No one, other than the researcher, will be informed that you participated in this research.
- The research may include risks to you, but these will be minimal and no different to those encountered by people on a daily basis. Every effort will be made to minimise possible risks.
- The research findings will be made available to you should you request them.
- Should you have any queries about the research, now or in the future, you are welcome to contact the researcher at the above address.
- I appreciate your willingness to be involved in this research.

I understand the contents of this document and agree to participate in this research.

.....

Signature

Date.....

Name

Appendix 2: Permission to Conduct Research Study

Enq. Mamabolo M.E
Cell: 0765368105

P.O Box 283
Sovenga
0727
04 June 2013

Attention
The Acting HOD
Mr TS Ndove
Private Bag X9487
Polokwane
0700

Sir

Permission to Conduct Research Study: Re Nr: 2013/CAES/04

I, Makhudu Edward Mamabolo, am writing to request permission, to conduct a research study in your institution. I am currently enrolled in the Geography Department at UNISA and am in the process of writing my PhD thesis entitled: "The impact of the implementation of the new government policy on the spatial distribution of emerging farmers in the Limpopo Province of South Africa". The study is focused on the Mopani district.

The Ethics Committee requires me to ensure them that I have complied with the ethical consideration. As a result, I am requesting your institution to:

- Acknowledge receipt of my intention to undertake this study
- Give me permission to conduct the research
- Allow me to acquire a list of emerging farmers in the Mopani district and constitute a sample of 200 emerging farmers
- Allow me to work with officials from both the provincial Department of Agriculture and the Mopani district who deal with training, funding, policies, marketing and provision of agricultural resources for emerging farmers.
- Approve of my intention to approach the sampled groups to participate in the study.

The sampled participants will be given a consent form to sign. The sampled group will complete a questionnaire anonymously and take part in an informal discussion on the title. If approval is granted, the emerging farmers will complete their sessions in their local community hall while provincial and district officials will use their respective offices. The completion of the questionnaire and the informal discussion should take no longer than 45 minutes each including break time for each session. The survey results will be pooled for the thesis: individual results of this study will remain absolutely confidential and anonymous.

Your approval to conduct this research study will be greatly appreciated. I have provided you with details of officials of the University for further information.

Dr AC Harmse (0833970752)

R Coetzee (0845165194)

Yours faithfully

ME Mamabolo (Researcher)

Appendix 3: Questionnaire to be completed by emerging farmer(s)
(Please write neatly and legibly).

A. Personal Details

1. What is your gender? (Please tick)

Male

Female

2. What is your age?

Under 25

26-40

41-55

56 and above

3. What is your highest educational level? (Please tick)

Primary school

Grade 12 or equivalent

Technical certificate

Degree and above

4. How did you acquire your knowledge about farming? (Please tick)

Experience

Education

5. How do you rate the farming knowledge and experience you apply on your farm?

Poor

Average

Good

6. To which race group do you belong? (Please tick)

Black

White

Indian

Asian

7. What is your current marital status? (Please tick)

Married

Separated

Single

Widowed

Living with another

Would rather not say

8. Where do you currently reside? (Please tick)

Mopani

Vhembe

Capricorn

Sekhukhune

Waterberg

9. Which of the following describes the area in which you reside? (Please tick)

Urban

Rural

Suburban

Squatter settlement

10. How long have you been living there? (Please tick)

Less than 9 years

10 – 19 years

20 – 29 years

30 – 39 years

More than 40 years

B. Farm Inventory

1. Brief description of the farm:

1.1 Indicate the land tenure system on the land in use. (Tick)

Land tenure system		
Communal	Rent/Lease	Privately owned

1.2 How did you acquire the land? (Please tick)

Bought	Inherited	Resettled	Other (Specify)
--------	-----------	-----------	-----------------

Other (specify):

1.3. Why did you choose this farm?

1.4. Do you own the farm? (Please tick)

Yes

No

2. If no, are you satisfied with the arrangement on the land that you are using?
Explain.

3. How is the farm financed?

4. Farm size: Indicate the size of your farm in hectares

5. How long have you been farming? (in years)

6. How do you cultivate your land? (by hand /animal drawn/ tractor / other (specify)

7. How do you acquire the production inputs that you use? Explain.

8. Do you buy inputs (seeds, fertilizers etc.)? (Please tick)

Yes

No

9. Who provides the crops which you are farming with? Explain.

C. Agricultural Policy

1. Have you been informed about policies regarding emerging farmers'? (Please tick)

Yes

No

2. Which policies are those?

3. What do you know about such policies?

4. Who implements the policy?

5. Is the policy implemented properly? (Please tick)

Yes

No

Not sure

6. Does the policy help you to improve your crops? Explain.

7. At what level of assistance are you being assisted about such policies?

8. Are you satisfied with the assistance that the policy offers? Explain.

9. Are you satisfied with the policy itself? (Please tick)

Yes

No

10. How does the policy differ from the apartheid policy on emerging farmers?

11. Are you satisfied with the types of activities on the farm that are addressed by the policy?

12. Which marketing policies are available in your area?

13. Are you satisfied with such policies? Explain

D. Training Needs

1. Do you attend workshops to learn about policy implementation? (Please tick)

Yes

No

1.1. If “Yes”, which capacity-building programmes are offered that meet the agricultural policy implementation needs on your farm? Please specify.

- The main area that is covered is

- How often are those programmes offered?

- Targeted group

1.2. If “No”, give reasons for not attending.

2. What specific policy training programmes would you recommend for your farm?

3. What type of major training challenges have you experienced on your farm that affect policy implementation?

4. How do you respond to such challenges?

5. Do you require more training on policy matters? (Please tick)

Yes

No

5.1. If "Yes", specify the type of training you need.

E. Products and Markets

1. What products do you produce?

2. How do you market your products?

3. Where do you sell most of your produce?

4. How is the product sold at present?

5. How far is the market from your farm in kilometres?

6. Do you always find a market for all the products which you produce? (Please tick)

Yes

No

7. If "No", what happens to the unsold produce?

E. Transport

1. How is the product transported to the market?

2. Whose transport is being used to bring the produce to the market? Explain.

3. Which problems do you experience when transporting the product? Explain.

G. Income

1. How much do you contribute to the production of the products?

2. Does this farming contribute to your monthly income? Please Explain.

3. Can the income be sustainable in the future?

4. How can the profitability of the product be improved?

H. Infrastructure

1. To what type of infrastructure do you have access on your farm?

2. How is the condition of the road(s) you use to get to the market?

3. To which type of infrastructure do you have access other than on your farm?

I. Institutional support services

1. Are you aware of the role which the district municipality plays in agriculture?

Yes

No

2. How does the municipality help you with your farming? Explain.

3. Do you find such assistance helpful?

Yes

No

4. Which are the main areas in which you need more help from the municipality?

Thank you

Appendix 4: Questionnaire to be completed by municipality

(Please write neatly and legibly).

Policy issues

A. Apartheid policies on agriculture

1. How did the previous agricultural policies influence the distribution of farmers in the district?

2. How have those policies change over time to include emerging farmers?

B. Post-apartheid policies on agriculture

3. Which policies are now available for agriculture in the district?

4. Which policies are specifically available to assist emerging farmers in the district?

C. Policies regarding emerging farmers in the Mopani District

5. What policies exist in the district that has significance for the distribution of the agricultural landscapes within the emerging farming sector?

6. Who are the emerging farmers that are assisted by policy?

7. How does the implementation of policy assist emerging farmers?

8. Have emerging farmers been informed about the agricultural policies and what this entail? (Please tick)

Yes

No

D. Policy Implementation

9. How are those policies implemented?

10. What challenges have you experienced when implementing such policies?

11. How do you deal with such challenges?

12. Do the policies also assist commercial farmers? Please explain.

E. Impact of policies on emerging farmers

13. How does the current agricultural policy influence the distribution of emerging farmers in the district? Explain.

14. How does the current policies contribute to the eradication of inequality between emerging and commercial farmers?

F. Training

15. Which policies exist in the district that would train emerging farmers to operate in the mainstream commercial farming sector?

16. How adequate and relevant are these policies in addressing the needs of emerging farmers to access agricultural markets?

G. Institutional support

17. What institutional support and resources exist to make these policies work at district level?

18. What level of capacity exists in the district for the implementation of these policies?

Thank You

Appendix 5: Questionnaire to be completed by the Department of Agriculture of the Limpopo Province

(Please write neatly and legibly).

Policy issues

A. Apartheid policy on agriculture

1. In your opinion, what differentiates agricultural policies from emerging farmers' policy in the province?

B. Post-apartheid policies on agriculture

2. In the context of today's development scenario, what do you consider to be the main goal of policy implementation with regard to emerging farmers?

C. Policy implementation in the province

3. Has the implementation of the agricultural policy been useful in reducing regional inequalities between commercial and emerging farmers in the province? Please explain.

D. Policies regarding emerging farmers

4. The changing agricultural environment means that agricultural policies need to be adapted to a new set of conditions and demands. Do you agree?
5. What are the major changes taking place that affect agricultural policy with regard to emerging farmers in the province?

6. What are the challenges that this presents to your department?

7. How are you responding to these challenges in the inequalities between rich commercial farmers and poor emerging farmers?

8. What difficulties have you experienced in building and sustaining mutual relationships between emerging farmers and commercial farmers in the province?

E. Institutional reform

9. What type of institutional reform would you recommend in your department?

F. Impact of policies on emerging farmers

10. How does the current agricultural policy influence the distribution of emerging farmers in the province? Explain.

11. How does the current agricultural policy contribute to the eradication of inequalities between emerging farmers and commercial farmers?

G. Training programmes

12. Which skills development policies exist for emerging farmers that prepare them to be able to operate in the formal agricultural market?

13. How adequate and relevant are these policies in addressing the needs of emerging farmers to access agricultural markets? Explain.

H. Institutional support

14. What institutions support and resources exist to make these policies work at provincial and district level?

15. What level of capacity exists in the province's institutions for the implementation of these policies?

Thank You.

Appendix 6: Request for permission to conduct research study in Mopani District



LIMPOPO
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Ref: 12/R
Enq: Dr. Nthakheni N.D

Date: 18 June 2013

Mr Mamabolo M.E
P.O Box 283
Sovenga
0727

Dear Sir

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH STUDY IN MOPANI DISTRICT

1. Your letter (Re Nr: 2013/CAES/04 dated 04 June 2013 refers.
2. The Limpopo Department of Agriculture (LDA) wish to acknowledge receipt of the above mention letter concerning your proposed research on "The Impact of the implementation of the new government policy on the spatial distribution of emerging farmers in the Limpopo Province of South Africa".
3. Kindly note that your request is approved, however you are encouraged to liaise with Senior Manager of the Mopani District Department of Agriculture Mr Alfred Malepfane to work out the logistics on how you are going to engage the farmers and what assistance you will need to carry out your research. The Senior Manager's contact numbers are : 015 812 3402 or 0828088704.
4. You also have to make time to come to the LDA to make a presentation of your proposal at a date suitable to you.
5. The LDA will appreciate if the findings of the study could be made available

67/69 Biccard Street, POLOKWANE, 0700, Private Bag X9487, Polokwane, 0700
Tel: (015) 294 3000 Fax: (015) 294 4504 Website: <http://www.lda.gov.za>

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Appendix 7: Request for preliminary information on emerging farmers in the Limpopo Province

Enq. Mamabolo M.E
Cell: 0765368105

P.O Box 283
Sovenga
0727
08/07/2013

Attention: Senior Manager

Mr Nyambani P

Sir

Request for preliminary information on emerging farmers in the Limpopo Province: Research Study: Re Nr: 2013/CAES/04 – Mamabolo M.E

I, Makhudu Edward Mamabolo, am currently enrolled in the Geography Department at UNISA and am in a process of writing my PhD thesis entitled: “The impact of the implementation of the new government policy on the spatial distribution of emerging farmers in the Limpopo Province of South Africa”. The study is focused on the Mopani District.

In order to have a broader perspective of the topic in the district, especially pertaining to LRAD programme, I therefore, request your institution to:

- Provide me with a list of emerging farmers in the district per district municipality area i.e Ba- Phalaborwa; Greater Giyani; Greater Letaba and Greater Tzaneen.
- Gender breakdown of emerging farmers from those municipalities.
- Farm size allocated to each farmer(s) per district municipality
- Documents containing information on how those emerging farmers were supported during the previous apartheid era and during the current democratic administration.
- The information will be used solely for the research and assist in plotting the spatial distribution of emerging farmers as a result of policy shift from the apartheid regime.

- It will further indicate the impact of policy implementation on the development of emerging farmers in the district who were previously marginalised African farmers in the province.

My email address is mamabolo.edward@yahoo.com

Your co-operation will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully

Mamabolo M.E (Mr)

Student Researcher

Appendix 8: Research on emerging farmers: Mopani District

Enq. Mamabolo M.E.

Cell: 0765368105

0845524356

P.O. Box 283

Sovenga

0727

19/09/2013.

To: Extension Manager

MS Tshovhete NJ

Madam/Sir

Research on Emerging Farmers: Mopani District

1. The above matter refers.
2. I appreciate your willingness to assist me in my research project.
3. A proposed date for the completion of interviews, focus group discussions and field work with you and emerging farmers is scheduled for the 27/09/2013.
4. Would you please identify the venue and time for this event.

Regards.

Mamabolo M.E

Appendix 9: Ethical approval for research project, 2013-08-16



Ref. Nr.: 2013/CAES/041

To: Student: ME Mamabolo

Student nr: 4137248

Supervisor: Dr AC Harmse

Department of Geography

College of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences

Dear Dr Harmse and Mr Mamabolo

Request for Ethical approval for the following research project: *The impact of the implementation of the new government policy on the spatial distribution of emerging farmers in the Limpopo province of South Africa*

The application for ethical clearance in respect of the above-mentioned research has been reviewed by the Research Ethics Review Committee of the College of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences, Unisa. Ethics clearance for the above-mentioned project (Ref. Nr.: 2013/CAES/041) **is approved** after careful consideration of all documentation submitted to the CAES Ethics committee.

Please be advised that the committee needs to be informed should any part of the research methodology as outlined in the Ethics application (Ref. Nr.: 2013/CAES/041), change in any way. In this instance, a memo should be submitted to the Ethics Committee in which the changes are identified and fully explained.

Kind regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "E Kempen", written in a cursive style.

Prof E Kempen,

CAES Ethics Review Committee Chair

Appendix 10: Editing of thesis

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, Yvonne Smuts, hereby declare that I have edited the thesis of Makhudu Edward Mamabolo, for the degree PhD in the College of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences in the Department of Geography at the University of South Africa, and that it adheres to the standard and level of quality set for such a text.

Yours faithfully



(Ms) Y Smuts Date: 7 November 2016

Accredited member of the South African Translators' Institute. Membership number 1002242

Member Prolingua

Member Translators Panel Unisa