



GTAC/CBPEP/ EU project on employment-intensive rural land reform in South Africa: policies, programmes and capacities

Thematic study

A review of support services for smallholder and small-scale agricultural producers

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ADA	Agribusiness Development Agency (KwaZulu-Natal)
AFASA	African Farmers Association of South Africa
ARDRI	Agricultural and Rural Development Research Institute
BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BFAP	Bureau for Food and Agriculture Policy
CASP	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
CBO	Community-based organisation
CBPEP	Capacity building programme for employment promotion
CPA	Communal Property Association
CRED	Community and Rural Enterprise Development
DAFF	Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DDD	Doing Development Differently
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DLC	District Land Committee
DOA	Department of Agriculture
DPME	Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
DRDLR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
ECRDA	Eastern Cape Rural Development Agency
EFSP	Emerging Farmers Support Portal
ERP	Extension recovery plan
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FFS	Farmer field schools
FSP	Farmer Support Programme
GIS	Geographical information system
GTAC	Government Technical Advisory Committee
HLP	High Level Panel
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ICT	Information and communication technology
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation
IGDP	Integrated Growth and Development Plan
JV	Joint venture
LARP	Land and Agrarian Reform Project
LRAD	Land Reform for Agricultural Development
LREF	Land Reform Empowerment Facility
MAFISA	Micro Agricultural Finance Institutions of South Africa
MALA	Ministry for Agriculture and Land Affairs
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
NAFU	National African Farmers Union
NAMC	National Agricultural Marketing Council
NWGA	National Wool Growers Association
NDP	National development plan
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NPO	Non-profit organisation
PDA	Provincial Department of Agriculture
PDI	Previously Disadvantaged Individual
PLAS	Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy
PMG	Parliamentary Monitoring Group
SAMAF	South African Micro-Finance Apex Fund
SASA	South African Sugar Association

SASRI	South African Sugar Research Institute
SEFA	Small Enterprise Finance Agency
SLAG	Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises
SPSS	Strategic Plan for Smallholder Support
WCG	Western Cape Government
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

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Executive Summary

This thematic paper forms part of a series which explore specific commodities, crosscutting themes and related municipal case studies. The papers provide background research for the development of policy proposals to promote an approach to land reform which amplifies job creation and enhances livelihood security. The paper examines the contribution made by support services to grow market-oriented smallholder production and identifies what needs change to make these services more effective and efficient.

Section 1 provides a brief background to the study and sets out the key research objectives and framing questions

Section 2 provides important context and reviews the evolution of contemporary support and extension approaches from the early 1990s until the present day. It summarises the key policy instruments including white papers and proposed norms and standards for agricultural extension and advisory services. It focuses more fully on recent policies and programmes developed since 2010, including a review of a contested policy development process to develop a new policy on extension and advisory services. This policy was reportedly approved by Cabinet in 2016. However, there is little evidence that it is shaping current planning and practice and seems to have been subsumed by a new draft national policy on comprehensive producer development support. Section 1 concludes with a brief review of the status quo of extension and support services and introduces the various categories of producer which require extension support.

Section 3 details the range of past and present initiatives which have sought to provide access to support services in different settings. This section critically evaluates some of the programmes which have been delivered in the former bantustan areas. It also provides a detailed analysis of the range of land reform support initiatives, together with the portfolio of financial services available for small producers. The section also details the range of initiatives which have been developed by the private sector – different commodity associations, Agri-SA, support provided by agribusiness and Agro processing companies, centralised and decentralised supermarket chains. It also examines mentoring schemes, services provided by farmer-based organisations and cooperatives as well as NGO's, CBO's and civil society including black farmers unions. This provides a reasonably comprehensive snapshot of the different support services which have been made available.

Section 4 interrogates the effectiveness of the services outlined in Section 3. It examines the specific problems experienced by government extension services which include continued adherence to outmoded models of extension, inadequate linkages between research extension and producers on the ground; capacity constraints and costs, which mean that individual extension agents often provide expensive services with questionable impact. Section 3 examines some of the causes of the acknowledged weaknesses in current state extension services. This highlights fragmented service offerings, a continued focus on policy development without a corresponding emphasis on policy implementation and evaluation. The section highlights the persistence of the 'graduation' narrative which presents the purpose of support services as being to enable small-scale producers to graduate into fully-fledged commercial farmers. This narrative ignores the ways in which land and land-based livelihoods contribute to household livelihood security, while not necessarily being the main source of household income and economic activity.

Section 5 cautions that there are no single stories, when trying to characterise the success or failure of extension and support services. Evidence presented in commodity studies commissioned as part of this research, highlights incidences of successful and effective support services and emphasises their context specificity. These successes almost invariably involve meaningful engagement and recognition of the challenging realities facing small-scale producers. They combine listening and learning which is at the centre of successful support provision.

Section 6 reviews the recommendations for improved and better aligned support services emerging from the reports of the High Level Panel and the Presidential Advisory Panel on Land Reform.

Section 7 sets out the institutional and capacity requirements for effective extension, institutional development, production support systems and market access. This emphasises the need for policy clarity and the appropriate choice of extension paradigms; or the adoption of a hybrid approach in order to clarify the role of the state, and conceptualise its relationship with small producers, the private sector and NGO support programmes. This section also highlights key lessons from the international experience and briefly examines different approaches taken by national governments to conceptualise and deliver extension support services. These range from massive direct state investment in extension, as in Ethiopia, or a more pluralistic approach as in India, where state and other actors play different roles in servicing millions of small producers. The section also explores the benefits and challenges in trying to deliver decentralised and localised support services – often in settings characterised by low levels of capacity, governance challenges and inadequate budgets.

Finally, **Section 8** examines proposals for an alternative approach to the sourcing of support services, premised on a locality-based, local municipality focused planning and implementation framework. This distinguishes between front end and ‘back office’ services which need to be in place to create a mutually supportive network. It maps out an indicative local planning and support services approach which highlights the importance of constituting local research, audit and support teams, the need for credible shared data on small producers, existing projects and land acquisition options; the clarification of land needs and the provision of coherent and customised support to address different land reform settings for both established land users and those in new projects. It prioritises the role of participatory monitoring and evaluation to assess progress, share knowledge, stimulate learning and innovation. It details how local front-end services need to be supported by a range of provincial and national back office services, which include access to spatial data resources, information and data sharing platforms for mapping, planning and optimal collaboration.

1 Background

The CBPEP/GTAC Project: *Employment intensive land reform in South Africa: policies, 'programmes and capacities* aims to formulate a set of options for rural land reform in South Africa aimed at generating a large number of employment, self-employment and livelihood-enhancing opportunities through the promotion of small-scale agriculture. The anticipated project outputs include:

- formulating national policy guidelines on the promotion of employment intensive agriculture;
- designing 'programmes for implementation by national and provincial departments in conjunction with non-governmental partners;
- costing such 'programmes;
- conceptualizing the provision of relevant support services for those acquiring access to land in different settings, including provision of extension advice and support for marketing of produce.

This thematic study reviews support services for smallholders provided by state and non-state actors to date. It provides an analysis of recommendations from the High Level Panel (High Level Panel 2017) and the recent report of the Presidential Panel on Agriculture and Land Reform (2019). It provides an assessment of what needs to change to provide a range of appropriate support services for smallholder and black commercial producers in order to promote employment intensive land reform.

The final section of the report examines the institutional and capacity requirements of effective extension, institutional and production support systems, with a particular focus on smallholder and small-scale black commercial farmers. It examines what types of support should be offered to producers at different scales, what systems of extension management and institutional oversight are required to manage the provision of effective support systems, and how current support systems would need to be reconfigured to align with this objective.

1.1 Aims and objectives of this study

The overall aims of this thematic study are to identify the strengths and weaknesses of existing agricultural extension and associated institutional and production support systems for people acquiring access to land through the land reform programme in South Africa, and to explore the implications of these strengths and weaknesses for employment-intensive land reform.

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To describe and characterize the range of support systems available in South Africa to those who have obtained access to land through land reform and those living in communal areas, where most smallholder farmers are located.
2. To assess the strengths and weaknesses of available support systems with a particular focus on rural areas;
3. To assess the degree to which various 'post-settlement' and agricultural support initiatives undertaken since 1994 have been effective in enhancing the productive potential of black South Africans who have secured access to land;
4. To summarize and assess recent policy proposals for extension services and production support emanating from the High Level Panel of Parliament and the Presidential Advisory Panel on Land Reform;
5. To examine the implications of this assessment for a programme of land redistribution aimed at supporting smallholders and small-scale black commercial farmers and promoting employment-intensiveness, with a particular focus on the institutional and capacity requirements.

1.2 Research Questions

In pursuit of the aims and objectives specified above, the study should seek answers to the following research questions:

- a. Through what systems of extension, institutional development and production support do smallholder and small-scale black commercial farmers, including land reform beneficiaries in South Africa enhance their productivity, and what are the key features of these systems?
- b. Are current extension, institutional development and production support systems effective in supporting smallholder producers and land reform beneficiaries and if not, why not?
- c. What are the key strengths and weaknesses of current support systems in South Africa, from the perspective of smallholder and small-scale black commercial farmers?
- d. What new directions for land reform beneficiary support have been proposed over the past two years by the High Level Panel of Parliament and the Presidential Advisory Panel on Land Reform, and how useful and relevant are these for smallholder and small-scale black commercial farmers?
- e. What are the institutional and capacity requirements of effective extension, institutional development and production support systems, with a particular focus on smallholder and small-scale black commercial farmers?
- f. In designing an employment-intensive programme of land redistribution, what types of support should be offered to different types of beneficiary? What systems of extension management and institutional oversight are required to oversee or support these support options, and how would current support systems need to be reconfigured to align with this objective?

2 The evolution of systems of extension, institutional development and production support for smallholder and small scale producers

Contemporary approaches to the provision of extension and support services to small scale farmers have their origins in the Farmer Support Programme (FSP) introduced by the Development Bank of South Africa in 1987. Prior to this, homeland administrations, with the support of the South African government and private-sector, had largely invested in large showcase capital-intensive irrigation and mechanisation schemes.

The FSP targeted producers in the homeland areas¹ with the specific aim of addressing the constraints faced by smallholder farmers. It aimed to provide small-scale producers with a similar level of support services as those which had been afforded to white farmers (van Zyl, Vink et al. 2001). The overall development objective was the 'promotion of structural change away from subsistent agricultural production to commercial production by providing comprehensive agricultural support services and incentives to existing farmers' (Van Rooyen 1995). After a mid-term evaluation in 1989, this objective was redefined to focus on providing farmer access to support services over a wide base. The FSP ran between 1987 and 1993. It focused on the supply of:

- inputs and capital to farmers;
- mechanisation services;
- marketing services;
- extension services, demonstration and research; and
- training.

The introduction of the FSP was a break with the status quo thinking within the state-funded structures about the position, role and place of smallholder black farmers in the agricultural economy. It was a significant step in that it brought together issues of land use and productivity. The 'programme estimated that it reached 55,000 people through 35 sub-programmes before it was overtaken by the reintegration of the homelands into the nine provinces following the 1994 elections.

¹ Legal restrictions limiting black ownership of land outside the homelands limited the FSP to the homelands.

Despite its ambitious intent, a review of extension, training and research services provided as part of the FSP (Hayward and Botha 1995) identified a wide range of problems:

- Provision of poor-quality extension support in most instances. The low effectiveness of services was not due to lack of field officers, but rather to the low quality of their formal education and the lack of appropriate in-service training to meet on the job support needs.
- No meaningful contact between extension and research, given that most research capability remained targeted at the commercial sector.
- Extension methods were out-dated and had not adapted to changing international extension approaches.
- Farmers were encouraged to over invest in inputs which pushed many into debt.
- While some 40 farmer training centres had been constructed in the former homelands occupancy rates were 15 – 20%
- Lack of co-ordination between Departments of Agriculture and homeland Agricultural Corporations.

As will be examined further below, thirty years on South Africa has still not succeeded in addressing the constraints highlighted in the FSP review.

2.1 The struggle to achieve policy clarity

With the advent of democracy in South Africa came the reorganisation of the government's agricultural departments. All the homeland agricultural departments and their extension staff were integrated within the new spatial framework of the nine provinces.

The constitutional framework determines roles and responsibilities in the provision of state extension and advisory services across the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sectors. Agriculture is a concurrent national and provincial competence while forestry and fisheries remain the responsibility of national government. This has implications for the design of an integrated approach to the provision of extension and advisory services which are provided in provincial and municipal space.

The new Department of Agriculture set out to craft policies and 'programmes geared to advance agriculture, and to redress the 'dualism' cemented through colonial and apartheid policies which promoted a developed commercial farming sector alongside large numbers of small and subsistence producers operating on small and often degraded areas of land. Meanwhile the Department of Land Affairs was tasked with the implementation of the land reform 'programme. From the outset the role of the DLA and its relationships with the national Department of Agriculture and with the provincial departments remained unclear and at times adversarial.

2.1.1 White Paper on Agriculture

The White Paper (Department of Agriculture 1995) set a vision of a highly efficient and economically viable market-directed farming sector, characterised by a wide range of farm sizes. It anticipated that this transformed agriculture would be regarded as the economic and social pivot of rural South Africa that would influence the rest of the economy and society. It provided the primary mission for agricultural policy: ensure equitable access to agriculture and promote the contribution of agriculture to the development of all communities, society at large and the national economy, in order to enhance income, food security, employment and quality of life in a sustainable manner.

2.1.2 The White Paper on South African Land Policy

The White Paper (Department of Land Affairs 1997) set out the vision and implementation strategy for South Africa's land reform policy; a policy that is just, builds reconciliation and stability, enables equitable access to land, provides for restitution or equitable redress, advances tenures security as part of a primarily pro-poor 'programme which seeks to contribute to economic growth, and bolster household welfare.

2.1.3 The Strategic Plan for South African Agriculture

The Strategic Plan (Department of Agriculture 2001) was the first of the operational strategies developed for the sector. It provided a framework for democratising agriculture focusing on equity, global competitiveness

and sustainable resource management to achieve increased creation of wealth in agriculture and rural areas; increased sustainable employment; increased incomes and increased foreign exchange earnings; reduced poverty and inequalities in land and enterprise ownership; improved farming efficiency; improved national and household food security; stable and safe rural communities, reduced levels of crime and violence, and sustained rural development; improved investor confidence leading to increased domestic and foreign investment in agricultural activities and rural areas; and pride and dignity in agriculture as an occupation and sector in the economy.

2.1.4 *Norms and Standards for Agricultural Extension and Advisory Services*

The Norms and Standards (Department of Agriculture 2005) provided the initial basis for reviewing, upgrading and enhancing extension and advisory services throughout the country – which had been evaluated as lacking genuine impact.

The norms and standards envisaged that extension would become:

- demand-driven, responding to farmers' needs;
- relevant to the resource constraints and market environment;
- pluralistic, flexible and co-ordinated, involving a wide range of extension service providers.

The key focus for the extension and advisory services was on small-scale previously disadvantaged farmers. The document proposed ratios between extension workers and small-scale producers. The norms and standards were accompanied by the development of the National Agricultural Education and Training Strategy, which set out to build the capacity of extension staff and equip them with a broader set of skills. The extent to which these measures have been effectively implemented remains difficult to assess.

2.1.5 *The Extension Recovery Plan*

The Department received over half a billion rand from Treasury within the 2008/9 to 2010/11 Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) period aimed to overhaul public sector extension.

The Extension Recovery Plan (ERP) was designed around five “pillars”:

- Ensuring visibility and accountability of extension.
- Promoting professionalism and improving the image of extension.
- Recruiting extension personnel to the targeted 9 000 extension personnel to serve the sector
- Reskilling and re-orienting extension workers.
- Providing ICT infrastructure and other resources.

2.2 *Policies and 'programmes post 2010*

2.2.1 *The Integrated Growth and Development Plan (IGDP) for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (2012)*

In 2012 DAFF published the Integrated Growth and Development Plan (IGDP) for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (IGDP). The IGDP was the first attempt to develop a national approach for the provision of coherent and integrated support to agriculture forestry fisheries. The IGDP referenced earlier policies and plans including the National Development Plan (NDP) adopted in 2012.

2.2.2 *Drafting a new pluralistic approach to the provision of extension and advisory services (2013)*

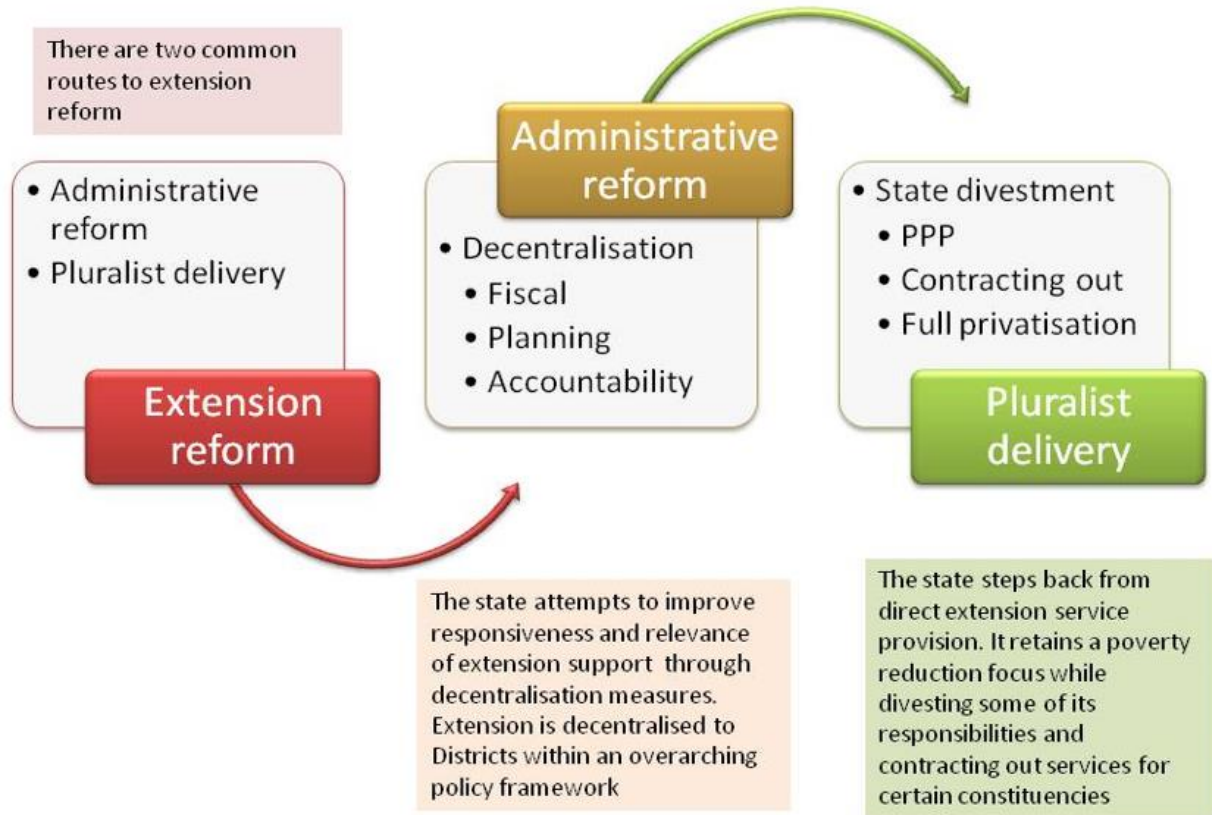
The Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) identified the development of policy on extension and advisory services as a priority. Its strategic plan (2012/13 – 2016/17) committed the Chief Directorate of National Extension Support to prepare an integrated policy to support the three sectors.

A draft policy document was prepared following an exhaustive process of engagement in all nine provinces, complemented by a process of research and analysis.² The policy process reviewed the two common routes to extension reform and opted for a pluralistic approach.

² See the website www.extensionpolicy.za.net which provides a compendium of documents produced during this process.

Figure 1: Two routes to extension reform

Two routes to extension reform



The draft policy document was prefaced by the following problem statement

- *Public sector extension is overstretched and there are widespread concerns about the effectiveness, reach and coverage of current extension models and the quality and appropriateness of services they deliver. The costs of the current models of extension delivery are unsustainably high.*
- *Extension and advisory services focus on particular production sectors and technologies, paying insufficient attention to the livelihood systems of the majority of rural producers who depend on multiple livelihood sources and ecosystem services for a living.*
- *Public, private, NPO and farmer to farmer extension, research and advisory services remain poorly aligned. Currently no institutional mechanisms exist to address this at national, provincial, district and local scales. No system exists to recognise, grow and quality assess services provided by NPOs and producer groups.*
- *Extension and development support for land reform beneficiaries remains poorly conceptualised and piecemeal. Extension systems do not incorporate commercial skills to give business and market advice or institutional development skills to strengthen local producer organisations.*
- *Extension and advisory services are fragmented and remain largely rooted in outmoded systems premised on transfer of technology and provision of technical advice premised on a 'commercialised' farm model that does not readily match the country's social agenda and which is not always appropriate to the livelihood strategies of smallholder producers.*

- *The scope of services provided is narrow and does not locate agricultural, forestry and fisheries production activities within broader livelihood, production and ecological systems to actively promote and enhance sustainable agro-ecological production systems and resource use and anticipate the impacts of climate change. The basket of services is inadequate. Extension and advisory services remain production focused and do not effectively address key issues such as natural resource management, access to markets, finance and the provision of small business support services to promote marginal actors within the agriculture, forestry and fisheries value chains.*
- *Extension and advisory services privilege expert knowledge and do not draw effectively on local knowledge of women and men reliant on natural resources and involved in production and have yet to effectively harness the potential of peer to peer extension and resource husbandry methods.*
- *Research priorities are centrally determined and often lack the flexibility to address local production settings and the needs of smallholder farmers. Linkages between researchers and extension personnel are generally weak.*
- *Monitoring and evaluation of the effectiveness of extension services is not designed to incorporate the constituent voice of the producers which they are designed to serve.*

2.2.3 Roles and responsibilities in pluralistic extension and advisory service provision

The draft policy set out proposed roles and responsibilities state and nonstate actors involved in extension provision:

The role of the state

- *The role of the state is to guide policy; to oversee, harmonise, monitor and regulate all extension and advisory services; to provide or otherwise assure the provision of extension and advisory services to lower income areas, producers and processors and to areas and in situations where long term public good outweighs short-term cost recovery. The state in association and partnership with the private sector, tertiary research institutions, NPOs and producers, will facilitate and co-ordinate research that generates appropriate content for extension and advisory support for producers and processors in the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sectors.*
- *The role of the state is to provide extension, advisory and facilitation services on a **politically neutral basis**. State extension practitioners and advisers will be protected from political interference in their activities and will be disciplined if they show any political bias in delivering their service.*
- *Within their designated arena of service, state personnel in extension and advisory services will provide **advice and facilitate access to information and services** to promote agricultural, forestry and fisheries livelihood development, focusing primarily on **lower income areas and smallholder producers** who produce for own consumption, for the market or for both.*
- *Rather than focusing on directly providing specialised technical guidance, frontline extension and advisory personnel will help producers and processors develop or otherwise find the advice, and access the networks and facilities that they need with regard to production, conservation, finance, processing, marketing, regulatory compliance, representation, co-operation and other aspects to their livelihood activities in the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sectors. Evolving beyond conventional extension and advisory roles, they will contextualise their support within the broader framework of rural and community development and facilitate relevant connections in this regard. Particular emphasis will be placed on fostering partnerships among the various role-players in the development, testing and dissemination of technologies and business strategies – with particular reference to fostering innovation among producers and processors.*
- *State extension personnel will not be directly responsible for the **administration or disbursement of public funding** (such as grants or loans) and the distribution of seed packs, provision of fencing,*

inputs, equipment or other requisites to producers or processors. While the state appropriately offers and implements a range of initiatives and finance facilities to assist producers, administrative arrangements for these are not an extension function. The role of public sector extension practitioners is to facilitate access to such facilities and schemes, not to arrange and manage them. Extension workers are advisers and facilitators, not project managers.

- *In accordance with the IGDP, the public sector will have a specific extension and advisory role in the provision of **development support to land reform beneficiaries**, providing advisory, facilitation and networking services to enable such beneficiaries to access the information, resources and finance that they need, working in close partnership with the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform*
- *With regard to **forestry**, the state has particular extension and advisory roles to fulfil. These include facilitating and, where necessary, providing support to individual and community-owned commercial plantations, enhancing community-based natural resource management, participatory forest management systems, and ‘greening’ activities in urban and rural areas.*
- *In the **fishery sector**, the extension and advisory role of the state will focus on support to inland fisheries, aquaculture, artisanal fishers and coastal communities where fishing is the dominant economic activity. For fishing groups with limited resources and market access, key state extension functions will include promoting pro-poor production and processing systems, appropriate business entities and ownership entitlements while facilitating greater market access and improved marketing systems.*

The role of the private and NPO sectors

- *In keeping with the principle of a pluralistic extension and advisory service, the **private sector** – including input suppliers, marketing agencies, financial institutions, processors, agri-businesses, private consultants and research organisations – will be a key provider of extension and advisory services. They will channel research and new knowledge to all players throughout the collective value chains. Their services may be purchased directly or accessed through socio-economic development contributions in terms of the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Sector Code for Agriculture, the Research and Development Tax Incentives ‘programme through the Department of Science and Technology and other similar instruments.*
- *Private sector extension workers will therefore perform a range of **more specialised technical advisory functions** as required by their employers and clients focusing, for example, on specific crops, livestock, processing methods or equipment. Private sector services will continue to be the primary provider of extension support to large-scale commercial producers but will be actively encouraged to contribute to the empowerment of rural and local communities to improve their access to agricultural, forestry and fisheries economic activities and the enhancement of relevant management and technical skills.*
- *Where viable and cost effective, private sector companies may be engaged directly, through public-private partnerships, BBBEE contributions, or through other means including a smallholder voucher system to provide extension and advisory services **on behalf of the state**.*
- *Similarly, where possible and viable, in addition to service delivery partnerships, public-private partnerships will also be created for **research, training, investment opportunities and other activities** relevant to the objectives of this policy and the aims of the IGDP.*
- ***NPOs** will continue to play their unique and vital **advisory, advocacy and facilitation roles** with individuals, communities and organisations that are particularly marginalised and that require assistance to improve their individual and collective circumstances.*

- As with the private sector, NPOs may also be **engaged by the state** directly, through public-private partnerships, through a smallholder voucher system or through other means to provide extension and advisory services and other activities on behalf of the state.
- A key area of partnership will be in bridging and facilitating access by those that are currently disconnected from the mainstream value chains in their respective sectors. As noted earlier, government will devote resources to **extending capacity among service providers in the private and NPO sectors to provide extension and advisory services** within the context of this policy.

The role of producers and processors

- Producers and processors, individually and through organised group structures such as co-operatives, associations and commodity organisations, will also play a range of extension and advisory roles. The more resourced and economically connected actors in the value chains, including producer associations and co-operatives, will also be encouraged to collaborate to support one another in mutually beneficial learning and to take the lead in researching, developing and sharing enhanced production and processing techniques, innovative business models, institutional management and land holding arrangements that meet social, economic and environmental sustainability standards. Those who are seeking support and advice will be encouraged and assisted to collaborate with one another and facilitate producer led experiential learning processes that pool their knowledge, ingenuity and ability to innovate. Government will devote resources to **building capacity among producers to provide extension and advisory services** within the context of this policy.

2.2.4 Policy contestation, delayed approval and implementation

Subsequent to the drafting of this policy, the process of adoption became internally contested within DAFF and between DAFF and DRDLR. In October 2017 DAFF presented a summary of its 2016/17 Annual Report. In this presentation (DAFF 2017) on slide 26 it reported that the National Policy on Extension and Advisory Services and its implementation plan were approved by Cabinet on the 19th October 2016. Despite this reported approval there appears to be no extension policy document which is publicly available and we have been unable to access an implementation plan for such a policy.

2.3 The elusive 'smallholder'

One of the key constraints preventing the development of a clear picture of the smallholder sector are the different definitions in play which variously refer to 'farming operations', 'emerging farmers', 'subsistence producers', 'smallholders' etc. Data has been collected by different actors at various times using different methodologies which makes means that data on smallholder agricultural production at different scales is highly fragmented and much is of questionable quality.

2.3.1 STATS SA Survey of large and small scale agriculture (2002)

For the purposes of this survey Stats SA defined a household as 'a farming operation' if it met at least one of the following specifications:

- (a) It had access to land for farming purposes,
- (b) It had livestock, or
- (c) It grew crops, and, in addition,
- (d) The respondent considered the household or a member of the household to be a farming operation.

If a household complied with any one of (a), (b) or (c) above but not (d) i.e. the respondent did not consider the household to be a farming operation, it was classified as a farming operation if it complied with at least one of the following:

- (a) It had sold crops, livestock or other agricultural products produced on/by the operation, in the 12 months prior to the survey
- (b) It had access to 0, 5 hectares or more of cropland,

- (c) It produced enough crops and livestock products to feed household members for six months or more,
- (d) It had five or more of any of the following animals: cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules or donkeys, or
- (e) it had 25 or more chickens (Stats SA 2002: 5)

In 2009 it was calculated that there were 2, 6 million black farming households based on statistics derived from South Africa’s Labour Force Survey and the General Household Survey produced by Statistics South Africa (Aliber and Hall 2012). It has been estimated that there are some 200,000 households – approximately 1 million people who can be classified as small-scale market-oriented producers. Overall around 250,000 small-scale black farmers sell farm produce primarily through informal marketing channels. In addition, there are around a million rural households which owned some livestock. However, livestock holdings are deeply stratified with a minority of households owning majority of stock. In 2016 agricultural statistics produced by the Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) indicated that 996,000 people were formally employed in the sector, constituting 6,29% of the total South African workforce (Agricultural Research Council 2016).

2.3.2 The strategic plan for smallholder support (2012)

In 2012 DAFF’s Strategic Plan for Smallholder Support (SPSS) acknowledged the elusive character of the sector and the difficulty of identifying the characteristics of a ‘smallholder’:

As much as smallholders are distinct from subsistence producers on the one hand and commercial producers on the other, the “smallholder sector” is itself very diverse. This diversity relates to a complex combination of contextual factors (e.g. former homeland versus land reform beneficiaries), specific personal circumstances (e.g. former farm workers, or those renting land versus those owning land), and to “scale” of production (e.g. from those not far beyond subsistence producers to those who are difficult to distinguish from commercial producers).

(DAFF 2012: 11)

The SPSS proposed the following typology:

- SP1 (“Smallholder producer type 1’): Smallholders for whom smallholder production is a part-time activity that forms a relatively small part of a multiple-livelihood strategy.
- SP2 (“Smallholder producer type 2’): Smallholders who are more or less in the middle of the spectrum, meaning that they rely largely on their agricultural enterprises to support themselves and are not living in poverty, but need further assistance both to expand production (or make it more efficient and/or profitable), join in the value addition and find markets.
- SP3 (“Smallholder producer type 3’): Smallholders who operate according to commercial norms but who have not reached the threshold at which they are obliged to register for VAT³ or personal income taxes⁴.

2.3.3 The draft national policy on comprehensive producer development support (2018)

This draft policy document states that ‘the main problem facing the agricultural, forestry and fisheries sector is the lack of a comprehensive policy framework to harmonise, guide and regulate the provision of support services to the various categories of producers. This created unnecessary confusion with regard to the roles and responsibilities of various institutions that provide support to the various types producers in South Africa’(DAFF 2018).

The draft policy proposed a new set of definitions and identifies five categories of producer.

³ Individuals are required to register for VAT when their turnover is in excess of R 1 million rand per annum

⁴ Individuals become liable for personal tax when their annual income is in excess of R165,600 annum

1. **A household producer (vulnerable)** which is defined as a producer that produces primarily for household consumption the daily dietary needs and has limited resources and skills to operate a market-oriented production system. This category includes child headed households and households producing in communal land and commonages that are registered at indigent or they meet criteria for registration as indigent with their municipality
2. **A household producer (subsistence)** is defined as a producer that produces primarily for household consumption to meet the daily dietary needs. These producers are not classified as indigents by their municipality. They may market limited surplus production with an annual turnover of less than 50,000 Rand
3. **A smallholder producer** is defined as a producer that produces (at primary, secondary and tertiary level) for household consumption and markets, therefore farming is consciously undertaken in order to meet the needs of the household and derive the source of income. These are usually the new entrants aspiring to produce for market at a profit with a maximum annual turnover of up to R5 million per annum.
4. **A medium scale producer** is defined as a venture undertaken by an individual or business entity for the purpose of production and sale of agricultural, forestry and fisheries products to make profit. These are established enterprises producing the market to make a profit with an annual turnover ranging from R5 million to R20 million.
5. **A large-scale commercial producer** produces for the market make profit with an annual turnover of about 20 million Rand

Two years after the reported Cabinet approval of the National Policy on Extension and Advisory Services, the only reference to the policy in the Producer Support Policy is to the continued state of extension dysfunction:

National extension and advisory services in the country is plagued with a number of structural and counterproductive challenges that limit the efficiency and effectiveness of efforts and investments in the development of smallholder producers in particular. The poor linkage still remains one of the major challenges within agriculture, forestry and fisheries sectors in South Africa where research, extension and producers are at best disintegrated. One of the major challenges for extension relates to the lack of extension capacity marked by a low extension to producer ratio. Extension and advisory services lack a developmental and systems approach, where practitioners have a holistic view and understand the total value chain.

(DAFF 2018: 4)

2.4 *The status quo*

The introduction, which sets the scene for a more in-depth assessment of the kind of extension and advisory services which can enable employment intensive land reform, indicates that the discourse around small producers/ smallholders and the focus of extension and advisory support service remains in significant conceptual and institutional disarray. There appears to be no functional/active policy guiding provision of extension and advisory services. There are multiple contending conceptions of who should be supported and how. There are numerous policies and plans produced by departments and other state entities across different spheres of government. However, these do not constitute a coherent whole.

3 Through what systems of extension, institutional development and production support do smallholder and small-scale black commercial farmers, including land reform beneficiaries in South Africa enhance their productivity, and what are the key features of these systems?

In this paper we draw from more in-depth attempts to profile and quantify the agrarian structure in South Africa. For the purposes of distinction and ease of reference each of the categories in this typology has been assigned an alphanumeric code. However, it should be noted that these categories in this typology are notional and the boundaries between them are likely to be fuzzy and porous. Producers within the identified bands may migrate up or down the typology as their circumstances change. With respect to agricultural support services, the table identifies the probable sources of support for different producers within the respective categories.

Table 1: A typology of agricultural producers

	Farmers	Numbers	Key features	Support services
A1	Top 20% of large-scale commercial farmers on private land; almost all white	7000	Sophisticated, specialised, capital intensive farmers, producing for export, agro processing and large retailers; produce bulk of produce perhaps as much as 80%	Extension for commercial farmers has been almost entirely privatised. Seed, fertiliser, equipment suppliers, agrochemical companies and agribusinesses provide linked extension services.
A2	Medium to large-scale commercial farmers on private land; almost all white	9000	Some farmers succeed, some struggle, some are unable to turn a living from farming alone	These services create a dependence on the products which are promoted and sold. (WWF 2009)
A3	Small to medium scale commercial farmers on private land; mostly white, some black	19,000	Many cannot survive from farming alone; includes hobby farmers	
A4	Small-scale black capitalist farmers in communal areas and in land reform context	5000 to 10,000	Many farmers earn income from off farm incomes and businesses in addition to farming	Extension support is provided by commodity associations, supermarkets, strategic partners, mentors, together with state extension and veterinary services
A5	Market-oriented black smallholder farmers in communal areas and landform contexts supplying tight value chains (e.g. under contract)	5000 to 10,000	Many grow fresh produce and irrigation, others are livestock producers, and a few engage in dryland cropping. Overall in 2011, black farmers' share of field crops was estimated at just 3–4% of the national total (Liebenberg 2013:55).	

	Farmers	Numbers	Key features	Support services
B1	Market-oriented black smallholder farmers in communal areas and landform contexts and urban areas supplying loose value chains	200,000 to 250,000	Many grow fresh produce and irrigation, and others are livestock producers. Few depend wholly on farming.	Extension support is difficult to access. In land reform contexts it may be provided by strategic partners and mentors. In communal areas is likely to be restricted state extension and veterinary officers and NGOs in limited areas
C1	Subsistence oriented smallholder farmers growing food for themselves, and selling occasionally	2 to 2.5 million	Most crop production takes place in homestead gardens, some of which are quite large. Occasional livestock sales by some	The reach of support services is very limited and are likely to combine peer-to-peer advice together with sporadic state and NGO support to a minority of producers

Adapted from Cousins (2015) based on Statistics South Africa's agricultural censuses of 2002 and 2007; Vink and Van Rooyen (2009) and Aliber et al (2013).

Category A producers will almost entirely be reliant on private sector support services. The quality, coverage and extent of these services is likely to decline for category A5. Category B and C producers are generally less likely to have access to extension support services and advice from any source – public, private or non-profit. Where support services are available, they are more likely to come from state extension services and NGOs and even where these are available, the coverage is likely to be very thin.

Approximately 85% of the producers in Category C produce to augment household food sources and provide a source of extra income. Only 4–5% in this band report that farming is their main source of household food or income. This suggests that 'partial subsistence' agriculture predominates where the majority of black farming households are concerned.

In this section we provide an overview of available support systems which are spatially disaggregated, noting that certain support systems apply only in specified settings, such as former bantustans or on land acquired through the restitution or redistribution 'programmes.

3.1 Programmes in former communal areas

3.1.1 Letsema-Ilima

Letsema-Ilima was launched in 2007 to assist vulnerable South African farming communities to achieve an increase in agricultural production and invest in infrastructure to unlock agricultural production. i.e. revitalization of irrigation schemes.

In 2009/10 the Department of Agriculture (DoA) was restructured to become Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF). Separate directorates were established to champion subsistence producers and to focus on smallholder development, within DAFF. Moreover, the Economic Development Department's New Growth Path (2010) emphasised the importance of a strong smallholder sector – setting a target of 300 000 more smallholder farmers active by the year 2020.

3.1.2 Tractor services and the 'mechanisation programme'

In 2010/2011 DAFF launched a mechanisation 'programme whereby – in the main - it gave tractors and other equipment to PDAs.

PDAs then either gave them to others, or used them to provide subsidised tractor services. However, the 'programme seems to have been extremely problematic; even the DAFF reached negative conclusions (articulated in a PowerPoint presentation to the portfolio committee in 2013):

- *The mechanization provided is totally inadequate compared to the demand.*
- *Budget restraints do not allow the demand to be satisfied.*
- *The total value chain of production need (sic) to be supported and not only the mechanization aspect thereof (DAFF 2013)*

Aliber et al (2016) have noted that tractors fall into disrepair or disappear. Maintenance and continuity failures negatively impact on those offering tractor services as an enterprise, and for whom loaning out their tractor is a source of income.

3.1.3 Fetsa Tlala

Fetsa Tlala is an integrated food production initiative, which incorporates a number of interventions in nutrition and food security, the main food / security intervention being the One Million Hectare Food Production 'programme, led by DAFF and the DRDLR – which had the goal of putting a million hectares of underutilised land into production for food by 2018-19. (*African Centre for Biodiversity 2015*).

In one Eastern Cape municipality, the 'programme worked as follows, and presumably the mechanism was similar else:

- 'a community is identified that has a reasonably large block of arable land;*
- community members are encouraged to join the 'programme, which means making their fields available, making an own contribution, and forming a group;*
- government contracts a service provider to undertake the land preparation, planting, and perhaps spraying; and*
- the participants harvest the crop and then determine what to do with it'.*
(*Nkonkobe Farmers' Association and ARDRI 2015: 1*)

Analysis of the 'programme (Aliber 2018: 24) indicates that:

Fetsa Tlala costs approximately R1 billion per annum. Preliminary analyses suggest that Fetsa Tlala's production costs per hectare exceed the value of what is harvested.⁵ Moreover, the total hectarage under Fetsa Tlala in any given year is less than 10% of the cereals produced by small-scale farmers in the former homelands.⁶

3.2 Post transfer support for beneficiaries of land reform

As shown in the table below, the initial iteration of the South African land reform 'programme (the Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG)) was aimed at giving households with low incomes a modest grant to purchase land, but there was no provision for post-transfer support. The majority of these projects were doomed to failure as business plans were prepared on a whole farm basis which was supposed to deliver benefits to large numbers of beneficiaries – often on marginal land which had barely been able to support the livelihoods of the previous owner and their workforce. There was no emphasis on subdivision and the creation of individual/family smallholdings.

The next iteration of the land reform 'programme was Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) and this attempted to ensure that land reform beneficiaries would get access to some post-transfer

⁵ BFAP, (2016), 'BFAP Baseline: Agricultural Outlook 2016-2025,' Pretoria: Bureau for Food and Agricultural Policy

⁶ Based on data from the Crop Estimates Committee; www.daff.gov.za/daffweb3/Home/Crop-Estimates.

agricultural support. However, the policy introduced the new aim: to establish a class of black commercial farmers; the size of parcel of land increased, and there was no longer a pro-poor bias.

The latest iteration of the land reform policy (PLAS) also is geared towards acquisition of land in bigger parcels. Thus, the very essence of government land reform policy has evolved such that its central goal no longer appears to be the creation or support of a smallholder / subsistence farmer class, but rather a commercial farming class.

Table 2: The evolution of land reform policy

Name of government policy Dates & details	How land is acquired	Type of tenure arrangement	Class agenda	Land use	Cost/ individual recipient *	Hectares/ individual recipient*	Provisions made for support of recipients
Settlement / Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) 1995-2000 Households with incomes below R1500 a month were eligible to access a modest grant with which to buy land and settle on it.	Market-based purchase	Title transferred to landholding entities (CPAs and Trusts)	Means-tested and therefore pro-poor. However 'rent a crowd' created notional members	Multiple livelihoods	R5 240	3.3	The Department of Land Affairs made no provision for 'post-transfer support', or assumed that Provincial Departments of Agriculture would provide support.
Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) 2000-2010 Introduced the new aim of establishing a class of black commercial farmers. Ended the pro-poor bias of SLAG.	Market-based purchase	Title transferred to landholding entities representing small groups and families	An own contribution was required	Only agriculture	R90 665	18	'Ostensibly sought to close the post-transfer support gap' – clarified roles to ensure better coordination between DLA and national and provincial agricultural departments. <i>'The Department of Land Affairs should budget for the grant components of LRAD, while the Department of Agriculture must budget to ensure that its provincial counterparts are financially prepared to meet their commitment to provide post-transfer agricultural support.'</i> * District committees were formed of officials from Land Affairs and the respective PDA; to vet project applications prior to approval by DLA.

<p>Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS)</p> <p>2006-present</p> <p>New approach of state buying land and leasing it to beneficiaries, (original aim was to eventually transfer it to them, but this second step seems to have been abandoned).</p>	<p>Market-based purchase</p>	<p>Land retained by the state and leased to the beneficiary. However research indicates that many beneficiaries have not been issued leases</p>	<p>No means testing.</p> <p>Evidence of corruption in land distribution enabling connected individuals to access properties worth millions of rand</p>	<p>Only agriculture</p>	<p>R1 481 145</p>	<p>214</p>	<p>Support provisions frequently require involvement of a strategic partner. Research (Hall and Kepe 2017) indicates that these partners become the primary beneficiaries of land reform, evidence of misappropriation of RECAP and other state funding</p>
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*Figures from Aliber et al, (2017: 11).

Ministry for Agriculture and Land Affairs (MALA), Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development: A Sub-'programme of the Land Redistribution 'programme (2001: 8)

3.3 Land reform support: Categories A4 – B1

Since 2004 there have been a number of agricultural support programmes to assist land reform beneficiaries. These are briefly reviewed below.

3.3.1 CASP (2004)

The Comprehensive Agricultural Support 'programme (CASP) was established in 2004, to provide post-settlement support to targeted beneficiaries of land reform and to other producers who have acquired land through private means, but are for example engaged in value-adding enterprises. CASP was a Schedule 4 conditional grant, budgeted at a national level to be used by provincial departments of agriculture (PDAs). The 'programme was to make interventions in the following six areas:

- information and technology management,
- technical and advisory assistance and regulatory services;
- marketing and business development;
- training and capacity building and
- on / off farm infrastructure and
- production inputs and financial support. (DAFF n.d.)

An evaluation of CASP found that while the 'programme has made some progress towards achieving some of its intended objectives (e.g. enhancing access to support services, increasing agricultural production, increasing income for beneficiaries, etc.), insufficient progress had been made in promoting commercialisation, market access, employment and achieving food security. The evaluation pointed to limited coordination of CASP within DAFF and provincial departments of agriculture, misalignment with other government 'programmes and a lack of active participation of key directorates within DAFF. Overall 'programme scope and coverage had aimed too wide so that actual support was thinly spread. The evaluation recommended that 'the most effective and efficient way to support farmers in South Africa is to overhaul and redesign all farmer support 'programmes and do away with existing silos of farmer support' (Business Enterprises University of Pretoria 2015: v).

3.3.2 LARP

The Land and Agrarian Reform Project (LARP) was launched in 2008 to accelerate the rate of land reform through creating synergy via a one-stop-shop service system (Worth 2012). It had the aim of transferring 5m ha hectares to 10 000 beneficiaries (Aliber, Baiphethi et al. 2010). However, Greenberg (2013: viii) states that 'Implementation has been slow and there is little evidence of any significant change in practice to date' while Worth underlined that it has generally failed to achieve its aims 'partly because the CASP (the source of funds) did not align itself with LARP, and partly because it did not effectively engage extension support'. According to Worth this highlights the 'continuing disconnect between land reform and extension support in many provinces' (2012, p. xx). LARP was subsequently abandoned shortly afterwards to be replaced by predominantly piecemeal interventions – each of which having relatively limited impact.

3.3.3 Market access programme

The 'Linking Producers to Markets' 'programme (DAFF 2012) listed the department's perspective's on good practice, and the role of various entities within market value chains.

In 2013, the HSRC found that with the exception of North West province (where 24% of farmers reported being assisted by DAFF) the shares of farmers in provinces who have been assisted in getting a foothold in farm-output markets were minimal lying within the 5%-8% range. The HSRC concluded that the departments of land reform and agriculture continued to play marginal roles in helping land reform farmers access agricultural output markets (HSRC 2013).

3.3.4 Recapitalisation and development policy 'programme (2013)

The DRDLR originally launched the recapitalisation and development policy 'programme in 2010. This was followed by a revised draft of the Recap policy in 2013, marking the centenary year of the 1913 Land Act and prioritising the 23 poorest districts in the country.

A highly critical evaluation report was released in 2013 reviewing the 'programme from its inception in 2010 to June 2012. The evaluation found that:

- There was no common understanding among the stakeholders of what programme was all about with government officials attributing the lack of understanding to 'the ever-changing' recap policy and procedures;
- The 'programme had created 'a scope for opportunistic behaviour by officials, farmers and strategic partners/mentors';
- The 'programme was not appropriately designed to achieve its intended objectives;
- Objectives are too ambitious with the majority linked indirectly to the 'programme;
- There were no clear selection criteria for projects, beneficiaries and strategic partners/mentors;
- There was no clear and structured 'programme monitoring and evaluation system;
- The requirement for farmers to have a strategic partner/mentor to qualify led to wastage of valuable resources as some have the necessary skills and experience to run their farms without such support;
- The 'programme did not promote collaboration with the Department of agriculture forestry fisheries in its implementation;
- The 'programme lacked any logical framework or theory of change;
- The Recap Project cycle was not aligned to the farming operations. (Business Enterprises 2013)

The revised policy issued in 2013 appeared not to have heeded any of the recommendations in the evaluation report. At best, the policy document referred obliquely to certain of the evaluation findings before restating policy objectives that were clearly unattainable, without any analysis of the factors driving rapid change in the local and global agricultural economy.

The aims of Recap remained that:

- *All land reform farms are 100% productive;*
- *The class of black fledgling commercial farmers which was destroyed by the 1913 natives land act is rekindled;*
- *The rural urban population and resources flow is significantly reduced.*

The policy document refers to an earlier evaluation of the land reform 'programme carried out in 2009 which had identified that many land reform projects were 'not successful and thus in distress or lying fallow due to a lack of adequate and appropriate post settlement support'. The evaluation highlighted that numerous properties were either about to be auctioned or had already been sold 'resulting in a reversal of the original objectives of land reform' (DRDLR 2013: 11).

The policy document sets out an overarching objective which is for:

Recap ... to provide black emerging farmers with the social and economic infrastructure basic resources required to run successful agricultural business (DRDLR 2013: 10)

Recapitalisation was funded by appropriating 25% of the baseline budget for land redistribution and restitution. This amounted to about 3.3 billion rand for the 2012/13 financial year (Business Enterprises 2013).

The policy document acknowledges earlier abuses of the recapitalisation grant identified by the University of Pretoria evaluation noting that:

The policy is particularly against the following tendencies, which have come to be associated with the existing recapitalisation 'programme practices:

- *supporting people who got the means (sic) to develop their land*
- *proxy farmers – people who run their own businesses in towns and cities but employ managers to run their farms and*
- *failed commercial farmers who want to make a fortune from disbursements meant to fairly compensate strategic partners for work done. (DRDLR 2013: 11)*

The policy attempted to re-articulate strategies of mentorship and co-management agreements which were to be structured in such a way as to deliver 'tangible, realistic and optimal benefits without compromising the sustainability of the operations' (DRDLR 2013: 14). However, the policy did not appear to provide any guidance as to how this will be achieved.

The policy re-introduced share equity arrangements, which had not received departmental support since 2009 after an evaluation report found that workers had obtained minimal benefits through the scheme.

The policy stated that farmers who hold freehold title and who receive Recap funding would be prohibited from selling their properties for a period of 10 years after receiving 'programme funding – a condition that was endorsed against the title deed. However, there is no evidence that such title endorsements have ever been made.

Recent research on PLAS land reform projects and the recapitalisation fund in the Eastern Cape highlights the 'perverse outcomes' of the 'programme which has been described as enabling the elite capture of land reform by 'allowing public funds to be channelled into private enterprises' (Hall and Kepe 2017).

The deeply flawed design, implementation and subsequent reconceptualisation of the Recap 'programme provides a sobering indicator of the level of policy and implementation dysfunction within the Department.

In the six provinces covered in the assessment, an average of around R3.5 million was spent per project, around R520 000 per beneficiary, and job creation cost R645 000 per job

(Cousins 2017 n. p)

RECAP was presented as a vehicle for providing support services for land reform. Viewed against what is now known about the extent of state capture in recent years, the lack of controls in the distribution of more than 3 billion rand for farmer support raises important questions about the competence of the Department to manage the land reform 'programme, and the extent to which the 'programme has become a magnet for corruption.

3.3.5 Preferential purchasing for food procurement

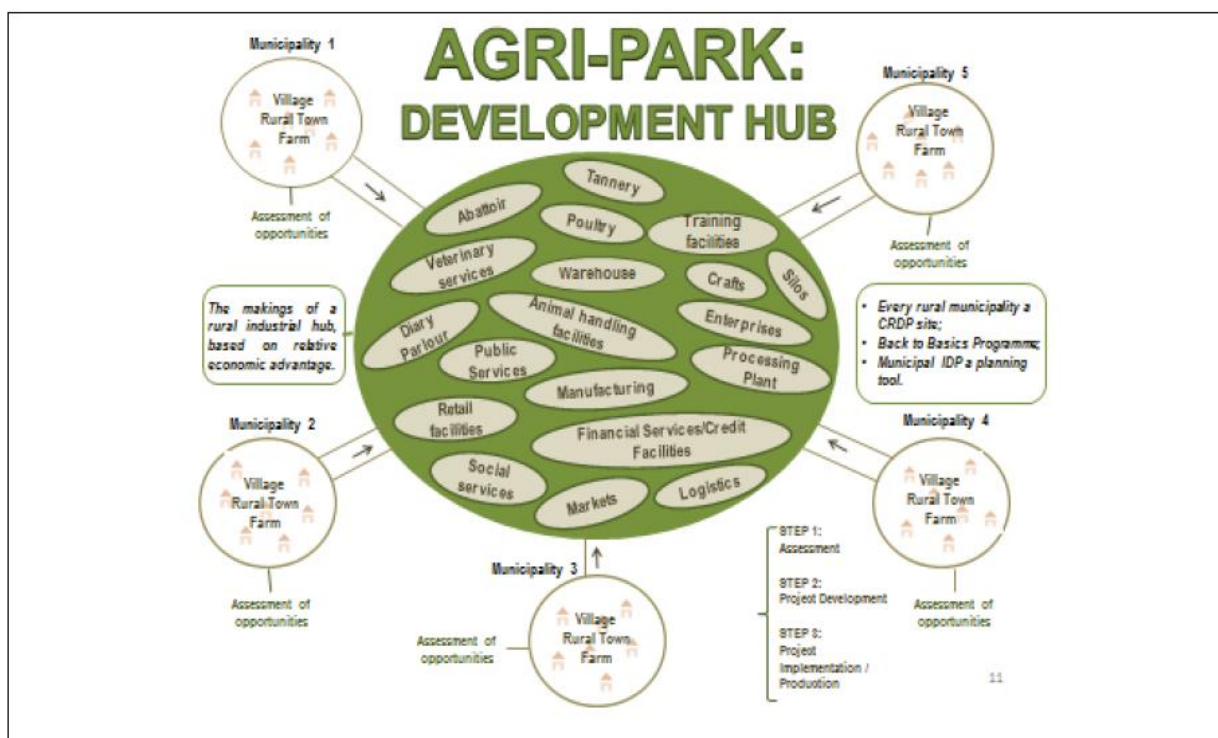
Government-backed 'programmes (including particularly the government-led Zero Hunger and National School Nutrition 'programmes) which seek to alleviate hunger in schools and hospitals, are undertaking 'intentionally preferential purchasing patterns' (Aliber et al 2016: 64).

Aliber states the 'programme should have room for growth, though Greenberg (2013: 14) notes its limitations observing that 'government food procurement is limited relative to private food demand, even within the ex-Bantustans'.

3.3.6 Agri-parks

Agri-parks seek to cluster agricultural enterprises and provide value chain services and support – centrally planned, state funded, three-tiered model for where extension services will take place and an agro-processing hub linked with a handful of rural-urban marketing centres (Crosby, Boshoff et al. 2019). Agriparks were planned for all 44 districts with an initial roll out to the 27 poorest districts (African Centre for Biodiversity 2015: 20).

Figure 2: The state's conception of the Agri-Park model.



Source: DAFF, undated.

In 2018 the PMG indicated that support for Agri-Parks was declining and that plans to establish 44 Agri-Parks to plans had been reduced to just nine (PMG 2018).

3.4 Financial services (grants and loans)

Providing financial services and support to small-scale farmers is notoriously difficult: The 'global experience that providing agricultural finance to small-scale farmers tends to be intrinsically challenging... the weaknesses of South Africa's smallholder sector makes it especially difficult to reach'. (Aliber, Mabhera et al. 2016: 47)

The schemes and bodies active in this field in SA have tended to either not be very successful (such as MAFISA), or to focus more on commercial farmers (such as the Land Bank). A brief survey of the administrative needs to access finance also suggests that a good business plan, and often some collateral, is needed. This may not be possible for some small-scale farmers.

3.4.1 MAFISA

Micro Agricultural Finance Institutions of South Africa (MAFISA) is a financial scheme to address financial services needs of the smallholder farmers and agribusinesses. Mafisa provides capital (loans) to enhance agricultural activities.

A BEUP evaluation of MAFISA found it beset with problems – including poor record keeping by financial institutions, inadequate capacity at the DOA to monitor MAFISA and support its implementation. It also stated MAFISA's loan book shows that 3 638 loans totalling R314 million were disbursed between January 2009 and December 2013. This reveals that MAFISA's reach is small considering that there are between 350 000 and 700 000 smallholder farmers who produce a surplus. The estimated repayment rate was 45% rendering the service unsustainable. (DPME and PSPPD n.d.)

3.4.2 The Jobs Fund

The Jobs Fund is a government hub fund launched in 2011 with R9 billion allocated to co-finance projects by public, private and non-governmental organisation that will create permanent jobs. It is a grant fund,

administered by the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) to support ideas, initiatives and approaches that will enhance the ability of South Africa's economy to create and sustain jobs. The fund allocation for the private sector partners is 1:1 ratio while for public sector partners, the ratio is 1: 0.2.

In 2015 the Minister of Finance reported on the results reported by organisations operating in the agricultural sector which had received funding via the Jobs Fund in response to a written question in the House of Assembly (National Assembly 2015).

Figure 3: Jobs fund investment in agricultural projects for job creation (2015)

	JF Number	Project Name	Province	Grant Amount	Match Funding	Inception To Date Target	Inception To Date Actual	Contracted
1	JF1/0443	Lima Rural Development Foundation (Small Holder Farmer Support Programme)	KwaZulu Natal	R 20 109 208	R 6 047 000	8 700	9 461	8 000
2	JF1/0937	TechnoServe South Africa (Job Creation through Small Farmer Commercialisation)	Gauteng	R 40 183 000	R 10 045 863	4 462	6 186	22 500
3	JF1/0525	ASGISA-EC (EC Community Forestry)	Eastern Cape	R 82 730 000	R 30 620 500	261	386	565
4	JF1/1297	Buhle Farmers Academy	Mpumalanga	R 5 000 000	R 8 520 000	1 000	1 023	1 100
5	JF1/0425	Heifer International South Africa (Thusanang Dairy Project)	KwaZulu Natal	R 5 935 887	R 1 485 000	300	560	600
6	JF1/1069	Akwandze Agricultural Finance (Small scale sugarcane irrigation infrastructure project)	Mpumalanga	R 50 000 000	R 75 000 000	344	471	1 511
7	JF1/0772	College of Sustainable Agriculture - Karoo incubator	Western Cape	R 7 000 000	R 12 500 000	30	15	85
8	JF1/0511	ECDC (Trading Up) Aegisa Rural Agro Initiative	Eastern Cape	R 72 766 000	R 49 811 200	89	79	629
9	JF2/3725	Development of Cashmere Fibre Industry	Gauteng	R 4 220 000	R 1 140 000	15	119	16
10	JF2/2431	Manzengwenya-Mbazwana Forestry Development Program (Lima)	KwaZulu Natal	R 80 054 000	R 20 010 000	369	606	808
11	JF2/3526	Blouberg Agricultural Development Project (Heifer)	KwaZulu Natal	R 6 776 000	R 1 695 000	700	871	2 100
12	JF2/3775	Soybean - Edamame Soybean Industry Establishment (Newlands Mashu)	KwaZulu Natal	R 19 000 000	R 10 906 791	330	384	510
13	JF2/2234	AgriBEE Agro Processing Linkage Project (Claremont Farming)	Eastern Cape	R 12 059 779	R 97 980 803	288	49	292
14	JF2/3619	Milk SA Sustainable Commercialization Small Holder Dairy	Gauteng	R 10 358 670	R 10 508 670	40	32	120
15	JF2/3507	Eksteenskull Raisin Incubator	Northern Cape	R 18 250 000	R 24 810 000	34	22	103
16	JF3/2704	Orange Grove UHT and recapitalisation program	KwaZulu Natal	R 45 000 000	R 67 917 000	-	-	555
17	JF3/1457	Just Veggies: VegFresh and Frozen vegetable supply chain	KwaZulu Natal	R 30 000 000	R 137 133 000	497	-	690
18	JF3/1728	Tongaat Hulett Sugarcane Development Initiative	KwaZulu Natal	R 150 000 000	R 437 441 000	509	280	2 874
19	JF3/3011	Timbali: 300 SMME's in Commercial-Agri-Parks for 4 495 jobs	Mpumalanga	R 75 000 000	R 18 750 000	-	-	805
20	JF1/1881	Natural Resources Management Programme - Department of Environmental Affairs-Eco-Factories Project	Western Cape	R 122 400 000	R 122 400 000	-	-	3 025
				R 856 842 544	R 1 144 721 827	17 968	20 544	46 888

3.4.3 Land Bank

The Land Bank provides financial services to the commercial farming sector and to agri-business and to make available new, appropriately designed financial products that would facilitate access to finance by new entrants to agriculture from historically disadvantaged backgrounds. These include the Agri-BEE fund.

As recent research commissioned by the Competition Commission has highlighted there is a mis-alignment between the mandate and the structure of the Bank. It is expected to manage the risk of its investment while achieving a developmental mandate. Its funding criteria are geared towards bankable business, which may not enable a development mandate. The Land Bank primarily caters for those farmers who meet its risk profile (namely medium to large commercial farmers), this leaves a funding gap for emerging farmers. (Mtombeni, Bove et al. 2019: 34)

The research found that the funding framework in the country does not appear to be geared to emerging farmers and caters more to existing commercial farmers. The competitive landscape in the sector is thus in imbalance as emerging farmers have to overcome structural, regulatory and behavioural barriers in order to compete effectively. (Ibid.:42).

3.4.4 IDC

The Industrial Development Corporation is a state owned developing financial institution under the supervision of the Economic Development Department. The IDC's objective is to contribute to the economic empowerment and the prosperity of Africans, by developing viable economies that are sustainable as well as

environmentally and socially responsible (Department of Agriculture Western Cape 2019). The Small Enterprise Finance Agency (SEFA) is a wholly owned subsidiary of the IDC resulting from the merger of Khula and the South African Micro-Finance Apex Fund (SAMAF)

3.4.5 SEFA

SEFA is mandated to address challenges faced by SMMEs such as access to financial support. Its products range from R50 000 to R5 000 000, and in the agricultural sector it offers financial assistance in relation to agro-processing and cash crop contract farming. (Ibid 2019).

SEFA also manages funds for the Land Reform Empowerment Facility (LREF) established in the 1999/ 2000 financial year capitalised by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in collaboration with the European Union. This facility is a land reform and agriculture specific sector fund supporting a mortgage loan scheme for the outright purchase of agricultural land, and an equity share loan scheme for partnership arrangements between previously disadvantaged individuals and strategic commercial partners where at least 25, 1% of the shares have to be transferred to the PDI's. The LREF appears to have focused primarily on financing equity share loan schemes and since its inception reported to have approved 72 projects to the value of 192 million Rand (Khula 2010).

SEFA has also assumed management of the Khula-Akwandze Fund (KAF). Akwandze is a 50-50 joint-venture between TSB sugar RSA and the Ligugulethu Farmers' Cooperative. The fund is a 75/25 joint-venture between Khula and Akwandze who contributed 75 million 25 million rand respectively for the purpose of providing loans to small and medium scale sugarcane growers producing in terms of an offtake agreement with TSB.

3.4.6 National Agricultural Marketing Council

The NAMC has a Smallholder Farmer Agricultural Development Division, founded in 1995, following the realisation that smallholder farmers were facing many challenges regarding production practice. The NAMC conducts wheat production courses, demonstration trials, information and farmers' days, problem solving for farmers, produce production guidelines and calendars, organise study groups and send SMSs to farmers on the latest development. NAMC also has a Markets and Economic Research centre which has a smallholder market access division, and also has an agribusiness development division which will try to link smallholder farmers / agri-business to markets.

3.5 Province-based parastatals

3.5.1 Eastern Cape Rural Development Agency

The Eastern Cape Rural Development Agency (ECRDA) is in partnership with the department of rural development to act as government's agent for any development-related tasks and responsibilities that the government considers may be more efficiently or effectively performed by a corporate entity;

'The ECRDA vision serves to inspire the organisation to work tirelessly towards transformed rural areas that are socially and economically developed as well as establishing an institutional environment that is conducive to rural development' (ECRDA 2019; n.p.)

3.5.2 KZN Agribusiness Development Agency

'The Agribusiness Development Agency (ADA) has been in existence for just over five years to deal with supporting emerging black commercial farmers, especially in the land reform 'programme as the raison d'etre. A number of land reform farms were on the brink of collapse due a number of reasons including lack of farming skills by the new owners and over-indebtedness. The period during which the ADA was established was also marked by unprecedented food price hikes and a world economy in recession.'(ADA 2019: n.p.)

3.5.3 WC Casidra

'Casidra renders project management service to Departments within the Western Cape Government (WCG), local authorities, businesses, non-governmental organisations (NGO's) community-based organisations (CBO's), academic institutions, other governmental agencies and international

assistance institutions. As the Provincial Government Enterprise for the Western Cape Government, development projects are planned and implemented by Casidra'. (Casidra 2019: n.p.)

3.6 The focus of private sector support: Tiers A3 to A5

The private sector has focused on enabling the emergence of black commercial farmers. As indicated in the section above there are approximately 25,000 farmers producing for the market in tight value chains. These include a strata of black capitalist farmers, on private land, land reform and communal area contexts. Currently private-sector support systems designed to grow the cohort of black producers involved in production for the market through formal value chains are concentrated here.

The top three tiers of black capitalist and smallholder farmers appear to have a number of options of support available to them. The tables below, (Okunlola, Ngubani et al. 2016) shows the variety of entities that offer support to producers at this level:

Figure 4: Number of farmers and number of cases by organisational type support agency. (Okunlola, Ngubani et al. 2016 p. 22)

Organisational type	No. of farmers	% of total	No. of cases	% of total
Agribusiness companies	2 914	26.8%	19	12.2%
Centralised procurement supermarket	14	0.13%	4	2.6%
Commodity association	1 084	10.0%	10	6.4%
Consultant	115	1.1%	9	5.8%
Decentralised procurement supermarket	1 346	12.4%	43	27.6%
Food standards authority	33	0.3%	1	0.6%
Fresh produce market	246	2.3%	5	3.2%
Government	810	7.5%	3	1.9%
Independent retailer	115	1.1%	15	9.6%
Individual	16	0.15%	1	0.6%
Local economic development agency	159	1.46%	4	2.6%
NGO	1 436	13.2%	5	3.2%
Agro-processor	2 352	21.7%	32	20.5%
University/training institute	220	2.0%	5	3.2%
Total	10 860	100%	156	100%

Figure 5 Initiator of support 'programme by organisational type (Okunola et al. p. 22)

Organisational type of initiator	No. of farmers	% of total
Agribusiness companies	1 986	18.3%
Centralised procurement supermarket	13	0.1%
Commodity association	781	7.2%
Consultant	85	0.8%
Decentralised procurement supermarket	897	8.3%
Farmer co-operative or trust	1 864	17.2%
Fresh produce market	469	4.3%
Government	939	8.6%
Independent retailer	16	0.1%
Individual farmer	82	0.8%
Local economic development agency	355	3.3%
NGO	1 452	13.4%
Private individual	10	0.1%
Agro-processor	1 696	15.6%
University/training institute	215	2.0%
Total	10 860	100%

We examine some of the support 'programmes provided by different actors in more detail below.

3.6.1 Support provided by Commodity Associations

There are about 33 commodity associations in South Africa (Raidimi and Kabit 2017). Commodity associations frequently support emerging farmers, including smallholder farmers and small-scale farmers.

- Grain South Africa has a Farmer Development 'programme and supplies extension and advisory services, carried out by production advisors. Advisors make individual contact with farmers, organise study groups, demonstration trails, farmer days and specific training courses. (Koch and Terblanche 2013) In 2014, Grain SA stated that it had 9 regional Grain SA offices throughout grain production areas, exclusively focussing on rendering extension services and training black farmers. In 2016 nearly 10 000 farmers participated in study groups and over 3 000 farmers days were organised (Agri SA 2018: 8).
- The National Wool Growers Association has production advisors who use study groups, demonstration/monitor farms, farmer days and mass- media to communicate with wool producers and specifically to new farmers to increase productivity and profitability. (Koch and Terblanche 2013) According to AgriSA, they also offer a ram exchange 'programme to improve the genetics of flocks and increase wool production. AgriSA states the amount of wool produced by small scale farmers has increased from 222 610 kg to 4 462 089 kg between 1997/8 and 2015/16 with a value increase from R1 502 908 to R233 618 025. (Agri SA, 2018).

- The South African Sugar Association (SASA) incorporates the South African Research Institute (SASRI) has an extension service focussing its efforts on regional grower extension (medium-large scale commercial growers), small-scale extension (specialised service to small-scale growers), and new freehold grower extension (growers who have acquired land through the land redistribution 'programme). (Koch and Terblanché 2013).
- Cotton SA provides training and mentorship to 718 farmers. These farmers organised themselves into 18 co-operatives in Nkomazi in Mpumalanga, a hot area suitable for cotton cultivation. In the 2016/17 financial year, the DRDLR contributed R7.7 million and Cotton SA, R1.2 million to this project. In 2016, 2 767 ha of land was cultivated of which 1 460 ha was planted by hand. With the assistance of Cotton SA's team, an average yield of 724 kg per ha was produced which resulted in a gross income of R16.4 million or R5 936.80 per ha. Subject to funds, Cotton SA plans to build a processing plant in the area to create more employment opportunities. (Agri SA, 2018: 6).

In some cases, a separate association is formed to serve the interests of emergent black farmers – such as in the case of the National Emergent Red Meat Producer Organisation (where the National Agricultural Marketing Council pays its levy). In other cases, the emergent farmers are served by a branch under the umbrella of the main organisation, (for example Hortgro and the Deciduous Fruit Development Chamber. (Okunlola et al, 2016).

AgriSA details the inputs of certain commodity associations to emerging farmers (which it defines as 'surplus-producing farmers with the real potential to become sustainable commercial farmers'. (Agri SA 2018)

Figure 6: Commodity Associations Agri SA 2018

Amount Spent on Development					
		Amount Spent 2015/2016	Beneficiaries 2015/2016	Amount Spent 2016/2017	Beneficiaries 2016/2017
TOTAL		R 145,388,724	62325 farmers, 29 projects, 5194 extended beneficiaries	R 331,571,350	55 584 farmers, 54 548 extended beneficiaries, 261 projects
Nr.	Commodity Organisation	Amount Spent 2015/2016	Beneficiaries 2015/2016	Amount Spent 2016/2017	Beneficiaries 2016/2017
1	Cotton SA	R 1,214,000	1100 farmers	R 19,730,496	718 farmers
2	Dried Fruits	R 12,500,000	80 farmers	R 25,230,597	109 individuals; 106 permanent job opportunities; 560 seasonal job opportunities
4	Forestry SA	R 3,060,000	343 farmers	R 3,810,000	15 farmers; 1 enterprise; 300 young farmers
3	Grain SA	R 39,750,966	10 000 farmers	R 33,405,606	9 588 farmers
4	Milk Producers Organisation (MPO)	R 2,989,950	550 farmers	R 3,165,678	1045 dairy farm workers and emerging dairy farmers
5	Mohair	R 1,538,000	11 farmers		
6	National Wool Grower Association (NWGA)	R 17,194,557	10 000 farmers	R 19,558,548	about 330 wool communities; 10 000 individual producers
7	Ostrich Chamber	R 24,000,000	110 farmers		
8	Red Meat Industry (including Red Meat Producers Organisation (RPO))	R 308,369	120 farmers	R 9,596,142	200 smallholder farmers, 200 farm workers
9	South African Cane Growers	R 8,734,766	20 000 farmers	R 11,380,895	20 000 farmers
10	South African Pork Producers Association (SAPPO)	R 4,118,942	210 farmers	R 5,880,000	22 farmers; 4 enterprises and 116 trained
11	South African Subtropical Growers Association (Subtrop)	R 2,077,270	240 farmers	R 1,729,000	228 farms
12	South African Sugar Association (SASA)	Not disclosed	5859 farmers	R 124,827,756	6 523 farmers
13	South African Table Grape Industry (SATGI)	R 5,200,000	29 projects; 2927 extended beneficiaries	R 5,600,000	29 projects; 2 927 extended beneficiaries
14	Tobacco SA	R 6,000,000	110 farmers	R 5,600,000	70 farmers
15	Vinpro	R 1,500,000	40 Enterprises; 775 farmworkers trained	R 41,808,972	232 projects; 45 000 workers benefitted from Wieta; 369 persons through rehabilitation programme 44 Black economic empowerment projects; 37 black-owned brands, 980 farm residents counselled; 886 children monitored at child development and aftercare facilities; 62 crèche and aftercare workers trained; 755 workers trained

3.6.2 AgriSA SA's emerging farmer support portal

Agri SA launched the Emerging Farmers Support Portal (EFSP) to have a streamlined channel for communication to respond to the large number of queries from individuals seeking support. The report will be distributed to Agri SA's Provincial, Commodity and Corporate members who are then free to review the list and to contact the relevant emerging farmers.

3.6.3 Support provided by agribusiness & agro-processing companies

An important element of support for small scale farmers are agribusinesses and agro-processors. These are firms that purchase farmers' products for processing before they are sold on to consumers.

Okunlola et al (2016) showed that producers in categories A3 - A5 sometimes supply large companies such as AFGRI, TWK and OTK, which were formerly co-operatives run by and for white commercial farmers but were privatised in the early 1990s. Okunlola et al found that agro-processors usually provide a variety of support services to these farmers, including supply of inputs; technical assistance; training in post-harvest services, such as certification of produce; and storage and warehousing. However, some do not provide such support service to small farmers – in these cases engagement with farmers involves the supply of produce only (Okunlola et al, 2016, p.27).

Okunlola et al unpack the example of AFGRI, TWK and OTK – important marketing channels for small farmers in the maize sector in communal land, land reform farms, municipal commonage and private farms. More than 2 000 farmers (with up to 12ha of land) in the Chief Albert Luthuli local municipality, supply maize to silos in two local district municipalities. Under an arrangement with AFGRI, farmers were able to sell grain, or to enter a storage arrangement with them, until market conditions were favourable.

3.6.4 Supportive contracting arrangements in agro processing

SABMiller (SABM) has a barley growing project in Taung, NW province. SABM performs a dual role: it acts both as a financial intermediary and as contract buyer of barley. SABM, particularly its Agricultural Services Department, plays an ongoing role including offering the following services:

- information and report back meetings days ahead of the planting season;
- negotiations with suppliers of inputs (fertiliser, pivot maintenance and chemicals) and contractors (soil preparation, planting, fertiliser applications, weed control, etc.) in order to bargain for the best prices for producers;
- written contracts with individual producers;
- contracts for each individual farmer with Electricity Supply Commission (Eskom);
- soil sampling;
- negotiations to update farmers' insurance policies and obtain the best tender;
- coordination of production activities; and
- marketing of feed grain barley.

3.6.5 Support services offered by centralised procurement supermarket chains

Dannenberg (2014)) discusses 'supermarketisation' of South Africa: the rise of the supermarket – and the penetration of the larger retail chains into poor black neighbourhoods, and the rural areas. Supermarkets are in competition with traditional and informal vendors (including fresh produce markets). However, the latter are important sales channels for small farmers, many of whom face challenges in fulfilling the stringent volume, consistency and quality requirements of a supermarket. Market power has given supermarkets the ability to create vertically integrated supply chains in which they act as the lead firm, have highly centralised direct procurement agreements and set the terms for the other participants in the chain. (Okunlola et al, 2016: 25).

Thus, the supermarketisation of South Africa constitutes, 'a serious threat for the socioeconomic development of the affected small farmers.' There is not space to unpack the full extent of supermarketisation and the effects thereof – suffice to say that Dannenberg's views are echoed elsewhere (Weatherspoon and Reardon 2003, Abrahams 2010, Crush and Frayne 2011, Battersby and

Peyton 2014). Concerns about supermarkets' central position, market power and the increasingly oligopolistic structure of the industry in creating barriers to entry for small scale suppliers are prevalent in the literature (Van der Heijden 2010, van der Heijden and Vink 2013) who state that:

Case studies of successful linkages between supermarkets and small farmers tend to highlight the exceptions, rather than the norm, illustrated in the fact that so few of them are cited (repeatedly) in the relevant literature. (Van der Heijden 2010: 50)

There are examples of supermarkets supporting small farmers through their procurement strategies, but these tend to be the exception rather than the rule, and Okunlola et al found that only 2.6% of the farmers included in its scan benefitted from arrangements with a centralised procurement supermarket.

Pick n Pay uses a centralised procurement model but has moved to local procurement arrangements for fresh fruit and vegetables. The Pick n Pay Foundation has targeted smallholder farmers to be part of the supply chain in terms of their AgriBEE initiative. Currently, procurements of fresh fruit and vegetables and dry foods are performed separately. Pick n Pay sources its fresh produce from approximately 200 South African farmers who are part of a 'preferred supplier' scheme. (Okunlola et al, 2016: 40)

A now-discontinued example of such an arrangement was the Ezemvelo Direct Farm 'programme which was part of the Massmart Supplier Development Fund which was established as a condition to the Wal-Mart // Massmart merger in 2012. The 'programme was designed to assist small to medium sized, historically disadvantaged, farmers who would not normally be able to access the fresh produce supply chain due to their small size, location and trading history. Support – which came to a total of ZAR14.6m over the years it was operational, included input loans, technical support, basic financial management skills, logistics, and food safety training. At its peak 164 smallholder farmers were supported. And over 700 smallholder farmers received training. The retailer discontinued the 'programme as it decided to focus its Supplier Development Fund on the manufacturing sector. (Mandiriza, Sithebe et al. 2016)

Perhaps the Massmart case is instructive even as it is discontinued. Two things are apparent. Massmart was instructed to establish this fund as a condition for the acceptance of Wal-Mart's takeover – it seems unlikely that it would have voluntarily done so, were it not for the Competition Commission's instruction. Secondly, Massmart quietly closed the 'programme and refocused its attention after three years which suggests that 'programmes to assist small-scale farmers are not perceived by the retailers themselves as sufficiently effective or worthwhile.

3.6.6 Support services offered by decentralised procurement supermarket chains

A more common source of support for small-scale farmers was decentralised supermarket chains that operate a franchise system, or independent supermarkets. According to Okunlola et al, such arrangements tended to be more informal and short-term. The absence of a proper contract may be a disadvantage: it constrains farmers from bargaining for better prices and does not guarantee an off-take agreement for the farmer, which may lead to the farmer not selling his produce to that outlet. The arrangement is still a commercial one, but in some cases, more flexible terms are supportive for small-scale farmers.

SPAR

SPAR South Africa supermarkets operate on a franchise basis, and individual stores operate under a licensing agreement with the parent company, using a localised procurement model, and with some flexibility over their procurement choices (see Okunlola et al, 2016).

There are several case studies in the literature where SPARs around South Africa have supported local small-scale farmers: for example, the Giyani SPAR procures fresh produce from 12 local small-scale

farmers, with a preferred supplier arrangement. The SPAR manager has also, complementary to a personalised technical assistance, put in place a flexible interest-free production loan system and input purchase. (Louw, Jordaan et al. 2008).

3.7 *Mentoring schemes*

Provincial Departments of Agriculture sometimes organise mentorship 'programmes between experienced commercial farmers and the emerging farmers. These can take different formats as the three examples given below show.

3.7.1 *National Wool Growers Association*

NWGA and Eastern Cape DoA

The National Wool Growers' Association represents over 10,000 farmers farming with wool sheep of whom 6000 are commercial and 4000 communal wool producers. In the communal areas the 'programme operates primarily in the former Ciskei, Transkei and the Free State and focuses on:

- more efficient wool marketing particularly through the provision of equipment and shearing sheds in line with industry standards
- the improvement of communal herds through the provision of improved Rams as breeding stock
- sustainable resource utilisation. (Aucamp 2007)

3.7.2 *Gold Fields Foundation*

The Elundini 'programme included small-scale livestock farmers in the Eastern Cape. It was financed through a public - private partnership between the Ukhahlamba District Municipality and the Gold Fields Foundation, and used experienced farmers as mentors, in line with international practice on farmer-to-farmer extension, and they made regular visits to the villages. Jordaan (2012) analysed the programme's data and evaluated the impact on farmers and the economy. Since programme inception, sheep mortality decreased from >20% to 3%. Lamb weaning rates were approximately one lamb for every two ewes (50%). Farmers' annual income increased from R650.00 to R20,956.00) with a total net gain of >R56 million for the region. Jordaan found that strict mentor management principles and payment for services were fundamental to the programme's success. The impact of the programme was immediately apparent and farmers were willing to pay for mentorship and treatments, provided that they experienced the benefits.

3.7.3 *South African Sugar Association*

JV between Sugar Association and KZN DOA

Owens and Eweg (2003) profiled a Joint Venture between the sugar industry and the KZN Department of Agriculture. In 1994, the sugar association (now known as SASA) and the KZN Department of Agriculture, forged a partnership to unlock agricultural production and economic for previously disadvantaged small-scale farmers. The two parties agreed to collaborate in the provision of technical and development extension to the 46 000 small-scale sugar cane growers in the province. In 2002, a second phase was entered into. The arrangement, which involved four SASEX Sugar Extension Specialists, (SES) and 36 DAEA Agricultural Technicians (AT) and required a financial obligation from both parties, brought the latest technology to the rural areas and formalised the industry's mentorship system. Owens and Eweg stated that the JV not only made inroads into improving sugar production, and improved the capacity of people in the supply chain, it also changed attitude of stakeholders to public extension services. 'Government is now seen as a partner and not a single service provider, and this is a positive change. As mentioned by one of the government officials, 'The JV is not pushing sugar, it is pushing development'.

Recognition also came from outside the industry: the World Business Council for Sustainable Development in its 2004 case study stated 'The South African Sugar Association's (SASA) joint venture with the provincial departments of agriculture has made remarkable strides over the past eight years in building an effective and well-coordinated extension service for small-scale farmers' (Cartwright, 2016).

3.8 Farmer based organisations and cooperatives

3.8.1 Smallholder irrigation schemes

Smallholder irrigation schemes are defined as multi-farmer irrigation projects on more than 5ha. Irrigation schemes were sometimes set up under apartheid in the former homeland areas or resource poor areas. They usually produce vegetables and field crops. Aliber *et al* state that these schemes lend themselves to developing black smallholders. They stated that in 2010, such schemes accommodate about 31 000 black smallholders and account for only about 3.6% of land under irrigation (Aliber *et al* 2010:46 and 68). DAFF sees one of its programme performance indications as the number of projects implemented to revitalise irrigation schemes.

3.8.2 Agricultural cooperatives

The government has actively been promoting collective action through groups among smallholder farmers, with the hope that they give collective power in negotiations for inputs and marketing. In 2012, the DAFF published *A framework for the development of smallholder farmers through cooperative development* and illustrated the type of support cooperatives could offer to smallholders (see figure). In 2015, DAFF stated:

Agricultural cooperatives pool the production and resources of farmers and rural entrepreneurs in order to maximise the benefits for their members. Agricultural cooperatives can be classified into service or production cooperatives. Production cooperatives involve farmers who operate the cooperative on jointly owned agricultural plots/farms while service cooperatives are more common and members carry out their activities independently, and the cooperative provides them with a range of services, including machinery, processing, transport, packaging, distribution, marketing and information. (DAFF 2015).

In South Africa, according to a briefing by Ms Kwena Komape, Chief Director (CD), Community and Rural Enterprise Development (CRED), DAFF to the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG) in 2014/15 there were 1 788 cooperatives in SA, with a cumulative membership of 41 930 people, with 6 759 permanent employees and 2 956 casuals. In terms of land ownership, 23% had title deeds, 9% lease agreements 28% Permission to Occupy and 40% non-specified land ownership. (PMG 2015)

A large number of cooperatives fail. Indeed, the Department of Trade and Industry published a review saying that only 11% of agricultural and food related coops had survived (DTI 2012). The DTI implied that cooperatives should be supported given the need to join together to acquire land, to farm collectively.

Nationally, the responsibility for cooperatives has been shifted from the DOA to the DTI, and the registration and enforcement of rules pertaining to cooperatives was moved to the CPIC. As the DTI identified,

These different initiatives from diverse players within government, have led to pockets of success here and there, with little or no impact. This status quo therefore calls for an integrated approach on the development and support of co-operatives, where all the services, including the facilitation of registration, and the provision of

financial and non-financial support, can be carried out under one roof, with branches in all provinces, districts and local municipalities (DTI, 2012: 46).

3.9 NGOs/CBOs/Civil Society

Worth (2012) identified three categories of NGOs offering advice, support and other services to farmers and rural communities: NGOs dedicated to agriculture; NGOs dedicated rural development; NGOs dedicated to land issues. He identified 16 agricultural NGOs, 23 rural development NGOs and 10 land NGOs with interests ranging from relief, to projects to sustainability-driving programmes.

Full lists of NGOs offering support are provided in Worth (2012) and Liebenberg (2015) and do not need repetition here. Below, we profile some of the country's largest NGOs active in support of smallholders and small-scale farmers.

3.9.1 Lima Rural Development Foundation

Lima was founded in 1989 and counts the Chamber of Mines and the Jobs Fund amongst its many funders. Lima helps secure government contracts to support farmers, and its focus areas include land reform, food security, small-scale sugar cane growers, agricultural engineering. It estimated that its small-scale farmer 'programme supported 10 408 farmers, by providing access to: information and technical support, via training; finances, through a revolving credit fund; markets; inputs; and infrastructure and mechanization (Okunlola, 2016, p.42).

Lima has implemented the APP, a comprehensive farmer support 'programme targeting rural smallholders, across four provinces and 16 field sites since 2002. The 'programme deploys teams of technically-qualified agricultural facilitators, extension assistants and master farmers; these locally-based teams service an average of 800 farmers per district through hands-on provision of technical training and facilitated access to markets. Field staff are supported by regional agricultural managers, whose knowledge is augmented by a complement of in-house specialists, including horticulturists, agricultural economists, engineers, and skilled community development practitioners.

Over 10 200 permanent agricultural jobs and 2 377 seasonal agricultural jobs were created through the APP, and more than 9 700 farmers received free training during the last funding period. As a whole, these farmers produce a turnover of more than R120 million annually from their farming livelihoods. (<https://lima.org.za/our-work/agriculture/abalimi-phambili-farmer-support-'programme/>)

3.9.2 TechnoServe

TechnoServe is an international NPO, 'providing business solutions to poverty' and 'helping to grow strong markets that create opportunities for enterprising people in the developing world'. In South Africa TechnoServe is working with smallholder farmers to build competitive farms and gain access to formal markets and financial services. According to Okunlola et al (2016), the organisation supports 1 365 farmers in five provinces,

TechnoServe, in partnership with Kellogg's Company, launched a programme in 2015 to improve smallholder livelihoods in the Lambasi area of the Eastern Cape Province, which has the highest poverty levels in the country. The project seeks increase productivity of maize farmers in the area, as well as facilitating market connections and improve their resiliency to climate change. The programme has provided training to 400 smallholders -- 70 percent of whom are women -- on good agronomic practices and farming as a business. The second phase of the project will focus on climate smart agricultural approaches, building off the improved technology and specialized training received during the first phase of the programme.

3.10 Black Farmer's Unions

Farmers unions may offer input for their members in support of farming goals. There is little information beyond the farmer unions own public relations' materials to evaluate how effective such support is.

3.10.1 NAFU

NAFU is a mouthpiece of predominantly black smallholder farmers in South Africa. The focus of NAFU has been to offer support services to its members. NAFU also seeks to play a role in building the capacity and strength of its membership through the use of effective communication systems, training, improving management skills and exposing farming to the latest and most up-to-date production techniques. (Agric Year Book, 2016)

However, according to one commentary, 'National African Farmers Union (NAFU) ... could not provide the much-needed support to subsistence and emerging farmers because of a weak financial base'. (Hedden-Dunkhorst and Mollel 1999)

3.10.2 AFASA

The African Farmers Association of South Africa was launched on the 12th of April 2011 by 3000 founding members from all nine provinces of South Africa, who were formally NAFU-SA members. At the time NAFU was regarded as dysfunctional and the formation of the new AFASA had direct support from the Minister of agriculture at the time.

AFASA aims to commercialize the developing agricultural sector and facilitate the meaningful participation of black individuals within the mainstream commercial agribusiness sector, while ensuring the long-term sustainability of the agricultural sector in South Africa. AFASA's offerings include a knowledge centre, an incubation 'programme, a legal desk for people involved with land disputes/ business rescue / employment and labour matters, together with an online procurement platform.

3.11 The challenge of meaningfully evaluating the veracity and impact of support service claims

As will be seen from the above there are a variety of expansive claims made about the support provided to smallholder farmers by actors in the commercial sector and non-government organisations. Researchers (Okunlola, Ngubani et al. 2016) note that the quantification of support services detailed above is largely drawn from publicity material put out by the different actors. Exactly what constitutes support is seldom specified or rigorously evaluated. It is worth noting that very few, if any of these claims have been verified through in-depth independent research and there are no commonly agreed measures to assess the qualitative impacts of the support services provided in different production settings. There is often a significant gap between the narratives of success and the actualities revealed by in-depth research. There is no 'level playing field' where the provision of extension and advisory support services are concerned. The appropriateness of technical advice is context specific and cannot be detached from the social and structural economic factors facing most smallholder producers, who face significant barriers to entry into the modes of commercial production advocated by many of the commodity associations and promoted through their programmes. This highlights the overwhelming importance of processes of independent monitoring, evaluation and learning to rigorously assess the appropriateness and impacts of support and advisory services provided. It is only in this way that it will be possible to more accurately assess the value for money of the different support initiatives, and begin to design the most cost-effective interventions, premised on more accurate assessment of the opportunities and constraints shaping the widely differing production and produce marketing regimes of smallholder producers.

4 Are current extension, institutional development and production support systems effective in supporting smallholder producers and land reform beneficiaries and if not, why not?

4.1 *Extension and advisory services*

Democratic South Africa inherited a dualistic extension service (separate systems for black and white racial groups), and since then has initiated a number of attempts to update the system. These will be discussed more extensively below.

Today, national government sets strategic policy and allocates funding for extension. The implementation and operations of extension are provincial competencies with each province's departments of agriculture (PDAs) responsible for providing extension services to subsistence and commercial farmers. In terms of organisation, extension services have 'increasingly become municipal focused with an emphasis on villages and farms'. (Alcinof Resources Management 2012: 73)

The remit of the extension officers' service is broad; they are expected to be involved with:

- advising farmers on production techniques;
- getting them organized as groups;
- organizing markets for farmers;
- helping link small producers with markets;
- encouraging communication between farmers and other stakeholders;
- assisting the formation of commodity groups, cooperatives, farmers associations and study groups;
- assisting farmers in doing market research;
- informing and educate farmers on new technologies;
- assisting in drawing up production plans apart from providing other technical advice.

(Ibid 2012:73).

Extension officers also assist with the implementation of the Provincial Growth and Development Strategies and other government priority 'programmes including CASP, Land Care 'programmes.

In 2016 there were around 3 030 extension officers employed nationwide. However, problems persist which prevent extension services from being as usefully supportive as they might be.

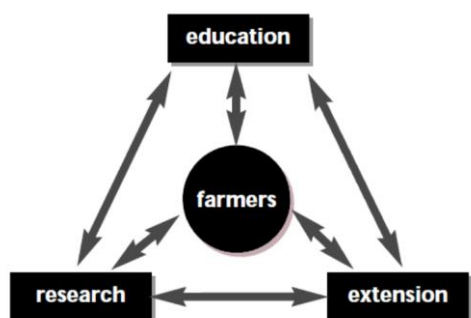
4.2 *Specific problems with government extension*

Extension is the largest element of government expenditure on support for smallholder and small-scale farmers, representing some R4bn per year of government expenditure. However, in spite of attempts to improve the service with norms and standards, a recovery 'programme, and more recently a new policy on extension, farmers' experience on the ground suggests that there has not been sufficient progress in the delivery of extension services. As the failure of extension is central to, and in many ways also symptomatic of, the wider failure of smallholder support schemes, we start our discussion with an analysis of the problems with SA's extension services.

In order to understand and contextualise the effectiveness of extension in South Africa today, it is helpful to understand how the service has evolved, in the context of international concepts of best practice.

During apartheid, two extension systems existed that reflected the dualistic structure of agriculture in the country: there was a 'white' service – well funded, working to expand clients' productivity and profitability; and there was a 'black' service - underfunded, badly managed and driven primarily by

political rather than developmental motives. The democratic government inherited 15 different extension systems with little or no good practice. (Worth 2012: xi-xiv).



also giving back information to each of those.

Meanwhile, internationally, in the late 20th and early 21st century there was a profound shift in views on extension from a top-down approach, to a view of the extension officer as part of the wider rural development agenda, more sensitive to the demands of the farmer and not simply a conveyor of messages from the State; and the extension system as a more pluralistic system, involving other actors in addition to the State. The new view of extension also frequently extolled the vision of a three-way triangle with farmers at the centre receiving input from researchers, education institutions and extension officers, but

also giving back information to each of those.

An important convention by the World Bank, USAID, and the Neuchatel Group drew attention to the following features of extension:

- that it serves a broader function than just providing agricultural advice;
- that a mature extension system is characterised by a pluralistic system including those who fund and those who provide services, but that the public sector must continue to be a major player in both camps;
- that extension policies need to define effective division of labour between public extension and other providers;
- that poverty reduction must be the focus of public funding (regardless of who provides the services);
- that expanding collaborative relationships/partnership networks must underpin efficient pluralistic systems and
- that capacity building is necessary to empower users and grow the pool of service providers (this demands links with the agricultural education system); that extension systems should be part of the decentralisation and devolution agenda. (Christoplos, Farrington et al. 2001)

In SA's nascent democracy a holistic system of extension was envisaged, in which, as the Agricultural White Paper of 1995 suggested, researchers, extension workers and farmers are partners seeking solutions to problems facing farmers (Phuhlisani Solutions 2008). Not much was initially done to fulfil this vision, but following a Dutch government-sponsored review of extension (Duvel 2001, Duvel 2003), the then Department of Agriculture (DOA) drafted the Norms and Standards for Extension and Advisory Services in Agriculture. (Department of Agriculture 2005).

The Norms and Standards stated that, 'there is no single extension model or approach suited to all situations in South Africa... (DOA 2005: 5). It noted that depending on the prevailing conditions, technology transfer, participatory approaches, the advisory approach and project approaches were all valid strategies for extension, but the choice and combination must be dictated by the prevailing conditions.

In spite of the Norms and Standards, an *indaba* convened by the DOA in 2008 found the state of extension and advisory services to be near collapse (Zwane and Duvel 2008). There followed the Extension Recovery Programme (Mankazana 2008) which aimed to:

- Ensure visibility and accountability of extension;

- Promote professionalism and improve the image of extension;
- Recruit extension personnel;
- Reskill and re-orientate extension workers;
- Provide ICT infrastructure and other resources.

The ERP sought to address the shortcomings of extension in South Africa. DAFF itself identified some major shortcomings which persisted as it began to draft new policy on extension in 2013.

4.2.1 *Continued adherence to outmoded models of extension*

The problem statement which prefaced the new draft policy on extension and advisory services recorded that|:

- Extension and advisory services are fragmented and remain largely rooted in outmoded systems premised on transfer of technology and provision of technical advice premised on a ‘commercialised’ farm model that does not readily match the country’s social agenda and which is not always appropriate to the livelihood strategies of smallholder producers.
- The scope of services provided is narrow and does not locate agricultural, forestry and fisheries production activities within broader livelihood, production and ecological systems to actively promote and enhance sustainable agro-ecological production systems and resource use and anticipate the impacts of climate change. The basket of services is inadequate. Extension and advisory services remain production focused and do not effectively address key issues such as natural resource management, access to markets, finance and the provision of small business support services to promote marginal actors within the agriculture, forestry and fisheries value chains.
- Extension and advisory services privilege expert knowledge and do not draw effectively on local knowledge of women and men reliant on natural resources and involved in production and have yet to effectively harness the potential of peer to peer extension and resource husbandry methods (DAFF 2013: 11)

4.2.2 *Poor Linkage between Research, Extension and Producers*

The triangular relationship similar to that outlined above has not been established in South Africa. Research, extension and producers are at best disintegrated (DAFF, 2018, p.2).

Moreover, there has not been sufficient two-way interaction between extension officers and farmers. A review of the implementation of the Extension Recovery Plan (ERP), identified the need to encourage farmer participation in extension (MXA 2016)

4.2.3 *Low Extension: Producer Ratio*

Although the ERP boosted the number of extension practitioners in the state sector, there is still a lack of capacity. According to DAFF market-oriented large-scale producers are serviced through a higher extension/producer ratio (DAFF, 2018) than those involved in household food production.

Table 3: Source MXA (2016), Liebenberg (2015) and own calculations

Province	2006/07*	2015/16*	% increase in extension practitioners under ERP*	Suggested number based on different ratios ⁺		% of extension practitioners 2015/16 vs ratio of 1:500 [#]
				1:500 ⁺	1:250	
Eastern Cape	587	623	-6%	1 344	2 688	46%
Free State	70	92	31%	52	103	177%
Gauteng	29	117	303%	19	38	616%
KwaZulu-Natal	360	993	176%	710	1 419	140%
Limpopo	666	750	13%	1 181	2 361	64%
Mpumalanga	183	175	-4%	337	675	52%
Northern Cape	23	57	148%	26	52	219%
North West	137	195	42%	129	257	151%
Western Cape	119	65	-45%	61	123	107%
TOTAL	2 210	3 031	37%			

Source: 2006/07 from Profile Report 19 November 2009;

2015/16 figures from PDA sources used for Limpopo and Eastern Cape because the 2014/15 figures could not be sourced;

2014/15 from PDA sources, but not confirmed for Northern Cape and North West

Source: MXA, (2016); * Liebenberg (2015), #own calculations.

4.2.4 Fragmented extension support

In South Africa there are a number of state, private and civil society institutions that provide extension support to producers at different points within the value chains. While these institutions invest and contribute in small and varied ways to the overall development of producers across the country, their cumulative efforts have not significantly advanced the productivity and growth of smallholder producers in South Africa.

4.2.5 Lack of an overarching national policy and regulatory framework

Although there was an attempt to introduce norms and standards for extension, currently there are no formal guidelines or agreed working standards to assess the impact of extension and advisory services.

4.2.6 Limitations in the extension education system and narrow service focus

Extension and advisory services lack a developmental and systems approach, where practitioners have a holistic view and understand the total value chain and linkages within it.

4.3 Assessing the contemporary effectiveness of extension support

The HLP report notes that:

Two departments, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, are responsible for delivering post-settlement support, establishing a framework for inter-departmental co-operation, developing a database, and monitoring implementation. However, major challenges have arisen relating to poor co-ordination, role confusion, staff and budget shortages and inefficiencies.

(High Level Panel 2017: 215)

A bleak picture also emerges from DAFF’s analysis of extension from 2018 – which echoes the views of many commentators prior to that date. Greenberg visualises the problems facing individual extension workers:

‘...we should try to envisage a single extension officer, sitting in a poorly equipped office (often without a computer or even electricity), with a limited budget to travel out to farms, having to respond to the support requirements of an average of 21 commercial farmers and 857 small-scale/subsistence farmers. How often are these farmers actually going to get the support they need? Are extension officers going to be able to provide appropriate support, given that they must support large-scale commercial farmers, commercial smallholders and subsistence farmers?’ (2010: 22)

Despite the apparent proliferation of institutions and initiatives offering support, in reality, the share of farmers receiving such support is very small; a tiny minority. Aliber et al (undated) used StatsSA General Household surveys of 2014 and 2015 to show the proportion of subsistence and smallholder households that received certain types of government support in a twelve-month period (they averaged the data supplied over two years in order to enlarge the sample size).

Table 4: Who is receiving what kinds of support?

<i>‘Has your household received any of the following kinds of agricultural related assistance from the government during the past 12 months?’</i>	Subsistence households		Smallholder households	
	Number	%	Number	%
Training	41 393	1.8%	11 298	7.0%
Advice from gov’t extension	35 776	1.6%	10 592	6.6%
Grants	2 600	0.1%	0	0.0%
Loans	1 817	0.1%	734	0.4%
Inputs as part of a loan	12 511	0.5%	3 201	2.0%
Inputs for free	115 139	5.0%	12 291	7.7%
Livestock health services (eg dipping)	153 318	6.7%	25 669	16.0%
<i>Among households receiving government support for agriculture:</i>				
...found gov’t assistance ‘very useful’	202 454	8.9%	29 671	18.6%
...also accessed ‘agriculture-related assistance from’ from non-government entity’	34 847	1.5%	2 571	1.6%

Source: Aliber et al (undated)

With regards to government support, the most frequently accessed element of support was livestock health services (for example, dipping). Overall, very few households in categories A4 – C1 in the typology used in this paper received grants or loans. At the same time very few producers received support in the form of training or targeted extension advice.

4.3.1 *Many policies, little progress*

There is no doubt that the SA government recognises the need to support small farmers, as is shown by the plethora of government initiatives voicing the aim and the need. However, such ‘programmes and policies are often unsuccessful in meeting the goals or targets set. A review of the literature reveals many initiatives geared towards supporting small-scale and smallholder farmers. But in reality, often little seems to be done. There is a disparity between statements and action. It is hard to disagree with AFASA’s assertion that ‘the government has consistently been in planning mode and hardly ever gets to execute the plans with meaningful impact’ (African Farmers Association of South Africa 2016: n.p.).

4.3.2 *Underfunding of government schemes*

In spite of the number of support schemes, government support programmes remain chronically underfunded. DAFF in its 2012 Integrated Growth and Development Plan cite Vink and van Rooyen (2009) to highlight the declining levels of state support for agriculture following deregulation, compared to competitor countries:

Although all strategies devised by the department since 1995 state the importance of support for the commercial and smallholder farmers (smallholder and subsistence), currently they receive less support from the state than their counterparts in every industrial country in the world with the exception of New Zealand.

Inadequate land reform post settlement support has also been a factor impacting on the success of the programme. Thami Mdontswa, chief director of the DRDLR put it like this:

Organised agriculture said to us: for every R1 you spend on land, you need R2 to make the land work. But what were we doing? We were giving 25c per rand, so even in terms of financial support we were giving people too little support.’ (Talevi, 2018).

4.3.3 *Prioritising the few over the many*

In recent years government land reform policy has shifted away from supporting a large number of small farmers, to supporting far fewer commercial farmers. Government policy ‘remains deeply wedded to the large-scale commercial farming model’ (Aliber et al. 2013; Cousins and Scoones 2009; Hall 2015; Hebinck et al. 2011)’ cited in Okunlola, et al, 2016: 7). Financial allocations under CASP illustrate this. Hall and Aliber found allocations under CASP were reaching far fewer farmers than needed, with the vast majority receiving nothing:

Instead of 2.7 million ‘average black farming households’ receiving R2,200 worth of benefits per year, our data suggests instead that each year:

- *anywhere between 50 and 200 households are receiving over R500,000 each (largely in the form of CASP support),*
- *about 350,000 are receiving R17,000 (in the form of extension advice and other services), while*
- *2.2 million households are receiving close to R0. (Hall and Aliber 2010: 17)*

4.3.4 *Obstacles to accessing finance*

There are few financial instruments available to farmers who produce a small surplus but who are not yet big enough to be considered commercial farmers. Even the private systems of finance accessible to

bigger more established farmers are not accessible to small-scale farmers. Small-scale producers experience problems with accessing funds because of unclear tenure arrangements: those in communal areas or those on government land reform leases are unable to use land as collateral to raise finance.

'Another big heartache is that there is no funding mechanism for black farmers in this country, and yet we talk about transformation. There's no way to get a black farmer up and running. For the Land Bank he's either too big or too poor – he falls in the middle of a policy vacuum. He can't get subsidised funding, or normal funding; the banks won't take his television set or other household goods as reasonable collateral to buy a dairy farm. Policy makers need to take note of this and do something about it'. (Every, 2014: 84).

4.3.5 *The persistence of the 'graduation' narrative*

There is a persistent bias in government practices that seeks to 'graduate' smallholder and small-scale farmers to being successful commercial farmers.

Okunlola et al (2016, p.34) state:

'South African policy debate on smallholders and market integration is all too often characterized by normative assumptions about what constitutes a desirable market destination. For example, it is frequently assumed that informal or local markets are less desirable than supermarkets. This tends to be accompanied by the notion that the aim of farmer development should be to 'graduate' farmers from supplying local or wholesale markets into higher-end, supposedly more rewarding markets. However, these assumptions are misplaced. Rather than ranking markets as more or less desirable, we argue that it makes more sense to identify different markets and different kinds of market connections as appropriate for different kinds of farmers and different types of products. Differentiation, rather than homogenisation, is the key'.

Okunlola et al (2016) argue for the need for a more nuanced typology of small scale farmers, and a recognition that each of the various types of smallholder farmers have different needs and requirements, to create flexibility in policy and 'programmes which allow for smallholders to increase the intensity of their farming activities when they are ready to do so. In addition, Cousins states that there needs to be large scale, support services to assist subsistence farmers in a variety of contexts.

4.3.6 *The problem of 'silos' in government departments*

Beyond funding and the obsession with commercialisation, however, the major problem that appears to underpin the failure of government support systems is that of 'silos'. Numerous evaluations of government 'programmes noted the need for a more joined up approach across the government departments. The Sustainable Development Consortium identified the problem in 2007:

The slow delivery of land and the inadequacy of post transfer support have been exacerbated by weakly defined intergovernmental relations...This is in part a reflection of a silo driven approach to land reform, where the relevant departments concentrate on defining and improving their internal business processes and 'programmes while ignoring the need to conceptualise land reform as a joint 'programme of government.(Sustainable Development Consortium 2007: 35)

The need for a more integrated approach is true across the departments of agriculture, rural development and water affairs. In the absence of a more joined up approach, there has been

duplication of roles and responsibilities in some cases, and in fighting between departments in others (HSRC 2013: 115). Attempts seem to have been made to address the issue and better integrate land reform, agriculture, agrarian reform and water resources management (WRM), including water allocation reform but these 'have been ad hoc, fragmented and hardly successful...Development services ..have all too often structured from the top down and operated parallel with each other' (van Koppen, Sally et al. 2009: 4)

Policy documents in recent years have attempted to ensure that each department knows its responsibility, including by outlining functions of individual departments. For example, the Strategic Plan for Smallholder Support (DAFF 2013) stated, 'To effectively implement the SPSS interventions envisaged, activities will require high degrees of coordination and synergy' and outlined the roles for each of the departments at each of the levels of government DAFF/PDAs/municipalities.

However, the issue has not really been resolved. It is clear from the latest policy documents and reports that government departments are still working in their silos. The Competition Commission's report on funding support for emerging farmers was vocal on the issue. 'The research also found that there is a lack of coordination amongst the various players and 'programmes in the country' (Mtombeni, Bove et al. 2019: 42-43)

DAFF, in its National Policy on Comprehensive Producer Development Support, unpacked the problem and referred to the number of studies that had noted lack of coordination and collaboration as a problem:

'Lack of coordination and collaboration is one of the greatest challenges facing the provision of support packages to producers in South Africa. Various studies and policy documents, such as DAFF (2008; 2012; 2015), FAO (2009), University of Pretoria Business Enterprises (2015) and DRDLR (no date) identified the need to improve coordination and collaboration among government departments and other stakeholders by creating functional coordination mechanisms. FAO (2009) reiterates based on global experience that support services need to be well coordinated and integrated to achieve maximum benefit. It further states that the 'silo approach,' which is characterised by different, disjointed (and sometimes conflicting) initiatives, is inefficient and sometimes counterproductive'. These sentiments were also echoed by the Integrated Growth and Development Plan (2012) that 'non-alignment between the three spheres of government and between government and state-owned entities as well as non-alignment of 'programmes has had a negative impact on the sector. It resulted in poor implementation of 'programmes due to the absence of integration, coordination and monitoring.' This has often led to the limited resources of Government not being utilised strategically to ensure maximum benefit'. (DAFF 2018: 6)

As discussed below, the Presidential Advisory Panel Report (2019) on land also appears to recognise the issue of silos as a problem and proposes measures to alleviate the issue of silos, saying that rural development in particular, 'requires working transversally across government, both horizontally across departments and line functions, and vertically between national, provincial and local spheres of government'.

4.3.7 Absence of pluralism

An analysis of the literature on smallholder support systems suggests that another major problem is the lack pluralism. Service providers should work together and utilise the best of the private and NGO

sectors to enhance the service offering to small-scale agriculture. As with many other aspects of agricultural policy, the theory is articulated in government documents but seldom is pluralism embraced in practice.

The Norms and Standards for Extension advocated:

'Pluralistic, flexible and coordinated extension: As many service providers as possible should be encouraged to become involved and contribute towards agricultural development. With many service providers, there is a need for proper coordination to prevent negative impact on the welfare of clients and duplication or working at cross-purposes. The extension and advisory services must be sufficiently flexible to respond to the miscellaneous and ever-changing needs occasioned by changing socio-economic environment'(Department of Agriculture 2005: 4).

The draft National Extension Policy was much more explicit about fostering pluralism in South African extension which was embraced as one of the 'Core Principles' of extension.

The policy commits South Africa to a pluralistic integrated approach that optimises and harmonises the extension and advisory roles and contributions of government, the private sector, NPOs and producers. This will ensure combined extension and advisory services capacity through partnerships, collaboration and integration between actors' (ibid: 2)

The roles envisaged for each of the institutions were outlined in considerable detail and it was stated,

'The new approach thus reflects a reduced operational role for the state which, in addition to providing policy direction, appropriately fills certain extension and advisory niches, but leaves other functions which can be better performed by the private sector and NPOs through public-private partnerships and by producers and commodity groups themselves'(ibid: 2).

A key thrust of the new policy was the establishment of forums, to coordinate the various types of service providers while aligning them with the community institutions (e.g. local municipalities or farmer organisations). There are examples of pluralism in practice, and the development of some initiatives by the PDAs to foster links with private sector actors (such as the Western Cape's commodity approach) may see government services harnessing the private / NGO initiatives better, but as yet such initiatives do not appear to have made a profound impact on small scale farmers.

4.3.8 Few small-scale farmers have access to private/ non-government schemes

It is notable that only very few smallholder and small-scale farmers accessed support from a private source. Indeed, Aliber et al show that a mere 1.6% of smallholder households and 1.5% of subsistence households accessed 'agriculture related assistance' from a non-government entity. As Aliber et al state:

'... one should be very careful not to assume that the laudably large number of private sector and civil society interventions translates into a broadly felt impact' (Aliber et al, 2016: 43).

5 What are the key strengths and weaknesses of current support systems in South Africa, from the perspective of smallholder and small-scale black commercial farmers?

The dominant impression is that smallholder and small-scale black commercial farmers' perspectives on support systems are rarely sought and very rarely reported in the literature. Repeated scans of the literature for articles and studies advancing smallholders' opinions yielded very few relevant results.

Indeed, it is true more broadly that we know little about views, aspirations and constraints smallholders and small-scale farmers, many of whom remain invisible to the state and the policy development process. As Khapayi and Celliers (2016: 27-28) note:

According to Statistics South Africa (2011), the country lacks information on smallholder and subsistence agriculture. The current list of farmers being used to conduct surveys is mainly confined to commercial agriculture. Until now agricultural censuses and surveys have largely concentrated on commercial agriculture and have ignored small-scale and subsistence agriculture (Statistics South Africa, 2010; 2011).

It is important to note, as Aliber et al (2016) show, that of subsistence and small-scale farmers receiving government support, only 18.6% of smallholder and 8.9% of subsistence households found it 'very useful'.

5.1 Perspectives on the support of government extension officers

In the implementation evaluation of the ERP conducted in 2016, 146 farmers were asked their opinions of extension. However, these were farmers selected by the provincial departments of agriculture, and as such were farmers known to the department and may have been selected as being likely to give favourable opinions. The results were not presented quantitatively, but it was stated that common criticisms levelled include that:

- Extension practitioners are good at providing organisational advice and linking farmers with government institutions; less so in terms of technical advice.
- Extension practitioners do not fully appreciate farmers' circumstances and needs.
- there is a great need for better two-way communication between farmers and practitioners.
- There is sometimes a mismatch between the skills on offer and the skills required by farmers: for example, an extension practitioner experienced in crop production trying to advise on livestock production.
- Extension practitioners might have qualifications but often lack practical skills.
- Some practitioners show poor time management.
- Access to practitioners is not frequent enough. (MXA, 2016: 62)

An analysis of Eastern Cape farmer's reflections on agricultural support (Aliber 2019), found that respondents focused not on extension systems support or the lack thereof, but on the failure of the state to provide expected material goods. Aliber lists the following comments from farmers who had had some support:

'Government is a liar. They told us they would give us livestock but they didn't. If government could offer me money, I could be able to farm better.'

'We get no support. We asked government to build a shelter for our goats and also help us to secure our lands by fencing. Roads and water are critical constraints'

because we cannot reach the markets with bad roads. We find it difficult to irrigate....'

'There's no support from the government, I use my own money for farming. If government could introduce projects in our village, improvement could be possible and also government could assist us by offering us resources such as seedlings and fertilisers.'

'I don't get any support from the government, I do not have money to buy seedlings or more especially for water, I depend on the rain and lack equipment. So, government must supply me with these critical things.'

'A dam and irrigation system should be built for us. We should also be supported with tractors and equipment.' (Kenyon, 2019: 63)

5.1.1 AFASA perspective on government support 'programmes

The extent to which smallholders feel that they are inadequately supported by government was expressed in a petition by the African Farmers Association of South Africa of 16 October 2016, requesting comprehensive support to enable them to own and manage viable agricultural businesses:

Twenty-two years into democratic South Africa, many Black farmers still operate in the peripherals of the mainstream agricultural industry, with no real opportunities to grow viable businesses. The farmers are thus calling for well-coordinated, systematic and comprehensive support from all relevant government departments and institutions to enable them to own land and agribusinesses that are profitable and sustainable. (African Farmers Association of South Africa 2016: 1)

The petition pointed out that it is not that there has not been any support at all – citing the over R40 billion that has been spent; but said that what is lacking is 'well-orchestrated and comprehensive support at farmer level' that enables farmers to own land.

The petition in particular noted:

- *disappointment with land reform which has left many black farmers illegal squatters on land;*
- *producer support 'programmes which have fostered 'a self-destructive dependency syndrome', rather than helping develop farmer businesses;*
- *although there is an aim to develop a consensus plan for reviving key agricultural industries 'the government has consistently been in planning mode and hardly ever gets to execute the plans with meaningful impact' (e.g. CASP / land reform / extension recovery iterations);*
- *Concern that the plans emerging in 2016 would go the way of the previous strategic plans:*
 - *No visible implementation;*
 - *No known evaluation that informs agricultural sector role-players of what has been achieved, what has failed, and hence what needs to be stepped-up or revised; and then a silent life on the shelves of DAFF and DRDLR and periodic revision until a new plan is hatched. (ibid. et seq)*

The farmers called for a national policy for supporting smallholder farmers, strengthening the collective voice of smallholder farmers at various levels; access to land, water and energy; a comprehensive register of farmers; skills development and access to information; financial support; providing a favourable investment climate as well as regular monitoring and evaluation.

5.2 *Not a single story*

While the dominant narrative about extension highlights its failures and inadequacies the commodity studies commissioned as part of this GTAC study on employment intensive land reform tell very different stories about the quality and availability of extension support which exhibits significant sector specific variations.

5.2.1 *Subtropical fruit*

The study focusing on subtropical fruit in Limpopo (Genis 2019) finds that:

Compared to smallholder farmers in the rest of the country, subtropical fruit and macadamia farmers in the Vhembe district of Limpopo appear to be served well by public extension services with support from the respective industry bodies (Genis 2019: 17)

She notes the important role that the Subtrop industry body plays in providing training to extension officers over the last 10 years and its support for local study groups which bring small producers together to improve their production methods and technologies. The relationship between the industry and the provincial Department of agriculture is set out in a memorandum of understanding (MOU). This includes the provision of training, input into research and extension programmes, the holding of information days and the placement of interns on commercial farms so that they can learn new skills.

However, this approach is not without its challenges as some of the small producers interviewed indicated that “while they appreciated the technical support, they were not receiving the kind of support that would help them to overcome the challenges”. This suggested that the design of the support process did not adequately factor in the particular resource constraints facing many small producers.

Genis cautions that technical and production skills and expertise may not in themselves be sufficient as producers also require an in-depth understanding of record-keeping to assess the costs associated with producing processing and selling subtropical fruit and nuts. She argues that this understanding is a critical requirement. She sees this gap being addressed by the placement of a new generation of graduates from tertiary institutions who need to be placed on commercial farms to pick up applied skills, so as to equip themselves as the farm advisers and extension staff of the future.

Genis proposes that extension services can be funded by allocating a portion of the statutory level on formal market sales, while services can also be bought from technical specialists employed by input supply companies. She recommends that government grants can be paid directly to NGOs which supply support services and training for smallholder farmers.

5.2.2 *Wool*

The study focusing on wool production primarily in the Eastern Cape (Kenyon 2019) reveals much criticism of state extension officers – many of whom ‘are nowhere to be seen’ or who ‘never come’. Members of the Wool Growers Association highlight the lack of support from the Department of Agriculture, indicating that extension officers may not visit livestock farmers for six months at a time. Extension officers interviewed in the study reply that they are unable to deliver services because of ‘lack of funds and transport to visit the rural areas’. The paper reflects on the assumption that extension services for smallholder producers should be provided free as there is some evidence that larger producers are willing to pay for ‘quality and reliable services’. The study emphasises the importance of extension advice being supplied in situ on the ground, rather than in a study group or a classroom/workshop situation.

Part of the deficit in the national extension services has been met by The National Wool Growers Association which trains and supports qualified production advisers who work full-time servicing targeted communities. The NWGA has developed a differentiated extension support programme tailored for three categories of shearing sheds that it has identified. Kenyon argues that such differentiation is an essential part of extension programme design more broadly – focusing on particular needs and circumstances for maximum effect. The NWGA training programme draws on Agriseta funds. However, this is an expensive undertaking which reportedly cost the NWGA some R10 million a year – inclusive of the costs of transport which are high given the poor road infrastructure in most rural areas. Critical to the relative success of the NWGA programme is the involvement of private companies and tertiary institutions.

The study notes that:

The decline in the quality and quantity of the state provision of agricultural extension services is an international pattern. In part the service has been replaced by commodity organisations and the private sector. Inevitably this leads to neglect those most in need of support, some of whom may have significant potential to grow their production and income with the right and timely assistance. (Kenyon 2019: 56).

5.2.3 Sugar

The study focusing on sugar (Dubb 2019) provides a different perspective on extension in a context of small-scale growers whose sugarcane is sold on contract to different mills. While different schemes place differing emphasis on the provision of extension support it appears that the effectiveness of this support remains questionable depending on the profile of the scheme. In the Umfolozi supply area a detailed study revealed that only 21% of small-scale growers could name the last time they had contact with an extension officer from any organisation – public or private. This suggests that the coverage of extension and advisory services remains thin in this industry. The situation is likely to be exacerbated given that the sugar industry is reported to be facing a substantial economic downturn.

6 What new directions for land reform beneficiary support have been proposed over the past two years by the High Level Panel of Parliament and the Presidential Advisory Panel on Land Reform, and how useful and relevant are these for smallholder and small-scale black commercial farmers?

6.1 *The High Level Panel*

The Report of the High Level Panel on the Assessment of Key Legislation and the Acceleration of Fundamental Change (High Level Panel 2017) noted the shift in government land reform policy from being pro-poor to being more supportive of notions of commercial farming. The report noted that the goal of ownership of 30% of agricultural land in the white commercial farming areas being transferred to poor black people has been lost. It states that the latest government programme, (PLAS), has seen the re-emergence of older ideas about farming, which encompass notions of minimum farm sizes, income targeting, full-time farming:

These ideas should be interrogated, because their effect is to justify prioritising a narrow sector of black commercial farmers instead of creating a more inclusive redistribution process. (High Level Panel 2017: 209)

The implication of the HLP's statements is that the land reform 'programme as it has evolved is, in itself, not supportive of small scale and smallholder farmers, but geared towards creating commercial black farmers. The HLP also attributed the persistence of spatial inequality in South Africa in part to an agrarian model of large commercial farms with little support for smallholder agriculture.

Moreover, for those that did receive land reform settlements, the HLP identified considerable problems with the support available. Indeed, post-transfer support 'ranks high as a key challenge'.

The HLP noted that beneficiaries faced

multiple challenges such as poor infrastructure on farms, inadequate access to agricultural inputs, group tensions and lack of support from official agencies (e.g. for agricultural extension, business management, legal advice) (ibid: 214).

However, these needs were often unmet.

Two departments the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, are responsible for delivering post-settlement support, establishing a framework for inter-departmental co-operation, developing a database, and monitoring implementation. However, major challenges have arisen relating to poor co-ordination, role confusion, staff and budget shortages and inefficiencies.

Relevant provincial departments are also key institutions in the implementation of the land reform post settlement support programmes. Given that local governments are closest to the people, these too should be responsible in part for the delivery of post-settlement support through the statutory requirement that they implement Integrated Development Plans (Masoka, 2014). It appears that this is rarely the case (ibid: 215).

The report noted the numerous initiatives mounted for agricultural support (including, CASP, MAFISA and RECAP), but that 'there has been a clear lack of co-ordination of DAFF and DRDLR in delivery of

these initiatives, and in some there was also a lack of clarity in relation to target groups, resulting in reduced take-up’.

A key gap in the legislative framework for land reform, and especially in relation to land redistribution, is the absence of an overarching framework law that guides and directs the ‘programme as a whole, as well as its various sub-’programmes. No such law exists at present. A key object of a framework law would be to clarify who the key beneficiaries of land reform should be, so that the goal of ensuring equitable access is achieved (ibid: 220).

The report argued for a new framework bill on land reform, that it said provides a coherent and consistent set of guiding principles; definitions of key terms such as ‘equitable access’; clear institutional arrangements (particularly at district level); requirements for transparency, reporting and accountability; and other measures that promote good governance of the land reform process.

It would also allow government to consider both urban and rural land reform as part of a broader land reform programme, designed to address the spatial restructuring objectives of the National Development Plan, and thus address spatial inequality (ibid: 223).

6.2 Presidential Advisory Panel on Land Reform

The Final Report of the Expert Advisory Panel on Land Reform and Agriculture (2019) had more to say about support to land reform beneficiaries than did the HLP, and expanded considerably on the shortcomings of such support. The panel made numerous recommendations, but only those specifically referring to post-settlement support will be covered here.

In the report, the panel outlined the ‘common problem themes’ with land reform; inter alia that ‘land reform in South Africa has yielded little success in establishing a new generation of sustainable household, small scale and commercial black farmers’ (PAP 2019: 11). Reasons cited by the report for the lack of success in establishing this generation included the dearth/absence of security of tenure and a lack of transfer of title deeds, as well as the poor post-settlement support system. The report noted that at the heart of the problem lies the poor state capability, which is characterised by ‘deficient coordination, limited and misaligned allocated resources (both public resources and private resources, particularly the finance sector), and further complicated by corruption’) (ibid: 11). It noted the inefficiencies in the process of acquisition and the systemic challenges faced post-transfer.

In particular, the panel noted:

There is no law that obliges the State to provide post-settlement support in redistribution and restitution projects. There is a lack of nationally-available information on production support provided in redistribution projects. There is evidence that many projects lack farming or production implements or even basic forms of support. (ibid: 13).

The panel identified the land reform budget, and post –settlement investment by key departments as being at the core of failure. It showed that the budget for the DRDLR has only been at maximum of 0.44% of the national expenditure, and in the current financial year is only 0.2% of the national expenditure. It also noted that the main mechanism for production support, Recapitalisation and Development ‘programme (Recap) funding, is often delayed and only received by a small proportion of projects. The fund had issues of inefficient management and poor coordination of the scheme with DAFF.

The panel points to 'weak coordination between the DRDLR and the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF), and the provincial departments of agriculture, as well as misalignment of their mandates and budgets' (ibid: 13).

The report did not mince its words when arguing the need to refocus land reform, and stated that the paucity of post-settlement support had been detrimental:

'The erosion of social capital due to poor policy implementation and post settlement support is reaching dangerous proportions and disadvantaging poor communities. Communities and families are at loggerheads. Community property associations (CPAs) are deemed ineffective as they are viewed to be zones of conflict within, and with traditional authorities, government and the private sector' (ibid: 33).

The panel compared the current deficient system with the 'systematic approach of the colonial and apartheid governments in supporting white farmers... about establishing institutions, formulating enabling legislation, and support 'programmes' (ibid: 85). The panel made wide-ranging proposals which are summarised below. These include

6.2.1 Prioritising smallholders

Smallholders should be prioritised especially those who produce for their own basic livelihood needs and those who produce partly or wholly for markets. The panel lent its support to individual smallholder models – the most successful in the developing world (rather than group farming models which give room for corruption and are universally unsuccessful).

6.2.2 Mobilising commercial farming sector and agribusinesses in support of land reform goals
Agribusiness should provide integrated support services for new entrants, although the report did not clarify the terms on which such services should be rendered, nor how their effectiveness would be assessed and evaluated.

6.2.3 Mobilising private sector support

The panel's suggestions for land reform included mobilising private sector support 'to respond to the urgency of financing the excluded majority across sectors' (ibid:83), including land reform related funding. It stated that this would achieve financing of open market transactions, de-risking and enabling blended finance and crowding in of private sector financing. Land acquisition could be capitalised through a combination of capital donations, development finance at preferential rates and joint venture funding. The panel referred to land summits in which successful joint ventures were presented. The panel recommended a review of empowerment private partnerships.

6.2.4 Land reform fund

The panel proposed the establishment of a land reform to support land acquisition, asset-building, and enable commercial enterprise post-settlement support. In agriculture it would ensure the inclusion of emerging black farmers. It would aim to bridge the gap by de-risking extension of credit to small scale farmers requiring capital to build their enterprises. It was recommended that the fund would also review the Land Bank's performance in supporting small-scale farmers and provide solutions.

6.2.5 Coordinating support services for land

The panel supported the establishment of a Land Reform Masterplan and the facilitated development of a land needs assessment at local municipal scale.

6.2.6 Institutional reforms

The panel highlighted the 'need to address the misalignment in policy, planning, implementation modalities, budgets and monitoring and evaluation between the departments of Rural Development and

Land Reform and Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries’. It also proposed that ‘broader alignment across state institutions is needed’ (ibid: 64). **To this end the Panel** proposed a restructuring of departments, with the rural development mandate – which needs to work transversally across departments and vertically between national, provincial and local spheres of government – being removed from the DRDLR and locating it possibly within the presidency.

The panel proposed the establishment of a Land and Agrarian Reform agency – incorporating all the land reform functions of DRDLR and DAFF. It was proposed that these would include policy and planning, valuations, beneficiary selection, land identification and acquisition, implementation, post-settlement support, monitoring and evaluation.

The table below extracted from the panel’s report highlights proposals for the functional alignment of different institutions with responsibility for land reform.

Figure 7: Advisory Panel recommendations on institutional relations and functions

Institution	Land & Agrarian Reform Agency	Department of Land Affairs	Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights	Land and Agricultural Bank
Functions	Incorporating all land reform functions of DRDLR and DAFF, from policy and planning, valuations, beneficiary selection, land identification and acquisition, implementation, post-settlement support, monitoring and evaluation	Policy Land administration Surveyor General Deeds Registry Geomatics	Biosecurity Veterinary training International trade NAMC ARC Plant protection and improvement	Receive, investigate, validate claims, verify claimants, consult claimants on settlement options, and prepare claims for settlement or adjudication by the court.	Financing and managing a Land Reform Fund, in partnership with LARA.

6.2.7 Overarching land allocation and settlement policy

The panel stated that a Land Allocation and Settlement Policy was needed, because of the inconsistency and incoherent policy and approaches from one minister to another – which impacts on budget allocation amongst other things.

The incoherence is evidenced by the allocation and post-settlement support that moved from small grants for the poor with a means test in 1994, to the recent Recapitalization and Development Programme (Recap Fund), PLAS and Agriparks as farmer support mechanisms (ibid: 85).

It stated that ‘in terms of agriculture the starting point was clarity on agrarian reform’ rather than the current, different approaches and misaligned support programmes (ibid: 86).

6.2.8 Addressing black farmers’ involvement in commercial agriculture

Regarding the inconsistencies and imbalances with the lack of black farmers involved in commercial agriculture the panel proposed:

- a) *Establishment of a public-private food systems committee to cover food production and distributions and the alignment of public and private approaches.*

- b) *Structural change to transform household and commercial food production and deepen diversity in the agro-food systems.*
- c) *Align land reform with food security to focus on the needs of the poor both as historically subordinated producers and consumers.*
- d) *Enhance commodity chain rural-urban linkages for more effective and inclusive food systems, for ending poverty, hunger and all forms of nutrition, as well as improving income opportunities.*
- e) *Special interventions to support household and smallholder farmers (including community enterprises) to improve rural and urban incomes through their employment multipliers and make food that is more nutritious and accessible.*
- f) *Preferential procurement to support access to markets by household/small-scale farmers. (ibid: 85)*

Overall the panel made numerous recommendations to improve support structures for small-scale and smallholder farmers.

6.2.9 Advisory panel critical success factors

The main body of the report concludes with the following ‘*Critical Success Factors*’, identified by the panel as underpinning an effective land reform approach and the provision of extension and advisory support services:

- 1. A shared vision for land reform*
- 2. A capable state*
- 3. Enabling participation, where the government works with communities and the private sector*
- 4. A commitment to implementation*
- 5. Curbing corruption*
- 6. Managing social and economic risks to allay negative impacts and fears*
- 7. Communicating to manage mis-perceptions and build solidarity (ibid: 101).*

7 What are the institutional and capacity requirements of effective extension, institutional development and production support systems, with a particular focus on smallholder and small-scale black commercial farmers?

The reports of the Motlanthe High Level Panel and the recent Presidential Advisory Panel on Agriculture and Land Reform confirm the findings of independent researchers that land reform in South Africa is in deep trouble. There are numerous causes including:

- a period of land reform policy incoherence aggravated by programme management and oversight deficits enabling mounting levels of corruption and capture;
- a lack of a transparent, integrated approach to land redistribution planning and restitution claim settlement,
- the abandonment of initial attempts at area-based land reform planning and the absence of an alternative effective planning framework at local municipal scale;
- inadequate allocation and alignment of budget and support needs required for effective land reform implementation;
- institutional systems failures to collate and share information, monitor progress and learn from experience;
- lack of articulation between the narrow function specific approaches adopted by different government departments, or branches and their frequent disconnection from those seeking access to land, local government, the private sector and civil society;
- the inadequacy of land administration systems to clarify, adjudicate, record, secure and manage land rights once land is leased or transferred;
- the lack of sustainable, appropriate and timely support (water, infrastructure, equipment, inputs, production capital, enterprise management, technical advice and market access) for those seeking to make use of land for economic and livelihood support purposes;
- the inadequacy of training and learning programmes to develop the skills and capabilities required for successful land reform.

Related challenges include:

- High levels of inequality, unemployment, poverty and vulnerability;
- Inequitable access to land, water and economic opportunities.

7.1 The need of for policy clarity

Effective and well targeted extension and advisory support services cannot function in an institutional and policy vacuum. The core problems identified above have to be systematically addressed in order to create an enabling environment for support services to be conceptualised and provided. This requires careful thinking about the choice of the support paradigm to frame state planning and expenditure.

7.2 The choice of extension paradigm or hybrid approach

In the international literature on agricultural extension Swanson and Rajalahti (2010: 2-5) identify four major paradigms.

- Technology transfer is the conventional, typically top-down approach to delivering information, knowledge and skills, with the intention of redressing perceived deficits in these areas among the targets of the extension process. In this standard mode of extension, the knowledge and information – for example about superior crop varieties or enhanced cultivation techniques – are generated at research facilities and delivered – via the all-important research – extension linkages – to the producer.
- Advisory services are more reactive and offer greater scope for user initiative and discretion. Whereas conventional technology transfer traditionally identified the problem on behalf of the farmer, advisory services more often assume that the user will identify the issue on which she or he needs support. The implication is that extension workers, sometimes grouped at resource centres, have a repertoire of information and advice with which they can readily respond to what some extension models have termed ‘client demand’.
- The Farmer Field Schools ((FFS) methodology which focuses on participatory discussion to strengthen farmers’ independent decision-making capacity and employs an innovative learning approach based on experiential learning methods on mutually selected priority topics. The FAO now promotes the combination of farmer field schools which are production centred along with farmer business schools which seek to develop farm management and decision-making capabilities (FAO 2019).
- Facilitation extension places the extension worker in a more subordinate or responsive role as ‘knowledge broker’ or guide through unfamiliar institutional or technical landscapes to identify the advice or information that the user needs. She or he may help build systems of mutual learning among groups of interested people, or help identify sources of expertise from the state this or private sectors.

In addition ‘some extension strategies have begun to emphasise roles beyond agriculture’ concluding that ‘a focus on agricultural development may not be enough to help people out of poverty, and that a more explicit pro-poor strategy should drive the design and delivery of extension programmes’ (Turner and de Satge 2012: 7).

7.3 *Lessons from international experience*

In a review of key international trends shaping approaches to extension services for agriculture forestry and fisheries prepared as part of the process of conceptualising a new policy on agricultural extension and advisory services Turner and de Satge (2012) attempted to set out the extension challenge facing South Africa. The review noted that South Africa is not alone in the challenge it faces, and that many countries grapple with the consequences of fragmented and disconnected extension and advisory services. However, the review highlighted:

Widespread evidence of improved approaches aiming for better integration or demand led, pro-poor, decentralised and adaptive circle services which locates agriculture as part of the broader livelihood strategies of smallholders. Alongside this is an increasing awareness of the limitations of capital, chemical and fossil fuel intensive industrial agricultural production and the recognition of the importance of ecologically sound production systems which anticipate and build resilience to climate change

(Turner and de Satge 2012: 63)

It explored how internationally, contemporary extension systems are increasingly multidimensional and pay attention to a diverse range of issues including:

- livelihoods diversification;
- poverty and inequality reduction;
- improved health and nutrition;
- gender land rights and resource access;
- natural resource management and sustainable production systems in a context of rapid climate change and increasingly water stressed catchments with loss of biodiversity;
- the opportunities and risks of the gene revolution;
- improved market access;
- value chain analysis;
- finance and enterprise management;
- institutional development;
- supporting regulatory and phytosanitary frameworks.

The review noted that the high unit cost of a visit by a state extension officer in South Africa (an average cost of R30,000 per household in 2011) was coupled with the often dubious quality of the outcome (Aliber and Hall 2012). This indicates that there are difficult questions to consider when conceptualising the future focus and priorities of extension and advisory services:

- Should the primary focus of public sector extension be on supporting small-scale producers involved in production for the market?
- Should the service be focused on improving household livelihoods and food security of the poorest and most vulnerable in both rural and urban areas?
- Should extension services be more closely focused on trying to make land reform work so as to ensure a return on state investment in the programme and protect against a possible net loss of jobs and agricultural output as a consequence of poorly supported land reform projects with impacts up and down the value chain?

Turner and de Satgé highlighted key choices which needed to be made - but which remain obscured by the current confused policy prescriptions.

1. Should the state progressively withdraw from direct extension provision to play a facilitation role which creates incentives/obligations for the market and private extension providers to support commercial smallholders together with land reform beneficiaries?
2. Should the state focus on creating an enabling environment to grow local producer organisation and expand NGO and CBO support programmes?
3. Should the public sector extension service be expanded to play a more direct support role in provinces with high concentrations of land reform projects and high levels of rural poverty?

They noted how on balance the international experience suggested that 'public extension personnel were increasingly leaving behind the role of technical advisers to become facilitators and brokers to enable the people they serve to access a wide range of support services from public and private sources' (ibid: 65). Yet they cautioned that these trends were far from uniform. For example:

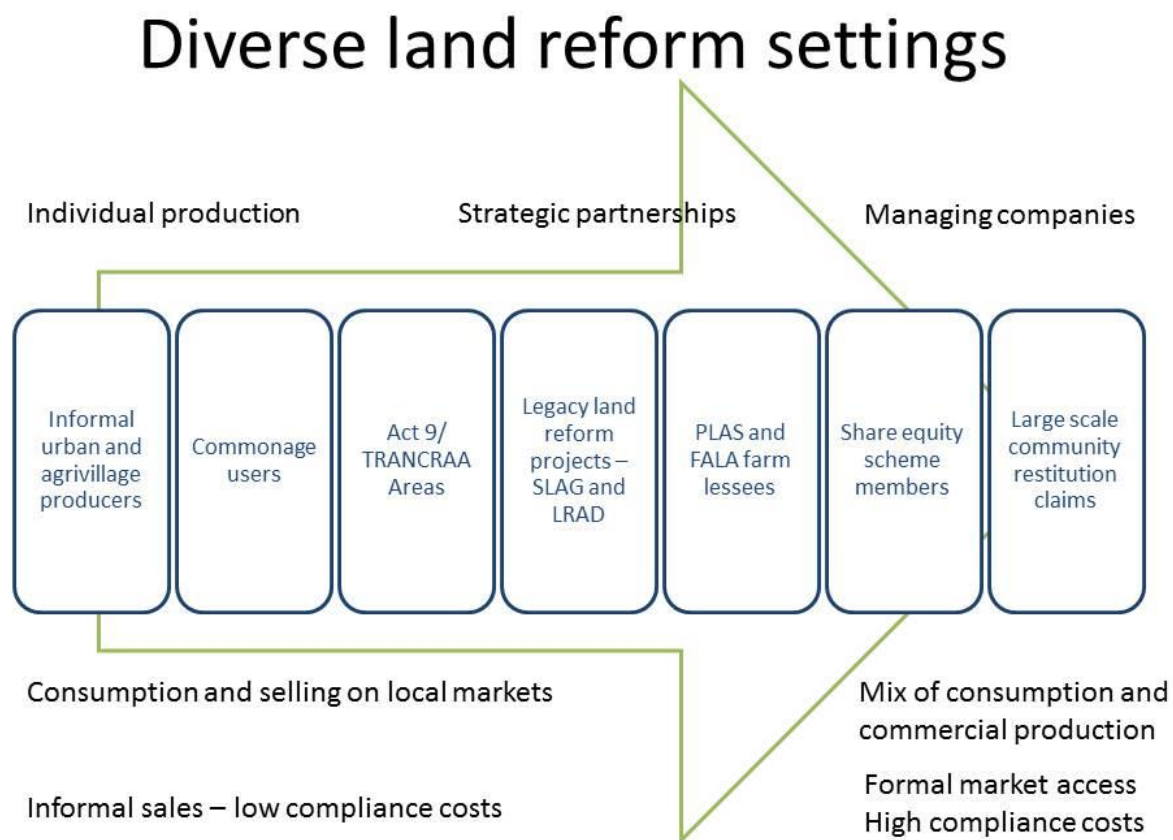
- In Ethiopia the state had invested to dramatically expand public sector extension services. Some 17 million producers are served by around 14,000 farmer training centres and 60,000 development agents nationwide (SAIRLA 2019).
- In Malawi there has long been a focus on decentralisation of the extension function to rural and municipal councils. However, this is reported to have been ‘undermined by a slow, fragmented and incoherent assignment of functions and resources to local authorities and by a tendency to re-centralise power’ (World Bank 2018: 27). Nonetheless, the extension system remains overloaded with each extension agent being expected to service between 1,800 and 2,500 farmers in Malawi, as opposed to 480 in Ethiopia, 620 in China, and 950 in Kenya (Ibid: 35). At the same time in a country highly vulnerable to climate change “public expenditure is focused on dealing with the after-effects of shocks rather than on mitigating them in advance” (ibid: 37)
- In India a decentralised approach to extension provision is also pursued. Public funding is provided for private extension services, NGOs, associations and private foundations. Central government funds are directly dispersed to District Agricultural Technology Management Agencies which have close relations with state funded agricultural universities. Meanwhile, the state retains a public sector extension presence in those poorer and more vulnerable areas deemed to be inadequately serviced by the private sector. Extension and research planning are decentralised to districts which are responsible for preparing local strategic research and extension plans. Extension staff engage with Farmer Advisory Committees which bring together local stakeholders. The policy provides incentives to NGOs to mobilise local farmer interest groups. Districts are subdivided into blocks, enabling the state to outsource the provision of extension services in certain blocks to NGOs. The primary role of the state is to:
 - enforce legislation;
 - provide public extension to the poor and the marginalised;
 - improve communication and information flows between organs of state and other development actors;
 - provide infrastructure;
 - regulate to prevent and control the development of monopolies and cartels in the agricultural sector.

7.4 The linkage between extension approach and land reform policy choices

As can be seen from the above the institutional and capacity requirements of effective extension, institutional development and production support systems depend closely on policy choices about appropriate extension paradigms. Globally, it can be argued that the era of narrow technical and sector specific extension may be drawing to a close. Given South Africa’s unacceptably high levels of poverty, underscored by widening inequality, a decentralised, locality focused livelihoods and local economic development approach could provide the framework to address linked smallholder, land reform and rural development challenges.

Cousins and Scoones (2009: 1-2) argue that “standard approaches to farm management and business plans developed for large-scale commercial farms” as a “way of framing viability (and therefore ‘success’ and ‘failure’) is highly restrictive”.. They express concern that “the dominant technical framings centre not on a broader focus of agrarian restructuring, livelihoods and welfare issues, but on narrow business and target income criteria of viability” (Ibid.: 19)

Figure 8: Targeting support services in different production settings and tenure regimes



This suggests that support systems and evaluation criteria should be more closely indexed to the range of livelihood needs across the diverse land reform settings identified above. The arrow in the Figure 8 above suggests relative levels of institutional complexity ranging from individual production in different settings through to instances where land reform circumstances (frequently those which involve large restitution claims, or BEE linked commercial ventures) have resulted in the establishment of operating companies and the appointment of professional managers.

Irrespective of the setting support systems need to prioritise poverty reduction, food security, more equitable access to livelihood assets utilising sustainable climate smart agriculture with maximum water use efficiencies.

- 8 In designing an employment-intensive programme of land redistribution, what types of support should be offered to different types of beneficiary? What systems of extension management and institutional oversight are required to oversee or support these support options, and how would current support systems need to be reconfigured to align with this objective?

8.1 Critically assessing 'economic viability'

Lessons emerging from land reform programmes across the global south indicate the need to critically interrogate the dominant planning paradigm that privileges "economic viability" and which tends to favour relatively few and comparatively better off producers. While there is still clearly a need to support emerging commercial farmers there is an increasingly urgent imperative to engage with small, informal and largely invisible producers utilising a multiple livelihoods approach in order to broaden access of the poor and marginal women and men to land, water and livelihood opportunities to better address poverty and vulnerability.

Binswanger-Mkhize (2014) argues that "the focus on the creation of viable commercial farms is the root cause for the failure of the land reform programme". He highlights how this approach which serves to concentrate land and diverts support resources into the hands of the few puts land reform in its current form completely out of step with the objectives of the NDP. This is echoed by numerous commentators (Hall, Jacobs et al. 2003, Aliber and Cousins 2013, Lahiff and Li 2014) who have observed that the net results of the land redistribution programme has been to create a small class of black commercial farmers, and ignored the land needs of the majority for small portions of land. This has served to skew the scale of benefits, enabling small numbers of individual beneficiaries to benefit from large grants through various programmes such as the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) and the Recapitalisation programme.

Binswanger Mkhize (2014: 1) notes that to date the land reform programme has not satisfied the NDP criteria of inclusive growth:

The implementation has been poor, in terms of land transferred, agricultural production and the creation of livelihoods. The protection of farm workers' and farm dweller's rights has failed. The failure of the program is primarily attributed to the use of the discredited group or co-operative farm model; the highly inadequate participation of beneficiaries in identifying, planning and implementation of the farms and the investments; the absence, late arrival or poor quality of the post-settlement support, and the capacity problems in the DRDAR, RC, and DAFF associated with the current implementation mechanisms.

Aliber and Cousins (2013) draw on the literature to identify a variety of factors undermining the success of land reform nationally including:

- Inadequate extension and support services;
- Low skills levels of many land reform beneficiaries;
- Inadequate budgets;
- Inadequate capacity for the maintenance of essential production infrastructure;
- Barriers to market entry faced by small scale producers in an environment characterised the dominance of large agribusiness interests;
- Failure to subdivide and make available smallholdings for smallholders;

They concur with Binswanger Mkhize concerning the inadequacies of the large-scale group-based commercial farming model "which had led to unworkable project design and/or projects that are irrelevant to the circumstances of the rural poor". Recent research has revealed serious flaws in the requirements that land reform projects have a strategic partner.

8.2 Critical success factors

From a land reform support perspective this highlights the need to develop a customised and segmented suite of support initiatives adapted to the particular circumstances and needs of people in projects across a range of different production settings.

Binswanger Mkhize (ibid.: 1) argues that:

To succeed South African agrarian land reform requires radical change in implementation. A reformed program should be based primarily on small family farmer models, from provision of housing and gardens for supplementary food production to small commercially oriented family farms. It should be based on intensive participation of beneficiaries or their groups in the identification, planning, implementation and financial management of their projects. Such an approach would allow the staffs of the three organizations to focus on the identification of land to be acquired, the approval of land acquisition and investment plans, and the supervision of financial management and implementation of the projects, thereby relieving their capacity constraints.

There have been numerous attempts to conceptualise the differentiated support needs to make land redistribution (and land reform more broadly) to function effectively. The majority of these are premised on locality-based planning and implementation support services which are closely tied into municipal integrated development plans and priorities. In practice however, the institutional failure of many local and district municipalities to adequately fulfil their functions in terms of the Municipal Systems and Structures Acts has encouraged and enabled the proliferation of disconnected and fragmented development interventions by multiple state actors.

8.3 Rethinking the role of the state

These reveal the dynamic, complex and frequently contradictory workings of the state and the ways in which these are shaped by intergovernmental contestations that frequently undermine the possibility of coherence and synergy. This also enlarges the distance between actors in the state and the lived realities of small-scale and often invisible agricultural producers. As John Berger has observed:

Most official discourses and commentaries are dumb concerning what is being lived and imagined by the vast majority of people in their struggles to survive.

The day to day, messy realities of informal small-scale production are often perceived by actors in the state as a marker of state failure – an aberration that can be fixed from above with an injection of training or support. But within the state there are markedly different understandings of what can and should be done. State strategy is often marked by untested suppositions about the needs of the often-invisible smallholder producers which officials seek to ‘govern and improve’ (Murray Li 2007). As AFASA have highlighted above, policy and state strategy are continually changing in response to the ebb and flow of political forces. All of this mitigates against policy coherence and programmatic continuity.

‘State narratives are extraordinarily fragmented, partly because across the national provincial and local spheres, the state, much like a company, enjoys ‘perpetual succession’. This means that while the institutions of government persist, the profiles of those who make decisions and exercise power within its branches and the alignments between them are in a constant state of flux... Political shifts (also) impact on institutional relations and set in motion chains of contestation, which run counter

the current to the constitutional injunction requiring spheres of government to work cooperatively'. (de Satgé and Watson 2018: 97-98)

Despite the limitations of the above, one way to counter the tendency to invoke inappropriate 'one size fits all' policy and programmatic responses to complex problems is to actively encourage decentralisation to promote locality-based alliances, analysis and solution finding. However, as the international literature confirms decentralisation alone is no panacea. There are often conflicts over roles and disagreement about responsibilities and a lack of appropriate capacity and skills. These can be exacerbated in cases where inadequate budget is devolved to the local level and where governance and accountability structures are weak.

8.4 Towards a decentralised locality planning and support approach

Where decentralised approaches are effective, they combine a mix of front end planning, extension and advisory services at local municipality scale which are backed by district/provincial/National 'back office' support services. (Sustainable Development Consortium 2007).

8.4.1 Front-end services

These are premised on:

- A 'know the farmer' profiling methodology⁷ which:
 - collects and shares data of those already involved in agricultural production in different categories based on an agreed typology;
 - allows for much clearer understanding of the needs and aspirations of the people seeking to acquire land for different purposes;
 - provides a baseline for planning and monitoring.
- A better understanding of the rights and duties of those with existing access to land access to land on/in:
 - communal areas and former coloured reserves;
 - municipal commonage;
 - land already transferred through land redistribution or land restitution which is held by landholding entities;
 - state owned land leased through the PLAS programme.
- Identification and profiling of existing local organisations and associations representing smallholder producers – commodity or area linked;
- Identification and profiling of local commodity, state and nonstate support organisations;
- Mapping of local commodity value chains and assessment of informal and formal market opportunities;
- Development of smallholder risk profiles highlighting vulnerability to climate and water shocks as a basis for the co-design of risk mitigation strategies.

8.4.2 Municipal area services

At the municipal scale the focus is to:

- Identify and solve particular problems in particular contexts;
- Open doors to engage a broad set of actors to ensure multiple perspectives and assure the legitimacy and relevance of priorities, strategies and plans;
- Enable a collaborative and adaptive decision-making environment that encourages

⁷ Southern Africa food lab have developed a set of smallholder profiling tools in a bid to develop a dataset on small-scale producers in South Africa.

experimentation

- Promote ongoing action research and learning, enabling the feedback of lessons into improved solutions;
- Development and promotion of platforms to share data and information and provide a constant stream of accessible free information;
- Build local associations and strengthen linkages amongst and between small-scale and commercial producers.

The primary obstacle to be overcome is agreement on the overall process management at local municipal scale. Currently this is not the function of any one single government institution. There are no existing guidelines which enable joint programmes of government and budget lines which enable the maintenance and promotion of information sharing platforms. This requires investment in the creation of innovation spaces and pilots in which to trial:

- Joint action between public and private actors to produce and implement a practical multiyear plan and budget
- Strategies to align budgets and planned expenditure in space (DRDLR, PDA, Water, Local Municipality and source nonstate investment.
- The combination of quantitative and qualitative measures of land reform planning and support services success
- Functional area level co-ordination
- the collection, curation, updating and sharing essential information
- assessing the viability of using digital trading platforms such as HelloChoice⁸
- Support for a linked programme of action research and learning to provide constant feedback loops and communicate lessons
- Co-learning and knowledge sharing between state and nonstate actors

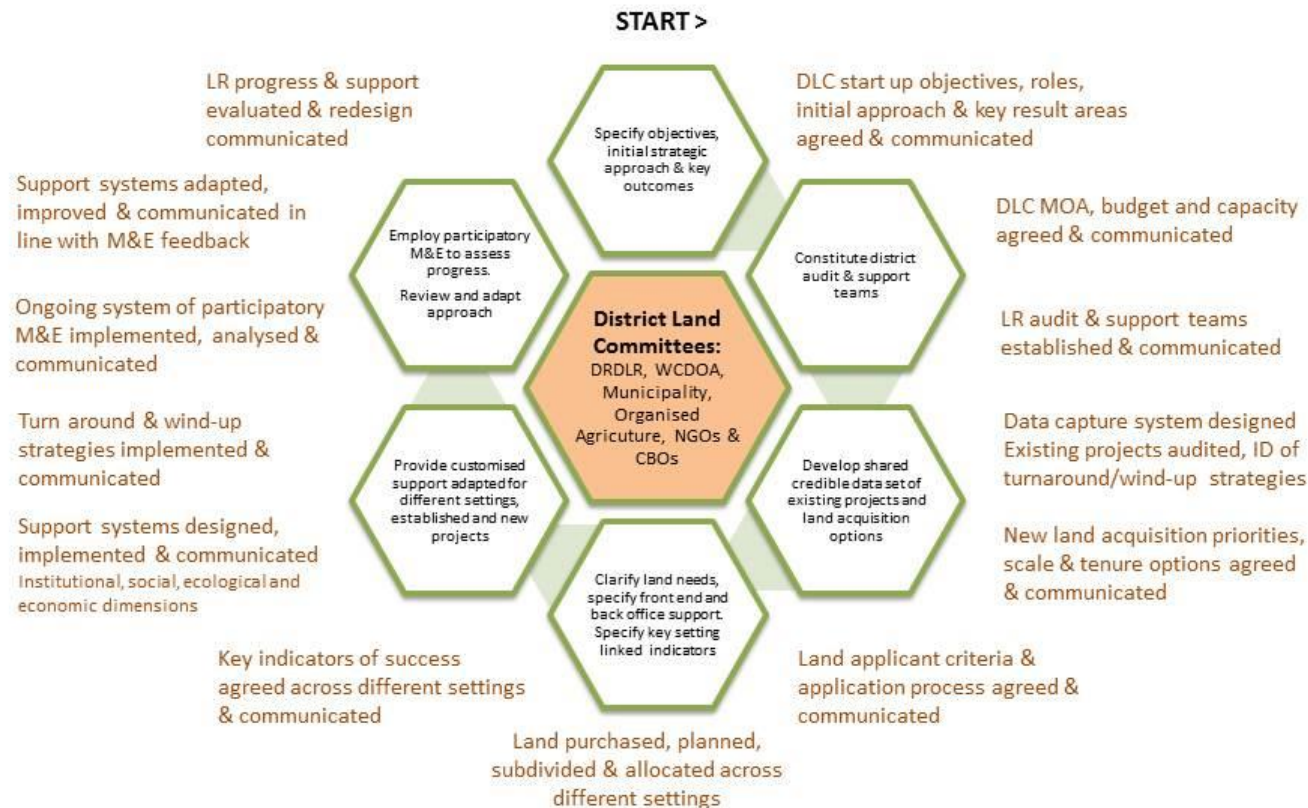
8.5 Towards a local municipal planning and support services approach

In 2015 Phuhlisani set out to try and rethink land reform implementation and support (Phuhlisani Solutions 2015) which would address this fundamental constraint.

⁸ This is currently being piloted by Solidaridad as part of the farmer2 market project

Figure 9: An indicative process for the design of land reform support services

Rethinking District land reform implementation and support



The approach outlined below is premised on well-functioning multi-actor District Land Committees. The formation of the DLC's aims to reinvigorate structured dialogue between government and non-government stakeholders commodity groups, support agencies, financial institutions, organised agriculture together with local producer groupings and civil society organisations to better align and co-ordinate programmes in support of land reform, rural development and smallholder development.

A Memorandum of Agreement specifies the purpose, objectives and functions of the local planning and implementation structure and outlines the overall strategic approach and principal outcomes. Dedicated communications capacity will be required to make the work of the DLC visible throughout its life span. DLC's will require high level political support, capacitated champions and dedicated budgets to enable the participation of non-state actors and the contracting of essential support services where required.

8.5.1 Constitute district audit and support teams

One of the core functions of the DLC will be to conduct an audit of land within each local municipality. This audit will need to include data on existing development initiatives and land reform projects within the different settings described above. Each DLC needs to be supported to undertake a baseline survey/census of smallholder producers involved in informal and formal agricultural production as a basis for planning future support strategies and identification of priority land allocation needs.

The audit will also help identify land suitable for purchase, development and subdivision to meet land reform objectives as specified in the NDP. The audit will result in an inventory of land zoned for agriculture or acquired for land reform in private and public ownership, including commonage land owned by municipalities, and state land held by other government departments such as Forestry and Public Works.

It is proposed that the audit team will metamorphose into a support team which develops contextual understanding, skills and expertise to work effectively within specific land reform settings. These could include for example support teams which deal with:

- food security, livelihoods augmentation and commonage management;
- legacy group projects and specialises in project turnaround/ wind-up strategies of existing struggling land reform projects – SLAG, LRAD and PLAS
- share equity and farmworker agrivillage schemes
- Act 9 areas
- Large community restitution claims
- New smallholdings at different scales

The feasibility of this approach will have to be assessed in relation to existing levels of capacity and the availability of budgetary resources.

8.5.2 Develop a shared credible data set of existing projects and land acquisition options

The various actors in the DLC will need to agree on the best ways to align, update and validate existing datasets. The DLC will need to prepare a data collection, curation, sharing and management plan to enable the most accurate and up to date information on land reform projects and smallholder producers in different categories to be available to key role-players. Data management specialists will need to design such a system and align it with StatsSA protocols to make data available to all support agencies and stakeholders. A plan and budget will need to be in place to allocate responsibility to ensure that data is updated and can be utilised for monitoring and evaluation purposes.

The land audit will enable the specification of priorities for new land acquisition and options for subdivisions at different scales.

8.5.3 Clarify land needs, front end and back office support needs and develop setting-linked indicators

The land audit process will enable a better understanding of land needs in different settings. The DLC will need to consider how land identified for land reform purposes will be purchased, planned, subdivided and allocated. It will need to develop transparent application processes, allocation criteria and tenure arrangements appropriate to different settings and needs.

The actors in the DLC will need to clearly differentiate between the front end and back office support requirements to existing land reform projects and new allocations.

The DLC would need to discuss and agree on key indicators of success across different land reform settings. So, for example indicators would need to be developed for food security and livelihoods augmentation, or for large-scale community restitution claims. These indicators would need to be developed through processes of participatory engagement with land reform beneficiaries in these different settings to ensure the appropriateness of the indicators set.

8.5.4 Provision of customised support adapted for different land reform settings and for both established and new projects

The DLC will need to oversee the development of District Land Reform Support Plans which will be implemented through partnerships between spheres of government, the private sector, NGOs and CBO's where appropriate. There will need to be agreement on essential capacity requirements and how these plans will be costed, budgeted and funded.

These support plans will contain chapters differentiating support interventions in the different settings identified above. The plan will cluster projects and initiatives and specify the nature of the support which can be provided within the limits of available budgetary allocations. Given the constrained nature of state budgets and capacity there is likely to be a significant support deficit. Ways to incrementally address this deficit will need to be addressed creatively through other mechanisms including incentives for the private sector, donor funded programmes and partnerships with NGO actors.

8.5.5 Utilise participatory M&E to assess progress, adapt and review the land reform support programme.

Constituent Voice M&E systems (Keystone Accountability 2012) are a recognised and empirically rigorous and systematic way of listening to and learning from the small holder producers who have access to land through the land reform programme and then using this knowledge in dialogue with constituents to improve service relationships and the effectiveness of support programmes. Performance data is gathered in two ways:

1. Through annual/biannual anonymous surveys are conducted with a representative sample of producers clustered across the different land reform settings. The surveys provide a safe space for farmers to assess:
 - The relevance and quality of services.
 - The quality of their relationship with the extension officers and support teams.
 - The perceived impact of support services on their livelihoods.
2. Through on-going micro-surveys are conducted at key contact points (e.g. a training session). which enable a continuous stream of real-time performance data on the farmer experience of extension activities, relationship quality and impacts on livelihoods for management decision-making.

8.5.6 Evaluate progress and effectiveness of support to enable programme adjustment/redesign

This rethought approach to land reform implementation and provision of effective support rests on the promotion of a learning process approach which is not afraid of experimentation and which learns from failures and successes to continually improve programme design and implementation.

8.6 Provincial and national back office services

The front-end functions described above depend on there being an enabling policy and legislative environment backed by the provision of adequate grants and services to meet constitutional obligations.

Provincial and national back office support services must enable spatial planning with respect to proactive land acquisition and GIS mapping of all land reform projects. This will require the sharing of spatial datasets and the building of local government GIS capacity.

In the Western Cape the Department of Agriculture has developed CapeFarmMapper This is an online mapping tool is designed to assist with spatial information queries and decision making in the fields of agriculture and environmental management.

The application provides functionality to:

- view and query spatial layers from the WCDoA spatial database,
- search the Western Cape Surveyor-General farm and erven cadastre database,
- draw and measure features on the map,
- import and export geographical data
- compose and export digital maps

As noted by the Presidential Advisory Panel, support for land administration and land rights management are missing from the land reform agenda. This is crucial to clarify and adjudicate land rights and ensure security of tenure and provide adequate support for landholding entities who acquire property on behalf of members.

8.7 *Moving from here to there*

Clearly indicative processes outlined above are very far removed from the current processes of dysfunctionality and fragmentation which have come to characterise the planning and implementation of the land reform programme. It will require an enormous amount of work and investment in institutional capacity, training and skills development to progress from what is to what could be.

The key question is what are the essential steps which must be taken to begin the journey to transform the status quo. This paper suggests that we need to conceptualise a 'good enough' process which draws on and adapts selected elements of the 'ideal' construction conceptualised above.

What is required is the willingness by the state and its social partners to enable innovation spaces, to put in place learning process approaches within diverse local municipal context and settings. The Doing Development Differently Principles (DDD Manifesto Community 2014) may provide some guidance here.

- They focus on solving local problems that are debated, defined and refined by local people in an ongoing process.
- They are legitimised at all levels (political, managerial and social), building ownership and momentum throughout the process to be 'locally owned' in reality (not just on paper).
- They work through local conveners who mobilise all those with a stake in progress (in both formal and informal coalitions and teams) to tackle common problems and introduce relevant change.
- They blend design and implementation through rapid cycles of planning, action, reflection and revision (drawing on local knowledge, feedback and energy) to foster learning from both success and failure.
- They aim to manage risks by making 'small bets': pursuing activities with promise and dropping others.
- They seek to foster real results – real solutions to real problems that have real impact: they build trust, empower people and promote sustainability.

Facilitated approaches involving local conveners can result in:

- Joint action between public and private actors to produce a practical multi year plan and budget
- Strategies to align budgets and source investment
- Curation and sharing of essential information
- Support for a linked programme of action research and learning to provide constant feedback loops and communicate lessons

9 Conclusion

The contribution of support services for employment intensive land reform rest on the provision of services that respond to users' expressed needs, ambitions and circumstances. The design of these service must draw on participatory, shared research and learning through combined efforts of extension and advisory personnel, producers and processors.

The core approach proposed in this paper is that those involved in providing extension and advice play facilitation roles, helping individuals, groups and organisations to access a wide range of information, advice and services with the express aim of aiding the farmer to make wise decisions about the resources at their disposal. This includes the promotion of farmer field schools and the encouragement of peer to peer extension methodologies.

At the same time extension and advisory services must promote the wise use of natural resources, environmentally sustainable production methods and, where necessary employ measures to arrest and reverse resource degradation. All extension content should take into account the accelerating impacts of climate change and develop local responses to it.

The design of effective support services to promote employment intensive land reform that contributes to household livelihood security will require the formation and ongoing support for local municipal extension forums. These will be established in consultation with local stakeholders, to bring together all extension and advisory service providers in a coherent geographic grouping (e.g. municipality), together with representatives of agriculture such as producer associations.

The forums will identify local priorities, outline the co-ordination of planning and action with regard to the provision of extension and advisory services in the designated geographic area, and help local interest groups secure advice and support from higher levels. The creation of these forums and the shaping of their consultative agendas must draw on local experience and learning from the ground.

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