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policies in South Africa: betwixt and between integrated
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Land reform, rural development and developmental state policies in South Africa: betwixt and between integrated development

Evert Waeterloos

Abstract:

South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP) describes the country as a low-growth, middle-income trapped economy, characterised by high inequality, high unemployment, low savings and poor skills levels. It aims to eliminate income poverty and reduce inequality by 2030, and pleads for an integrated and inclusive rural economy and a capable and developmental state to coordinate this effort. This article explores the relevance of developmental state characteristics in the promotion of such an integrated and inclusive rural economy. Both aspirations are briefly put in theoretical and comparative perspective. Then follows an analysis of how government actors assess from within the state's capacity to fulfil the mandate of coordinated and integrated land reform and rural development from a developmental state perspective. The intervention logic of a development state approach is supported, but found wanting in critical areas. Further clarification and elaboration of policies, adequate financial and human resources, further coordination, and an improved public image of government are to be prioritized. These findings support the elaboration of the conceptual framework to refine the understanding of the enabling role of developmental state building blocks in integrated and coordinated land reform and rural development in South Africa. More diverse and refined information on stakeholders' perspectives and modalities of joint action can render the explanation of the officially acknowledged gap between policy formulation and implementation from a developmental state perspective more succinct.

1 Introduction

South Africa's first comprehensive National Development Plan (NDP) describes the country as a low-growth, middle-income trapped economy, characterised by high inequality, high unemployment, low savings and poor skills levels. The NDP's ambition is to eliminate income poverty and reduce inequality by 2030, and pleads for an integrated and inclusive rural economy and a capable and developmental state to coordinate this effort (GoSA 2012b). In this article, we explore from within the provincial and local state machinery the relevance of developmental state characteristics in the promotion of such an integrated and inclusive rural economy through coordinated and integrated interventions. First South Africa's recent ambition of integrated and coordinated land reform and rural development is discussed and set off against its ambition to build a developmental state. Both aspirations are briefly put in theoretical and comparative perspective. Then follows an analysis of how local implementing government actors assess the official undertaking to promote an integrated and inclusive rural economy and build a developmental state. By means of a self-assessment by provincial and municipal governmental officials of the state's capacity to fulfil the mandate of coordinated and integrated land reform and rural development, the relevance of a developmental state approach is explored. In conclusion follow three important avenues for further research and conceptual development.

2 South Africa in search of an integrated and inclusive rural economy

Present day South Africa cannot be discussed outside of the country's specific historical path of colonial dispossession and apartheid segregation. Since the Natives Land Act of 1913 and up until the first post-Apartheid elections in 1994, black people were formally excluded from secure access to land. Fourteen million blacks gathered in the former Bantustans and reserves—occupying only 13 per cent of the country's area. The large majority of them engaged in small-scale or subsistence farming. Around 60,000 white farmers occupied 86 million hectares of privately owned land or seventy per cent of the country's total surface area. Most of the country's high potential arable land was in hands of white commercial farmers (Walker, 2005). These commercial farms assured that in macro-economic terms, the country was largely food self-sufficient. This self-sufficiency was however characterized by agricultural surplus and export amidst food shortage, or what Kirsten and van Zyl (1998) describe as 'hunger and malnutrition next to the granary'. Post-Apartheid land reform policies begin with the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which saw land reform as 'the central and driving force of a programme of rural development' and set a specific target of redistributing 30 per cent of agricultural land by 1999 (GoSA, 1994). The 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy (GoSA, 1997) elaborates, in addition to the redistribution pillar, a tenure reform and restitution pillar. Under the restitution pillar, rights in land are meant to be restored to people who can prove that they were dispossessed of such rights after 19 June 1913 due to racist laws or policies. Successful land claims can be settled with the return of (alternative) land, payment of cash or other forms of compensation. Tenure reform on the other hand has two distinct aspects: one deals with improving the security of tenure for those living on other people's land, primarily farm dwellers on commercial farms; another aims at providing legally secure tenure for people living on communal land, primarily in the former Bantustans. A national multi-stakeholder Land Summit was held in July 2005 in response to growing critiques on the slow and fragmented pace of land reform in South Africa. Government acknowledged that land transfer had been slow and that many agricultural settlement projects are of questionable quality and sustainability. These were blamed on deficiencies in policies as well as in the disjuncture between planning and implementation of land acquisition, transfer and support services to beneficiaries. The Summit took a stance in favour of re-affirming the redistribution target of 30% of white-owned agricultural land (by 2014); a well-resourced government land reform targeting disadvantaged beneficiaries; partnerships between government, business, labour and civil society with clear roles, responsibilities and mechanisms of accountability; a comprehensive support

package as well as building the required institutions to provide support from local to national level (GoSA 2005).

With the slow progress of land reform, official statistics have over the years accounted for both redistribution as well as restitution land transactions. Between 1994 and 2016, the redistribution pillar has clocked 4.8 million hectares, while the restitution pillar is responsible for the transfer or compensation of 3.4 million hectares at the end of 2016 (GoSA 2017). This means that only about 10 per cent of 80 million hectares of 'white agricultural land' has been reallocated through the publicly funded land reform programmes, instead of the target of 30 per cent. Ownership of land in South Africa remains therefore highly skewed and concentrated. In 2009, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) was created as lead agency of agrarian transformation, defined as a 'rapid and fundamental change in the systems and patterns of ownership and control of land, livestock, cropping and community', with at its core 'repossession of lost land and restoring the centrality of indigenous culture' (GoSA 2010a). To give effect to this mandate, the DRDLR's Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) of 2009 seeks to facilitate integrated development and social cohesion through participatory approaches in partnership with all sectors of society. It deploys a three-pronged strategy of production and livelihoods support, land reform, and economic and social infrastructure development (GoSA 2009). Complexities and unique challenges of each rural space will be taken into account, and coordination and integration need to be maximised since service provision is the responsibility of various departments and tiers of government. Thus, vibrant and sustainable communities are envisaged who innovate, enhance traditional knowledge with new technologies, use natural resources productively and diversify their own livelihoods (GoSA 2010a and 2010b). In May 2010, the National Planning Commission (NPC) was installed to draft South Africa's first comprehensive national vision and development plan. It found that the country displays features of a low-growth, middle-income trapped economy, characterised by lack of competition, high unemployment, low savings and poor skills levels. Failure to implement policies and absence of broad partnerships are the main reasons for the country's overall slow progress. Building on this diagnostic, the NPC formulated in 2012 the National Development Plan (NDP). The NDP's ambition is to eliminate income poverty and reduce inequality by 2030. The NDP pleads for an integrated and inclusive rural economy, in which communities participate more in the country's economic, social and political life. Land reform, job creation and agricultural production need to contribute to such an economy. The wide range of opportunities in rural areas require support strategies tailored to local conditions and improved coordination between the national, provincial and municipal government spheres (GoSA 2012b). The CRDP-inspired policies and especially the NDP emphasize in addition to a need for such place-based approaches, the need for a 'capable and developmental state'. This is a state which actively intervenes for benefits to accrue across society and builds consensus among various sections of society around long-term national objectives (GoSA 2012b).

3 Coordination and Integration challenges to place-based rural development

Globally, approaches to rural development have shifted over the last fifty years from technological, managerial and centralized to more constructionist, participatory and decentralized ones (Ambrosio-Albalá and Bastiaensen 2010). Since the mid-2000s, rural policies have been influenced by trade and fiscal pressures to reform agricultural policy, an increased focus on natural and cultural amenities, and efforts to improve decentralisation. Additional factors contributing to the search for a new rural paradigm are rapid urbanisation and the high social and political costs associated with uneven regional development (Rodriguez Bilbao 2015). Critical features of the new territorial or place-based approaches to rural development are: differentiated and tailor-made solutions in function of a locality's unique geography, history, institutions, structures and actors; a bottom-up approach; cooperation between multiple (non-)governmental actors on a common negotiated strategic vision, action plan and implementation; strengthening of sectoral interlinkages; a focus on multi-level governance; a widened perspective on functional territories, defined as the places in which people

actually conduct most of their social life, which involve more than a single locality, and which often do not correspond to official administrative areas such as districts. Finally, the strategic and transformative value of place-based policies should be important enough to justify the significant added coordination costs (Proctor, Berdegue and Cliché 2016). One key concern is to provide proper integration and coordination incentives to make rural communities act at the decentralised level in a way that is dynamic and rewards initiative and experimentation, but at the same time promotes consistency in public policy across sectors and regions (OECD 2006). Analysing the muddled use of the concept of integrated rural development planning, Livingstone (1979) points out that the key added value of an integrated area plan lies in combining several activities or components which cannot be carried out independently of each other. Hence, territorial development's specific coordination issues entail a complex governance process of putting bundles of complementary assets and capacities in place (Proctor, Berdegue and Cliché 2016). Coordination is however one of the oldest problems facing the public sector as it expands and becomes more complex (Bouckaert et al. 2010). Managing the relationship between levels of government to adapt public policy to specific contexts and at the same time safeguard coherence among the various subnational challenges and strategies, not only becomes increasingly complex (Charbit 2011). The qualitative capacity of state actors to promote local bottom-up energies in such a manner that existing privileges do not perpetuate, new ones do not dominate, or that the momentum of sourcing diverse local perspectives is kept alive, are equally of concern (Bastiaensen et al. 2015).

In this article, we aim to explore the state's capabilities in South Africa to promote an integrated and inclusive rural economy through more integrated and coordinated land reform and rural development interventions. The South African Constitution of 1996 created a government structure with three distinct, interdependent and interrelated tiers: the national, provincial and local 'spheres'. Some functions of government fall exclusively within a single sphere, while others fall within the responsibility of more than one sphere. The national sphere of government is exclusively responsible for functions that affect the country's security and economic unity such as foreign affairs, defence, home affairs and land administration (GoSA 1996). The national sphere also guides service delivery in other spheres, for example broad education policies such as school curriculum or school admissions age. In addition, national government has the task of monitoring and supporting the implementation of these policies and to deal with issues arising in or between lower spheres. The provincial sphere of government has the primary responsibility for public service delivery. These include for example health services and education, but also for instance agriculture, water and environmental management. The sphere of municipal (metro, district or local) government is responsible for the delivery of basic services, such as water, electricity and sanitation. The way in which local development planning should find expression was set out in the Municipal Systems Act of 2000. The instrument of five-yearly Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) was introduced, which are supposed to consult and integrate various actors and development interventions towards co-ordinated service delivery in a municipality. The support, information sharing, engagement and coordination with provinces and national departments is assumed because of the provisions in the Constitution and legislation such as the Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act (No. 13) of 2005 (SALGA 2007). In the realm of rural development and land reform, this complex intergovernmental relations system has added a fragmentation of responsibilities and priorities, and hindered coordination and accountability. DRDLR is a national line department with a provincial and district-level presence, and other government spheres involved in land reform and rural development are for instance provincial departments of agriculture, environmental and water resources, or economic development, as well as District and the subordinate Local Municipalities (DM and LM). Insufficient clarity about powers and functions of local government has led to municipalities being saddled with unfunded mandates in areas such as roads, water treatment and other infrastructure. And the local ability to deliver these services effectively varies, affecting especially the poorest and historically most marginalised areas (GoSA 2011; Siddle and Koelble 2012). In the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme for instance - the precursor of the CRDP which was specifically dedicated to improved coordination and integration -, municipal, provincial and national authorities failed to align planning and

implementation. Despite a lack of technical capacity at municipal level, the responsible provincial or national sector departments did not share information or participate in municipal planning processes. Together with discrepancies in planning and budgeting cycles between the different government spheres, such non-cooperative disposition jeopardises the efficacy of the intergovernmental set-up for rural development (PSC 2009; Akpan 2011). Siddle and Koelble (2012) plead therefore for a revision of the ambitious intergovernmental framework, a simplified task allocation in function of actual local government capacity, and possibly the recentralisation of certain functions. The CRDP and especially the NDP however express their hope in the build-up of a 'capable and developmental state' to improve government's performance and increase public confidence (GoSA 2012b). An excursion into the debate of what a developmental state represents is required to unpack what this may mean in the context of South Africa's objective of an integrated and inclusive rural economy.

4 Developmental state ambitions in South Africa: building or stumbling blocks?

The notion of a developmental state is disputed as well as evolving. The concept was invoked in 1983 by Johnson (1999) to characterize Japan's conscious governmental policies in explaining the country's extra-ordinary post-war economic growth. Researchers exploring high economic growth patterns in other East Asian countries elaborated it further (Routley 2014). The diversity of countries' trajectories has not aided academic and political debates to agree on exact characteristics or pre-conditions of developmental states. The dissonance is exacerbated by the difference between analytic and prescriptive perspectives on what a developmental state is or ought to be. Routley (2014) eventually discerns in this debate a working set of critical attributes of a developmental state. These are a capable, autonomous bureaucracy; a political leadership oriented towards development; a close relationship between state agencies and key capitalists; and policy interventions which successfully promote growth. From an analytical perspective, Leftwich (2008) emphasises both economic and social development. He portrays developmental states generically as states which 'whether democratic or not, have the capacity to enhance, orchestrate and manage both the promotion of job-creating economic growth and the provision of welfare nets through redistributive practices'. Historically, intense external threats and internal instability gave rise to cooperation amongst elites and a nationalistic ideology; this led to a coherent political will, neutralisation or co-optation of opposition, and a social contract between state, business and labour. All developmental states exhibited success in generating job-creating growth, redistributing resources and opportunities, and providing social services. Given the urgency of their goals, they quickly developed well-trained and highly effective bureaucracies. These had the capacity to devise and implement socio-economic policy and to resist capture by interest groups. Few of these historic conditions still prevail though. Especially external factors such as neo-liberal orthodoxy and the end of cold war dichotomies have precluded the building of new developmental states on the classical model (Bassett 2008; Leftwich 2008; Ashman, Fine and Newman 2010). However, staring at similarities or differences with the original developmental state model, risks blunting the analysis of significant dynamics in a number of African states who try to fit the East Asian examples to their contemporary conditions (Chang 2010; Routley 2014). In South Africa for instance, the call for a developmental state already gained centre stage in the late 2000s (Andreasson 2007; Southall 2009). Most recently the NDP pointed out key characteristics of the envisaged capable and developmental state: sound and stable policies, leadership, skilled human resources, appropriate institutions, policy adherence and accountability (GoSA 2012b).

At present, South Africa appears to be stumbling over rather than building on the three building blocks of a developmental state Leftwich (2008) conceptualised: successful growth-with-equity policies, a skilled public administration, and strong alliances between state agencies and important stakeholders. The country's ambition of economic restructuring and socio-economic inclusion has thus far faced numerous policy digressions, implementation failures, and the continued dominance of export-oriented minerals and energy sectors in detriment of domestic industrialisation and equity promoting investment (Bassett 2008; GoSA 2012b). And while major steps have been taken in reorienting the

inherited Apartheid bureaucracy towards shared development, its capacity is seriously overestimated (Greenstein 2009). The slow abetting of racial segregation and new tensions with African immigrants are furthermore reminders of the precariousness of South Africa's nation building. And after an intermezzo of inclusion or annihilation of civil society activities, a new wave of street protests reverberates around issues such as land, service delivery and corruption (SAIRR 2014). These three stumbling blocks are also very pronounced in the realm of land reform and rural development. First, in terms of successful design and implementation of policies for rural economic growth-with-equity, the NDP deems that agriculture has the potential to create close to one million new jobs by 2030, with an employment multiplier between agriculture and up- and downstream industries of 0.5 for small-scale farmers. It envisages an agricultural sector with a broadened ownership of assets, household food security and a food trade surplus of which one third is produced by small-scale farmers (GoSA 2012b). There is however a dire lack of accurate information on small-scale agriculture in South Africa. Overall, only an estimated 23% of South African households were in 2011 involved in agriculture. This has led in governmental circles to a poorly aligned use of farmer categorisations. The CDRP for instance stratifies beneficiaries into five categories based on land holding and commercial farming disposition (GoSA 2009). The Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries on the other hand distinguishes three categories of farmers based on food production and marketing (GoSA 2010d). The DRDLR Mid-Term Review of 2012 identifies in turn only four core beneficiaries on the basis of land access but especially commercial farming capabilities (GoSA 2012). The 2013 State Land Lease and Disposal Policy distinguishes similarly four other distinct categories (GoSA 2013). By underscoring that the heterogeneity among small-scale farmers requires varied responses and support strategies, government acknowledges that the differentiating criteria and support requirements still need further elaboration (GoSA 2014). The most fundamental policy choice that must still be made after years of discourse on general racial redress is about the shape, size and form of South Africa's future agrarian structure (Aliber and Hall 2010). Second, the developmental capabilities of the public sector in general have been problematised by the National Planning Commission, when it concluded in 2011 that South Africa had been unable to implement its policies effectively because of tensions between political and administrative structures, unstable administrative leadership, skills deficits, erosion of accountability, poor organisational design, inappropriate staffing and low staff morale (GoSA 2011b). DRDLR for instance acknowledges that its ambition of better integration and coordination of various land reform and rural development interventions, requires intense investment in human, technical and managerial capacity; concluding partnership agreements with sector departments and private sector; and establishing effective information, financial management, and monitoring and evaluation systems (GoSA 2012). Thirdly, the deep divisions in South Africa's society, economy and polity in general, and specifically with regards to land reform and rural development policies, are not conducive to firm developmental alliances of the state with capital or some sections of labour. On the political modalities through which land reform and rural development are to be achieved exists little consensus. South Africans put in fact little trust in national government (only 55 per cent of respondents claim to have trust), local government (48.6) or political parties (46)(Wale 2013). While there are some commonalities in the national election programmes of the three most popular parties¹ (ANC 2014; DA 2013; EFF 2014), this does by no means translate into a firm support of government's land reform and rural development policies. The role of the state as an active agent in land appropriation is for instance emphasized by the ruling African National Congress (ANC) and opposition Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), while the Democratic Alliance (DA) remains in favour of private and fully market-based transactions. Both the ANC and DA extend the rural economy from mere agricultural to broader production and service activities; the EFF on the other hand considers land use merely for agricultural purposes, and more specifically small-scale food production and processing.

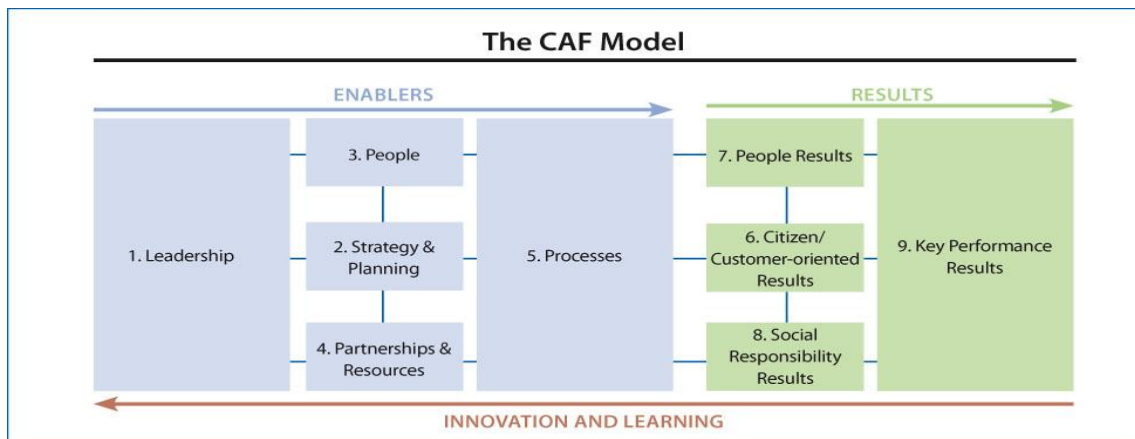
¹ National elections of 2014 resulted in a reduction of the support base for the majority party ANC from 66% in 2009 to 62 % in 2014, a consolidation of the Democratic Alliance as an opposition force on the right (17% in 2009 to 22% in 2014), and the entry on the political stage of the Economic Freedom Fighters party on the left with more than 6 % (IEC 2014; SAIRR 2014).

The NDP recommends that the state needs to regain its public confidence by reducing the gap between discourse and results on the ground (GoSA 2011b). From the above general review of policies, administration and alliances - three building blocks of a developmental state - in rural development and land reform, the state's capabilities to promote an integrated and inclusive rural economy through better coordination are found to require substantial strengthening. But how do local implementing government actors look at the official undertaking to promote an integrated and inclusive rural economy and build a developmental state? How do these frontline agents assess the state's present capability and further strengthening needs 'from within'?

5 A 'view from within' on government's capability of coordinated and integrated rural development and land reform interventions

To garner such a 'view from within', a self-assessment was organised among provincial and municipal governmental officials on the relevance of developmental state characteristics in South Africa to fulfil the mandate of coordinated and integrated land reform and rural development (ICLRD) towards transforming South Africa's rural economy into a more integrated and inclusive one. This self-assessment exercise was inspired by the European Union's Common Assessment Framework (CAF) for public sector organisations. The European Union's Common Assessment Framework (CAF) of 2000 for public sector organisations is a quality management instrument specifically tailored for and developed by the public sector itself (EIPA 2013). It looks at an organisation's performance from different angles and uses self-assessment statements by actors within the organisation. CAF's nine-box structure identifies the main criteria requiring consideration in any organisational analysis (Figure 1). The first five criteria deal with the managerial practices of an organisation, the so-called 'Enablers', and cover leadership, strategy and planning, people (human resources), partnerships and operational resources, and processes. These determine what the organisation does and how it approaches its tasks to achieve the desired results. In criteria six to nine, 'Results' achieved in the fields of citizens or customer orientation, human resources, social responsibility and key performances are measured. Each criterion is further broken down in sub-criteria, amounting to 28 in total. The 28 sub-criteria identify in more detail the issues which need to be considered when assessing an organisation; yet not all of them are relevant for every organisation. Criterion 2 'Strategy and Planning' for instance is subdivided into four: gather information on the present and future needs of stakeholders; develop strategy and planning considering the gathered information; communicate and implement strategy and planning; and plan, implement and review innovation and change. The self-assessment results of the Enablers and Results are iteratively fed back into the organisation to facilitate continuous innovation and learning (EIPA 2013).

Figure 1: The CAF Model



5.1 Survey and analysis methodology

Between December 2013 and December 2014, an explorative exercise of CAF-inspired self-assessments on integrated and coordinated rural development and land reform interventions was held². Countrywide, all Government's then 24 Priority District Municipalities (DM) were retained. In these 24 DMs, 2 Local Municipalities (LM) were then sampled, based on number of CRDP sites and number of poor households profiled by DRDLR. In provinces such as Western Cape where no Priority DMs could be identified, 2 LM in 2 different DM were sampled in the same manner. Provincial DRDLR staff were consulted to finalise the sample, yielding a final sample of 31 DM and 18 LM³. Interviews were planned with provincial DRDLR officials from four relevant Branches⁴ and the overall provincial coordinating office⁵, as well as with municipal managers from the two DM and two LM in every province, to self-assess gaps and opportunities in coordination and integration of land reform and rural development interventions (ICLRD). Out of the identified sample of 81 officials, 69 were eventually (willing to be) interviewed; this represents a response rate of 85 per cent. Questionnaire-based structured interviews inspired by the CAF model explored gaps and opportunities in the coordination and integration of DRDLR interventions at the provincial and municipal level. Respondents specifically assessed the coordination and integration of economic and social production oriented services in the municipal space for which the identified DRDLR Branches are responsible. These pertain to spatial and place-based rural development planning, developing constrained black farmers on land reform farms through financial capital assistance or training and/or mentoring into more competitive ones, rural infrastructural development, community facilitation and support to cooperatives. The questionnaire contained 43 statements on present and future coordination and integration of such interventions and associated challenges. Respondents from the provincial and municipal spheres were asked to express their extent of (dis)agreement by attributing a categorical value⁶ and by formulating their own remarks. The CAF-inspired statements were tailored to accommodate the ultimate objective of the survey, to explore the relevance of developmental state building blocks in the promotion of an integrated and inclusive rural economy through coordinated

² This was part of the activities of a government-to-government development cooperation programme between South Africa and Belgium 'Participatory Settlement and Development Support (PSDS) to Land Reform Beneficiaries and Rural Citizens' (2011-2016)

³ See detailed geographical coverage in annex.

⁴ Branch Recapitalisation and Development (RADP), Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (SPLUM), Rural Infrastructure and Development (RID) and Rural Enterprise and Industry Development (REID).

⁵ Provincial Shared Services Centre (PSSC)

⁶ Categorical values: 30 - Agree fully; 20 - Agree to some extent ; 10 - Do not agree at all; 0 - No response.

and integrated interventions. Not all nine CAF criteria and 28 sub-criteria were retained. The coordinated and integrated delivery of the identified economic and social production-oriented land reform and rural development services in the municipal space in promotion of an integrated and inclusive rural economy, correspond to the 'Results' section in the CAF Model, more specifically 'Key Performance and Citizen/Customer-Oriented Results' (criterion 9 and 6 in the CAF model). The survey searched first for explanations in general CAF Enabling factors of 'Strategies', 'Resources' and 'Processes'. With a dependent variable - coordinated and integrated delivery of specific land reform and rural development services – referring to a process rather than a fixed status, the 'Processes' Enabler was given more attention. A distinction was made between the rules and structures for coordination and integration as well as the actual enactment of these; this yields a distinction between structural and process dimensions (see further). Aspects of Enabler 1 'Leadership' – 'the people in charge of the organisation' - were deemed beyond reach and too sensitive at this exploratory stage when dealing with municipal officials and provincial DRDLR staff directly responsive to national level.

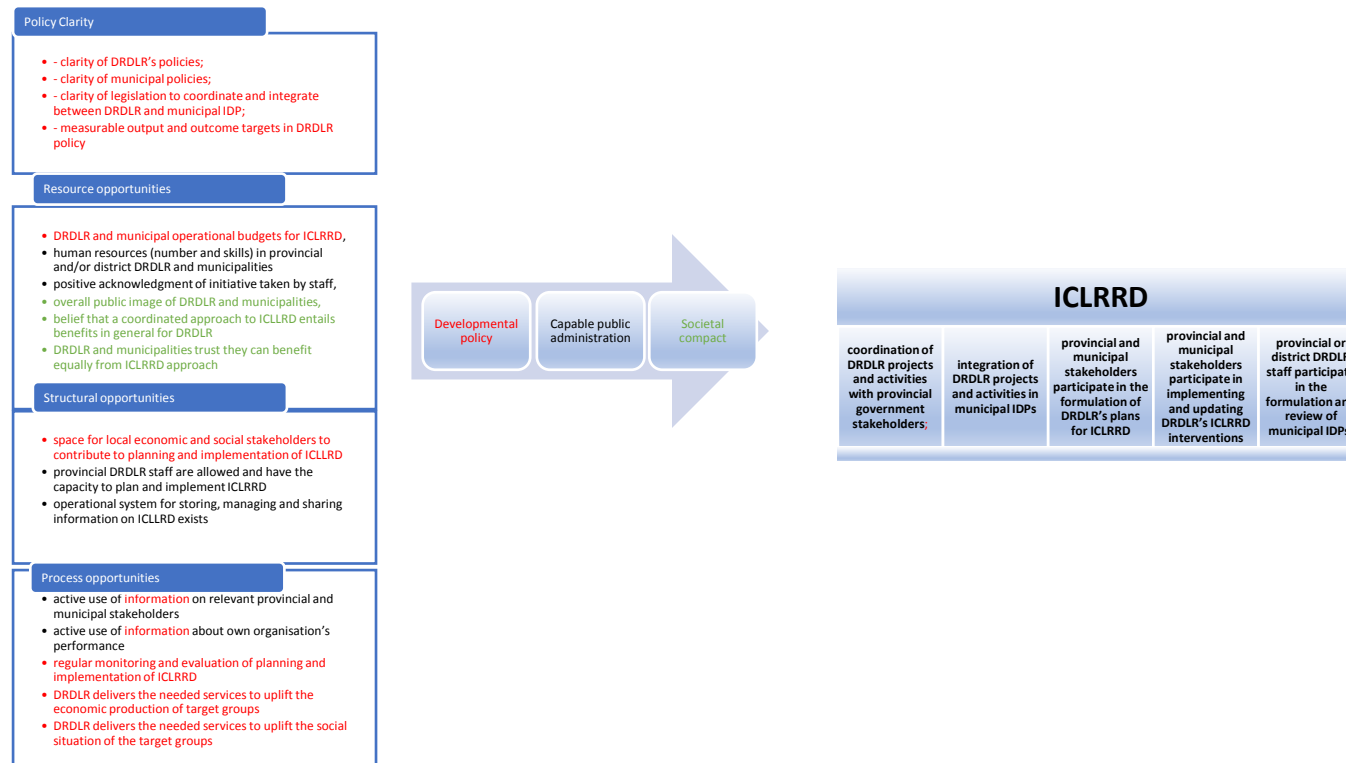
The various statements officials were asked to respond to, are first clustered as CAF Enablers as follows: the perceived clarity of DRDLR's and municipal policies on planning and implementing ICLRRD; clarity of the legislation to coordinate and integrate planning and implementation between the DRDLR and Municipal Integrated Development Plans (IDP); and the measurable output and outcome targets contained in DRDLR policy on ICLRRD, are grouped into the denominator 'Policy clarity'. This reflects relevant aspects of CAF's Enabler 2 'Strategy and Planning'. The combination of assessments on whether the provincial DRDLR staff are allowed and have the capacity to plan and implement ICLRRD, whether space is provided for local economic and social stakeholders to contribute to planning and implementation of ICLRRD, and whether an operational system for storing, managing and sharing information on ICLRRD exists in the municipal space, represent 'Structural opportunities', and align to CAF Enablers 2,4 and 5. The composite variable 'Resource opportunities' incorporates human resources (number and skills) in the provincial and/or district DRDLR offices and municipalities, positive acknowledgment of initiative taking by staff, DRDLR and municipal operational budgets for planning and implementing ICLRRD, the overall public image of the DRDLR and municipalities, the assessment whether a coordinated approach to ICLRRD entails benefits in general, and assessments whether DRDLR and municipalities trust they can benefit equally from an ICLRRD approach. Resource opportunities align to the CAF's model Enablers 3 and 4. 'Process opportunities' are framed as the availability and use of information on relevant provincial and municipal stakeholders in the municipal area, information about the own organisation's performance in ICLRRD, as well as monitoring and evaluation of DRDLR's projects in general and specifically of those to uplift the economic and social situation of target groups. Process opportunities align to CAF's Enablers 4 and 5.

It needs to be re-emphasized that while the self-assessment exercise is inspired by the CAF in terms of areas of attention in a public sector organisation, the primary goal of the analysis here is not to provide a feedback and organisational learning trajectory to DRDLR and/or municipal authorities. The major concern is to explore the perceived relevance of developmental state building blocks in the envisaged promotion of an integrated and inclusive rural economy. The conceptual framework which will be explored further, first tests the self-assessed CAF Enabling criteria in general, and subsequently explores three specific developmental state building blocks as enabling factors in explaining ICLRRD. The resulting explorative conceptual framework including general Clusters and Developmental State Enablers to explain ICLRRD looks is presented in Figure 2.

The dependent variable (in bold in Figure 2) integration and coordination of land reform and rural development interventions (ICLRRD) is operationalised by means of five self-assessments. These five self-assessments pertain to the extent of DRDLR coordination of projects and activities with provincial government stakeholders; the integration in municipal Integrated Development Plans (IDP) of projects and activities of DRDLR branches; the direct participation of provincial and municipal

stakeholders in the formulation of DRDLR's plans for ICLRRD in the municipal area; the direct participation of provincial and municipal stakeholders in implementing and updating DRDLR's interventions in the area; and the direct participation of provincial or district DRDLR staff in the formulation and review of municipal IDPs. Each of the five categorical assessments is viewed as a component of ICLRRD, with a minimum value of zero (representing no knowledge or agreement) and a maximum of 30 (representing a full agreement). Although formally presented to respondents as a categorical choice, the individual assessments may as well imply a more continuous scale of scoring. To build further on this characteristic and to beef up the analytical strength, a new composite ICLRRD assessment score is created. Adding up the various individual categorical components of the same scale of measurement of 0-30, expands the range of values to 0-150. The resulting composite independent variable ICLRRD retains an absolute minimum value, and displays a wider spread of values in line with the spirit of a continuous variable. It thus approaches the characteristics of a ratio variable. By calculating an overall average score for every individual respondent over the five compiled components, the composite value of ICLRRD is estimated and subjected to parametric statistical testing. The minimum average score of 0 represents no existing ICLRRD in the view of the respondent, while the maximum score of 30 represents a strong agreement with the occurrence of ICLRRD. Similarly, the clustered general CAF enablers and specific Developmental State Characteristics were calculated in a similar way. The various individual categorical assessments of the same scale of measurement were added up and average scores were calculated for each composite CAF cluster or developmental state building block. The minimum average score of 0 represents no agreement, while the maximum score of 30 represents a strong agreement with the occurrence of the enabling cluster or block. All data analysis was performed by means of 'Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)' version 2013.

Figure 2: Explorative conceptual framework of general CAF Clusters and Developmental State Enablers to explain ICLRRD



5.2 Assessment of the prevalence of ICLRRD

The survey results indicate that in the view of the respondents, ICLRRD is not yet very prevalent. Only one quarter of them agrees that ICLLRD exists - to some extent or fully -, which is measured by a combined value equal to or higher than 20; this is the value which represents partial agreement in the individual categoric responses (Table 1). Hence, a mean score of merely 17.56 of agreement to the existence of ICLRRD is noted. This low observation of ICLLRD is also corroborated by the fairly high degree of agreement (mean scores of less than 22.5) with identifying the lack of joint decision making and implementation as a main blockage to ICLLRD which act as verification questions.

Table 1: Assessment of ICLRRD and lack of joint decision making or joint implementation as obstacles to ICLRRD

	No joint decision making	No joint implementation	ICLRRD
	<i>Range: 0= no... 30= strong</i>		
N	67	67	67
Mean	22.2388	22.3881	17.5522
Median	25.0000	25.0000	18.0000

Turning to the enabling factors to explain ICLRRD shows that the availability of process as well as structural opportunities receive the highest scores of agreement from the respondents (20.07 and 19.07 respectively). Resources and especially the clarity of policies are deemed far less satisfactory by the various government actors. Average agreement is less than 17 as far as resources are concerned and less than 14.75 for the clarity of integrated rural development and land reform policies. However, even the highest agreement scores need to be nuanced, since they represent only a moderate value of 20, which equals an “agreement to a certain degree” (Table 2).

Table 2: Assessment of enabling clusters in relation to ICLRRD

	Policy Clarity	Structural Opportunities	Resource opportunities	Process opportunities
	<i>Range: 0= no... 30= strong</i>			
N	67	67	67	67
Mean	14.7463	19.0746	16.5991	20.0640
Median	14.0000	20.0000	17.1429	20.0000

These CAF-inspired clusters are all significantly correlated as enablers of the ICLRRD result. Assessed Resource Opportunities (0.588) and Policy Clarity (0.558) are the most strongly correlated to ICLRRD in terms of Pearson correlation coefficients; yet Process Opportunities (0.450) and Structural Opportunities (0.435) are also thought to contribute positively to ICLRRD (see Table 3). This finding supports the use of the general CAF logic of enabling factors as a first step in developing an exploratory conceptual framework with an emphasis on developmental state characteristics to explain the actual and aspired coordination and integration of rural development and land reform interventions as assessed from within.

Table 3: Correlations between ICLRRD and enabling clusters

Significant correlations ICLRRD – CAF clusters					
		Policy Clarity	Structural Opportunities	Resource opportunities	Process opportunities
ICLRRD	Pearson Correlation	.558**	.435**	.588**	.450**
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	67	67	67	67

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

6 Developmental state characteristics viewed from within: aspirations versus observations

The survey results can also be framed to capture respondents' views on actual and expected developmental state attributes (see Table 4). The developmental content of present policies appears for instance not very convincing to the officials interviewed in enabling ICLRRD; this is not surprising given the policies' reported lack of clarity. Effective developmental policy (in red in Figure 2) was operationalised by the perceived clarity of DRDLR's policy on planning and implementing ICLRRD; clarity of Local/District Municipality's policy on planning and implementing ICLRRD; clarity of the legislation to coordinate and integrate planning and implementation between the DRDLR and Municipal IDPs; and the measurable output and outcome targets contained in DRDLR policy on ICLRRD. It also measures whether and to what extent opportunities are foreseen for local economic and social stakeholders (NGOs, farmer organisations...) to contribute to planning and implementation of ICLRRD; the sufficiency of DRDLR as well as municipal operational budget provisions; information feed-back mechanisms about all relevant provincial and municipal stakeholders and their projects as well as the own organisation's performance in ICLRRD; provisions for regular monitoring and evaluation of ICLRRD in the municipal space, and the effectiveness of DRDLR's interventions to uplift the economic and social situation of target groups. Overall, the assessed strength of the developmental policy pillar in the envisaged promotion of an integrated and inclusive rural economy scored an average of less than 16.75 out of a maximum of 30.

Table 4: Assessment of developmental state pillars

	Developmental Policy	Admin Capability	Societal Compact	Developmental State
	<i>Range: 0= no... 30= strong</i>			
N	67	67	67	67
Mean	16.7377	18.2090	21.3246	18.7571
Median	17.1429	19.0000	22.5000	18.9643

The second developmental state pillar identified, a capable and committed public service, is also deemed to be rather weak in South Africa at present for the purpose of ICLRRD, with an average score of only 18.21 out of 30. The public administration's capability (in black in Figure 2) is gauged by questioning whether the Provincial DRDLR staff are allowed and have the capacity to plan and implement ICLRRD, whether there are sufficient human resources (number and skills) in the municipality and in the provincial and/ or district DRDLR offices, and if individuals who take initiative to coordinate between projects and activities of DRDLR's branches, other relevant government stakeholders or municipal IDPs, are positively acknowledged by their colleagues and/or their supervisors. Furthermore, the functioning of an operational system for storing, managing and sharing information on integrated rural development and land reform in the municipal space, and whether information about other stakeholders and the administration's own performance is actively taken into account in ICLRRD activities, are also included. The third pillar of a developmental state, the shared socio-economic vision and action between important stakeholders, is assessed most positively. In this survey, such societal compact (in green in Figure 2) is measured by a combined score on whether the overall image of the DRDLR and municipalities is that of a government actor which is willing to listen to its constituency and is able to deliver the services needed, whether there are many cases in which DRDLR and municipalities can benefit from a coordinated approach to ICLRRD, and whether actors in DRDLR and municipalities trust that they can indeed all benefit equally from such a coordinated approach. The societal compact assessment scores about 21.33 on average and an even higher median of 22.50. Leftwich's (2008) definition of developmental states combines the three pillars: developmental policies, a capable public administration and a societal compact combined. The interviewed governmental actors dealing with ICLRRD in South Africa assess the actual prevalence of such combined developmental state characteristics as rather weak for now, with an average value of only 18.76. This low rating is especially due to the fairly low rating of the developmental policy and of the public administration's capability.

This less than enthusiastic picture of how provincial and municipal government agents view present ICLRRD and developmental state properties in South Africa does not preclude though that the officials do indeed concur with the presumed contribution of a developmental state approach. Significant and high correlations are found between ICLRRD and developmental state assessments (see Table 5). Respondents expect ICLRRD indeed to benefit from a composite developmental state approach (0.61). Moreover, the three pillars - developmental policy, public administration's capability and a societal compact - also contribute individually in a significant manner to ICLRRD, with respective Pearson correlation coefficients of 0.524, 0.613 and 0.476. This points out that the intervention logic of a developmental state to enable future ICLRRD is supported by the respondents.

Table 5: Correlations between ICLRRD and developmental state pillars

Significant correlations ICLRRD-composite and individual development state pillars					
		Developmental Policy	Admin Capability	Societal Compact	Developmental State
ICLRRD	Pearson Correlation	.524**	.613**	.476**	.611**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	67	67	67	67

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In turn, individual significant correlations highlight to what degree specific components of the developmental state pillars contribute to ICLRRD as assessed from within (see Table 6). Developmental policy specifications with a significant relationship to ICLRRD in this survey are: clarity of DRDLR's and municipalities' policies and legislation on planning and implementing ICLRRD, DRDLR policy on planning and implementing ICLRRD contains measurable output and outcome targets, DRDLR's operational budget for implementation of integrated rural development in the municipal space is sufficient, regular use of information about all relevant provincial and municipal stakeholders and their needs and projects in the municipal area; regular information about the organisation's performance in the municipal area, and the DRDLR is able to deliver services to uplift the social situation of the target groups. Of these, the clarity of policies (0.484) and legislation (0.302), and policies containing measurable output targets (0.440), together with the budgetary provisions for implementation in the municipal space (0.361) have the strongest relationship with ICLRRD. Slightly weaker correlations are noticeable for information flows on relevant stakeholders in the municipal area and the own organisation's performance, as well as for the orientation of DRDLR towards services aimed at uplifting the social situation of the target groups.

In terms of the public administration's capabilities, Table 6 shows that the strongest significantly correlating variables are: the provision of sufficient human resources (number and skills) at decentralised level (0.445), the positive acknowledgement of individuals who take initiative to coordinate between projects and activities of DRDLR's branches, other relevant government stakeholders or municipalities (0.416), and the actual use of information about other stakeholders (0.406). Other significant contributors to ICLRRD are Provincial DRDLR staff's capacity; the collaboration of Municipal elected officials as well as Municipal staff with the DRDLR; and the use of information about the own organisation's performance. Finally, the societal compact is significantly contributing to ICLRRD, especially in terms of the overall image of the DRDLR as being able to deliver the required services (0.499), of the DRDLR as a government department which is willing to listen to its target groups (0.388), and the DRDLR's Branches' assessed (0.307) and expected benefits from internal coordination (0.282).

In brief, this assessment from within the government machinery responsible for ICLRRD at the local level, shows that while actual developmental state characteristics score not that high at present, the intervention logic of a developmental state towards future ICLRRD is supported. Such tensions between what is deemed desirable and what is observed, is in line to the persistent disjoint between policy design and implementation pointed out in general in the NDP. This survey reveals however clearly that in the realm of ICLRRD, these tensions can be overcome by investing primordially in the further clarification and elaboration of policies and legislation, provision of adequate financial and human resources, coordination within DRDLR and with other stakeholders, and in improving the public image of DRDLR as a performant government actor. It must be noted however that since this survey took place, DRDLR has initiated more consultation and orientation sessions on the various policies under development. The significance of the results also supports the relevance and a further elaboration of the CAF-inspired model which aims to explore the relevance of developmental state building blocks in the promotion of an integrated and inclusive rural economy through coordinated and integrated interventions.

Table 6: Significant correlations between ICLRRD and individual developmental state components

		Q1	Q3	Q4	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q16	Q18	Q19	Q21
ICLRRD	Pearson Correlation	.484**	.302*	.440**	.329**	.322**	.331**	.445**	.416**	.370**	.361**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.013	.000	.007	.008	.006	.000	.000	.002	.003
	N	67	67	67	67	67	67	67	67	67	67

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Q1 The DRDLR's policy on Planning and implementing ICLRRD is clear

Q3. The legislation to coordinate and integrate planning and implementation for ICLRRD between the DRDLR and Municipal IDPs is clear.

Q4. DRDLR policy on planning and implementing ICLRRD contains measurable output and outcome targets.

Q7 Provincial DRDLR staff are allowed and have the capacity to plan and implement ICLRRD

Q8. Municipal and ward councillors collaborate with the DRDLR in planning and implementing ICLRRD

Q9. Municipal management and technical staff collaborate in planning and implementing ICLRRD

Q16. The human resources (number and skills) in the provincial and/ or district DRDLR offices suffice for ICLRRD planning and implementation

Q18. Individuals who take initiative to coordinate between projects and activities of DRDLR's branches, other relevant government stakeholders or municipal IDPs, are positively acknowledged by their colleagues

Q19. Individuals who take initiative to coordinated between projects and activities of DRDLR's branches, other relevant provincial governmental stakeholders or municipal IDPs are positively acknowledged by their supervisors

Q21. The DRDLR operational budget foreseen for implementation of ICLRRD in the municipal space is sufficient

		Q24	Q25	Q28	Q30	Q31	Q32	Q33	Q39	Q42
ICLRRD	Pearson Correlation	.388**	.449**	.307*	.293*	.406**	.244*	.335**	.263*	.282*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000	.011	.016	.001	.047	.006	.032	.021
	N	67	67	67	67	67	67	67	67	67

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Q24. The overall image of the DRDLR is that of government department which is willing to listen to its target groups

Q25. The overall image of the DRDLR is that of a government which is able to deliver the services needed

Q28. At present, there are many cases in which DRDLR's Branches can benefit from a coordinated approach to ICLRRD

Q30. You are regularly informed about all relevant provincial and municipal stakeholders and their needs and projects in the municipal area

Q31. Your organisation takes this information about stakeholders into account in its ICLRRD strategy and activities

Q32. You are regularly informed about the performance of your organisation in ICLRRD in the municipal area

Q33. Your organisation takes this information about its own performance into account in its ICLRRD strategy and activities

Q39. The DRDLR is able to deliver through its projects the needed services to uplift the social situation of the target groups

Q42. Individual branches in DRDLR trust that they can all benefit equally from a coordinated approach to ICLRRD

7 Conclusion: betwixt and between integrated and coordinated land reform and rural development in South Africa

The relevance of a developmental state approach in South Africa to the promotion of an integrated and inclusive rural economy through coordinated and integrated interventions, has been explored here ‘from within’ the government machinery. While government officials do not see developmental state characteristics – a combination of public administration capacity, societal alliances, and effective policies - prevail yet at present, they do share the intervention logic of a developmental state towards ICLRRD. The developmental state ambition must in their view focus on further clarification and elaboration of policies and legislation, adequate financial and human resources, coordination within DRDLR and with other stakeholders, and an improved public image of government. These first results support the elaboration of the framework to further explore the enabling role which developmental state building blocks are seen to play in the promotion of ICLRRD in South Africa. The light this survey sheds on officials’ views on weak progress and remedial intervention in achieving ICLRRD and a developmental state status, lays out three important avenues for further research. More thorough testing of this developmental state-oriented conceptual framework will first imply establishing whether other sector departments and non-governmental actors operating in the municipal space provide similar or different assessments. Secondly, it will need to refine the coarse information still contained in many of the significant developmental state aspects; for instance which kind of skills are important when listing human resources (Q16) as an important factor, which particular expected benefits (Q28) are most relevant, how does the actual feed-back of information of own performance takes best place (Q33). Lastly, when thus incorporating more diverse and refined information, more emphasis will need to be placed on what the various stakeholders understand exactly under coordination and integration, and which accountability mechanisms are deemed necessary for safeguarding the diverse interests. This conceptual point is also underscored in significant explanatory variables such as clarity of policies and legislation, measurable output and outcome targets, DRDLR’s operational budget, regular use of information about all relevant stakeholders and their needs, regular use of information about the organisation’s performance, collaboration of municipal officials and staff with the DRDLR, the overall image of the DRDLR as able to deliver and willing to listen, and its own progress in internal coordination.

Such information on the various stakeholders’ perspectives and a clarification of the modalities of joint action and resourcing are important future contributions to addressing the challenge raised by the NDP, when it urges South Africa to reduce the gap between policy formulation and implementation to improve performance and public confidence. This may assist in further identifying which developmental state characteristics are considered most critical for ICLRRD in South Africa, and in a more refined understanding of the developmental state concept in general.

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ANNEX: GEOGRAPHICAL COVERAGE SURVEY

Province	DM	LM
Eastern Cape	Alfred Nzo	
	Amathole	
	Chris Hani	Engcobo
	O.R.Tambo	Mhlontlo
	Ukhahlamba	
Free State		
	Xhariep	Letsemeng
	Thabo Mofutsanyane	Maluti a Phofung
Limpopo	Capricorn	
	Greater Sekhukhune	Fetakgomo
	Mopani	Greater Giyani
	Vhembe	
Mpumalanga		
	Ehlanzeni	Nkomazi
	Gert Sibanda	Mkhondo
Northern Cape		
	John Taolo Gaetsewe	Moshaweng
	Pixley ka Seme	Siyancuma
KwaZulu Natal	Amajuba	
	iLembe	
	Sisonke	
	Ugu	
	UMgungundlovu	
	Umkhanyakude	
	Umkhanyathi	Msinga
	Uthukela	
	Uthungulu	
	Zululand	Abaqulusi
North West	Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati	Greater Taung
	Ngaka Modiri Molema	Ratlou
Western Cape	Eden	Bitou
	Central Karoo	Beaufort West
Gauteng	Sedibeng	Lesedi
	West Rand	Mogale City
TOTAL	31	18

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