

LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA: LEARNING FROM EXPERIENCE
SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA, MALAWI, ZIMBABWE

COURSE OVERVIEW



BACKGROUND

In several countries in Southern Africa, land redistribution is a high political and development priority, because successful land reform holds the promise of significantly reducing poverty and increasing broad-based agricultural growth, while history demonstrates that unresolved land issues can easily lead to crisis and conflict. However, despite the fact that there is now a growing consensus on the “why” of land reform, there is controversy on the “how”. On the ground, stakeholders are struggling with the modalities of implementation, while donors continue to be reluctant to invest in land reform because of its politically sensitive nature and the lack of demonstrated impact.

This regional course will bring together various groups of stakeholders and practitioners to discuss land redistribution in Africa, a high political and development priority within the region. Among the issues to be addressed during the course are: land redistribution mechanisms; the relationship between land distribution and growth and poverty; institutions for sustainable development; and the current situations and future scenarios in the land reform process for participating countries as well as a review of international experience from outside of Africa.

Building on previous courses delivered as part of a multi-year initiative on Land Issues in Africa, this course will focus on the dissemination of international experience (Brazil, India and the Philippines), local case studies, and open discussions to focus on participant-led input. The course will be delivered using a combination of e-learning tools, videoconferencing, and face-to-face workshop sessions.

Box 1 - LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA

A closer look at the land situation in African countries reveals certain common issues and trends:

- **South Africa:** At the end of the Apartheid regime, the black majority was confined to 13% of the land, while the white minority controlled the remaining 87%. From 1994 to 2005, about 3% of agricultural land was transferred into black ownership, whereas the national target is to redistribute 30% by 2014. Land redistribution results have been falling short of the objective set since its inception. However, at a National land Summit held in July 2005 the government announced its intent to accelerate the pace, and include expropriation as one of the options. On September 24th, 2005, the government announced the first expropriation of a farm against which a valid restitution claim had lodged, but government and owner were unable to agree on a price after lengthy negotiations and an independent valuation.
- **Namibia:** With independence in 1990, 87% of the land was white owned. Since 1995, the government has proceeded with the redistribution of land mainly on the basis of the “willing-seller, willing-buyer” approach, under which the state has the first purchase option on any land intended for sale in the private market. Expropriation of farms has also been initiated, based mainly on government’s evaluation of poor labor relations on the farm. As in South Africa, the pace is very slow. Namibia has so far been able to hand over land to only 1,538 households against an estimated waiting list of 243,000.
- **Malawi:** Inequality in land holdings is also severe in Malawi. Large estates, which displaced the African peasantry, were promoted both under colonialism and the Banda regime after independence. Today 40% of the smallholders cultivate less than 0.5 hectares, with an average farm size of 0.28 hectares (IFAD, 1999), while at the same time, it is estimated that at least one third of the arable land in the large estates is unused. The World Bank-assisted “Community-Based Rural Land Development Project” initiated in 2004 targets is set up to increase the incomes of about 15,000 poor rural families by implementing a decentralized, community-based and voluntary approach to land reform in 4 pilot districts in southern Malawi.
- **Zimbabwe:** In the early 1980s, Zimbabwe was considered a model in Southern Africa because of the successful transition from a white regime to black leadership. After a promising start in the early 1980s, land reform in Zimbabwe stalled. For two decades, the land market remained distorted due to the restrictions on sub-division, no land tax was implemented, resettled and communal area farmers were not given legal property rights to their land, and budget allocations from government and donors were insignificant given the extent of the problem. Under the “willing buyer, willing seller” approach, the government did have the right of first refusal for any farm brought on the market, but rarely used this prerogative. Protests by disgruntled War Veterans in 1997 led to the first listing of about 1470 farms for expropriation in 1997, and negotiations with donors were pursued in 1998 and 1999. However, by 2000, the expropriation drive had bogged down in the courts, donors were unwilling to fund the government’s program at scale, and a constitutional referendum was defeated in a popular ballot. Subsequently, a radical “fast track” approach was adopted consisting of land invasions and expropriation under new legislation.

TOWARD PARTNERSHIP TO SPEED UP THE LAND REFORM

BOX 2 – SOME QUOTES ABOUT LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Beneficiaries - Landless People Movement, South Africa

"We are not willing to buy back our stolen land! We are not willing buyers!"¹

Beneficiaries - National African Farmers Union

"We do not believe that there is too little land in South Africa to promote a healthy and stable agricultural sector based on socially equitable principles. We do however know that access to, and utilization of land is complicated by a number of factors."²

White farmers - Agri SA

"The question that is being debated is who should pay for land reform. There is broad agreement that land reform is in national interest and therefore the cost of land reform should be borne by all South Africans through Treasury and it should not be required from present landowners to contribute differently or more to this cost than other tax paying citizens."³

White farmers - TAU SA

"TAU SA hereby emphasises that the future success of South Africa's commercial agriculture and sustainable food production in globalised economies, will be determined by international economic and financial standards and regulations, and not by South African standards and a Land Reform Programme."⁴

Government - Frank TSHEEHAMA, permanent secretary of lands, Namibia

"The land reform program has to be seen as a national program, implemented in the public interest. For it to receive the requisite support there should be wide and meaningful consultation with all relevant stakeholders."⁵

Government & Donor - Glen THOMAS, Director-General, Department of Land Affairs, South Africa / Rogier van den BRINK & Hans BINSWANGER, The World Bank

"One can think of worse things than a situation in which the various stakeholders in Government, the private sector, and civil society agree on an overall framework for implementation and compete with each other on the ground to demonstrate the success of "their" model."⁶

Emerging consensus and outstanding issues include:

- **Land redistribution process must be accelerated** - In Namibia and South Africa, while Governments recently announced they will increase the use of expropriation, they also underlined their intention to avoid the "Zimbabwean way". The debate is now moving to the "how" and the manner in which Namibia and South Africa will address the land redistribution issue will evidently have important implications for the role of land reform in development world-wide.
- **Large farms are generally largely perceived as more productive, while small farms are seen to be better for equity** - Given the history of the large farm sector in the region, many consider large farms as superior to small farms. This view creates considerable skepticism about the economic impact of land redistribution. However, internationally, the economic benefits of small farm systems have been abundantly confirmed by research by agricultural economists.
- **The market by itself will not redistribute the land** - Consensus exists that the state must intervene in the market, including through mechanisms such as a land tax, compulsory land acquisition by the state, and subsidies for beneficiaries. The latter has been supported by the World Bank as "market-assisted land reform" in several countries, including Brazil, India, Malawi, the Philippines and South Africa. In this model, communities and NGOs identify beneficiaries and land for subsidized purchases on the land market, coupled with grants for the development of the farms by the beneficiaries. Finally, governments often opt to simply condone or regularize invasions

^{1 2 3 4 5} Land Summit, 28 July – 1 August 2005. Soweto, South Africa.

⁶ Rogier van den BRINK, Glen THOMAS & Hans BINSWANGER, "Agricultural Land Redistribution in South Africa: Towards Accelerated Implementation" – June 30, 2005.

ex post. This has been termed the “community-led land self-provisioning strategy” [Moyo, 2000], defined as the self-appropriation of land by the potential beneficiaries through squatting or occupation, sometimes followed by state programs that come in afterwards to “upgrade informal settlements”.

- “**How do we build this partnership in order to fast track land reform?**”¹ - Ms. Thoko DIDIZA - Minister of Agriculture and Land, South Africa. The actors involved in land reform are mainly governments, beneficiaries, landowners, civil society and donors. The main challenge facing those actors is the definition of a common framework that would ensure more coherency and coordination of their activities in order to be able to accelerate land reform.

COURSE OBJECTIVE

The main objective of this course is to facilitate the exchange of knowledge between practitioners of land reform. At the end of the course, participants will be able to:

- Identify benefits, weaknesses and complementarities of different land redistribution mechanisms;
- Identify the different stakeholders involved in land reform, and their respective visions and roles;
- Have a better understanding of past successes and failures of land reform; and
- Identify concrete suggestions for improving the implementation of land reform in their own countries.

→ Starting from the analysis of present situation in their respective country, they will develop a better understanding of their respective visions and roles; we expect them to produce a strategic document formulating the next steps to follow in the land redistribution process.

→ Activities carried out will be gathered in a land redistribution tool kit that will be disseminated upon conclusion of the course. The tool kit will provide (1) theory and conceptual information (2) African and international case studies, highlighting best practices (3) present trends in land redistribution and (4) future challenges and opportunities.

BOX 3: THE WORLD BANK & LAND REFORMS IN AFRICA

In 1975, in its land reform policy guidelines, the World Bank underlines the desirability of owner-operated family farms on both efficiency and equity grounds. While the World Bank recognizes the priority of land reform in African countries, financing it has been difficult in almost all cases (with a possible exception for the Kenya Million-acre Scheme in the 1960s). Until recently the World Bank would not finance land but only other costs. However, the World Bank policy has changed and India and Malawi are among the first countries in which land itself is also financed.

BOX 4: WBI LEARNING PROGRAM ON LAND IN AFRICA

Land reform plays a fundamental role in meeting the goals of within the African development agenda, including poverty reduction, economic growth, conflict prevention & management and fight against land degradation. However, development partners often find it difficult to finance land reform because of its politically sensitive nature. WBI land activities in Africa are considered of primary importance to help build consensus and support land reform in those countries. Starting in 2003, WBI began delivering a program on land in Africa with the objective of disseminating the results of the World Bank policy research report “Land Policies for Growth & Poverty Reduction” [Klaus DEININGER, 2003]. This WB initiative has been warmly received all over the world² and quickly raised wider land training needs. After three years, and the organization of 10 learning activities³, WBI is now moving beyond the dissemination of the WB Land Policy report and is presently redefining his approach and the objectives of its activities on land related matters. In the future, WBI intend to partner closely with African countries in addressing their specific land issues.

¹ Land Summit, 28 July – 1 August 2005. Soweto, South Africa.

² WBI land courses were delivered in numerous countries from Anglophone and francophone Africa, South East Asia, Central America, and South America.

³ Since 2003, 6 regional courses have been delivered in Africa, reaching an audience of more than 600 participants from South Africa, Ghana, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Uganda, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Benin, Burkina Faso and Mali.

TARGET AUDIENCE

Target countries include: Namibia, Malawi, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. This course is addressed to representatives of the four main categories of actors involved in the Land Redistribution process:

- Government: Senior officials, policy makers and policy analysts of relevant ministries;
- Landowners & beneficiaries: Leaders of community-based organizations (CBOs) and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs);
- Donors: World Bank and other multilateral/bilateral staff involved in land programs / projects.

Optimal audience would be made of at least one representative of each category per country. Considering their profile, researchers, academics or representative of the media could also participate.

COURSE CONTENT

The course program is structured around the following learning modules:

- **Defining the issues and objectives**
Objective: Participants make statement on the current situation in their respective country.
Content: Participants will identify the prevailing environment in the form of the political context; the key stakeholders and interactions between these; the prevailing external environment and its influence.
- **Why does Land Redistribution matter?**
Objective: To present the main theory and concepts underlying the land redistribution debate.
Content: This module will set common basis for further discussion by presenting theory & concepts including: the link between land distribution, growth & poverty reduction; the mechanisms linking assets repartition, institutions and development choices; the presentation and comparison of the different land redistribution mechanisms (expropriation, market-assisted, state-led, beneficiary driven).
- **Land Redistribution in Africa – Progress to date**
Objective: To take in account the specificities of participating countries in the partnership definition.
Content: After reviewing several international experiences, this module will address the specific issues of Land Redistribution in Malawi, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe (ref. Box 1). Being considered as a rare successful land redistribution program in Africa, the Kenyan Million-acre Scheme will also be a presented.
- **From land redistribution to sustainable growth – Lessons learned from South East Asia**
Objective: To reposition the land redistribution issue in the broader perspective of development.
Content: In India, the West-Bengal States saw a remarkable fall in the rural poverty level from 73% in 1973 to 31% in 1999, which coincides with a series of major rural reforms instituted by the government (the Communist Party of India). The West-Bengal experience is relevant in understanding that progress is the result of the convergence of several factors, and land reform is only a component. Another pertinent Indian experience is the ongoing VELUGU program in the State of Andhra Pradesh that aims at consolidating land access to the poor as well as providing support to insure that it becomes a productive asset. Experience from the Philippines will focus on the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law passed in 1988 to rebalance its highly unequal land ownership structure.
- **Land redistribution mechanisms & their complementarity – The Brazilian experience**
Objective: To review the land redistribution mechanisms & identifying their possible association.
Content: Brazilian experience is extremely relevant to review the different land redistribution implementation mechanisms, including their potential as well as limitations. In 1964, the Brazilian Federal Government initiated an ambitious land redistribution program based on the expropriation of unproductive land with compensation. After 30 years of a frozen reform, significant changes have been noticed since 1995. Brazil also owns the experience of the largest land reform program financed by the World Bank, the so-called “*Crédito Fundiário*”. We also expect to use that experience to illustrate some mechanisms of cooperation between those different actors. Many lessons can be learned from the Brazilian experience.
- **Going forward – How can we work together to achieve a common vision?**
Objective: To review solutions identified by the participants for their respective country
Content: This module will be dedicated to the presentation of the participants’ workgroups.

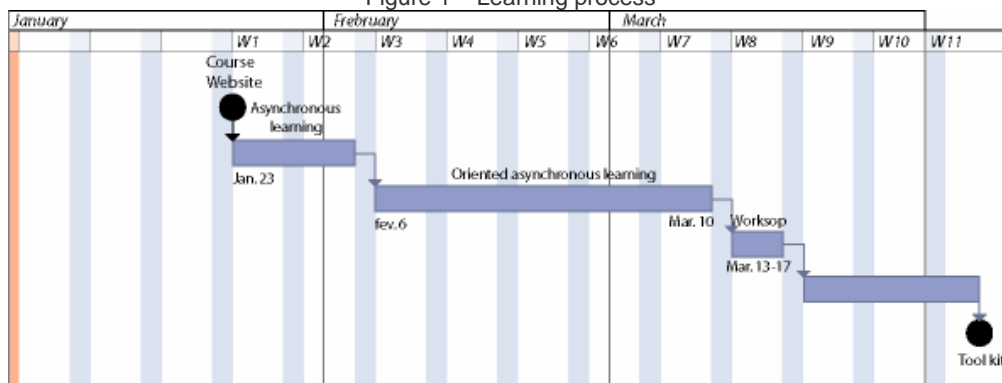
COURSE ORGANIZATION

The course will focus on the presentation of international experience, local case studies, and open discussions to reflect participant-led input. To do so, it will be delivered using a combination videoconferencing and face-to-face sessions. The five-day workshop will be held in Pretoria, South Africa (countries participating include South Africa, Namibia, Malawi and Zimbabwe) from **March 13th to 17th 2006**. To enable participation of experts from outside of Africa, select sessions will connect with other sites such as Washington DC; Brasilia, Brazil; Delhi, India; and Manila, Philippines. Throughout the course duration, participants will reflect on videoconference discussions and outcomes from off-line presentations, to analyze the current situation and together, draft several scenarios to propose ways forward for land reform in their countries.

COURSE IMPLEMENTATION

While WBI will provide the course content for the VC sessions, facilities for the entire workshop and web based learning tools, the preparation of the on-site sessions and the identification of participants will be delegated to the WB counterpart in the Country Office and the local partner organization / facilitator. The extent of work delegated to the local partner will be defined in agreement with the WB CO counterpart.



Figure 1 – Learning process



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	Monday March 13 th Mod. 1: Why does land redistribution matter?	Tuesday March 14 th Mod. 2: Land redistribution mechanisms & their complementarity - Brazil	Wednesday March 15 th Mod. 3: From land redistribution to sustainable growth - Asia	Thursday March 16 th Mod. 4: Land Redistribution in Africa – progress to date	Friday March 17 th Mod. 5: Going forward – How can land redistribution actors work together?
08:30-10:00	Registration Opening ceremony		The Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program - Philippines <i>Idah Z. PSWARAYI-RIDDIHOUGH / WB</i> The VELUGU program, Andhra Pradesh, India <i>Vijay Kumar / VELUGU</i> <i>Parmesh Shah / WB</i>	Local speakers Working groups	Local speakers
10:30-12:00	Defining the issues by participants	Open discussions Working groups	Local speakers Open discussions	"My Land, My Life" <i>Rehad Desai</i> <i>Documentary on the Zimbabwe</i>	Working groups
				Open discussions	
LUNCH					
13:30-15:00	Land distribution, growth & poverty <i>Klaus DEININGER / WB</i> Sustainable growth, distribution of assets & quality of institutions <i>Linda J. LIKAR</i>	The agrarian reform in Brazil <i>Eugênio PEIXOTO</i> The "Crédito fundiário" program <i>Luis COIROLO / WB</i>	West Bengal Land Reform, India <i>Karen MACOURS / Johns Hopkins University</i> Interactive discussions	Land issue in South Africa, progress to date <i>Glen THOMAS / Director-General, Department of Land Affairs, South Africa</i> Zimbabwe: The political economy of land reform <i>Sam MOYO / Director of the Southern African Regional Institute for Policy Studies</i>	Presentation of country group work, key messages from the course and their implications for participants Kenya, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Malawi <i>Participants</i>
15:30-17:00	Land redistribution mechanisms: presentation & comparison <i>Hans BINSWANGER</i>	CONTAG <i>CONTAG representative</i>	Working groups	Kenya : The million-acre scheme <i>Shem MIGOT-ADHOLLA</i> Namibia's land tax: design and experience so far <i>Nashilongo SHIVUTE / Valuer-General, Ministry of Lands, Namibia</i>	Presentation of country group – continuation... South Africa <i>Participants</i> Final comments and closing
					course evaluation Closing
	End of Day 1	End of Day 2	End of Day 3	End of Day 4	End of Course
	 Videoconference	 Documentary projection			

Annex 2: Contact points

Kenya

WBCO counterpart

Identification in process

GLDN contact point

No GDLN in Kenya

Local partner:

Identification in process

Other organizations

Action Aid - Kenya Head Office
 DFID Kenya (Nairobi) - Simon Bland
 FAO Office in Kenya
 Forest Action Network
 Institute of Quantity Surveyors of Kenya
 Kenya Agricultural Research Institute
 Kenya Institute of Planners
 Kenya Land Alliance
 Kenya National Farmers Union
 Kenyatta University - School of Environmental Studies
 Ministry of Agriculture
 Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources
 Ministry of Lands and Settlement
 Ministry of Local Government
 Ministry of Regional Development
 Ministry of Water Resources Management
 Moi University - Faculty of Environmental Studies
 National Council of NGOs
 National Council of Women of Kenya
 Pastoral Development Network for Kenya
 UN-HABITAT - Land and Tenure Section
 UN-HABITAT - Capacity Building Branch
 United Nations Development Programme - Drylands Development Centre
 University of Nairobi - Department of Land Development
 University of Nairobi - Department of Urban and Regional Planning Development Studies
 University of Nairobi - Faculty of Agriculture
 University of Nairobi - The Institute for Development Studies

Malawi

WBCO counterpart

Identification in process

GLDN contact point

No GDLN in Malawi

Local partner:

Identification in process

Other organizations

Ministry of Lands
 DFID Malawi
 FAO Office in Malawi

Namibia

WBCO counterpart

No WBCO in Namibia

GLDN contact point

No GDLN in Namibia

Local partner:

Identification in process

Other organizations

Identification in process

South Africa

WBCO counterpart

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GLDN contact point

No GDLN in South Africa

Local partner: Southern African Regional Poverty Network

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Cell phone: +27 82 401 7350
Email: smbaya@sarpn.org.za

Other organizations

Border Rural Committee
Department for International Development
FAO Office in South Africa
Grassland Society of Southern Africa
Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa
Institut français d'Afrique du Sud
International Environment Institute
Land Bank
Land Tenure Services
LAMOSA
National Department of Agriculture
National Department of Land Affairs
National Land Committee
National Treasury
South African NGO Coalition
Southern African Regional Poverty Network
Southern Cape Land Committee Trust
The Legal Entity Assessment Project
Swiss Development Cooperation
The Legal Entity Assessment Project
University of Natal - KwaZulu-Natal Land Legal Cluste
University of Pretoria - Centre for Land-related, Regional and Development Law and Policy
University of Pretoria - Department of Agricultural Economics, Extension and Rural Development
University of the Western Cape - Program for Land and Agrarian Studies
University of the Wiatersrand - Africa's Leading School of Governance
University of the Wiatersrand - Centre for Applied Legal Studies
University of Venda - Department of agriculture and rural engineering

Zimbabwe

WBCO counterpart

Identification in process

Identification in process

GLDN contact point

No GDLN in Zimbabwe

Local partner:

Identification in process

Other organizations

FAO Subregional Office for Southern and East Africa

MWENGO Reflection and Development Centre for NGOs

Office of the President & Cabinet - Lands, Land Reform & Resettlement Program

PS Min Local Govt

DFID Zimbabwe

ZERO Regional Environment Organization