Review

The lost and forgotten cornerstones: A rural development model

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Postcolonial South Africa has the world’s widest gap between the poor and the rich, and this gap continues unabated as the prices of commodities go unchecked. Chronic poverty is exacerbated by the unavailability of accessible quality education and training, relevant development and self sustaining skills, appropriate less cumbersome government support, and practical government poverty elevation schemes. The apartheid era had no development strategy for the poor third class black citizens who were relegated to survive with the most mediocre of resources. The colonial era left indelible wealth structures defined by race thereby pre-determining black people to perpetual poverty. Whilst it is understood that the effects of white land seizures had a devastating impact on the black population in general, the focus of this paper is on the marginalised rural folk who comprises 51% plus of the national population. These rural poor are exclusively black, and they have not known anything better than poverty from their ancestry. The type of farming practising on these tribal trust lands is of the lowest form of peasantry, with no income generation from the farming activities. To say the least, they live from hand to mouth with subsistence support from either the government or relatives working in towns. The author posits that academic papers and government wish lists do not reduce poverty, but practical and visionary leadership using ‘projectification’ is the pre-requisite to changing the poverty-demographics of South Africa. A model is developed based on their possession of the most valuable development asset basic to the survival of the human race, the land. The land bank wastes millions buying large farms that become defunct in no time, but leave the cheapest yet most sustainable means of production untapped. A deliberate conglomeration of government, land, land bank and NGOs using ‘projectification’ of rural development can turn around the rural economy.

Key words: Poverty, population, ‘projectification’, apartheid and colonia, era rural economy.

INTRODUCTION

It is important that the readers understand that the South African rural development case, and indeed the whole of Southern Africa cannot be separated from politics. The whole idea behind the bitter liberation wars that were fought in the region were fought to recover land. The white settlers took all the arable land from the indigenous people and pushed them into corners with semi-arid land. The larger part of the South African population lives in these semi-arid rural areas, many have been resettled by the government on land bought from the settlers, but 70% of the poorest people in South Africa are rural based (May and Roberts, 2000). Rural development in this context relates to economic activities and initiatives undertaken to provide opportunities of participation of the rural people in the national economy (Hall et al., 2005:165). The first mistake in our context is that rural development is seen more as assisting the disadvantaged peasant to get out of poverty and not as an economic imperative critical for economic stability of a country. The white settlers took the most fertile land and reduced the
black African farmer to a peasant (Delius and Schirmer, 2000) with no economic value and living from hand to mouth. The levels of agricultural-literacy amongst the black population in the country are pathetic with available land used a home to retire to. Consequently, the rural development programs are top-down and heavily tailored for gaining political mileage for ruling elites. It is important to note that the apartheid regime and indeed the current regime has never had a clearly definite rural development policy; hence, there is no existing model on the basis of which the rural folk may develop (Aliber, 2003:473-490).

The local population is not involved in the identification of their requirements as funds used are donor funds earmarked for specific programs (Kepe and Cousins, 2002:1-5) solicitated for by the government or NGOs. This is evidenced by the closure of agriculture colleges in 1994 (Nelson Mandela government) at a time when more colleges were needed to re-introduce agriculture to the masses who had been denied that opportunity by the apartheid structures. According to the constitution of South Africa, it is government responsibility to develop the undeveloped villages for reasons already stated earlier. The Integrated and Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) which was designed to push for rural development with participation of the rural people, has not taken shape twelve years later. The vision then was to “attain socially cohesive and stable rural communities with viable institutions, sustainable economies and universal access to social amenities, able to attract and retain skilled and knowledgeable people, who will be equipped to contribute to growth and development.” Whilst that has been pronounced as the vision of the government, there is no known model on the basis of which the rural development will be based.

South Africa has very high levels of unemployment with estimates ranging from 25 to 47% depending on who is quoting the statistics. It should be noted that the rest of the hopeless people do not even look for jobs, as such they are not considered in the statistics regularly quoted. Such levels of unemployment are breeding ground for revolts that too often turn to physical confrontations. The impact of this poverty is felt directly by the rural folk. The government is characterised by massive under-planning and the total absence of vision to move a deprived people to a state of sustainable and equitable empowerment (Cross et al., 2002:171-187). Firstly, the borrowed Australian model of education (OBE) which never succeeded in the countries from which it was lent. This education system had no relevance to the needs of the black people who were denied skills training for the 300 years of colonial rule. Secondly, at a point when more teachers were required to reduce the high teacher to learner ratios (for every teacher there were 90+ learners in the black schools) mostly in rural areas, the government cut down on education expenditure and retrenched thousands of teachers at a time when thousands needed to be poured into the system. Thirdly, the African people were not allowed to be trained as technicians (fitter and turners, mechanics, carpenters, welders etc.); there was a need for universal education that emphasised technical orientations. The high schools were reduced in number at a time when more were needed. The government should have enforced technical education across the board in all post
primary school education. Fourthly, South Africa is essentially a rural country, and the government knew that they were going to embark on massive land redistribution, which would involve semi-illiterate blacks (relating to agriculture) and the government should have made provisions for this by introducing massive agriculture programs at high school levels and opening of colleges of agriculture through out the provinces.

Fifthly, the ANC government did not and still has not moved towards formation of teachers' training colleges to meet the millennium goals. From these colleges teachers with technical education and skills could have been introduced into the high schools and help revolutionise the impartation of technical skills on the black populace. The ultimate loser of these policies was and still is the rural folk, who from the beginning never had quality education. And to whom no emphasis of the importance of farming was never introduced, let alone implemented (Lahiff, 2001). The rural folk therefore aspire, like everyone else to live in town where life is better and opportunities more promising. The quality of their education is poor, and most cannot make it to the universities, if they do, they do not have the resources to pay for their education. The current minister of education promised free tertiary education, and never went beyond that statement. The absence of skills amongst these youth renders them unemployable in the mainstream economy. The absence of pro-active government programmes to develop the rural population economically leaves the rural folk with only one choice; the urban life. There is a deliberate or lack of vision on the part of the ruling party not to address the needs of the masses of the population. Starting with the Mandela error; nothing was done for economically uplifting the lives of the peasants.

The introduction of Asgisa was an acknowledgement of the importance of the skills for development program (McGrath and Akoojee, 2007:421-434) intended for the country in general but with a specific impact on the chronically impoverished rural population. Rural life has not changed except for electrification and provision of water in parts of the country. The economic needs of the rural population can be addressed using resources at their disposal; the land, and themselves. Sad to say there has been no emphasis on agriculture education, thereby leaving agriculture as an unimportant profession amongst the rural folk themselves. In the absence of a rural development model, South Africa needs agrarian policies that will suit the peasants at their level and allow them to develop the upward ladder as they feed their produce into the national economic grid. The status quo is directly a failure of the current government, ‘non-governmental organisations’ and ‘finance houses’ to come up with formulae and sustainable programmes to effectively change the circumstances the rural folk find themselves in. This model may only be understood with a bit of historical background of South Africa and the current condition of things, as this will inform the reasons for such a model.

**RURAL DEVELOPMENT MODEL**

Consequently, the highest unemployment levels are experienced amongst the black population more than any other racial group. This is primarily because of the apartheid structure which denied blacks access to skills and proper education, and that has not changed with the new government. Most blacks are unemployable and cannot start enterprises because they do not have skills, management skills and let alone the capital to get started. Table 1 illustrates the demographics of the country. The black population is easily 9 times that of both the coloured (Asians and mixed race people) and white populations as given by the statistics. Approximately, 65% of these blacks are rural and impoverished, dependent very heavily on meagre pittances from their under paid family members in urban settings. The disheartening disparities are seen in the statistics by occupation, the Table 2 illustrates the report from the commission for Employment Equity Report in relation to the racial employment profile; this is illustrated in Table 2. Research has clearly indicated that there are certain imperatives that make people go into business. Chief amongst these are the skills that the people themselves have, and these continue to remain out of reach of the ordinary citizen (Dubini, 1989:11-26). The first error was made by the icon, Nelson Mandela; laid off thousands of teachers, did not introduce apprenticeship to empower
blacks to whom it was illegal in the yester years to acquire technical skills, and not move decisively in turning the rural countryside into a hive of economic activity.

Consequently, the jobless boom in the economy merely strengthens the financial position of the whites, opens new opportunities for the Coloureds and Asians, but excludes those who slept in the trenches to effect political change. Consecutive ANC presidents have not done any better, too much hope was put on President Jacob Zuma to revolutionise education and rural life, to no avail. Whilst the current state of the blacks is constantly blamed on apartheid, it is too far into democracy not to have made basic meaningful and sustainable changes on the ground. We know that large classes do not produce the best results because of the teacher-student ratio. The senior politicians themselves send their children to private colleges were the teacher-student ratio is much better. As such, the master-servant relationship between the whites and the blacks will continue, whites will always have the skills, and blacks will always be looking for jobs from the whites. Specifically, the rural folk have one option, to go to town to look for employment from the whites with experienced generations of skills training. The current government has predecessors to learn from, the Afrikaner Affirmative Action is one good example. A plethora of colleges of education and agriculture, technical subjects in all rural schools and reduction of the teacher-learner ratio in the country schools.

The absence of these has paralysed development amongst the black populace that had struggled in earlier years to get into most of these professions. Consequently, urban migration has become a serious concern for the senior politicians, and nothing apart from rhetoric is seen or heard.

Proposed solution model (Jowah’s model)

The rural folk, as alluded to before, have two critical resources at their disposal, which provides a good starting point; these are themselves as labour and the land as capital resource. There are two other critical resources needed for them to get started, and these can be supplied by the government, finance houses or non governmental organisations (NGOs). These establishments can provide training and start up capital. With good education and training, they could convert the large tribal trust land that is lying to waste to profitable economic ventures. They need to be empowered, first by getting educated about the value of the land as an asset for livelihood, and empowerment leading to them owning the means of wealth production. At the time of the writing of this paper, the average price for a ton of pea-nuts was R9 000, largely because part of the pea-nuts consumed in the country are imported from Brazil. Pea-nuts are a part of the African diet in the form of pea-nut butter, mixed with samp or taken directly. They also have a very high nutrition value, as legumes they are high in proteins and oils. Cooking oil can also be extracted from pea-nuts in the rural setups, and the cake be used as feedstock. It is a fact that most of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu Natal receive large amounts of rain that eventually finds its way into the Indian ocean. Meanwhile, the people in these areas will jump into a taxi, bus or other transport and travel all the way to the nearest service centre to purchase pea-nut butter for their consumption. This pea-nut butter will have travelled a few hundred kilometres from the nearest city warehouse, which in turn receives it from a manufacturer who too often operates a thousand kilometres from the final consumer.

A typical example here is the pea-nut butter bottle in my possession which has travelled 1,500 km from Randfontein to Cape Town. The solution to the economic development of the rural folk lies in the use of the resources at their disposal. Using the pea-nut butter example, we have identified Bizana Tribal Trust Land (Eastern Cape) as an example or experimental ground. The reasons for choosing Bizana are not scientific except to say:

(1) It is a high rain area with the ideal soil,
(2) There is a lot of land and fields lying waste,
(3) There is a small rural service along the national road,
(4) The major link between KwaZulu and Eastern Cape.

Table 2. Employment by race and gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational level</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top management</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior management</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualified and experienced artisans</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled, technical junior management</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-permanent employee profile</td>
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<td>17</td>
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</table>
Table 3. Cash crops that have demand in South Africa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dried beans</th>
<th>Packaged mushroom</th>
<th>Tinned sweet corn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tinned backed beans</td>
<td>Tinned tomatoes</td>
<td>Packaged spinach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunflower seed</td>
<td>Sunflower cooking oil</td>
<td>Pea-nut cooking oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinned fresh beans</td>
<td>Boxed fresh tomatoes</td>
<td>Packaged mixed vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried peas</td>
<td>Tinned onions</td>
<td>Packaged pumpkins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Fresh onions boxed</td>
<td>Packaged peanuts</td>
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<td>Pea-nut butter</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Boxed beetroot</td>
<td>Samp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packaged mealie meal</td>
<td>Tinned beef</td>
<td>Packaged chicken</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Summary of agriculture report (2010).

The populations of these provinces are 8 and 7 million respectively, giving access to 30% of the country’s population. The areas are largely rural themselves and are endowed with natural resources other than minerals. With high rainfall and good grazing land, these two provinces can serve as the first step for the experimentation with this rural development model. The rural area is also away from influences of many other people who speak the language, creating a barrier for other influences.

Program design

Anyone with land in Bizana will be helped to plough, plant, weed and harvest the pea-nuts. The assistance will be in the form of tractors to plough, seeds to plant, weedicide to control the weeds. The peasant will supply the labour and will be trained in the basic skills required in farming of peanuts. The estimated average harvest (very conservative figures) is 2 tons of crop per acre (2½ acres = a hectare) with an average of 10 acres per family (20 tons of pea-nuts per family per year). An estimated 50 homesteads were counted in the area and this would give 1000 tons of pea-nut annually for the small community. The peanuts are converted to peanut butter or cooking oil, packaged and distributed from Bizana itself. The manufacturer or converter to peanut butter buys the peanuts directly from the farmers themselves and processes the primary raw material to finished goods. If 1,000 tons of crop will be produced and sold to the pea-nut butter conversion unit every year, this works out to 1,000000 bottles of 500 g butter bottles in the market from Bizana alone. If the selling price of the peanuts will be estimated at R5 000 per ton, each family will earn R100,000 annually, this translates to a monthly salary of R8,333 for the rural folk.

Other crops can be introduced into this model with astounding results; some of the crops that can be grown are; beans (soya, red and sugar beans), baked or packaged at the Bizana centre and distributed country wide. Maize can be grown, milled and packaged at the centre with direct benefits to the community of Bizana. The benefits can be far reaching and many other agricultural products can be brought into this model, depending on the type of crops that would grow in a particular area. A short list of such crops is put in the Table 3. The list is too long to put here, this is merely an indication of many things that could be done at Bizana given their climate. This is repeatable in many parts of the country dependent on the political will (political drive to mobilise people) and the availability of the resources to effect the change. The next phase of this model will move on to the second level of ownership, the secondary industry is critical to the success of this model. Local ownership, either owned by individuals resident in these areas or owned by the community in the form of cooperatives. The owner of the secondary industry should be able to manufacture or process the primary goods to the expected government standards. The same owner must be able to pay cash to the farmers for their produce; this will encourage them to work to get money.

Initial requirements

The initial requirements for the establishment of the project are human resources, equipment and materials. For the Bizana sample identified as a pilot project; a project leader, a project administrator in the office, and two agriculture extension officers may complete the HR requirements. The peasants will plant (use of tractor where possible) and do the weeding (if weed citas cannot be used), and of cause the harvesting of their own fields. No extra human resources will be required outside of that. For the equipment; at most five tractors will be required, each will have a complete set of plough (disc) and harrow and a seed planter, each will have a driver. Three communal pea-nut shelling machines can be procured and controlled from the project office; these will be rotated amongst the communal farmers.

Material requirements

Capital to plough for at least; 30 households (at the start),
seed for at least 60 acres salaries for the project manager and team, fuel and maintenance for the tractors and other vehicles, peanut shelling machinery, etc.

**Secondary industry requirement**

The requirements for the secondary industry, specifically for the pea-nut butter have been calculated as follows. One machine with a processing capacity of 1 ton of peanuts to pea-nut butter a day is used in this model. The technical details are:

The machine costs: R30,000
Packaging R0.80/bottle
Production capacity: 1000 kg/day

(a) 1000 kg of pea-nut butter (2000 bottles of 500 g each)/day
(b) 5000 kg of pea-nut butter (10,000 bottles of 500 g)/week
(c) 20,000 kg pea-nut butter (40,000 bottles of 500 g)/month
(d) 240,000 kg pea-nut butter (480,000 bottles of 500 g)/year

**Note**

The 1 plant will produce 480,000 bottles a year, yet the total production has been estimated at 1,000,000 bottles. It is anticipated that the program will gain momentum gradually as the other homesteads realise the benefits gained by the frontrunners. Besides, the author is of the opinion that at least two producers competing with each other should be encouraged. This will allow for improved efficiency in the operations, attract a good price for the farmers and allow more people in the community to be involved. A deliberate limitation should be used to allow more people getting into the secondary industry (conversion of primary goods) and reduce monopoly. Everyone in the secondary industry should not be allowed more than 3 different industries, namely; you may not take packaging of beans, packaging of chickens, processing of peanuts with any other secondary industry. This is done solely to create more competition, remove unnecessary monopolies that may work against universal empowerment and remove politicisation of the programs. The employment capacity of this operation per one unit peanut butter is as follows:

(1) At least 50 people (homestead heads) will be self employed,
(2) One pea-nut processing plant will need minimum of 6 people,
(3) A national rollout results in manufacturers of these machines,
(4) Need for the employment of government agricultural officers,
(5) Employment of sales reps to sell the processed products.

If this project (1 unit pea-nut butter business) is introduced to 20 rural centres in the Eastern Cape alone, there will be a minimum of 1200 (60 × 20) people employed. This excludes all the other business units that could start from the expansion on the type of crops to be grown. If all the proposed crops and processing is embarked on full scale, one small centre (Bizana) can easily benefit directly 10,000 people, 50% of whom will be owners of small business operations. There is no better empowerment than that.

**Why is this model proposed, and what are the advantages of such a model?**

Bizana is situated 180 km from Durban in the north, and 210 from Mthatha in the south (Figure 1). In between, people have to travel long distances to get assistance in urban settings. Establishing a commercial centre at Bizana will assist with centralisation of some of the needs that people travel to the nearest towns to get. The first important decision would be to process the farm produces at the point of production, meaning:

(i) The peasants will sell their produce within easy reach daily,
(ii) They will get encouraged with the presence of a market for them,
(iii) Production at source will attract other government services to them,
(iv) This will result in growth of the service centre to cater for more needs,
(v) More people will be employed in the primary sector to produce stock,
(vi) Other people will be employed to process the farm produce,
(vii) This will attract training for the community in different trades,
(viii) The standard of living will be uplifted reducing urban migrations,
(ix) Food security will be enhanced and importation reduced,
(x) The people will be able to save money and buy other requirements,
(xi) This will push the government to move towards the next stage of rural development.

**DISCUSSION**

“Centuries of poor policies and institutional failures are the primary cause of Africa’s undercapitalized and uncompetitive agriculture” (World Bank, 2000:170). This is precisely where South African rural population finds
itself, no agricultural policies and no models for sustainable rural development. Apartheid took away the productive land from the peasants and urbanisation took away the productive human resource that relocated to urban centres. Whatever land there is which is arable, has been left idle, whilst the men crowd in towns in a country characterised by jobless economic growth. Bryceson (2002:725-739) posits that rural development may improve local-level means of production and transport can expand local employment as well as improve rural people’s mobility and skills. Recent surveys indicate that there is a tendency towards declining of agricultural commodity production due to the exodus of skills to the urban centres (Francis, 2000; Kinsey, 2000; Ponte, 2002). In development theory, the African continent is associated with agrarian modes of livelihood with the abundance of land and relative shortage of labor. Recent World Bank (2000) reports contradict this assumption and instead Africa is labelled as backward and unproductive. In the World Bank’s (2000) Can Africa Claim the 21st Century? The bank advocates the introduction of ‘new policy imperatives’ with heavy emphasis on poverty alleviation. Mkandiriwe and Soludo (1999:725-739) asset the view that policy formulations should be taken from grassroots by identifying the needs of the people and not as a top-down solution. If the peasants are adequately empowered, they are able to get themselves to high levels of rural economy development and growth. The new thinking is in diversifying of income sources by producing or converting the commodities to finished products at source. The burden of the peasant is the uncertainty of selling their farm produce, the cost of getting to the market, as well as the nature of the ‘once a year sales’ problem which denies them cash during the year. A growing body of literature has examined the economic impact of structural adjustment and market liberalization on African peasant agriculture (Ponte, 2002). Bryceson (2002:725-739) assets that peasant societies have been extremely responsive to ‘neoliberalism’ with far-reaching and as yet unclear implications for the social and economic fabric of African countries. The lack of political will, risk avoidance, and absence of visionary leadership in rural development continue to be the only problem impeding taking account of rural producers’ pressing current aims and long-term occupational futures. The rural folk in South Africa needs to move towards depeasantization and ‘deagrarianisation’, defined as a long term process of occupational adjustment, income earning reorientation, social identification and spatial relocation of rural dwellers away from strictly agricultural-based modes of livelihood.

**Figure 1.** Proposed rural development model for Bizana in South Africa. Source: Own construction.
African post-colonial governments and the international donor community pursued policies aimed at extending, capitalizing and modernizing peasant production to raise peasant productivity and living standards as a foundation for their industrialization efforts (Bryceson and Bank, 2001; Bryceson et al., 2000). After a century of colonial and post-colonial peasant formation, ‘depeasantization’ has now begun, representing a specific form of ‘deagrarianization’ in which peasantry lose their economic capacity and social coherence (Kinsey, 2000) and shrink in demographic size relative to non-peasant populations.

Government policies are vital for fostering peasant commodity production, they should now be instrumental in bringing secondary industries to the primary sources, the government must bring these means of production to the rural service centres. The frequent escalation of costs gives rise to a greater demand for an all year round need for cash for the peasants. A development model that provides them with such income, not once a year, but at regular intervals will assist with their cash needs on a regular basis (Francis, 2000). This model is based on the understanding that, there are roles to be played by all the stakeholders, albeit in different forms and stages. The major stakeholders are; the government, the donors (if the money comes from donors), non-governmental organisations, the training structures and the beneficiaries themselves. From the government; political will and effective visionary political leadership in this sphere is critical. Resources need to be provided for by the government as a constitutional obligation to develop the rural economy, and the infrastructure to facilitate the growth and development. Primarily, the model suggests a hands-off (politicians) but strong support (financial, legal, political and infrastructural) scenario from the government. Essentially, de-politicisation of the process to avoid engulfing it into political strife and bureaucracy. The donors, if they are external (not from the country) will use the existing legal route to reach out to their target market, but they should not have direct impact on the grassroots operations. Local donors may access the community through the responsible non-governmental organisations and may assist in the establishment and or provision of training of the rural community in regards to the development.

The non-governmental organisations should form the critical line management role of project execution. The NGO must have a lean structure, meant precisely to supply and manage the resources as provided to the community. They also will facilitate training programs with the use of appropriate training providers, on all aspects and at all levels of the development of the rural community. The beneficiaries are purely dependent on the assistance that comes their way, but their willingness or unwillingness is critical for the outcomes of the undertakings. This suggests an extraordinary leadership ethos that will galvanise the buy-in from the rural community and enable the community to uplift themselves from chronic poverty to self-sufficiency. Prior to the execution of the project, there should be a proper understanding of the type of poverty, causes of this type of poverty, the limitations and potential of the community involved, and what agricultural products will be most ideal for that particular community. The problem with agriculture and rural poverty in South Africa is because the politicians themselves do not know what kind of poverty they are dealing with (Kepe and Cousins, 2002:1-5). The model pre-supposes that a one-size fits all approach will not apply, each project has specific problems and is not exactly the same with the next, even though there may be similarities. Within the NGO and stakeholders at operational level should be identification of the appropriate leadership skills and styles, the motivation and impartation of agriculture as a business venture (primary level entrepreneur) and a way of life in the minds of the community participants. Secondary industries level entrepreneurs should be developed, and these should originate from the community where possible. Their responsibility will be to manufacture (or convert) primary goods to secondary goods (that is, convert pea-nuts to pea-nut butter or slaughter, cut and package all broilers grown in the community) for the national market.

Cognisance is taken of the assertions by Busch and Juska (1997:688-708) on globalisation of agriculture and the possible effects from industrialisation of the food production system. The author distinguishes between the developed countries where agriculture has been heavily commercialised from Africa (South Africa in this case) where it is a matter of life and death. An extra R200 a month may mean much more to rural South Africa than R1000 a month may mean to a first world farmer. The local rural person is reeling in chronic poverty, and we have not reached a stage where we will focus on industrialisation before the people themselves have enough to eat. Murdoch (2000:407-419) lays emphasis on the complexities of the networks and their possible effects (actor-network theory, ANT), but the author suggests their inapplicability to the African context where the rural person is looking for the very basic for their survival. The focus from the author does not relate to exports, but rather cutting down the commodity chain and costs to enable the indigenous to take control of their own destiny.

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