



Climate Justice Through Land Justice

A Food Sovereignty Activist Guide

Acknowledgements

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https://www.safsc.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Literature-review Advancing-food-sovereignty-through-sustainable-land-use-1.pdf.

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Glossary

Agroecology is an ecological approach to agriculture that views agricultural areas as ecosystems and is concerned with the impact that agriculture has on the ecology. Agroecology is a science that is innovating on traditional and indigenous farming knowledge that works with nature. Agroecology also embodies a political approach, employed by small-scale food producers as a way of life, and as a means to bring about social, economic and environmental justice.

Biodiversity is a shortened term for 'biological diversity'. It refers to the many different living things such as plants and animal species in their natural environments, in a specific area, region and at a particular time.

Carbon Sequestration is the process of capturing carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and storing it, this can be done artificially but also occurs naturally. The artificial approach to capturing and storing carbon, advanced by corporations and some government is untested, dangerous and does not deal with the root causes of the climate crisis.

Climate Justice recognises that climate change is caused by the capitalist system's need for overproduction and its addiction to gas, coal and oil. It focuses on the challenges faced by vulnerable people and communities who are most impacted by the effects of climate change and who have contributed the least to the root causes of the climate crisis. Climate justice also proposes systemic changes, through a deep just transition, that ensures a just, safe, healthy and clean environment for all life on earth.

Commons refers to land or resources that belong to and contributes to the needs of a whole community.

Communal Land is a territory (mostly rural) that a community owns, rather than being owned by an individual or a company. A group or culture historically owns this territory and distributes it among its members through the relevant authority. The group (or authority) can decide how the land is managed and can also cancel the right of use of the land if someone is using it badly or for the wrong practices.

Customary Tenure refers to situations where groups, communities, or one or more villages have well defined, exclusive rights to jointly own and/or manage particular areas of natural resources such as land, forests and water.

Deep or Transformative Just Transition represents a transition from a carbon-based society to a low or zero carbon society in a manner that limits the negative impacts on workers and communities. It seeks to transform energy, food, transport and all major social systems to ensure we sustain life. The key issue is that capital must bear the burden of the transition not workers and communities.

Ecological Justice goes one step further than environmental justice (which looks at justice for people). Ecological justice includes justice for all living animals, plants, humans and the ecological systems within which they exist.

Ecosystem includes all the living things – humans, animals and plants – in a particular area and how they relate with each other and to the non-living environment such as the earth, sun, soil, climate, atmosphere.

Food Sovereignty is the right of people to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to create and control their own food and agriculture systems. It is an alternative to the corporate owned and controlled food system.

Fossil Fuels are sources of energy (such as coal, oil, or natural gas) formed in the earth from dead plants or animals over hundreds of thousands of years. Burning fossil fuels produces green-house gases that contribute to heating our planet.

Greenhouse Gases are gases in the atmosphere that trap the heat from the sun. The main greenhouse gases are carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide. Nearly all carbon dioxide comes from fossil fuels and land-use change. Methane and nitrous oxide mostly comes from agriculture and waste.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) is an intergovernmental body of the United Nations, dedicated to providing the world with an objective, scientific view of climate change and its political and economic impacts.

Land Commons land owned collectively by a number of persons, or by one person, but over which other people have certain traditional rights, such as to allow their livestock to graze upon it, to collect wood, or to cut turf for fuel.

Land Justice is about addressing the structural injustices that were a result of the transition to capitalist agriculture which was led by colonial expansion and closely followed by the Industrial Revolution. This was a transition to a system which dispossessed millions of people of their land and privatised rural commons to serve the needs of industry. It resulted in genocide, destruction and the racial, gendered and class inequalities that still persist today. Land justice can be achieved by dismantling the structures that caused these injustices and building an alternative system of agriculture and land-use that benefits all.

Neoliberalism is a class project advancing the interests of global finance and capital. It advances policies such as privatisation, liberalisation and financialisation so the market can shape society. It also withdraws the state from meeting the needs of society.

Property Rights refer to the theoretical and legal ownership of specific property by individuals and the ability to determine how such property is used. In many countries, property rights were introduced through colonialism, including South Africa. Individuals, corporations and governments generally exercise private property rights – the rights to accumulate, hold, delegate, change, rent or sell their property.

Module 1: Introduction: Our Complex Relationship with Land

"Each one of us is intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country. Each time one of us touches the soil of this land, we feel a sense of personal renewal"

- Nelson Mandela, Inauguration Speech, 12 May 1994

The Story of our Relationship with Land

The relationship humans have with land was established the day we set foot on it. Land is our life source. It supports eco-systems, rivers, forests, wetlands, deserts, the veld, mountains and all sorts of living creatures that we share this planet with. As we have evolved and developed and explored it, it has been our place of habitat, a source of nutrition, safety, adventure, belonging and enjoyment. Land is the birthplace of human life, and it is also our resting place, as we will return to it one day the same way we came from it.

Our relationship with land is complex. It is a relationship that has developed over millennia. For some it has been a source of wealth, for others it has been a means to sustain life, while for others it has affirmed culture, dignity and a way of living in harmony with nature. Some have extracted vast amounts of resources, while others have been dispossessed — chased from the land, and sent to new and unfamiliar places. As a result, they have lost the deep roots they had with their ancestral place of being. Land has also become a place of warfare and destruction. It has been divided, destroyed and pillaged.

Today for some people, land is merely viewed as private property. A place to live and create an empire of comfort for themselves. For others it is a place for creating wealth, for example, large industrial complexes and cities or 'urban jungles' of grey high-rise buildings, offices and factories. Others use land for industrial farms that use chemical fertilisers and pesticides to aid in producing food, but which leads to pollution of water sources and degradation of our natural resources and biodiversity; or large mining operations that rip open and drill through the land in

search for oil, coal and natural gas. For others it is a dustbin or carbon sink – a place to discard all waste from households, manufacturing, processing and livestock production.



However, for the majority of people land is a memory or a dream which is out of reach for them because they have been robbed of the land in the past and their current social situation (gender, class, race) restricts them from accessing land for their livelihoods, enjoyment and wellbeing now.

There are many injustices associated with land. Too many stories of pain, betrayal and destruction. Human greed, large scale industrial farming, fossil fuel extractivism, growth-driven production and capitalism in general have all contributed to our destructive relationship with land and the eco-systems it supports.

In addition to the pollution and degradation of the environment that these activities cause, they are also producing immense amounts of carbon dioxide emissions (from factories, cars, and burning of coal, etc.). Excessive carbon dioxide and other poisonous gases in the atmosphere creates a blanket around our atmosphere which prevents heat from escaping (as it usually would). This leads to the green-house effect. This means that global average temperatures are rising leading to changes in our climate over time. Climate change has impacts on our land, as well as our natural systems.

What Impact Will Climate Change have on Land and Natural Systems?

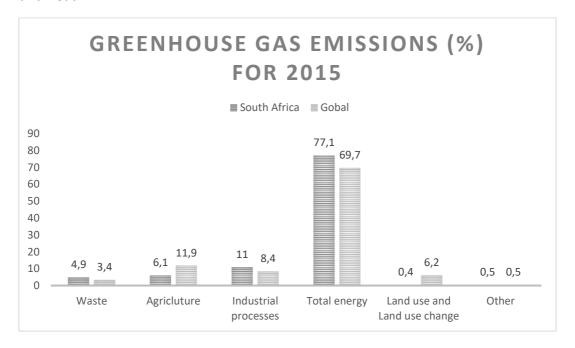
Climate change is having and will continue to have devastating impacts on the land, on biodiversity, and ultimately on all life on earth. *Box 1* provides some examples of what will happen if global temperatures rise by more than 1.5°C (since before the industrial revolution).

Box 1: Summary of 2018 IPCC report on 1.5°C increase in global warmingⁱ

- 1. Climate Change is a real threat
- Human induced heating is likely to reach 1.5°C between 2030 (just 12 years away) and 2052. The impacts include increases in temperatures, extreme droughts, rains, sea level rise, species loss and extinction, forest fires and the spread of invasive species.
- We are currently at 1C increase in planetary temperature since pre the industrial revolution and extreme weather patterns are already impacting on our societies.
- 2. The IPCC says that climate change will affect everything
- Risks to health, livelihoods, food security, water supply, human security and economic growth.
- Fishers and farmers will feel these risks disproportionately
- The African continent and Asia will be particularly exposed to effects of global warming.

Climate change is integrally linked to the way we are using land. One of the key causes of greenhouse gas emissions is the food system, industrial land use and farming. Below we provide a breakdown of greenhouse gas emissions for South Africa and compare it to Global GHG emissions.ⁱⁱ Here you will see that GHG emissions caused by agriculture is 6,1% and 11,9% respectively. What this graph isn't showing, however is how much of the GHG emissions from energy can be linked to industrial agriculture or the industrial food system. The 'total energy' data

is a combination of emissions from fuel combustion (coal, oil and gas) in transport, households, services and agriculture, industry and for the generation of electricity and heat.



Some estimates suggest that the global food system contributes 20-30% of all human-associated greenhouse gas emissions.ⁱⁱⁱ The 2019 IPCC report on climate change and land suggests that Agriculture, Forestry and Other Land Use (AFOLU) accounts for approximately 23% of total net greenhouse gas emissions.^{iv}

The purpose of this guide is thus to show how we can change our farming and living practices and food systems to cut carbon emissions, work in harmony with nature and restore our relationship with the land.

Why a Guide on Climate Justice through Land Justice?

It is imperative that we re-learn to respect land for the gifts it provides for us, and that we bring justice to those who have undergone deep injustices by being dispossessed and denied a relationship with land.

Land is not ours. Land is a place where all living things can interact for a brief moment in time. In order to keep receiving this gift we need to live in harmony with the land. We can't continue on the path of destruction we are on. We can't allow corporations to continue to pillage our natural resources and destroy the land of our past and future generations.

This guide is about restoring our relationship with land in a dignified way – to ensure justice for all living beings and creatures who depend on it, not just one species, race or class. But for all who live, farm, feed, and share the land and its resources in a sustainable manner.

The purpose of this guide is also to provide avenues and tools for communities to come together to fight for land justice and sovereignty. Module 7 provides some steps, guiding questions and principles to facilitate such a process. The following section of this guide introduces facilitators to the structure of the guide and gives some tips on how to use it to host workshops in communities. Thereafter module 3 provides some local and international examples of how land is currently being used, destroyed and restored. We then provide a brief history of the story of South Africa's land dispossession and degradation in module 4 followed by a description of the policies put in place to address these and a brief assessment of their failures in module 5. In module 6 we provide some alternatives to capitalist, private property, industrial land use, including examples of land struggles across the world. This guide is for activists to use in their communities to mobilise for land justice, food sovereignty and a transformative just transition — to sustain life on earth for all living creatures by restoring our relationship with land.

Exercise 1 – Small Group Exercise: What is Land?

Let's start our session by learning what land is – based on our own experience and history.

Participants form groups of two to four and discuss the following questions:

- What is land to you? How would you define it? What does it comprise
 of? Is it a place, can it have a name, does it include mountains and trees?
 What about the soil and the creatures in the land? and what about the
 bodies of water that run through it?
- What is the value of land to you? Is it important to have your own land?
 Does it represent security, wealth, self-sustainability etc.? Does it have a monetary value?
- What is your current relationship with the land? Are you aware of how you interact with it and the impact your daily choices have on the land?
- How does your current relationship with the land differ from the relationship that your parents and grandparents had with the land?
- How can we have a non-destructive and respectful relationship with the land as a source of life?

Each group can write the key points and share it with the whole group. Add all contributions to a wall or chart for future reflection.

Module 2: How to Use the Guide

Purpose of the Guide

This guide is a popular education tool for communities and grassroots activists. It serves to:

- empower people to understand the land crisis and the power relations involved in controlling and destroying land;
- equip people with the basic knowledge and understanding of land as a source of life;
- empower communities to organise and respond to policies on land;
- provide user friendly and practical techniques to use land in an eco-centric way to sustain it as the basis of eco-systems;
- protect, value and celebrate local and indigenous knowledge on land use;
- empower communities to strive towards systemic change through food, seed, and water sovereignty, land justice and a deep just transition.

Key Principles for Process Facilitation

Learning is a continuous process, an everyday activity and an integral part of what it means to be a human being. Learning is about using knowledge to change and become different from the way we were before. It is about developing a critical literacy for action and thus making our knowledge our power.

For real learning and capacitation to take place, a facilitator using this guide cannot behave like a school teacher or lecturer. People cannot be empowered just by being lectured to. The learning process is about opening and awakening critical consciousness so that fear to live as a full human being, in association with others, is overcome. When using this guide as a learning and training tool, the following principles in a collective learning process should be kept in mind:

- It is people-centred: it encourages participation, celebrates diversity, and puts people first. It recognises people's skills and experiences as key resources and it focuses on hearing what people are saying, not just listening to them;
- It is active: it involves participating in exercises and activities;
- It is enquiry based: it continually tries to uncover why something is the way it is and explores what is going on under the surface;
- It is critically reflective: self-awareness is an integral part of taking action and it is reflection aimed at gaining insights that will inform future actions;
- It builds on existing knowledge: it draws out relevant information from the
 participants about their needs and context and provides processes which
 encourage people to critically analyse and discuss from their own
 experience;
- It responds and adapts to people's needs: it is flexible enough, open enough and sensitive enough to recognise people's needs and to change to meet them;
- It recognises the importance of feelings: human transformation is as much about what happens to how you feel as it is about how you think;
- It is holistic: it looks at linkages between the past, present and future, between the individual, the group, society and the environment as well as between local, regional and global levels.

Being a Land Justice Facilitator

This guide is aimed at being a daily tool for use by those who want to have access to land as a basic human right. It is also designed to be used in a workshop setting to empower people scientists (individually and collectively) and activists to engage in land struggles and politics, thus being able to contribute and participate in policy decisions on distribution and protection of land and land resources. Such a workshop requires that someone (or even more than one person) facilitates the workshop. Women are especially encouraged to be facilitators. In facilitation, the

facilitator has a variety of roles such as trainer, skill-sharer, enabler, listener, sharer of real experiences, and theorist. While there are multiple roles to play, ultimately each facilitator will find her/his own style.

It is important for the land justice facilitator not to see themselves as 'only' a facilitator but as a learner as well. In order to give the training a grounding and relevance, we need real problem-solving leadership experience to confront the hardships and struggles that we have experienced. Thus, the facilitator must share her/his skills and experiences freely, while being open to learn from others. Working closely and generously with other facilitators, whether more or less experienced, builds their capacity and one's own. It allows one to grow and to form genuine teams in every situation. It also protects against the disease of self-inflation (thinking that being a facilitator makes one an expert and therefore unable to learn from others).

It is important to remember that through the process of experiential learning the facilitator learns from the group she/he is working with. In other words, it is important to remember the facilitator may not always have 'all the answers'. It is through this process that active learning takes place. The facilitator must capacitate people to take action, and then reflect on and evaluate the situation in order to draw the right lessons from the action taken. In this way learning becomes a neverending process.

Some tips for facilitators:

- Encourage engagement by asking people questions and by asking people for their opinions (some people won't speak up unless asked).
- Encourage a free space to share experiences: this can be done by sharing your own experiences first.
- Get people to work in groups to discuss topics if you see it is not working well in a larger group.

 Preparation is key: familiarise yourself with the guide intensively, plan in activities, probing questions and group discussions. Have an idea of how long each module/activity will take, but also leave room for flexibility. The more prepared you are before the workshop, the more flexible you will be able to be in the workshop setting.

Workshop Guidelines

This activist guide uses a workshop method to ensure two-way learning and to encourage bottom-up movement building. In this approach, the facilitator has to put into practice the principles of training mentioned above. The workshop-based learning approach is meant to gather participants into small groups in which they are able to learn together and from each other.

The training content is made up of modules which follow a sequence of building block learning. This means it is important to work with the ordering of the training modules. However, this does not mean that the time spent on each module has to be as suggested. Facilitators might find it is necessary to spend several hours on one module before moving on to the next one. Facilitators must remember that this learning process requires patience. The theory content of the modules should be presented by the facilitators. Complimenting this is the **small group and individual exercises** in which the participants in the workshop discuss and problem-solve. This ensures a more horizontal and bottom-up process of learning.

The actual location of the training workshop should be guided by the circumstances faced. This requires creativity and adaptability. For example, training might take place in a waste recycling plant, a community hall, on a piece of farming land, under a tree and so on. Workshop-based training is a tool that can be used in various places and settings.

Facilitation tools (e.g. chart paper, pens, slides, audio-visual materials) compliment training, but are not essential. A lack of facilitation tools should not prevent the training workshop from taking place. In many of our cultures and societies learning

has also happened orally – by talking to each other, sharing stories, and using whatever is available in the immediate environment like drawing with sticks in the sand or using words, symbols and objects to represent the people, events or ideas. We encourage trainers to adapt the content in this guide to what is appropriate and necessary in the circumstances.

Exercise 2 – Small group exercise: Getting to know each other Let's do a 'getting to know you exercise'.

Participants form groups of two and discuss the following questions:

- Why am I attending this workshop?
- Why is it important to me?
- What do I hope to learn from the workshop?
- What do I hope to share (stories, experiences, skills etc.) with the group?

Each group must write the key points, and share it with the whole group. Add all contributions to a wall or chart for future reflection.

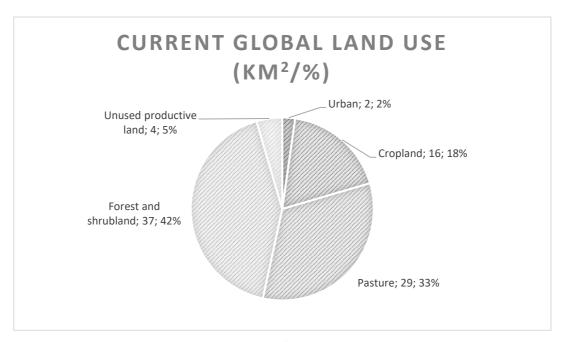
NOTE: Time allocation can be decided by the size of the group and the length of the workshop.

Module 3: Current Land Use: Internationally and in South Africa

In this module we will look at different types of land use internationally and in South Africa. We provide examples and statistics about how land is being used, highlighting some issues associated with the data and also each type of land use.

International Land Use and Challenges

Globally, land is becoming a scarce resource. In the face of climate change the question of how we use land is now a pressing issue. Today almost two-thirds of the world's ice-free land is used for agriculture or settlements, or is covered by forests. See the image below to understand how land is being used globally. Since 1970 one-fifth of the Brazilian Amazon rainforest has been lost. By 2050 researchers predict that up to one-fifth of natural forests, grasslands and savannahs will be destroyed and by 2030 2% of the world's most fertile land will be paved over as cities expand.



The international picture of how land is being used is highlighted by the 2019 Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) report. It says:

"Nature across most of the globe has now been significantly altered by multiple human drivers, with the great majority of indicators of ecosystems and biodiversity showing rapid decline"

For example: "Seventy-five percent of the land surface is significantly altered... over 85 per cent of wetlands (area) has been lost.

Increasingly, we are exposed to stories in the news or research about how communities, animals and nature are being exploited by

Box 2: What is biodiversity and why does it matter?

Biodiversity describes the rich diversity of life on Earth, from individual species to entire ecosystems. The term was coined in 1985 – a contraction of "biological diversity" – but the huge global biodiversity losses now becoming apparent represent a crisis closely linked to climate change and other factors. Deforestation, poaching, industrial farming and pollution are some of the ways in which the planet's natural ecosystem is being disrupted.

large corporations for resources and profits and how climate change is leading to the breakdown of ecosystems and life. Some researchers argue that this climatic breakdown we are witnessing now, began with the rise of colonialism and the 'enclosure of the commons'. This is when resources, starting with land and forests were converted from common areas to commodities. Later, water resources were 'enclosed' through dams, groundwater mining and privatisation schemes. Now biodiversity is also being 'enclosed'. Land, of which all was common land before humans entered the picture, should be viewed as a life support system because of all the support it provides to human and non-human life. Yet as humans have started commodifying this life support system it is not surprising that we are seeing the breakdown of life, from biodiversity loss (see *Box 2*)^{vi}, to shifting climate zones and a reduction in food production.

In March 2018 it was reported that insect loses of 40% up to 80% were happening around the world. This is frightening because insect loses show us that the web of life is unravelling as insects are also the primary source for ecosystem creation and support. The world will disintegrate without the vital roles that insects play, such as burrowing in soil, forming more soil, creating space for air in soil and pollinating food crops.

Even in protected spaces, insect populations are drastically falling. For example, tropical rain forests are the last frontier of untouched wilderness in the world. Few people ever visit these forests. The Luquillo rainforest in Puerto Rico has recently shown that in the last 40 years arthropods (insects, arachnids and crustaceans) declined by 60 fold. Scientists say that global warming is to blame for the decline of arthropods in protected rainforests. Vii

While some insects are dying, other insect populations are increasing with climate change. This is not desired in most cases because it is often pests that are increasing and causing crop losses. In the past we have already seen a decrease in crop yields due to climate change, but this will be made worse by pests. Scientists have shown that three of the most important grain crops (wheat, rice and maize) will lose 10-25% of their yield to pests for every degree increase in temperature. Viii

Climate zones are also shifting due to rising global temperatures. For example, the tropics are getting bigger, leading to more droughts and drier regions. The Sahara Desert has gotten 10% bigger since 1920. This change is expected to reduce some countries' ability to grow food. Libya, for example was mostly not a desert in 1920s and is now mostly desert.

Not only is climate change leading to reduction in food production, but our food production methods globally are also contributing to greenhouse gas emissions, driving environmental degradation, loss of vital ecosystem services, economic hardship for small-scale food producers, devastating health impacts and food insecurity for many. The majority of these problems are linked to 'industrial

agriculture': the input-intensive crop monocultures and industrial-scale feedlots that now dominate many farming landscapes. Challenges associated with land and their impacts on an international scale are also experienced in South Africa as we will see in the section below.

Mapping Land in South Africa

It is difficult to establish the exact use, size, and type of land in South Africa since there is lack of reliable data and extensive land audits. Land audits that have been done are often lacking in various ways and don't confirm results from other research or they present certain biases. For example, in the past the Government has provided two reports; the Land Audit booklet by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform of 2013 and; the Land Audit Report of 2017^x (the purpose of the second report is to

Box 3: What is a land audit?

It is a gathering of all information relating to:

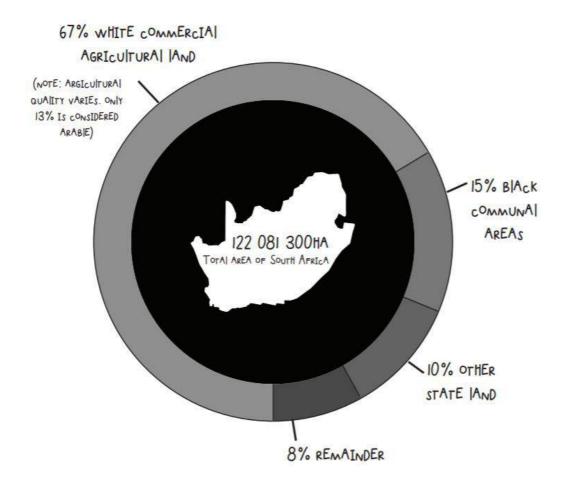
- 1. Who is the owner
- 2. Who is the occupant/user
- 3. The rights to the land
- 4. Current usage of the land
- 5. What buildings and improvements exist on it.

provide information on the private individual ownership of farms, agricultural holdings, erven and sectional title units by race, gender and nationality so it doesn't help us in understanding much outside that scope). The first report shows that state land accounts for 14% of the total land of South Africa. The second report showed private ownership at 77,03% (suggesting that 12,07% is state-owned). This second report differs from a 2017 report by AgriSA which suggests that state ownership of land is at 25% of the land surface in South Africa, while another study suggests that state owned land is 42,7% of all land in South Africa.^{xi} It is clear from this example that there is a lot of conflicting data about land.

Some data frequently cited suggests that 82,3% of South Africa's surface area is farmland, and of this, 81,9% is commercial agriculture land. The problem with this data is that it is drawn from a dataset which was compiled by the Development Bank of South Africa over two decades ago (in 1991), hence it is not up to date. The

latest government Land Audit Report of 2017 suggests that 90.8% of land in South Africa is farmland. As you can see the data is quite confusing and cannot be considered complete.

One report by PLAAS^{xii} divides land as follows:



While it is important to note the racial distribution of land ownership in South Africa today because it shows the amount of transformation that has taken place in terms of racial redistribution and land reform since before colonialism until the end of

apartheid (and even now), this is not the purpose of this section. Here we simply outline a few more examples of how land is used in South Africa, how some land is beneficial to the web of life, how it has been destroyed, and how people are still being displaced by a neoliberal government as a result of some land practices.

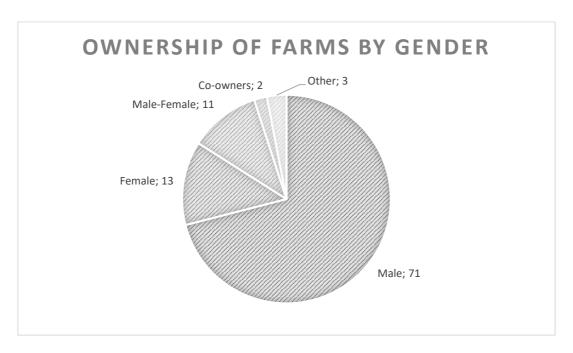
Public land

Public land is land that is owned by the government, for example land for government offices, prisons, schools, parks, housing, agriculture, etc. Also included in public land is public spaces. This includes parks, squares, public libraries, public sporting facilities, sidewalks, roads, pedestrianised spaces, open or linear markets, beaches and beachfronts. These spaces have socioeconomic importance as a place for trade and communal activities or as a channel for movement. It is also a crucial resource for the urban poor as their private spaces are restricted or fragmented. A lot of the land that is being leased to foreign companies (by the government) is communal land. This land is often already being used by local people and so leases to foreign companies has a huge impact on small-scale local farmers. It is a new wave of land grabbing. We provide some examples of this in the section on mining below.

Private land

This includes land which is owned by private individuals or corporations – this can be agricultural land, industrial land and land in urban areas. While statistics are not conclusive, PLAAS suggests that of all agricultural land in South Africa, 67% is privately owned by white commercial farmers. In the early 1990s just under 60 000 white-owned farms accounted for about 70% of the total area of the country. Today there are under 40 000 farming units covering about 67% of the country. However only 30% of this land is arable and over a third is located in the Northern Cape.

The South African Land Audit report of 2017 suggests that in terms of ownership of farms by gender, males own 71% of all farming land while women own 13%.



Residential land (urban and rural areas):

Currently around 65% of the total population lives in urban areas and cities. The eight metropolitan areas account for just 2% of the land area of the country but are home to 37% of the total population and are primary centres of private wealth. Growing urbanisation is increasing the pressure on the environment in urban areas.

Spatial planning during apartheid ensured that black people were forcibly removed from prime areas into Bantustans. This has led to a number of spatial challenges even today. There is still spatial inequality as many poorer people are forced to live on the outskirts of cities because they cannot afford to stay in the wealthier areas closer to work. In addition, there is a lack of sufficient social housing such as government rental housing in the inner cities close to places of work. Many developers are also controlling a lot of the prime land in urban areas and are renovating and restoring older areas in the cities, creating what many call, 'elite enclaves'. Often poorer people are kicked out because they can no longer afford

the increased rental prices, or are chased away as part of a city's plan to 'clean up' the area.

While the development of affordable urban housing is extremely important in crowded cities, some urban development housing plans to provide more affordable housing closer to cities are not well thought out and can actually cause more harm than good, for example the Philippi Horticulture Area in Cape Town. The PHA has been under threat for the past few years from possible housing developments in answer to the city's housing crisis. This area provides over 50% of the City's fresh produce, and the Cape Flats Aquifer in the PHA is believed to have a potential of serving the water stressed Cape Town with a third of its drinking water needs. It is the last natural green space in the area, as such, development will threaten food and water security in the area. While the City has agreed to protect the area after numerous interactions with civil society, this does not mean that civil society can relax as the City does still allow for incremental development in the areas surrounding the PHA. This incremental development could provide a gap for expansion of housing developments into the Area.

In rural areas, land for housing faces a number of different challenges. In rural areas chiefs are the custodians of rural land. They have the power to grant developers land rights and often lease some communal land to them at the expense of communities.

Agricultural land

Some statistics for agricultural land use have been presented above. It is clear that despite outdated data, most data supports the findings that the majority of South Africa's land is used for commercial agriculture. However, because South Africa is a very dry country, only around 13% of this can be used for crop production and only 3% is considered high potential land. Grain and cereals are South Africa's most important crops and they use more than 60% of the land that is under cultivation.

There are many problems associated with commercial agriculture, here we briefly touch on the impact of agriculture on the health of South Africa's soils. Most large-scale industrial farmers plough their land to prepare it and control the weeds. This old method originated in Europe to turn over, dry out and warm up cold, water logged European soil in spring. In South Africa this practice results in ploughing dry, sun-baked soil and it makes little sense. Continual ploughing can lead to degradation of soil quality, decreased water infiltration and erosion of the top soil. Heavy ploughing can also stimulate a breakdown of organic matter in the soil. This not only diminishes this important soil resource, but also releases carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, contributing to climate change. Increasing livestock production is also leading to land degradation as South Africa's grazing land is stocked beyond its long-term carrying capacity. Overstocking can cause trampling and crushing of the soil which strips the veld of vegetation. This leads to reduced soil fertility and erosion. Continuation of these practices can lead to desertification and the irreversible loss of productive land.

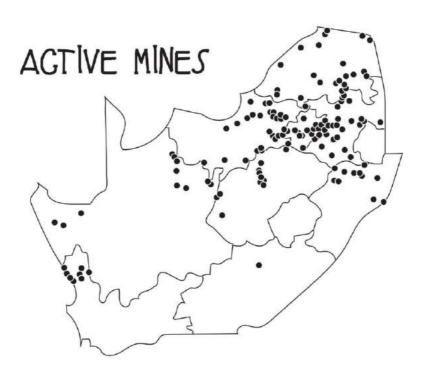
Land for industry and commercial use

Commercial land use contributes a very small proportion of land use in urban areas. However, the economic impact in terms of employment and sales far outstrip this small space allocation. The commercial areas also contribute a lot to pollution from cars and factories and petrochemical plants can contribute to acidification of water sources.

Industrial land uses are extremely varied, depending on the nature of the industry being considered. Urban-industrial land usage generally refers to the sitting of factories or petroleum refineries, and of utilities such as electricity generating stations and water- and sewerage- treatment facilities. Industrial land use in rural areas can include smelters and mills for the production of ores and metals and mines and well fields for the production of fossil fuels such as coal, oil and natural gas.

Land for mining

South Africa is a resource rich country. As a result, there are many mines in South Africa. See the map below (although a little outdated – based on 2003 data), showing some of the different mines and where they are in the country.



While mining provides us with jobs and resources such as coal and gas to produce electricity, it does more harm than good and there are a number of alternatives we could be using, for example, solar energy for electricity and a deep just transition to reskill workers in the process.

Mines create air and water pollution, acid mine drainage and toxic waste. Abandoned mines also pose risks to South Africa's communities. The single most destructive impact of mining is on the environment. Mine waste is the largest source of pollution in South Africa. In addition, old coal fields pose huge negative

impacts on scarce water supplies as a result of contamination due to heavy metals seeping into water resources. For example, in 2018 Mpumalanga was named as one of the worst places in the world for air pollution, and this is due to the high number of coal-fired power stations and mines. It is estimated that 20 000 people die every year from air pollution and at least 2 500 due to Eskom pollution. The key problem with mining in South Africa is that mining corporations are not held accountable for many of the costs that their operations impose on society. Many of the costs end up being borne by the state and by tax payers while local communities and the environment suffers.

Understanding community rights when it comes to mining is also confusing and communities being impacted are often uninformed. According to the law, a mining company must get permission from the government before initiating any mining. But in order to get permission, they must first assess the environment and learn about the community and consult with everyone who will be affected by the proposed mining. However, although the Constitution protects people's ownership of property, the Mining and Petroleum Resources Development Act 2002 enables a mining company to get a right to mine the minerals on your land, without your consent. As a result, mining law may allow a mining company to take land. For more on community and environmental rights and mining, see the Centre for Environmental Right's informative guide. Xiii

Communal land

Communal land in South Africa is made up of the former 'homelands' or communal areas and is 17,7 million hectares in size, of which 14,5 million hectares was classified as agricultural in 1991. Most of this land is state owned and densely settled by black households under various forms of customary tenure. Communal land, is a type of 'land commons', spaces and resources which contribute to the wellbeing of a whole community. However, since colonialism — and even since before colonialism, as we will see later — we have witnessed the 'enclosure of the commons' in South Africa. This includes enclosure of land, forests, water systems

often along racial lines and also for privatisation and profit. In South Africa there are a number of policies in place to protect some of this land. However not all conservation and protected land can be considered as 'communal land' because in many cases, when there is conservation programme in place, people are forcibly removed from these areas in favour of the environment. Often these people have left minimal to no negative impacts on their environments but are still unfairly removed.

Protected or conservation areas of South Africa

There are various types of conservation areas in South Africa. The Department of Environmental affairs has provided a database of South African Protected and Conservation Areas^{xiv} which shows the different types of conservation land. See the image adapted from their database below:

Illustration: Map of protected areas in South Africa



Protected areas include national parks, nature reserves, mountain catchment areas, world heritage sites, forest nature reserves, forest wilderness areas and marine protected areas, while conservation areas include biosphere reserves, conservancies and botanical gardens.

The Protected Areas Act was passed in 2014 to "promote sustainable utilisation of protected areas for the benefit of people, in a manner that would preserve the ecological character of such areas." However, activities allowed by the government contradict this Act by allowing mining in protected areas. For example, in 2016 the former Mineral Resources Minister Zwane and late Environmental Affairs Minister Molewa permitted a large, 15-year coal mine to be built inside the Mabola Protected Environment near Wakkerstroom, Mpumalanga. This area was declared under the Protected Areas Act in 2014 by the Mpumalanga provincial government as part of the declaration of more than 70 000 hectares of protected area in the Mpumalanga grasslands. This land is also a strategic water source area. xv Thankfully civil society and affected communities have appealed the decision, and the ministers have been instructed to decide again, but in a transparent manner that is based on public participation and that complies with the law. While this is the first example of a new mine to be permitted in a protected environment, there are many other examples where mines, developments and other industrial practices have been permitted in areas in which many people rely on for livelihoods.

Sacred sites

Sacred sites are spaces that are used by people for cultural and religious rituals and have been used for these purposes for thousands of years. They are areas that have been held in reverence and spaces where humans have held sacred relationships with the land, water, plants or animals in that site. Sacred land can include caves and shelters, rocks and landscapes that have spiritual and cultural significance or symbolism. Sacred water includes natural occurring springs, water-holes and water sources that have spiritual or sacred significance. Individual trees and plants also have cultural or sacred significance or symbolism, as do some animals. Since

colonisation, sacred sites have been marginalised, disrespected and Africa's rich cultural heritage has been disrespected. Sacred natural sites have also become vulnerable, degraded and threatened by various forms of land grabbing from tourism to mining and plantations. One example of a sacred site is Venda's sacred Phidhidi Waterfall. Earthlore Foundation supported a legal battle that saved the sacred waterfall in Venda from a destructive illegal tourism development. This court case also set the foundation for registering the protection of the network of sacred sites under national and international law^{xvi}

Exercise 3 – Small Group Exercise: Land Use in Your Communities

Answer the following questions in groups of 3-5:

- 1. Which of the above types of land are present in your community?
- 2. What else is land used for that is not included in the above list?
- 3. What are the benefits or negative impacts of these types of land use on your community?

Share your answers in groups and then in the plenary.

Land use in South Africa today is characterised by unequal ownership, land degradation, neglect for the land and exploitation of its resources. While there are some means in place to ensure that land is not destroyed, such as laws to protect and conserve, it is clear that this does not stop degradation because there are other motives at play, like desire for investment in South Africa by foreign mining companies at the expense of the environment and the people. It is also clear that land ownership is still skewed. In the next section we take a look at South Africa's history to see how we got to this point - how indigenous populations were dispossessed of the land, and at the same time, how land has become degraded.

Module 4: South African History of Land Dispossession and Degradation

"The land, our purpose is the land, that is what we must achieve. The land is our whole lives, we plough it for food, we build our houses from the soil, we live on it and we are buried in it. When the whites took our land away from us we lost the dignity of our lives, we could no longer feed our children. We were forced to become servants, we were treated like animals. Our people have many problems, we are beaten and killed by the farmers, the wages we earn are too little to buy even a bag of mielie-meal. We must unite together to help each other and face the Boers. But in everything we do we must remember that there is only one aim and one solution and that is the land, the soil, our world." - Petros Nkosi^{xvii}

A Brief History of Land in South Africa

The land debate in South Africa centres on the historical injustices enacted upon black South Africans which dates back to the beginning of colonialism where South Africans were dispossessed of their land and consequently their means of independent livelihoods and economic power. Returning to the land is arguably the most vital method of addressing these injustices and the issue of racial inequality.

This section of the guide seeks to provide a brief historical account of black land dispossession before and during colonialism. It also introduces the laws developed by the apartheid government relating to land and their consequences. Thereafter it looks at the current situation of land use – and the health of South Africa's land.

Land before Colonialism in South Africa

The history of Southern Africa before colonialism is complex and entangled with different histories about land from various sources such as settler interpretations and African nationalist interpretations. Most of the commonly accepted

understandings of history were recorded by those with colonial power and should be questioned and critiqued. Because of this, it is difficult for us to know everything about the way that land was used before colonialism.

Events were not only distorted for the sake of recorded history, but these distortions were also used as a justification for appropriation of land. The 'empty land theory' is one key argument that has been used, which argues that the land was vacant before Dutch and British settlers arrived in South Africa and that the bantu arrived at around the same time as the Europeans settled. This myth has been debunked by a number of researchers as they claim that early farming communities were settled in Southern Africa before the onset of colonialism. In around 1300 and 1450 there were clearly established and settled farming groups in the interior and uplands of Kwa-Zulu-Natal and in the Highveld respectively. These groups settled around water sources and areas of good soil, and settled very much in relation to climatic patterns. These farmers primarily focussed on the production of grain and livestock due to the region's unreliable rainfall. But before this, from as early as 200 BCE, there were various groups of hunter gatherers, pastoralists and farmers around in Southern Africa and historical data tells us that these groups interacted in various ways. The land may have seemed 'empty' to the Europeans because of the way that the Bantu and Khoi used the land; a rotation practice which ensured that they moved their heard around in search for broader pastures and so some large areas of land were left empty for some time while it regrew.

Another myth that colonialists spread was that the groups of Africans present in Southern Africa when they arrived were in constant conflict with one another and that the Xhosa were actually violent and took land from the Khoi by force. This justified European conquest of the land and violence towards the Xhosa. However, although there were incidents of conflict, these were isolated and by no means the norm. For the most part the interactions between the Xhosa and Khoi were harmonious, with loose borders and integration.

Colonialism – the Beginning of Land Dispossession and Segregation

White colonial land dispossession began when Jan Van Riebeeck landed in the Cape in the 1650s. Van Riebeeck was initially authorised to set up a refreshment station to provide fresh produce to the Dutch East India Company's ships that were passing by the Cape on their way to the Far East. However, as the Dutch required a more sustainable supply of meat and vegetables, more land was required. Land was then taken from the Khoikhoi and later the San to expand the Dutch colonial settlement.

In 1795 the British took over the Cape Colony from the Dutch, and between 1803 and 1806, 'returned it to the Dutch. In 1814 they took permanent administrative control of the cape after signing the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1814^{xviii} and colonial expansion and dispossession were then expanded even further into the interior.

Colonial powers established legislation in the colonies at an early stage to limit and control the use of land and water in Africa. This involved expropriation and dispossession of local communities through the use of various laws creating systems of permits and introduction of taxes. In addition to legislative control, they also delegated control to local chiefs who were custodians. One of these laws was the 1913 Native Land Act.

Land dispossession was occurring long before the 1913 Act was put into place, with virtual extermination of the Khoi and San. The 'frontier wars' of conquest by the Dutch and British during their move into the interior of the country dates back to 1779. During this time the Xhosa, Boers, Khoikhoi, San and British clashed nine times intermittently for nearly a hundred years. This was largely due to colonial expansion and as a result the Xhosa and Khoi-Khoi were dispossessed of their land and cattle, among other things. The first removal recorded in South Africa was by a combined British and Boer force against Xhosa forces under Chief Ndlambe in 1811, where the Xhosa were removed from areas around the Fish River. This resulted in the creation of settler towns, namely Grahamstown (Makhanda) and Cradock.

Throughout colonial history there were various policies which prevented black people from owning land as well as varied terms of ownership.

Box 3: Different understandings of land: Ownership versus communal

The attitude that colonisers had towards land was different to that of the indigenous people. Under the rule of the Dutch East India Company, land was a "reward" for conquering specific people and thus their land. Although there were occasionally treaties used to seize land, in South Africa the land was taken through pure military force. Much of the conflict was as a result of different understandings of the land itself. To the Colonisers, land was something to be owned, and if they had control of a farm it belonged to them in its absolute form. However, to the Xhosa people at this time, fixed title or private ownership of land was foreign to them and did not appear in their traditions. Rather, in their view land was to be used communally. The meaning of 'communal' is contested, and as we will see in the modules following, there is sometimes also a distinction between homestead land (where homes were located) and the commons (shared land for planting crops and grazing).

The Native Land Act of 1913 prohibited the buying or hiring of 92% of land in South Africa, by any male or female of indigenous origin. This meant that Africans were confined to just 8% of the land. This Act also restricted where Africans could live. As a result of this Act, many people were violently removed and relocated to areas which would later become the Bantustans. These laws were put into place in order to prevent black and white people from entering into contracts about land such as leasing, sharecropping or labour tenancy. These Acts laid the pathway for the laws which came about during Apartheid, such as the Bantustans after 1948.

Apartheid history

Policy which hindered land access and ownership by black people continued into Apartheid, with most of the land in the homelands being under communal tenure (see *Box 4*). Some notable acts, policies and strategies which created the basis of apartheid's separated development and other racialised land issues include the following:

The Tomlinson Commission: called for the upgrading of the 'reserves' for economic purposes which would benefit the apartheid government, by creating a successful commercial farming class of black farmers. The land was held

Box 4: What is communal tenure?

Communal tenure refers to situations where groups, communities, or one or more villages have well defined, exclusive rights to jointly own and/or manage particular areas of natural resources such as land, forest and water

in trust by the government and essentially dispossessed the small-scale farmers. This so-called development plan was a way for the apartheid government to further control black people and their relationship with land.

The Group Areas Act of 1950: This policy was used by the apartheid state to carry out forced removals of black people from white areas as well as ensuring racial segregation by removing Coloured and Indian people from white areas. It was used to augment the Land Acts and clean up 'black spots' of land by forcibly removing black farmers who had escaped the 1913 Land Act by having title deeds to their land.

The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951: was also meant to support the Land Act by removing black tenants who had previously had permission to live as tenants on white farms. When this permission was withdrawn the Act allowed for the demolishing of homes and violent removal of black families without a court order since they were declared squatters.

The Control of Irrigation Schemes in Bantu Areas of 1963: which allowed for the government to regulation and control the irrigation systems in areas where black people had been moved to

The Trust Forest Regulations of 1967: this regulated the use of forest land

Bantu Areas Land regulations of 1969: allowed the government to control tenure in all areas which were under the South African Development trust.

Undoing Apartheid Injustices through Land Reform

The first signs of change to these unjust laws came about in the 1990s when the first policy to end the restrictions on land was passed. The **Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act of 1991** was the start of land reform. Thereafter, in the context of democracy the **Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994** was passed to deal with land redistribution, restitution and land tenure reform.

A New Democracy and a New Constitution, but No Land

Liberation for black people in South Africa was won through a negotiated settlement between the new government (the ANC) and its allies, and the Apartheid government (the National Party) and its allies. The resulting constitution was to be a tool with which previous inequalities were to be addressed. Land was an extremely important factor in the new era of democracy. However, the Constitution of 1993 had no comprehensive plan on how land reform would be carried out and neither was it complimented by an active policy agenda.

A number of policies have been introduced to address the land question, but they are met with many challenges, as we will discuss in the following module.

Some researchers argue that the challenges being faced by South African society today in terms of the difficulty of land redress is due to the compromises which were made in the constitution. The negotiations leading up to democracy were in

favour of white farmers and well-located white urban residents who successfully secured protection of property rights in the new South Africa's constitution.

The Unravelling of our Relationship with Land in History – Losing Touch with the Old Ways, with the Land and with Nature

Something else that happened when the Khoi and San lost the land to the colonisers was a change in how the land was used. The Khoi and San, as is evident from the way they rotated their herds, had a harmonious relationship with nature. In some instances, they did not even leave a trace that they had lived on the land, hence the Europeans thought it was 'empty land'.

While the Europeans, on the other hand, brought with them alternative land use and farming practices that may not have been relevant to South Africa's warm climate and low rainfall areas. These practices had a drastic impact on our relationship with land and impacts the way we use land even now. Modern agriculture is now prevalent in South Africa as a result of colonialism and globalisation. While the West (and many South Africans) now view modern agriculture as more productive and efficient than indigenous farming methods. This has since been proven wrong as conventional agriculture is actually very backward in the way it seeks to control nature, and in doing so, kills off a lot of the beneficial micro-organisms in the soil, contributes to green-house gas emissions and thus climate change. It creates a serious divide between humans and nature. And as we will show in the following sections, agroecology (which is a farming science that is based on practices from indigenous farmers) is by far a superior way to produce food and it works with nature to preserve and enhance the life in it.

Something else that the colonisers brought with them was forced labour. As people were forced off their land and into reserves (that often had infertile land so they couldn't even farm for subsistence) they were forced into waged labour. This was a second important disruption to our relationship with land. The majority of the

population who previously used to exist in harmony with nature was now forced into jobs that destroyed nature. They had to do these jobs in order to survive.

The colonial experience also brought a capitalism that was based on extracting mineral resources through mining. South Africa has had over 150 years of mining for diamonds, gold, coal, platinum and other minerals. Mining has scarred, ripped, blown up and devastated the land. Moreover, mining was based on superexploitation of black labour and built a wealthy white monopoly capitalist class. Mining also contributed to many illnesses amongst workers and mining communities. Water systems in South Africa are polluted through acid mine drainage, chemicals from agriculture, industrial waste, dumping of effluent by local government and other forms of pollution. Coal which was discovered in 1878, has since then been entrenched as the main source of energy for South Africa. Today South Africa is the 14th highest carbon emitter in the world (according to some studies the 11th highest carbon emitter). We have a carbon intensive economy because of coal and with our current usage of fossil fuels (like coal), South Africa is leading a 3-4° Celsius increase in global temperature.

Industrial capitalism shaped farming, mining and manufacturing. Through the 20th century, growth through the intensive use of coal, natural resources and labour, became central to South Africa's racist and anti-nature capitalism. As a result, capitalism in South Africa has dehumanised people but has also destroyed and polluted many eco-systems. Many of these eco-systems are exhausted (fisheries), stressed (mono-industrial agricultural land), are collapsing (like water catchment areas) and are losing bio-diversity (many species of plants and animals are going extinct). Growth-led capitalism makes all of this invisible and as a result the real costs of capitalism are not taken into account. The war capitalism has waged against nature, including the land, is destroying us.

The Europeans also brought with them westernisation, consumerism, western diets, and as a result of globalisation more western ideas are destroying African cultures, forcing people off the land, convincing us that producing food is for poor

people and that it is better to live in a 'concrete jungle' or cities and consume nonnutritious western diets. This is leading to all sorts of non-communicable diseases, such as heart attacks, obesity and diabetes, which are the leading causes of death in South Africa today. The western lifestyle also leads to a rise in depression and suicides. It is rather ironic that scientists are prescribing 'nature' and 'forest bathing' as a cure for many of these modern-day stresses.

Surprisingly, some surveys conducted show there is still a large amount of people who would like land in rural areas to produce their own food. Perhaps they have become disillusioned with the current capitalist system, or the land is still part of who they are and there is a relationship which they do not want to end.

Many have acknowledged that land is key to redistributive justice in South Africa and that without an equitable resolution of the land and agrarian question, our future is compromised. However, what is often not discussed in the policies and processes is the effect they continue to have on our relationship with land. To end the war with nature, we have to reconnect with the land in a manner that respects the life supporting role of the land. Without peace with the land, we will destroy animals, plants and other important creatures. We will also destroy ourselves as the burning of coal, oil and gas is contributing to climate change, which has the potential for devastating impacts on the health and future of the entire world. It also means that we need to re-learn the ways of our indigenous ancestors as they have the answer to many of today's problems. We need to adapt to and mitigate climate change with the help of indigenous knowledge, we need to go back to the old way and rekindle our relationship with land and with each other.

So far we can conclude that climate change is the biggest threat to land and life on earth. The way we have abused and exploited the land is also contributing to the climate crisis. Therefore, our struggle for land ought to include a struggle to protect and revive land to ensure climate justice. It must be about rekindling a harmonious relationship with land, otherwise we will all lose.

Exercise 4 – Group Exercise: Ending the War with Nature and the Land

Answer the following questions in groups of 3-5:

- 1. How did colonialism impact on our relationship with each other, and nature more generally?
- 2. What will happen if capitalism in South Africa continues the conquest and war with nature?
- 3. How do we end capitalism's war with nature and ensure peace in our relationship with land and nature more generally?
- 4. What can your history, knowledge and experience teach us about living in harmony with land and nature?
- 5. Is communal land better than privately owned and controlled land? Why?
- 6. What can we learn from our elders to end the war with nature?

Share your answers in the plenary.

Module 5: Land and Environment Politics, Governance and Challenges

No Answers to the Land Question: Failures of Land Reform Policies

It has now been more than 24 years since the first democratic elections in South Africa. In many rural areas, and particularly the former homelands, the government's plans for land reform have not been implemented and these are still sites of inequality and insecurity of land tenure. The current models of land reform are more likely to allow for symbolic justice than actual transfer of land to South Africa's excluded populations.

A number of policies have been put in place to address land reform since democracy. These can be divided into three strategies of land reform: (i) Land restitution, (ii) Land redistribution and (iii) Security of land tenure—these are based on key sections in the constitution. We simply list a few of these policies in information *Box 5* below and thereafter mention their challenges.

Box 5: Land Reform: The Constitution and Legislation

Land Restitution

Section 25(7) of the Constitution: "A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to

The Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994: this Act ensures the provision of restitution of rights in land to people dispossessed of such land after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices. This law provides for the establishment of a commission on Restitution of land rights and a Land Court

restitution of that property or to equitable redress."

Land Redistribution

Section 25 (5) of the **Constitution:** "The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis".

Provision of Land and Assistance Act of 1993: "To provide for the designation of certain land; to regulate the subdivision of such land and the settlement of persons thereon; to provide for the rendering of financial assistance for the acquisition of land and to secure tenure rights" This Act was amended in 2008 "to clarify and extend the application of the provisions on the acquisition, planning, development, improvement and disposal of property and the provision of financial assistance for land reform purposes; to provide for the maintenance of property for land reform purposes..."

Security of Tenure

Section 25(6) of the Constitution: "A person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure because of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally

The Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act of 1996:

"To provide for security of tenure of labour tenants and those persons occupying or using land as a result of their association with labour tenants; to provide for the acquisition of land and right in land by labour tenants..."

Interim protection of Informal Land Rights Act of 1996: to provide for the temporary protection of certain rights to and interests in land which are not otherwise adequately protected by law.

secure or to comparable redress".

The Communal Property Associations Act of 1996: This Act allows for people to legally acquire property collectively.

Extension of Security of Tenure Act of 1997: The purpose of this Act is to provide tenure security for occupiers of land whether farmworkers, former farm workers or labour tenants which are not protected under the Labour Tenants Act. The act lists a number of mutual rights between owners and occupiers

Security of Tenure on Communal Land

Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act of 2003: This Act recognises traditional communities. establishes recognises traditional councils and provides a statutory framework within which traditional leaders can operate. Effectively, this entrenches the controversial boundaries and structures inherited from apartheid, while other laws such as the Communal Land Rights Act and the Traditional Courts Bill provide traditional leaders with expanded statutory powers. The Act also entrenches the position of chiefs appointed during the Bantustan era.

Communal Land Rights Act of 2004: This Act provides for legal security of tenure by transferring communal land, including Kwa-Zulu-Natal Ingonyama land, to communities, or by awarding

comparable redress to provide for the conduct of
a land rights enquiry to determine the transition
from old order rights to new order rights.

The challenges for implementation of most of these policies are vast, and progress has been slow but key is a lack of political will from the ANC government. It has not had an effective agrarian strategy and it has not had a proper approach to auditing tenure arrangements. In 2018 South Africa spent as much on land reform as it did on VIP protection and security. (VIP and security was allocated R2.9 billion in 2018/2019, land reform was allocated R2.7 billion in 2018/2019)^{xix}

There are many more issues in South Africa when it comes to land reform, and there is not space in this guide to go into too much detail, but here we simply list a few of the key issues:

Approaches are Unconstitutional, Promote Racism and a New Class of Black Largescale Farmers

As an attempt to remedy its past failures to land reform, the ANC government has in 2018 proposed changing the constitution to allow for land expropriation without compensation. The problem with this approach is that it is deeply racist and it encourages us to view all commercial white farmers as supremacist, creating a sharp, racialised antagonism with white farmers and more generally white South Africa. We have to address the injustices of land dispossession but how we do that is a crucial question to advance radical non-racial nation building. In addition to promoting racial division, the ANC's strategy does not look at the way that land will be used if it changes hands and it still supports the commercial agricultural model. Only some black farmers will benefit; a large class of black farmers (and some small-scale farmers) who will farm for export markets. The ANC and other parties are not genuinely committed to promoting small scale farmers as the bedrock of a new

food system based on food sovereignty. In our food sovereignty campaigning, including our Peoples Food Sovereignty Act, we estimate that at least 30 million small scale farmers can be created, with a 2-hectare land limit, through agroecology and state regulatory support. Such a food system will also enable us to advance climate justice and mitigate our destructive impact on the climate (we will return to Food Sovereignty). Moreover, merely promoting small scale black commercial farmers does not address the power in the hands of retail corporations in the food system. Using land ownership to merely create a class of a few wealthy commercial black farmers won't do much to change the conditions of the landless majority or our relationship with land. It will not end the war with nature.

Communal Tenure, Chiefs and Traditional Authorities

Another problem lies with the government's thinking behind land reform. Some scholars^{xx} argue that it is rooted in a Western, colonial mind-set that is very different to the way that many of the potential beneficiaries understand land. As mentioned before, indigenous systems of land ownership are not the same as the ownership approach of the West. A narrow communal tenure paradigm, which has been promoted by the ANC, also won't work. This is based on the belief by colonisers that land was owned collectively by indigenous communities and that Chiefs held a lot of authority. This was not the case, as some land in communal areas was for communal use (for grazing and agricultural land), while families and individuals held exclusive rights over other areas such as homesteads. In addition, the complex authority of Chiefs has changed over time. In Rustenburg, for example, chiefs have misrepresented the community and abused their power. Almost all chiefs in the area have invested their 'tribal assets' in big business such as telecommunications and banking, but also a large number in mining. Some Chiefs have now become part of the black elite in South Africa. For example, in Rustenburg they act as land brokers for many of the platinum corporations making unilateral decisions about the land, under the impression that they are the representatives of 'community interest.'

This needs to be taken into account when developing new ownership and land reform models. If we follow a communal paradigm then people won't be able to hold land rights individually, which is unconstitutional and also gives room for Chiefs of communal areas to misrepresent the people and exploit the environment. This also means that people are controlled by the Chiefs and don't have freedoms or rights that other citizens of the country have. A proposed alternative is customary tenure (See *Box 6* for a brief introduction. In the following module we will develop this alternative more).

Box 6: What is customary tenure?

Customary tenure is a set of rules and norms that govern community allocation, use, access, and transfer of land and other natural resources. The term "customary tenure" invokes the idea of "traditional" rights to land and other natural resources: "the tenure usually associated with indigenous communities and administered in accordance with their customs, as opposed to statutory tenure usually introduced during the colonial period"xxi

In addition to the problems of chiefs misrepresenting people in communal areas, the traditional authorities bill, which has been passed in Parliament and is now awaiting signature of the president (2019), is seriously problematic for similar reasons. It gives power to traditional leaders to govern traditional communities as they see fit, and this is often in the form of undemocratic exercise of power and generally entrenches male power. As a result, it has the potential to fully revive separate territorial areas in which poor black people have no citizenship rights (such as the right to speak for themselves) and are instead forced to be governed as subjects by apparently 'traditional' authorities. These authorities are given untraditional and undemocratic roles and power to speak on behalf of their people. According to the Act, traditional leaders are so-called custodians of our culture and custodians of our land.*xiii

Women's Land Rights

Women's land rights remain more insecure than that of men. "Women should own land because when a husband dies, the widow invariably gets expelled, a phenomenon that has been prevalent since the onset of HIV-AIDS, where a husband's death was automatically blamed on the woman. Single women are particularly hard-hit; their rights are trampled on daily in a cycle that sometimes involves collusion between traditional leaders and the woman's male relatives." - Mrs S. Ngubane, KwaZulu-Natal.

While apartheid is well-established as a system of racial oppression, we must remember that this system was also a system that pushed black women to the margins of society. If land reform is to be successful, then women, specifically black urban and rural women need to be at the centre of land reform. As more and more people are moving into urban areas it is important that we align land reform with the subsistence farmer in the former homelands, and also with women living in informal settlements. If we don't focus on gender when we look at land reform, then it is likely to reproduce the same kind of patriarchy the land reform programme has yielded thus far.

Urban Land Reform

In an overwhelmingly urbanised country that is rapidly becoming more urbanised, the willingness to confront the racial dimensions of the rural land question has not been equalled by a willingness to confront the urban land question. 60% of South Africans live in urban areas, but because urban land is more expensive and much scarcer, the principal focus of land reform remains rural/agrarian land. On the urban side of the land debate, issues around land are centred on access to housing and basic services as well the largely untransformed spatial planning legacy of Apartheid. As the urban population continues to grow, contestations over space remain and the black working-class majority are still living on the outskirts of South Africa's cities. This has rendered these policies at the national level unresponsive to

realities on the ground, particularly in urban contexts, resulting in no clear practices of how to address the issues around 'urban land' transformation.

Shrinking State and Neoliberalism

The land issue must be looked at not only through a historical lens, but must be contextualised in its current political and economic systems. We are witnessing the shrinking role of the state and the growing role of the private sector in this current era of neoliberalism (finance and corporate power shape everything). Often when states are corrupt and don't have sufficient capacity or resources to meet communities' needs, they pass the responsibility on to private companies. States like South Africa are also influenced by the international community, particularly when it comes to land. The government has protected private property rights to portray a country that is stable and unified, in order to attract foreign investments. A lot of the land that is being leased to foreign companies in South Africa is communal land, already being used by local people and has a huge impact on small-scale food producers.

The South African state has also become neoliberal as it has committed to the Word Bank's standards and ideas of development. This commitment is reflected in its approach to land restitution in the post-apartheid era. This approach is conservative compared to other radical approaches put forward by South African civil society. The World Bank's model was for land reform for capitalist development through land redistribution which involved a practice of a

The **World Bank** is an international financial institution that provides loans to countries for capital projects.

through land redistribution which involved a practice of agriculture that is highly commercial and large-scale.

Exercise 5 – Group Exercise: Land Use in Your Communities

Answer the following questions in groups of 2-4:

- 1. What are the different types of land ownership/tenure in your community?
- 2. Is it easy for women to access or own land?
- 3. What role do chiefs play, if any?
- 4. Do some people own their own land? How have they come to own it?
- 5. Is the current system fair? If not, why?
- 6. What role should the state play in promoting land justice?
- 7. How should we be organised to support, promote and advance land justice?

It is clear from the above that government has failed to carry out its (sometimes neoliberal) policies and that a number of challenges still exist for the poor, particularly women. It is also clear that Land reform policies have also failed at another level. They don't address the impact of current land-use practices and the potential of land reform of industrial farms to create capitalist middle-class black farmers who continue to plunder nature.

The alternatives proposed by the ANC government will not solve the problem of our climate and land crisis as they don't address the poor nor climate justice. Our government has failed in many ways to ensure the protection of the land from degradation. But not all is lost. South Africa's progressive constitution does mention land and environmental rights, and there are a number of policies in place to protect the land.

Land and Environmental Rights

Section 24 of the constitution: "Everyone has the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being; and to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that prevent pollution and ecological degradation; promote conservation; and secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development."

Policies and rights that exist to protect the environment

In *Box 7* below we highlight a few of the key laws that are in place to protect the environment and thereafter we provide a brief critique of their content and implementation.

Box 7: The health of land and the environment: Key legislation

National Heritage Resources Act (No. 25 of 1999)

This Act provides for an integrated system of management of the national heritage resources. It lays down a set of principles for this system to promote good government and empower civil society to nurture and conserve their heritage resources so that they may be passed onto future generations. It provides for provincial authorities who are required to provide the necessary protection of and management of conservation-worthy places, areas and objects (resources of national significance).

National Environmental Management: Integrated Coastal Management Act (No. 24 of 2008)

This Act provides for an integrated system for coastal and estuarine management. It provides the norms, standards and policies which are necessary for the conservation of the coastal environment, and maintain the natural attributes of coastal landscapes and seascapes. It also prohibits incineration at

sea, controls dumping and pollution at the sea and the coastal zone. It also controls the development around the coastal environment and the role of the state organs in relation to this.

National Environmental Management: Air Quality Act (No. 39 of 2004)

The purpose of this act is to regulate air quality in order to protect the environment by providing the necessary measures for the prevention of pollution and ecological degradation.

National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act (No. 10 of 2004)

To provide for the management and conservation of South Africa's biodiversity within the framework of the National Environmental Management Act. It also provides for the protection of species and ecosystems that warrant national protection and sustainable use of indigenous biological resources.

Protected Areas Act (No. 57 of 2003)

This Act provides for the protection and conservation of ecologically viable areas which represent our biodiversity and our natural landscapes and seascapes. It provides for the management of these areas as well as a register of all the areas. It also provides for intergovernmental co-operation and public consultation in matters concerning protected areas.

Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (No.49 of 2008)

The purpose of this Act is to make the minister responsible for implementing environmental matters in terms of the National Environment Management Act, and other environmental legislation as it relates to prospecting, mining, exploration, production and related activities. The purpose of this act was to make sure that the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act is aligned with the National Environmental Management Act. The act also notes that mineral and petroleum resources are the common heritage of all the people

of South Africa and the State is the custodian thereof for the benefit of all South Africans.

National Forests Act (No. 84 of 1998)

This act protects everyone's constitutional right to have their environment protected for the benefit of present and future generations.

National Water Act (No. 36 of 1998)

This Act provides for the reform of all laws which relate to water resources. It recognises that water is a scarce national resource, that water belongs to all people and that past discrimination has resulted in unequal access to water resources. Under this Act it is the responsibility of National Government to provide equitable allocation of water for beneficial use, the redistribution of water and international water matters.

The South African Constitution and these key Acts may seem to provide adequate protection of the environment, biodiversity and animal species, in many cases. However, in practices this is not always the case as implementation of these Acts is problematic. For example, in terms of conservation there is simply poor implementation of conservation mechanisms. In addition, many of the laws give responsibility and authority to ministers and do not allow for the communities to exercise their rights. This is the case with mining rights where the minister has the authority to grant mining licenses. This is also the case where ministers are in charge of implementing protection mechanisms for the environment. In a capitalist system, where corruption is prevalent, it is most likely that ministers will act in favour of self-interest and capital, rather than in the interest of community wellbeing. There are also contradictions within the laws regarding the privatisation of resources such as water. Under the National Water Act (1998), the state is a custodian for all water resources (surface and ground) and water is regarded as a resource that belongs to all people. However, the protection of property rights in

the Constitution allows for individuals to build dams on land they own which is essentially the private ownership of water.

The key message from this section is that any decision made about land in South Africa by communities, chiefs or the government (whether it is land reform, land for development, or land for commercial purposes, etc.) needs to consider both the environment and the people or it cannot be considered as advancing land justice and ultimately climate justice

Why we need Systemic Transformation and Grassroots Alternatives

Land justice is central to achieving climate justice. Without rethinking and practicing a different relationship with the land we will not be able to address historical injustices, the war with nature, address the dangers of climate change and meet the needs of the people.

Government is failing us in all these areas because:

- It is not willing to think about or embrace more transformative alternatives that link the above challenges – historical injustice, ending the war with nature, addressing the dangers of climate change and meeting the needs of the people;
- The land debate has been approached in a very narrow and populist way.
 'Expropriation without compensation' is about land use for capitalist
 farming, more of the same industrial, chemical, export led, carbon based
 and exploitative farming. Government does not have a conception of
 building a new food system, a systemic alternative, based on food
 sovereignty and customary tenure;
- It is still committed to a carbon based capitalist economy, through its policies and support for mining. This involves more coal fired power stations, off shore exploration of gas and oil, fracking and using gas. As a result, the land, water and eco-systems are going to be further destroyed.

Climate change is going to worsen, undermining generational justice of present and future generations.

We therefore need people-led alternatives, we need to build people's power, we need working examples of alternatives to show that another way is possible. In the next section we look at how other communities are doing this and also provide some inspiring examples of successful land struggles.

Exercise 6 – Plenary Exercise: Limits of SA's land and environmental policy and implementation strategies

Answer the following two questions in the plenary:

- 1. Do the key land reform and environmental policies address historical injustice effectively? Why or why not?
- 2. If the state owns all the land, given its capacity problems, will it lead to land justice? Why or why not?

Module 6: Systemic Alternatives

Land Justice Through Food Sovereignty and the Deep Just Transition

In the face of all these challenges, such as failure of government to act on our behalf, how can we take back control? What are people's alternatives to land reform, land justice and food sovereignty and how can we ensure that we can do what is in our power to restore our relationship with land and with each other? We need a deep just transition.

The **deep just transition** is about ensuring we end the use of fossil fuels, build new systems for food, water, energy, production, consumption, finance, transport, health and everyday living. Importantly, it also seeks to ensure the interests of workers and the poor are central to this transition and that we ensure inter-generational justice (see *Box 7*). In brief, the deep just transition is about building a post-capitalist society to survive the climate crisis. We call it democratic eco-socialism.

In order to get there, we need to learn about what alternatives exist in our country, but also internationally. We can learn lessons from these alternatives and assess whether they will work in our contexts. So in this section we look at some inspiring alternatives and successful struggles for land, for land justice and sustainable land practices. First we begin with food sovereignty in South Africa.

Box 7: What is an intergenerationally **Just Society?** A society where each generation does its fair share to enable members of succeeding generations both inside and outside its borders to satisfy their needs, to avoid harm to our eco-systems and to have the opportunity to value the benefits of life.

Food Sovereignty Alternative in South Africa

Food sovereignty is about taking back control in the food system. It is the freedom of a country or community to realise the right to food. It is defined by the largest

social movement in the world, La Via Campesina (meaning the way of the peasant) as: "the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations."

Food sovereignty therefore recognises that power currently rests with food corporations and that small-scale food producers are often overlooked by government when it comes to land and support. Food sovereignty calls for a different food system that supports small-scale food producers as it recognises that small-scale food producers actually have the means, skills and knowledge to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, cool the planet, produce food in ways that work with nature and provide livelihoods and nutritious food.

A food sovereignty and climate justice approach has emerged in South Africa which is committed to radical non-racialism, women's power, pro-small scale farmers and supports climate justice. This approach is supported by the South African Food Sovereignty Campaign (SAFSC) which is made up of organisations from the agrarian sector, climate justice and solidarity economy movements. In 2016 they launched a People's Food Sovereignty Act process in which solutions to the land issue in South Africa are outlined (see *Box 8* for a summary of the provisions in the Act as amended in 2018. The act can also be accessed here: https://www.safsc.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/FS-Act-no.1-of-2018.pdf).

This approach is a more just an eco-centric approach to land reform. It differs from the ANCs and EFFs approach in three key ways, First, it supports small-scale farming over large, industrial farms. Second it puts restrictions on land size to allow for more than 30 million small-scale farmers to be created in South Africa and encourages all food producers to utilise the land in a just and sustainable way. Third it promotes democratic planning of the food system. This is elaborated on further below in relation to the land commons.

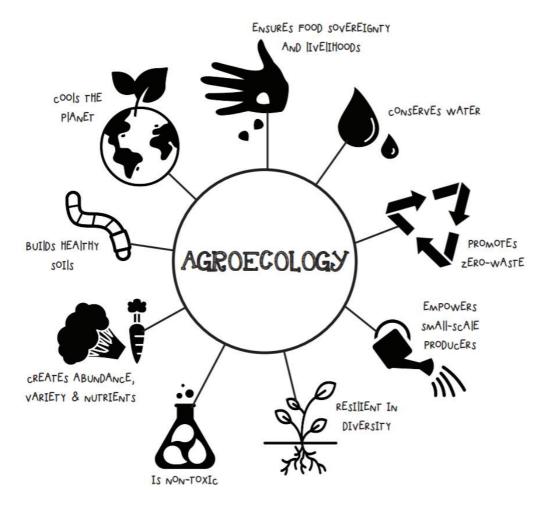
Box 8: The People's Food Sovereignty Act, 2018: Selected sections, Chapter 3xxiii

- 8(1) All persons have a right to claim and use land to advance food sovereignty, particularly land which is not being used for a social and environmental function.
- 9(1) All small-scale food producers are entitled to a piece of land with the minimum size being 1 hectare and maximum size of 2 hectares.
- 9(2) Every piece of land utilised by small-scale food producers and those in the existing food system for food production shall maintain the ecosystem in a sustainable way.

Agroecology

Food sovereignty proponents are also strong supporters of agroecology. In South Africa Biowatch is a key promoter of Agroecology. The image on the next page illustrates the principles of agroecology as defined by Biowatch through their practice: xxiv

Agroecology is a way of working with land and with nature to preserve it and to produce food. It is an important aspect of food sovereignty which ensures that the control of seed and land remains in the hands of farmers. It is a more climate just and resilient way to produce food that also empowers small-scale farmers to become more productive and self-sufficient, of which the majority are women. Agroecology creates abundance as it is more productive per hectare than industrial agriculture, but it also produces a greater variety of products, including building materials, medicines, fibres, fuels and foods. The food that is produced through agroecology is nutritious because healthy soil provides more nutrients and no toxic chemicals are used. Agroecology also conserves water as farmers introduce more plant cover and mulching to slow down water run-off and evaporation. Agroecology builds healthy soils as farmers add organic matter to the soil to create favourable conditions for the beneficial soil organisms. Soil health is the foundation for healthy plants.



Agroecology is also resilient in diversity. This means that a variety of domesticated and wild species of plants and animals are grown together to support each other, for example to protect each other from pests. It also ensures that given changing climates, some species will be able to adapt and grow while others may not survive, thus ensuring that farmers always have some food crop available. Agroecology promotes zero waste because it produces food for local consumption that is fresh and reaches the consumer quickly, therefore there is also no need for packaging, transport and refrigeration. Waste that is produced is biodegradable and is

returned to the nutrient cycle on the farm. Agroecology doesn't use toxic chemicals and therefore produces healthy nutritious food. Finally, agroecology cools the planet as it helps to reverse climate change by restoring carbon to soils and by not using chemical fertilisers. Because it promotes local food systems it also avoids many of the emissions produced by industrial agriculture.

Agroecology is an important land-use alternative to industrial agriculture that is gaining attention all over the world as farmers are showing how it is a better way to use land and produce food while restoring our relationship with nature.

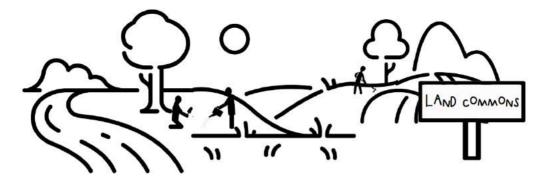
Land Commons

In response to failed land reform and redistribution, what alternatives are there that we can support? The idea of land commons is a powerful alternative, but it is nothing new. It is the way that our ancestors interacted with the land. They viewed it as a resource that was vital to their collective well-being and sustenance, that was owned, managed and used by the community. It involved democratic participation, interdependence and cooperation. However, since colonisation the 'enclosure of the commons' has led to privatisation and exploitation of our land resources for the benefit of a few.

To understand the commons more clearly we will look at the difference between 'ownership' as defined by European colonisers and 'ownership' as defined by indigenous tribal communities. The Europeans define ownership as private property, based on concepts of return on investments for profits. While indigenous communities base ownership on entitlements and usufruct rights (the right to use and enjoy the land without altering it), based on the belief that if they work on the land they can provide for themselves, their children, families and communities. Usufruct rights can be privately held or held in common. When held in common they are 'common property'. In India, for example, many poor households have survived in villages despite having no access to capital because they have had

guaranteed access to the resource base needed for sustenance – common pastures, water and biodiversity.

The commons are therefore local systems that are diverse and represent a real alternative to the market paradigm (which views nature as a source of profit). The commons and the ethical management of the commons is flexible and enables the best use of the natural resources in the commons, while ensuring that resources are not exploited, degraded or destroyed (as is the inevitable consequence of the capitalist system). The commons is a space for human creativity, intelligence and vibrancy, which are essential for a community that needs to be ecologically and socially just. The commons are local systems that can be managed by those who have precise and detailed knowledge of the area and who know its history, language, culture, vegetation, mountains and other physical attributes.



Customary tenure is one type of indigenous 'land commons'. It is a set of rules and norms that govern how land and resource commons are allocated, used and accessed. Customary tenure systems that exist are inherently unique to the localities in which they operate so it is difficult to characterise them, nevertheless many customary tenure systems contain the following:

• They gain legitimacy from the trust a community places in the people and institutions that govern the system.

- Customary tenure mirrors the cultural and social values of the community.
- Customary tenure often favours the rights of the first occupants but may also have mechanisms for latecomers to enter the system.
- Customary tenure frequently disaggregates rights to resources found in a particular space, allowing multiple uses and users of resources found in the territory
- They respond to specific needs of particular socioeconomic groups in the community, protecting the interests of disadvantaged, vulnerable and minority populations.
- Customary tenure often makes provisions for collective (as opposed to individual) ownership or management of space.
- Customary tenure systems are not static, they evolve over time in response to changes in their institutional, economic and physical environment.

The South African Food Sovereignty Campaign supports land use through commoning and through customary tenure. But this cannot be at the expense of the rights of women and communities, particularly if traditional leaders are part of such systems. However, this also requires democratic planning to ensure a food sovereignty system can take root. Such a planning approach is contained in the 2018 Peoples Food Sovereignty Act (see *Box 9*).

Box 9: The People's Food Sovereignty Act, 2018: Selected sections, Ch. 3, 9

- 10(2) The government shall utilise participatory mechanisms provided for in this act to undertake proper spatial planning to ensure the development of a food sovereignty system in rural and urban areas
- 28(1) A national food system democratic planning commission shall be established to include government but shall be led by food sovereignty organisations
- 28(2) The purpose of this mechanism shall be to plan and guide the transition of the entire food system towards food sovereignty
- 29(1) Local communal councils shall be established in which
 - a) persons can determine local government policies on the food sovereign system consistent with food sovereignty principles and vision.
- 29(2) Local communal councils shall include representatives from local government and all communities and small-scale food producers in the local food system.

Eco-social Housing

Eco-social housing builds on the vision of food sovereignty, land commons through customary tenure and climate justice. Eco-communities, villages, towns and cities are examples of this. The idea of transition towns also captures this approach. Such arrangements provide for land commoning while meeting the needs of individuals as part of community. This includes addressing the holistic needs of members of such communities through various collectively determined decisions for: housing, food production, sustainable water use, bio-diversity, socially owned renewable energy, recycling, transport, culture, child rearing and health. The Eco-village in lvory Park, Johannesburg was envisaged in this way. Other eco-village examples in

South Africa include Oude Molen Eco-Village in Cape Town and Lynedoch Ecovillage in Stellenbosch. Eco-social housing can be state provided rental housing organised through cooperatives, that meets living needs that end the war with nature through localised food sovereignty pathways, socially owned renewable energy, sustainable water use, solidarity economies and more. South Africa has not developed sufficient social housing to desegregate, densify and unite its communities. Instead we continue the old pattern of apartheid urban sprawl. An ambitions eco-social housing program can end homelessness, advance land justice and build climate justice communities within all our cities and towns.

Solidarity Economy

To build food sovereignty pathways to feed communities, villages, cities and towns we have to link small scale producers with consumers. This is where the solidarity economy alternative is important.

The Solidarity Economy is an economy that is based on efforts that seek to increase the quality of life of a community through not-for-profit endeavours by transforming the pattern of production, consumption, saving and living. It mainly consists of activities organised to address and transform exploitation under capitalist economics and the corporate, large, shareholder-dominated economy and can include diverse solidarity institutions. The Solidarity Economy is not a predesigned plan that can tell us how to change society, but rather a set of ethical values, principles, institutions and practices that guide us in how we struggle to change society and define the kind of society we wish to achieve. These principles can guide institution building in the solidarity economy so that people can set up organisations or enterprises in which all who partake in it benefit equally. These are some important examples of the Solidarity Economy in South Africa that are about food sovereignty and land justice:

- The **Food Sovereignty Centre** at Wits university is an example of a solidarity economy and food sovereignty pathway for Johannesburg. The centre provides a

space for dignity for food-stressed students and is working towards shifting Wits so that it becomes the first eco-centric university in South Africa. The centre comprises of three spaces: A community engagement and eco-demonstration site to advance learning about climate justice and agroecology, but also a space that promotes food commons, fruit orchards and agroecology gardens. A space of dignity where food-stressed students can create their own menus and cook their own culturally appropriate, nutritious meals in the communal kitchen. It is also a support space to advance food sovereignty and the solidarity economy in South Africa, where local farmers can meet and sell their fresh produce at community markets, where training in agroecology can take place and where indigenous knowledge and seeds are saved and shared. It is an example of a solidarity economy institution that is championing a pathway to change society and define the kind of society that students want — one where there is no hunger, zero waste, zero carbon emissions and solidarity.

- Earthrise Trust bought the old Rustlers Valley Farm in Ficksburg, Free State in December 2013 with the aim of creating a place to encourage intergenerational dialogue on solutions to the challenges facing humanity, particularly around issues of climate change and its impact on food production. After the farm was bought, farm-workers were allowed to stay on the land and decide what they wanted to do with it. Together with the Earthrise Trust staff, the farm has become a place where people live, produce food and demonstrate a communal way of living. The farm embodies respect and care for community of life, ecological integrity, social and economic justice, as well as democracy, non-violence and peace. Earthrise Trust is forging solidarity economy and food sovereignty pathways that promote new ways of thinking and action that highlight the indivisibility between environmental protection and human development in the transition towards a just, sustainable and peaceful world. XXV
- **Ntinga Ntaba kaNdoda** is a rural community movement in Keiskammahoek, Eastern Cape that mobilises for rights, democracy, land reform and sustainable

rural development. It was formed in 2002 by community members as an organisation to build self-determined communities based on principles of justice and imagination. The communities of Ntinga Ntaba kaNdoda are exploring pathways of building community through self-determination and balance with the earth. And along the way, they are learning and inviting African communities to join their exploration of agroecology, solidarity economy, and youth-centred leadership development. XXVI

Examples of Struggles for Land Justice and Sovereignty

While there are many devastating stories about the state of indigenous communities and the land, there are also many success stories about how some communities internationally and in South Africa have fought to protect their land rights and the rights of nature. We provide some of these examples below:

International Examples

Scotland (fracking), New Zealand and Spain

In October 2017, the government of Scotland announced a ban of fracking in the country, after a 3-year moratorium on drilling. This result was a culmination of 6 years of struggle against the industry by communities all around Scotland. New Zealand has also banned off shore extraction of gas and oil. Spain has also decided to terminate the use of coal and is working with coal affected communities and unions on transition strategies.

Brazil - Landless Workers' Movement (MST)

The Landless Workers' Movement in Brazil has a long history. It has played a central role in responding to neoliberal economic policies being pushed by the Brazilian government which has involved the corporatisation of land ownership and the displacement of workers through the shift from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The MST occupy land of wealthy individuals that is unused or not used to its full potential and thereafter engage in legal battles with the government to

expropriate the land for its members. Once it is expropriated the beneficiaries take on cooperative and solidarity economy systems where they are able to establish communities with infrastructure and schools. The movement has been largely successful and transnationally influential, with an estimated 1.5 million members and 1.1 million square kilometres of land having been given to peasant families by the government.

Bolivian Indigenous People's Movement (CIDOB)

The Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia (CIDOB) are the organisers of the Bolivian indigenous people's movement and represent 34 people's groups of Bolivia. They have also been the principal organisers of a series of national marches which have been largely successful. These are:

- March for Territory and Dignity (1990): led to the recognition of four indigenous territories and the ratification of the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention.
- March for Territory, Land, Political Participation and Development (1996): won its demand for indigenous land rights to be protected as indigenous territories, with elements of sovereignty and local jurisdiction.
- March for the Earth, Territory and Natural Resources (2000): led to changes to the agrarian reform law and the official recognition of lowland indigenous languages.
- National March for Land and Territory (2006): joined by the MST and other indigenous groups. It set up a tent city before the National Congress and lasted 28 days. It ended with the passing of a new land reform law.
- Sixth Indigenous March (2007): demanded indigenous autonomy, territorial protection, a plurinational state, and indigenous control over natural resources in their territories. This led to a new constitution in 2009 by Bolivia's first indigenous president Evo Morales and the changing of the country name to the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

Kenya - Ogiek Struggle

In 1999, a group of 5 000 Ogiek people marched to parliament in their traditional attire of monkey skins to demand their right to stay in the forests in Kenya. They are one of the last remaining forest-dwelling communities and among the most marginalised in Kenya. Their movement has since been supported worldwide. In May of 2017, following an 8 year long legal battle, the African Court of Human and Peoples Rights ruled in favour of the Ogiek community. The Court ruled that the Kenyan government had violated their rights to life, property, natural resources, development, religion and culture.

South African Examples

Lesetlheng - Struggle against mining

Itireleng Bakgatla Mineral Resources was founded in 2004 by the Bakgatla clan and was granted mining rights in 2008. They began their full scale mining in 2014. As a result, the community members could not fully utilise the farm. In response, the community of Lesetlheng went to the courts to put a stop to the mining, and take back ownership of the farm. In 2017, the North West High Court granted an eviction order to Itireleng Bakgatla Mineral Resources, allowing them to evict members of the Lesetlheng community who are reliant on the land for cultivation and for keeping their cattle. The community continued to fight, stating that no consultation was done and that their rights as land owners were being violated. They were constantly turned down by the high court which stated that once mining rights were granted by the minister, their rights as land owners were not relevant. The community members, who were descendants of the 13 families who had bought the land, took this case to the constitutional court. In a landmark decision, the constitutional court ruled in favour of the community, overturned the eviction notice and reaffirmed the rights of communal land owners, regardless of a mining license being issued. The ruling clearly outlined that having a mining right does not surpass the rights of those that are currently occupying the land.

Xolobeni – Struggle against open cast mining

The Xolobeni community in the Eastern Cape has been fighting against the proposed open cast mining of titanium on their land since the early 2000s. The community formed the Amadiba Crisis Committee to challenge government and the mining corporations. The community members reasonably fear that mining will result in displacement from their land and homes and the loss of communal resources on which they depend to survive. Their demands included that the right to mine not be granted until the landowners have consented and that if rights are granted, that the community be fairly compensated by the mining company. The Department of Mineral Resources stated that as per the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Act, the state is a custodian of all minerals in the country and may grant anyone with a license, rights to mine the area. After many years of struggles, court battles, demonstrations and petitions, on 22 November 2018, the Pretoria High Court ruled in favour of the Xolobeni residents that the proposed mining on their land would not go through without their permission. In addition, Gwede Mantashe (Mineral Resources Minister) and the Australian firm Transworld Energy and Minerals were ordered to pay legal costs to the case. This was a landmark case and an important step towards fighting extractivism on South African land without the consent of communities.

Module 7: A Deep Just Transition Pathway to Climate Justice - Advancing Land Justice and Food Sovereignty

How Do We Get There?

This section of the guide proposes some questions, activities and additional information for how communities can make a just transition towards land justice and sovereignty. We start by imagining an ideal picture of what we want our communities to look like. Thereafter we develop some principles to guide the just transition process. The next step is to map what we have in our communities by identifying sites of struggle, places where alternatives are already being practiced, for example agroecology sites, types of land in our communities and what it is being used for, and existing opportunities or resources that can help us advance a deep just transition. Thereafter we look at how to organise people in our communities around these issues. Finally, we provide some ideas and probing questions for how to take back power in these areas.

Exercise 7 – Group Exercise: Develop a Climate Justice Vision for your land and community

In groups of 4-8 create a vision of your ideal community, the vision can include the following:

- What different types of land exist in your ideal community?
- What is the land used for in your ideal community?
- What land-use practices are restricted? (i.e mining)
- How are decisions about land made in your ideal community?
- Who has access to land, what is the process to get access?
- Are there protected areas in your community? What and why is it protected?

Try and illustrate your ideal community with drawings and writing on a large piece of paper and share your picture in the plenary.

Guiding Principles for a Deep Just Transition Pathway to Land Justice and Food Sovereignty

Now that we have a picture of what we want our ideal community and environment to look like and how it will function, we need to develop a plan to get there. But first we will develop some principles to guide the process.

The following principles have been adapted from various food sovereignty and solidarity economy principles, community declarations and research, and can serve as a guide for communities embarking on land justice pathways or practices:

Principle 1: Value, work with and defend nature: Land Justice towards a just transition first and foremost sees nature, including water, land, soil and all living creatures as the source of all life. As such, nature and all living things need to be respected in land use decisions. All human practices must be eco-centric to ensure a non-destructive relationship with nature and agroecology favoured over other types of food and resource production.

Principle 2: Participatory democracy, collective ownership and self-regulation: This involves the promotion of communal and socialised ownership and planning to ensure collective property relations and self-management.

Principle 3: Environmental justice ensures that inequality in the resource use is challenged. It is against racial discrimination and opposes pollution and destruction of ecosystems. It seeks systemic alternatives to privilege the interests of the workers, the poor, the dispossessed and the vulnerable.

Principle 4: Community Benefit: encourages broader social awareness, ensuring that all community members are protected, supported and benefit through all decisions, particularly the disadvantaged and vulnerable groups in society.

Principle 5: Non-discrimination: No distinction in favour of or against a person based on their group, class or category to which they belong shall be permitted in this process, including racial, gender and all other forms of discrimination.

Principle 6: Climate Justice: this places the needs of workers and the poor at the centre of the deep just transition such that systems are built to realise their needs. Mitigation and adaptation to climate shocks (such as droughts, heatwaves, floods, sea level rise) must ensure the costs are also not carried by the workers and the poor.

Principle 7: Solidarity: is central to the deep just transition and serves to unite all struggling. Everyone's struggle is a common struggle, a shared struggle, to sustain life.

Exercise 8 – Group Exercise: Developing principles for a deep Just transition pathway to land justice and food sovereignty

Remain in the same groups that you developed a picture of an ideal society with.

In the group decide which of the above principles you would like to use as you transition to your new society. Also think of additional principles that are not listed above that you think are important for a deep just transition. Add them to your list.

Share these principles in the plenary.

Mapping our Community: Sites of Struggle, Alternatives and Opportunities to Advance Deep Just Transitions from Below

This next section is an exercise that can be performed in groups as a practice, but ideally should be done in communities as it involves walking around the community and identifying different resources, opportunities and allies. This will help communities during the next step of 'getting organised'.

Too often, we focus on challenges in our communities and forget to stop and take a look at the positive elements that do exist, including people, institutions and natural spaces. In this section we undertake an exercise to establish what resources,

opportunities and allies exist in our communities. Follow the steps below that apply:

- 1. **Demarcate your 'community'**: it could just be two blocks of houses and a communal piece of land, or it could be the entire village. Decide what area you want to work with and try find a map of this area. If you don't have a map, you can draw the main roads and key landmarks in the area.
- 2. Take a walk and map your community: if you have the means, take a walk around your community and identify which physical features and social organisations exist in your community. Note these on the map, take pictures and write notes about all the positive features and organisations in your community. This can include all schools and vacant pieces of land, religious organisations with land, people, such as farmers, indigenous people, lawyers or councillors, NGO's, orphanages, interesting types of buildings, renewable energy, doctors, fruit trees, fertile land, rivers, mountains, forests, community halls etc. Note down everything that you see that you think could help you as you build your ideal community.
- 3. **Identify land use needs and opportunities in the community**: Visit households in various streets, talk to community organisations, elders and local leaders to identify local land use needs. Moreover, while you walk also try and identify opportunities these could be places that are a little run-down that could be turned around to benefit the community, or children or the hungry, for example, run-down houses, overgrown and unutilised land.
- 4. **Regroup and feedback**: compile all your information into one community map document. Give feedback to the entire group about what you saw, what you found, what are the main land use needs and what the opportunities are.
- 5. Discuss the vision for land and community map together: connect the opportunities, relationships and physical features on the community map to the ideal vision developed. Identify obstacles and challenges that exist on the community map to achieve the vision for land. Then discuss the solutions that can

overcome these obstacles and challenges. Moreover, how will the principles identified for the deep just transition process take forward these solutions.

- 6. **Develop a community land justice plan:** after developing a vision for land use, clarifying principles for a deep just transition to realise this vision, developing a community map, identifying obstacles, challenges and solutions all this needs to be written up into a community land justice plan (the next activity below)
- 7. **Devise a campaign action plan:** From here you can decide what your actions will be. You have to prioritise in terms of what you take forward from the land justice plan. Identify small goals for quick wins, for example converting one piece of land into a food commons through agroecological practices, and in the process hosting an agroecology workshop (you can ask a local farmer to assist with the workshop). Start with small tasks with people in the workshop, and from there you will build mutual confidence as you go (See annexure 2 for links to these resources).

Once the small group is confident, you can invite other interested people, community representatives, activists in the Food Sovereignty Campaign and support NGOs (See annexure 1 for a list of contacts) to share resources and even attend your meetings. From there you can start introducing bigger goals and more complex challenges, keeping in mind your principles you developed to guide the process. You can use the next activity to introduce more people to the process.

Organising our Communities to Advance the Deep Just Transition: Use the Land Justice Plan and Campaign to Mobilise

Struggling for land justice is central to climate justice. If you are organised as an activist group, community organisation or local community movement around a land justice plan and campaign the next step is to scale this up to involve the community. In this process climate justice, land justice and food sovereignty must be deepened in our communities. The climate crisis is deepening and we urgently need to do what we can as active citizens in our communities and countries. Below we provide some steps to follow to help you prepare a campaign for land justice,

climate justice and food sovereignty and in the process, create a pathway in your community for a deep just transition.

Mobilise your community and key community actors by giving them information (through door-to-door visits, workshops, community meetings), telling them about your concerns. Thereafter, set up a meeting with interested community members.

Find a central meeting space to host your first meeting. At your first meeting you can discuss your intention for the meeting and suggest having a workshop on this guide to help people understand the issues. You may want to workshop other activist guides, on food sovereignty, seed sovereignty and water to develop a deeper understanding of the issues in your community and the alternatives. [See annexure 2 for links to additional resources at the end of the guide]

Identify the issue/issues you want to focus on and the alternative you want to promote. This can start with sharing the land justice plan developed by your organisation or activist group [see box below for an example of what can go in your land justice plan/campaign], but it can also be broadened to include food sovereignty, solidarity economy, seed saving etc.

Identify relevant policies that can help you. This will require some research to read up about the latest policies or contacting civil society organisations in your community who deal with these issues.

Attend existing government structure meetings – find out what meetings are being held that are relevant to your issue

Once you have all the information about your issue and all the relevant people in the room, map out a clear programme of action – and include this in your Land Justice Plan. The Land Justice Plan should be a living document that is continually updated as new opportunities, challenges or lessons arise.

Land Justice Plan and Campaign Framework

The plan can include the following aspects:

- Vision or goal develop the vision based on your visioning activity
- Objectives Include in here the wider objectives that you want to achieve through the campaign in the long term.
- Principles Add the principles in here based on your previous activity and develop these further as you journey
- Systemic alternatives/solutions What type of alternatives do you want to build in your campaign. For example, what are the different types of land use you want to promote, such as household gardening, eco-social housing, spaces food, seed and water sovereignty, solidarity economy markets, enterprises and cooperatives. And in the broad sense, protection of eco-areas. List these here.
- Draw a map specify where the above mentioned alternatives will feature in your community. You can use the map you have already drawn in previous activities and keep refining it as you go.
- Obstacles and Challenges specify the obstacles and challenges in the community to realising the land justice plan
- Campaign plan of action: outline which parts of the land justice plan you
 want to prioritise and how to mobilise the community behind the land
 justice campaign. List clear tactics to overcome obstacles as well as steps,
 roles and responsibilities in this section of the plan to also assist with
 capacity building, education and deepening practice to advance solutions.

The steps and activities provided in this section serve as a guide to get a conversation going in your community about the issues related to land, hunger, our disconnect with nature, and climate change. You do not need to follow all the steps

if they don't apply to your community and there may be experts in your community with better experience and ideas. Work with these people and adapt your plan and campaign as you go. Remember to keep in mind lessons from past failures, but also from existing successes in your community and in South Africa and the world - as we have shared previously in the guide.

Module 8: Conclusion – Restoring our Relationship with Land

While numerous challenges exist in the world and in South Africa for restoring our relationship with land, this guide has shown that there is a way out. Humans are capable of so much destruction, but we are also capable of dreaming about alternatives and fighting for the rights of our communities, of land and nature.

If we want to sustain life of human and non-human life forms on earth, we need to start living differently – in co-operation and harmony with each other and with the land and nature. This is possible, as we have shown in this guide, through agroecology, food sovereignty, participatory land planning, food and land commons.

If we come together as active citizens, acknowledging our past failures and faults, understanding current challenges and the systemic nature of the crisis we are in, and learn about alternatives that exist, and successful struggles in our country and internationally, we can begin to work together to build a pathway out of the chaos. We need to do this before the web of life unravels completely. There is still time.

There are so many people in our communities, who are not satisfied with the way things are, who are deeply distressed about how society and the environment is being destroyed and who are not benefiting from the current system (in fact there are very few people satisfied with the current capitalist, industrial system). We need to connect with these people in our communities and tell them that there is a way out. This guide is a simple tool to get the conversation going – with each other and with nature.

It is time we sat and listened to each other, to our parents, to children, to elders, to indigenous people, to the marginalised ... and to the land, water, trees and animals. It is time we learned from the past to sustain life now and in the future.

What are you going to do to restore your relationship with land and will you bring like-minded people in your community along with you on the long and life-sustaining journey towards a deep just transition?

Exercise 9 – Individual Activity: Reflecting on the guide/workshop

Individually each person answers the following questions:

- 1. What ideas or lessons stood out the most in this workshop? Why do you think that they are important to you?
- 2. How have your thoughts about land changed?
- 3. What is at stake when we think about climate justice through land justice and food sovereignty?
- 4. What will happen to South Africa if we don't advance climate justice through land justice and food sovereignty?
- 5. How do we advance the alternatives mentioned in this guide?
- 6. What more do you want to find out about? How do you plan on doing this?
- 7. How can this guide assist struggles in your community?

There is no need to share these answers in the plenary, but if participants would like to, you can give them the opportunity.

Annexure 1: Contact list

• AWARD (Association for Water and Rural Development) is an NGO with a mission to develop, test and inform new and appropriate ways of managing water and biodiversity so as to contribute to sustainable futures.

o Telephone: 015 793 0145 o Email: info@award.org.za o Website: www.award.org.za

• Benchmarks Foundation is a non-profit, faith-based organisation owned by the churches in South Africa. It is a unique organisation in the area of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and monitors corporate performance of mining companies

o Telephone: 011 832-1743/2

o Website: http://www.bench-marks.org.za/

• **Biowatch South Africa** is an environmental justice NGO based in Durban that works with small-holder farmers, other civil society organisations and government to ensure that people have control over their food, agricultural processes and resources, and other natural resources, within a bio-diverse, agroecological and sustainable system.

o Telephone: +27 31 206 2954 o Email: info@biowatch.org.za o Website: www.biowatch.org.za

• Centre for Environmental Rights (CER) is made up of lawyer activist lawyers who help communities and civil society organisations in South Africa realise our Constitutional right to a healthy environment by advocating and litigating for environmental justice.

o Telephone: +27 21 447 1647

o Email: info@cer.org.za o Website: www.cer.org.za

• COPAC (Co-operative and Policy Alternative Centre) has been engaged in grassroots community development work since 1999 in South Africa. It aims to build grassroots capacities for movement building in South Africa, promote popular education and activist training for democratic transformative politics and support the development of systemic alternatives to ensure ecological justice and which meets the needs of workers, the poor, women and youth.

o Telephone: 011 447 1013 o Email: copac@icon.co.za o Website: www.copac.org.za

• Environmental Monitoring Group (EMG) is an independent not-for profit organisation based in Cape Town that works with communities and organisations to encourage environmental practices that lead to a more human relationship with each other and the natural environment.

o Telephone: 021 448 2881 o Website: www.emg.org.za

• **Groundwork** - a non-profit environmental justice service and developmental organization working primarily in Southern Africa in the areas of Climate & Energy Justice, Coal, Environmental Health, Global Green and Healthy Hospitals, and Waste.

o Telephone: +2733-3425662

o Email: team@groundwork.org.za o Website: www.groundwork.org.za

• **Heiveld Cooperative** is a successful cooperative that is owned and managed by its members for the benefit of the community. It produces organic and fair-trade rooibos tea grown and processed in the traditional way with minimal use of machinery.

o Telephone: 027 218 1318

o Email: marketing@heiveld.co.za

o Website: http://www.heiveld.co.za

• Lawyers for Human Rights is an independent human rights organisation working in human rights activism and public interest litigation in South Africa. It uses the law as a positive instrument for change and to deepen the democratisation of South African society. It is a national organisation with offices throughout South Africa

o Telephone: (Johannesburg office): 011 339 1960

o Website: www.lhr.org.za

• Legal Resources Centre is an independent, client-based, non-profit public interest law clinic. It uses law as an instrument of justice for South Africa's marginalised and under-resourced populations. It operates in Johannesburg, Makhanda, Cape Town and Durban, with satellite offices in rural communities in Limpopo Mpumalanga, KZN and the Eastern Cape. Staff include attorneys, paralegals, support staff and grant officers who have dedicated themselves to address pressing human rights issues in today's socio-economic and cultural context.

o Telephone: (National Office) 011 836 9831

o Email: info@lrc.org.za o Website: www.lrc.org.za

• Lynedoch Eco Village is an experimental eco-village between Stellenbosch and Khayelitsha in Cape Town which is navigating a progressive approach to socially, radically and economically integrated inclusive community living.

o Email: lynedochecovillage@gmail.com

o Website: https://lynedochecovillage.wordpress.com

• Ntinga Ntaba kaNdoda is a rural people's movement that seeks to build democratic people's power in order to transform the social, economic, political and cultural lives of the people of Keiskammahoek. They aim to create a society based on solidarity, decency, equality, well-being, justice and deep democracy for all, working with others to achieve land and agrarian reform, food sovereignty and socio-economic justice.

o Facebook: https://web.facebook.com/groups/ntinga/about/

• **VEJA** – The Vaal Environmental Justice Alliance was established in 2004. It has 13 affiliate organisations from surrounding areas and focus is on monitoring corporate pollution.

o Telephone: 016 933 9079

o Facebook: Vaal-Environmental-Justice-Alliance

Annexure 2: Additional Resources

Activist guides

Building People's Power for Water Sovereignty: Activist guide

Available at: https://www.safsc.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Water-Guide-Final-Web colour.pdf

Advancing Food Sovereignty through Seed Saving: An Activist Guide

Available at: https://www.safsc.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Seed-Saving-Activist-Guide.pdf

Food Sovereignty for the Right to Food: A Guide for Grassroots Activism

Available at: http://safsc.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Food-Sovereignty-for-the-Right-to-Food-Activist-Guide-compressed.pdf

Create Worker through Worker Cooperatives: Activist Guide

Available at: http://safsc.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Worker-Coop-Guide-Final-Web-Version1.pdf

Building a Solidarity Economy Movement: A Guide for Grassroots Activism Available at: http://safsc.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/SEM-guide.pdf

Visual resources to understand the climate crisis and everyday struggles

Animation: The Hidden Story Behind Hunger: Why we need Food Sovereignty and

Climate Justice

Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AYHybn0QdYA

Animation: Water is ours: It's time to fight for Water Sovereignty [English]

Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VI3M53bi8RQ&t

Animation: Water is ours: It's time to fight for Water Sovereignty [isiXhosa]

Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7qFwThF0XcQ

Notes and Resources

ⁱ The full report can be accessed at http://www.ipcc.ch/report/sr15/.

ii https://www.pik-potsdam.de/paris-reality-check/primap-hist/#id=earth&entity=kyotoghgar4

https://www.foodsource.org.uk/chapters/3-food-systems-greenhouse-gas-emissions

iv https://www.ipcc.ch/site/assets/uploads/2019/08/Fullreport-1.pdf

^v https://www.nature.com/news/govern-land-as-a-global-commons-1.22065#/pressure

vi https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2018/nov/03/stop-biodiversity-loss-or-we-could-face-our-own-extinction-warns-un

vii https://www.counterpunch.org/2018/10/30/collapsing-rainforest-ecosystems/

viii http://science.sciencemag.org/content/361/6405/916

ix http://www.ipes-food.org/new-report-seven-case-studies-of-agroecological-transition

^{*} http://www.ruraldevelopment.gov.za/publications/land-audit-report/file/6126

xi http://www.mapable.co.za/single-post/2018/03/06/State-controlled-land-in-four-maps

xii https://www.plaas.org.za/sites/default/files/publications-pdf/No1%20Fact%20check%20web.pdf

xiii https://cer.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/CER-Mining-and-your-Community-Final-web.pdf

xiv https://egis.environment.gov.za/protected_areas_database

xv See http://www.groundwork.org.za/archives/2018/news20181108-Court victory for South Africas protected areas in Mabola case.php

xvi http://earthlorefoundation.org/sacred-lands/

xvii Petros Nkosi, Community Meeting in Eastern Transvaal, 1991 (quoted in Rugege, 2004).

xviii https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201907/panelreportlandreform_1.pdf

xix https://africacheck.org/reports/yes-south-africas-government-spends-as-much-on-vip-protection-security-as-on-land-reform/

 $^{^{\}mbox{\tiny xx}}$ https://theconversation.com/why-giving-south-africans-title-deeds-isnt-the-panacea-for-land-reform-98106

xxi https://www.land-links.org/issue-brief/the-future-of-customary-tenure/

xxii https://mg.co.za/article/2019-01-11-00-contentious-traditional-leadership-bill-passed

xxiii https://www.safsc.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/FS-Act-no.1-of-2018.pdf

xxiv http://www.biowatch.org.za/docs/books/agroecology_is_best_practice.pdf

xxv http://earthrisetrust.org.za/index.php/history/

xxvi https://thousandcurrents.org/ntinga-ntaba-kandoda-african-centered-self-determined-people-powered/

