

**FINAL TECHNICAL REPORT**

**AUDITING THE REALISATION OF DEMOCRACY  
AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF  
RURAL LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA**

**A COMPONENT OF THE METAGORA PILOT PROJECT**

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## Executive Summary

The aim of this project was to design a survey methodology to measure the realisation of democracy and human rights in the context of South Africa's land reform process. The project sought to design, test, evaluate, and refine this methodology, bearing in mind the diverse nature of the South African land question, the variety of different stakeholders in the land question, and the particular needs of policy makers and civil society for information about citizens' experiences, attitudes, and aspirations in respect of land. The project forms part of a larger international initiative of the European Union, called "Measuring Democracy, Human Rights and Governance," or METAGORA. METAGORA is a 2-year pilot project based on innovative initiatives emerging from a North/South network. METAGORA intends to bring statistical analysis into the hearth of monitoring democracy, human rights and governance, and to promote proper matching of qualitative and quantitative approaches in view to enhance human rights reporting, governance evaluation and assessment of democracy.

The research project had three primary objectives:

- to develop a survey methodology with which to assess South Africa's land reform process from the perspective of the ideals of good governance, participatory democracy, and realisation of human rights;
- to provide substantive information regarding the experiences, perceptions, and aspirations of people on the ground, in order to contribute to debate around, and development of, South Africa's land reform policy; and
- to contribute to the overarching goals of the METAGORA pilot project of which it is a part, in promoting the exploration of governance and human rights issues through statistical analysis in a policy-relevant manner.

Guided by the philosophy and principles of METAGORA, the 'realisation of democracy, human rights and good governance' was understood not in a formal or normative manner, e.g. by examining how well commitments to socio-economic rights in national law or international conventions have been or are being fulfilled by South Africa's land reform programme. Rather, the idea was to understand the perceptions, attitudes and aspirations of those for whom, broadly speaking, land reform is intended, to understand how well their needs are being addressed by land reform policy. As such, the focus of the study was not on the delivery of the land reform programme *per se*, but rather to focus on the 'appropriateness' of land reform policy itself. This was informed in part by the fact that, relative to a fair amount of research on impact and obstacles to delivery, there is very little known about more fundamental questions such as who land reform should be for, how many people want land, why they want land and what they would like to do with it, what land reform can contribute to national reconciliation, and so forth.

As for whether the research team has been successful in its endeavour, it is somewhat premature to tell, but on the whole it is felt that the richness and self-evident policy importance of the study's findings vindicates some of the key decisions taken by the research team, namely in focusing on policy appropriateness as opposed to impact of implementation, in ensuring that different types of household members were interviewed (i.e. not only household heads), and in focusing on

particular rural and urban sub-populations (i.e. the four main ‘settlement types’). Moreover, despite concerns expressed by some stakeholders that concepts such as ‘demand for land’ are too subtle and ephemeral for a quantitative treatment such as that employed here, the results by and large form a coherent whole to an extent that suggests that respondents’ answers to questions about land demand, for example, are well considered and meaningful from a policy perspective. Finally, while stakeholders may disagree as to the interpretation of some of the findings, and some concerns have been raised about methodology, the engagements thus far have demonstrated that the deliberately value-neutral nature of the study does indeed lend itself to the promotion of dialogue among disparate stakeholders.

Despite the rather casual, oblique treatment of democracy, human rights and governance, these issues come very much to the fore through findings. Arguably the issue that leaps out with greatest force is that of lack of awareness of the land reform programme. Not only are there clear signs that the Restitution Programme is badly flawed for the fact that a high proportion of dispossessed households are not aware of the Programme and thus did not lodge claims before the deadline, there is a clear link between lack of awareness on the one hand, and low income and education, on the other. Another salient issue is the role of land reform in contributing to racial reconciliation, and the fact that a greater proportion of blacks see the necessity of land reform for this purpose, than in fact want land for themselves. A third issue that emerges is the fact that the predominant reason why people want land is to grow food for own consumption, and accordingly the majority of those who do want land want very modest amounts, and yet this need is generally not well catered for by the land reform programme.

# **1 Introduction**

## **1.1 Project description**

The aim of this project was to design a survey methodology to measure the realisation of democracy and human rights in the context of South Africa's land reform process. The project sought to design, test, evaluate, and refine this methodology, bearing in mind the diverse nature of the South African land question, the variety of different stakeholders in the land question, and the particular needs of policy makers and civil society for information about citizens' experiences, attitudes, and aspirations in respect of land.

The project forms part of a larger international initiative of the European Union, called "Measuring Democracy, Human Rights and Governance," or METAGORA. METAGORA is a 2-year pilot project based on innovative initiatives emerging from a North/South network. Its design is largely based on the operational conclusions of the international conference on Statistics, Development and Human Rights (Montreux, 4-8 September 2000), as well as on the results of subsequent consultations and workshops supported by the EC as a follow-up of that conference. METAGORA intends to bring statistical analysis into the hearth of monitoring democracy, human rights and governance, and to promote proper matching of qualitative and quantitative approaches in view to enhance human rights reporting, governance evaluation and assessment of democracy. METAGORA seeks to address needs for evidence-based policy-making, impact studies, aid delivery, empowerment of informed civil society and support to democratic dialogue, in particular in the context of distributive development. Apart from South Africa, other country partners participating in the METAGORA project include Mexico, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Palestine.

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- to provide substantive information regarding the experiences, perceptions, and aspirations of people on the ground, in order to contribute to debate around, and development of, South Africa's land reform policy; and
- to contribute to the overarching goals of the METAGORA pilot project of which it is a part, in promoting the exploration of governance and human rights issues through statistical analysis in a policy-relevant manner.

This technical report serves as a comprehensive account of what the project did and found. However, because of the policy-oriented aims of METAGORA, this report is not an end itself. Beyond this report, the HSRC team has sought, and will continue to seek, to engage with policy makers and other stakeholders, on the one hand to help understand what the present exercise has and has not contributed, and on the other hand to promote the best possible use of the information and insights generated.



## 1.2 Land reform in the context of South Africa's democracy

The recognition of governments as being legitimate is regarded as contingent upon them having gained power through democratic processes. This reflects the universally accepted principle that democracy, both in gaining power and governing a state, and respect for human rights, are indispensable features of a legitimate state and good governance. Furthermore, respect for human rights is a condition for state recognition in international law.

The universality of democracy as a basis for good governance is rooted in the notion that those who are to be governed ought to have a stake in who will govern them and make the laws according to which they will be governed. Democracy further requires that the electorate is able to make this determination on the basis of policies openly put to them, and that they may make their determination freely, confidentially and without coercion. Furthermore, democracy entails that once elected, those in power conduct themselves according to procedural rules, primarily those that respect the rights of their citizens. In addition democratic governments are required to conduct themselves in an open and transparent manner and in accordance with the law and constitution of the state, which is understood as adherence to the rule of law. The respect for human rights is itself regarded as one of the indicators of democracy, while due process informs the notion of good governance and the rule of law.

In South Africa, respect for human rights and the democratic process are imbued with added significance, because prior to the first non-racial democratic elections in 1994, the apartheid state emphatically negated these principles in respect of the majority black population. The mission of post-apartheid South Africa has therefore largely been informed by the imperative to deepen the non-racial system of governance and democracy, and establish a human rights culture. However, even before the turning point of 1994, there was a common awareness that political transformation had to be complemented by economic and social transformation, in particular to redress the material deprivations and denial of opportunities experienced under apartheid. A clear expression of the inclusive nature of transformation was the 1994 framework document for the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which set out a broad plan of transformation which, *inter alia*, touched on all sectors of the economy, improved access to health care, education, etc.<sup>1</sup>

One of the areas highlighted in the RDP framework document is land. Land ownership in South Africa has historically been a source of conflict and contention. Colonial and apartheid policies dispossessed millions of black South Africans of their land and moved them into overcrowded and impoverished reserves, homelands and townships. It is estimated that more than 3.5 million people and their descendants have been victims of racially based dispossessions and forced removals during the years of segregation and apartheid.<sup>2</sup> These racially based land policies were a cause of insecurity, landlessness, poverty and great hurt amongst black people, and also resulted in inefficient urban and rural land use patterns and a fragmented system of land administration. On the eve of the 1994 elections, blacks controlled only about 15% of non-public land, predominantly being the "homelands" and "coloured reserves."

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<sup>1</sup> ANC, 1994, "The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework."

<sup>2</sup> Surplus People Project, 1983, *Forced Removals in South Africa. The SPP Reports. Volume 1, General Overview*. Surplus People Project, Cape Town.

The unequal distribution of land in South Africa, and land policy, constituted the core of apartheid, and was introduced and first institutionalised by the Glen Gray Act of 1896. The subsequent Land Act of 1913, and revisions in 1939, consolidated the unequal distribution of land along racial lines. Ultimately, this distribution resulted in the formulation of the homeland policy, which constituted territorial and administrative areas where the black population was expected to reside, in terms of their ethnic origins. A plethora of legislation controlled their movement from these self-governing territories, and “white” South Africa. This policy was euphemistically referred as “separate development.” Some of these territories, governed by black ethnic ‘chiefs,’ became ‘independent states.’

As a result of the formation of the homelands, forced removals took place on a massive scale. ‘Black spots’ – i.e. black communities in areas designated for whites were eliminated, and black people were dumped in homeland areas. Many black communities were divested of their land in white areas, and the land on which they were resettled was often not suitable for cultivation or grazing, or they were resettled among groups who were forced to accommodate them despite worsening land shortages. Townships around or in urban areas served as cheap labour reservoirs.

In 1994, these states and territories were abolished, and nine provinces were demarcated, many of which included the impoverished former homeland areas.

It is clear from the above that land is a central resource of which the majority of people were deprived under apartheid. As a result, they were also deprived of a number of other related entitlements. Land as a *right*, is clearly a historical construct as a result of the history of apartheid South Africa. However, land is also clearly a *resource*, which can facilitate the guarantee and protection of other rights and entitlements, such as housing, freedom of movement, financing and subsistence. Agriculture used to be an important basis for making a livelihood when dispossession took place. These days, however, mining, tourism, letting, manufacturing, etc., are other ways in which land is used to make a living. In addition, owning land adds to security in settlement and offers a financial collateral. Land Reform in South Africa, as we will see in the next section tries to address both these components – land as a right and a resource.

### **1.3 The Current Land Policy Regime in South Africa**

The South African Constitution makes three provisions for land reform in South Africa:

- 25(5) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis;
- 25(6) A person or community whose tenure of land is legal insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress;
- 25(7) 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 restitution of that property or to equitable redress.

In other words, the three main pillars of land reform in South Africa are land redistribution, reform of tenure systems, and land restitution. Further, the redistribution programme has different components or sub-programmes. These include (a) agricultural development – to make land available to people for agricultural purposes; (b) settlement – to provide people land for settlement purposes; and (c) non-agricultural enterprises, for example, eco-tourism projects.

The primary legal documents which inform land reform in South Africa are:

a) The White Paper on South African Land Policy, 1997

Racially-based land policies were a cause of insecurity, landlessness and poverty amongst black people, and a cause of inefficient land administration and land use. Land policy must deal with the following in both urban and rural environments:

- The injustices of racially-based land dispossession;
- The inequitable distribution of land ownership;
- The need for security of tenure for all;
- The need for sustainable use of land;
- The need for rapid release of land for development;
- The need to record and register all rights in property; and
- The need to administer public land in an effective manner.

The case for government's land reform policy is thus four-fold, and includes the following assumptions:

- To redress the injustices of apartheid
- To foster national reconciliation and stability
- To underpin economic growth
- To improve household welfare and alleviate poverty

Arguably, the fundamental assumed expectation of “target” groups, is that land reform will alleviate poverty. However, according to many commentators, government underestimated the resources required to support people on the land, and there is very little legislation in this regard (although it can be found tangentially in legislation on water, the environment, housing, transportation and roads, etc). In addition, very little is known about people's needs for land and how they would like to use land. Another assumption is that people have an emotional and historical link with land, and because they were divested of it, it is their right, in principle, to have it returned.

b) Land reform (labour tenants) act, 1996 and The Extension of Security of Tenure Act, 1997

Both these acts aim to secure tenure rights of farm dwellers and labourers. ESTA is intended to provide secure tenure for people who work and live on commercial farms, and applies human rights standards to the relationship between owner and occupier. Its major impact is on privately-owned land, where some six million people are affected. However, according to legal commentators, what the Act does is support the owners' property rights, and prescribes a number of conditions and procedures to which they have to adhere should they wish to evict farm dwellers. It affords no security of tenure, unless dwellers are older than 60, or resident longer than 10 years on the farm.

The assumptions informing this legislation are ambiguous: on the one hand, labour tenants have right to land which they have occupied and worked, on the other, commercial farmers have property rights. According to Hull & Williams (200), “the prospect of the Act, like the Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act of 1996, prompted evictions it was designed to prevent. Nor did it stop farmers from evicting people from their land after the date when the Act came into force. ESTA discourages farmers from building, or providing, housing on their farms to employees, just as the Labour Tenants Act will discourage them from allowing workers to keep their own cattle on the farm.”

c) The Communal Land Rights Act (CLARA) 2004

This Act targets mainly areas of trust and communal land, which exist in the territories of the formed homelands, and are overseen by traditional leaders. It aims to provide for legal security of tenure by transferring communal land, including KwaZulu-Natal Ingonyama (i.e. trust) land, to communities, or by awarding comparable redress. In addition it tries to provide for the democratic administration of communal land by communities, which need to adopt ‘community rules’ and form ‘land administration committees’. This committee could be traditional authorities, churches or (other) democratically elected local representatives. CLARA has not been implemented yet. Pilot areas in the KwaZulu Natal province will be identified soon.

d) In addition, there are many policies which attempt to assist individuals and households to acquire land, such as the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development sub-programme (LRAD), which deals with the transfer of agricultural land to specific individuals or groups, and that dealing with commonage, aiming to improve people’s access to municipal land primarily for grazing purposes.

## 2 Research Method

### 2.1 Identifying hypotheses

Every policy is informed by a number of hypotheses concerning the objectives of the policy (i.e. what the policy is trying to achieve), and the means whereby these objectives can be met. By ‘hypothesis’ we mean the assumptions and working rationale which inform the formulation and implementation of a particular policy or programme. These assumptions relate to the policy formulators’ notions concerning the why, when, how and where of a particular policy, in this instance, land. However, we submit that if the assumptions of the policy-makers are not informed and or shared by the stakeholders – those who will be affected by the policy, including, and perhaps, most importantly, the “target” groups – the policy runs the risk of being unimplementable and unsustainable in the long run. This is not to say that there will always be consensus among the different stakeholder groups on all assumptions, which inform policy, especially when trade-offs between them will be necessary. However, interests are not finite and determinate. For example, short-term sacrifices may secure long-term interests. Redistribution of land which disadvantages some landowners or occupants in the short-term, may ensure or secure long-term socio-economic and political stability. In order to accommodate these differences between various groups, or, which is unlikely in the segmented and separated South African context, to reach consensus on land reform, one first needs to know what potential beneficiaries and other stakeholders experiences are with land reform, what they know about land reform, their beliefs and attitudes towards land reform policy and implementation, and what they expect from land reform in South Africa.

The intention was to extract the underlying hypotheses or assumptions, which inform land policies and legislation, and then to test them against the assumptions of stakeholder and target groups. This would provide the following information:

- Are the assumptions shared?
- To what extent?
- Therefore, is the programme implementable and sustainable in terms of its normative underpinnings?
- To what extent do stakeholders have alternative assumptions on which land policy ought to be based?
- These will eventually provide us with information that can be translated into indicators – what ought to inform objectives; and on this basis, how is the success or failure of meeting such objectives evaluated?

There are many sources from which the assumptions and hypotheses on land reform policy can be mined, however we focus primarily on three: the ‘base document’ of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of 1993, the Constitution, and the 1997 *White Paper on South African Land Policy*. What follows is a list of quotes from these documents, organised according to important themes.

*Promoting a better quality of life, e.g. through improved tenure security and poverty reduction:*

- “The land policy must ensure security of tenure for all South Africans” (RDP)

- “Land is the most basic need for rural dwellers.” (RDP)
- “The land reform programme’s poverty focus is aimed at achieving a better quality of life for the most disadvantaged.” (*White Paper*)

*The economic, developmental and poverty alleviation role of land reform:*

- “A national land reform programme is essential for rural development” (RDP)
- “The RDP aims for land reform to raise incomes and productivity through better use of the land” (RDP)
- “A national land reform programme is the central and driving force of a programme of rural development.” (RDP)
- “...in implementing the national land reform programme, and through the provision of support services, the democratic government will build the economy by generating large-scale employment, increasing rural incomes and eliminating overcrowding.” (RDP)
- “Land reform aims to contribute to economic development, both by giving households the opportunity to engage in productive land use and by increasing employment opportunities through encouraging greater investment. We envisage a land reform which results in a rural landscape consisting of small, medium and large farms; one which promotes both equity and efficiency through a combined agrarian and industrial strategy in which land reform is a spark to the engine of growth.” (*White Paper*)

*The role of land reform as a vehicle of justice and/or reconciliation:*

- “The reform programme must put right the injustices of forced removals” (RDP)
- “...and [it must] give access to land to those who were denied it by apartheid laws” (RDP)
- “A person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress.” (Constitution)
- “Our vision is of a land policy and land reform programme that contributes to reconciliation, stability, growth and development in an equitable and sustainable way.” (*White Paper*)

*Benefits accruing to women:*

- “[Land policy] must remove all forms of discrimination which prevent women from having access to land.” (RDP)
- “Women face specific disabilities in obtaining land. The land redistribution programme must therefore target women. Institutions, practices and laws that discriminate against women’s access to land must be reviewed and brought in line with national policy. In particular, tenure and matrimonial laws must be revised appropriately.” (RDP)

*Traditional institutions and the positive role of the 'community':*

- “A democratic government must ensure secure tenure rights for all South Africans by adopting a tenure policy that recognises the diverse forms of tenure existing in South Africa. It must support the development of new and innovative forms of tenure such as Community Land Trusts and other forms of group land-holding.” (RDP)
- “Assistance must include support for local institution building, so that communities can devise equitable and effective ways to allocate and administer land.” (RDP)

*Key assumptions regarding delivery:*

- “Within five years the RDP will distribute 30% of the land through redistribution and restitution.” (RDP)
- “The abolition of the Land Acts cannot redress inequities in land distribution. Only a tiny minority of black people can afford land on the free market.” (RDP)
- “This programme must be demand-driven and must aim to supply residential and productive land to the poorest section of the rural population and aspirant farmers.” (RDP)
- “The land policy must ensure security of tenure for all South Africans, regardless of their system of land-holding. It must remove all forms of discrimination in women’s access to land.” (RDP)
- “The land redistribution programme will realise its objectives in various ways, including strengthening property rights of communities already occupying land, combining market and non-market mechanisms to provide land, and using vacant government land.” (RDP)
- “The democratic government must provide substantial funding for land redistribution. In addition, beneficiaries must pay in accordance with their means. A land tax on rural land must be based on clear criteria, must help to free up underutilised land, must raise revenues for rural infrastructure, and must promote the productive use of land.” (RDP)
- “Rural infrastructure, support services and training at all levels must be provided to ensure that land can be utilised effectively. Within this, water provision must take priority, followed by provision of basic health care. To this end a safe rural water supply programme must begin in the first year of the RDP.” (RDP)
- “The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis.” (Constitution)
- “Parliament must enact the legislation referred to [above]”. (Constitution)
- “The government has adopted a two-pronged approach. On the one hand it is striving to create an enabling policy environment and on the other hand it is providing direct financial and other support services.” (*White Paper*)

*The accessibility and efficacy of new institutions:*

- “To redress the suffering caused by the policy of forced removals, the democratic government must, through the mechanism of a land claims court, restore land to South Africans dispossessed by discriminatory legislation since 1913. This court must be accessible to the poor and illiterate.” (RDP)
- “The land reform programme, including costing, implementing mechanisms, and a training programme, must be in place within one year after the elections. The programme must aim to redistribute 30 per cent of agricultural land within the first five years of the programme. The land restitution programme must aim to complete its task of adjudication in five years.” (RDP)
- “Land policy should ensure accessible means of recording and registering rights in property, establish broad norms and guidelines for land use planning, effectively manage public land and develop a responsive, client-friendly land administration service.” (*White Paper*)
- “This necessitates a constructive partnership between national, provincial and local level administrations. The successful delivery of land reform depends not only on an integrated government policy and delivery systems, but also on the establishment of cooperative partnerships between the state and private and non-governmental sectors.” (*White Paper*)
- “It [land policy] presumes an active land market supported by an effective and accessible institutional framework.” (*White Paper*)

Based on the above, one can offer the following generalizations concerning assumptions implicit and inherent in land reform policy:

- Land reform is a personal priority of most rural dwellers
- Land reform is a national economic priority, both for the alleviation of poverty among the poorest households, and as a basis for rural development generally
- Land reform is necessary to redress both the land-related violations against specific people, and the collective injustice of land dispossession
- Land reform should seek to benefit the masses, with an emphasis on the poor
- Land reform is expected to result in higher land productivity
- To effect land reform requires new policies and programmes, but it is eminently feasible, and it will be accomplished quickly (and presumably without undue sacrifice)
- Land reform can and must be pursued within a strategy of integrated development
- Land reform can relieve over-crowding, presumably meaning in the former homelands
- Land reform can be pursued in a manner that respects and even strengthens cultural norms in respect of land use and land control
- Land reform can be a vehicle for improving the land rights of women



The questionnaires developed for this project were designed to directly and indirectly explore these assumptions.

## **2.2 Exploratory piloting**

Prior to developing a questionnaire, the research team engaged in some ‘exploratory piloting’, the purpose being to further identify assumptions and issues, but in this case with actual community members rather than with key informants or the literature. Specifically, two exercises were undertaken together, the one being Q-Methodology and the other being a crude exploratory questionnaire, i.e. with numerous open-ended questions as well as scripted probes.

Q-Methodology is an approach to studying attitudes and thought patterns that involves the application of factor analysis to participants’ rankings of a number of statements (in terms of degree of agreement and disagreement) on a particular topic. The reason it was used in this instance was to probe the complex constellation of emotions, assumptions, and attitudes related to the issue of land reform. The exercise was not conducted for results in their own right, but rather to stimulate and broaden our thinking about popular perceptions of land reform, and thereby contribute in some measure to the development of the questionnaires for the survey.

Twenty statements were drafted reflecting a variety of different views on land reform. These views are emblematic of sentiments expressed in government documents, in the press, in political speeches, and among civil society organisations. As is usually the case with Q-Methodology, the statements are designed to be simple, i.e. they are not developed, nuanced positions, but rather singular items that, as one will see, can be combined in various ways.

These statements were translated into Zulu and Northern Sotho, and then one set of cards was made, with one statement per card, for each language. Two interviewers were trained in administering q-sorts, and the following q-sorts were undertaken in June and July 2004:

- Atteridgeville, an established township west of Pretoria, where some people have small plots on adjacent land – 8, in Zulu
- Sonderwater, near Cullinan, a semi-rural area – 4, in Zulu
- Roodeplaat, near Moloto, a commercial farming area – 4, in Zulu
- Thushanang and immediate area, west of Witbank, where people live and farm small agricultural plots – 6, in N. Sotho
- Verena, a rural former homeland area in KwaNdebele – 6, in N. Sotho
- Witbank, various townships – 9, in N. Sotho

The analysis revealed that perceptions of land reform and justice have several tacit components attached to them, which seem to be relevant in distinguishing various dominant views (see the section on indicator development).

The very brief pilot questionnaire was developed to begin to explore the possible shape that the household questionnaire/survey might later take. The bulk of the questionnaire related to the household’s status quo land situation and land ‘need’; questions towards the end of the

questionnaire dealt with the experience with and knowledge of the land reform programme, and with people's views of what would constitute a 'successful' land reform programme.

The questionnaire was administered together with the q-sorts mentioned above, however in total only 33 interviews were conducted, of which 16 were in Zulu and 17 in Northern Sotho.

The main problem in administering the questionnaire was to identify the 'correct' respondent. The interviewers found that individuals younger than 40 were generally incapable of answering the questions, partly because they had little factual information about their parents' land, and perhaps also because of a lack of interest in land matters. This underlines an issue, which had already been flagged by the research team, namely that attitudes towards land and land reform are importantly differentiated by gender and age. Therefore, conducting interviews with multiple household members was considered. However, in the course of field testing the questionnaire, this approach was found wanting, not least because it was often difficult to persuade a second household member to agree to be interviewed, since he/she was concerned about presenting a different view to that of the first household respondent. A second concern was that this strategy would limit the number of different households approached, and thus the diversity in terms of type and amount of land, etc. In addition, practical concerns were considered, such as time required to gain access to multiple household members and data management, and comparability of the information collected. The decision was therefore taken to conduct a single interview per selected household, but randomly selecting the household respondent to ensure representation of different types of household members.

### **2.3 Questionnaire design**

As a result of the consultations, the literature review, and the 'exploratory piloting,' the research team drew a wide picture of the issues at stake and the related assumptions and expectations of the various groups and sectors concerned by land reform. On this basis survey design was carried out to target five main dimensions of the relationship of individuals and households to land:

- Circumstances and situation (employment status, tenure status, etc.);
- Experience with land in general and land reform in particular;
- Knowledge and understanding of land reform and land administration issues;
- Attitudes towards land reform and land administration; and
- Needs and expectations in respect of land and land reform.

Following the METAGORA method of work, the survey instruments were designed in such a way that these five dimensions are not only duly covered with regard to the specific thrusts of the South Africa's land reform program (restitution, retribution and tenure reform), but also in a broader perspective, aiming at facilitating identification of global lessons and, if it proceeds, further replication and extension in other countries and cultural contexts.

In order to address with relevance the particular situation and assumptions of the white and black populations, it was decided to draft two distinct questionnaires that were submitted for discussion to the METAGORA Task Force on Pilot Surveys in July 2004. The questionnaires were reviewed

taking into account the indications emerging from the mutual review of questionnaires with the Mexican and Philippine teams and then they were presented to METAGORA Partners Group.

The questionnaires were translated into Sepedi, Xitsonga, Tshivenda, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans to accommodate the various language groups.

## **2.4 Sampling**

The key components of South Africa's land reform policies concern land tenure, redistribution and restitution. In order to select geographical areas on which all three elements impact, three out of the nine provinces were selected which are predominantly rural, and which each encompass communal, rural, and urban areas. In addition, the geographical spread over South Africa was considered in the selection of the provinces. The provinces were: Limpopo (north east), Free State (middle), and the Eastern Cape (south middle).

A key component of the sampling procedure concerns the selection of sampling criteria. With regard to land reform one could easily think of a large number of factors that play a role in aspects of land reform, such as:

- Use and potential use in terms of type of settlement (minerals, flora and fauna, water etc.)
- Economic value of land
- Location of land central / periphery
- Service delivery and infrastructure
- Population density
- Availability / opportunity for land redistribution
- Historical socio-economic and political background
- Political system (democratic, traditional)
- Land reform activities / progress

In addition, land reform affects some groups and individuals more than others. Those who are most affected include adults, previously disadvantaged individual (predominantly black) citizens; farm workers who reside on farms; commercial farmers; and traditional authorities.

Therefore, the following respondent groups were identified:

- Residents in black urban formal areas
- Residents in black urban informal areas
- Residents in traditional (all rural) areas
- Farm dwellers (predominantly black)
- Farm owners (predominantly white)
- Traditional authorities

Furthermore, respondents of 18 years and older were selected.

Obviously, it is impossible to take all these criteria into account in sampling. Therefore it was decided to select more general ones that allow for relevant analysis of varying structural (rural/urban, formal/in-formal settlements) and socio-political (traditional/non-traditional authorities, population group) aspects of land reform.

Multistage stratified cluster (probability) sampling was employed. The strata included:

- Type of settlement (rural/urban, formal/informal, traditional/non-traditional, farmland/non-farmland);
- Province (Limpopo, Free State, Eastern Cape); and
- Population group.

However, the samples of commercial farmers and traditional leaders were not designed to be large enough to allow for national or provincial-level generalisability.

The sampling frame that was used for drawing residents and farm dwellers was largely based on the 2001 census. The 2001 census database contains descriptive statistics (e.g. total number of people, total number of households, etc.) for all the enumerator areas (EAs) in South Africa. However, the reliability of the census has been questioned and therefore a slightly adjusted census-based sampling frame was used which has been developed by a renown, South African statistician, Professor Stoker. The value of using this sample frame is that a representative sample can be drawn of some of the target groups and geographical areas and the results of the survey can be properly weighted to the 2001 census-based population figures.

Within each of the explicit strata, EAs from the 2001 census were selected and formed the primary sampling units (PSUs). Within the PSU or EAs, households were randomly selected based on an interval applicable to the EA, i.e. number of households divided by number of households to visit in the EA. At the visiting point the respondent was randomly selected from the present household members. This implied that we needed to try to interview when all adult members are at home, i.e. evenings and weekends. In addition, it was registered why household members were not at home during the time of the household visit.

With regard to residents in black urban formal and informal areas, traditional and rural (commercial farms) areas, a sample of 210 EAs was drawn, which included 6 interviews per EA (i.e.  $210 \times 6 = 1260$  HHs). However, due to the large distances between the EAs and the limited funds and time available, it was decided to reduce the number of sample PSUs/EAs by a third and to increase the number of households per PSU (EA) to 9.

Accordingly, the following sample was used:

*Table 2.1 Sampling targets*

	Limpopo (11 EAs)	Free State (12 EAs)	Eastern Cape (16 EAs)
Traditional leaders	20	10	20

Communal residents (rural)	200	60	250
Farm owners	30	30	30
Farm dwellers	100	140	100
Formal urban	50	30	80
Informal urban	100	30	120
Total	500	300	600

In sum, the following needs to be taken into account with regard to the various settlement types we selected:

*Residents in urban, rural and communal areas*

The sample provides for an appropriate selection procedure. Statistical inferences can be drawn to the provincial level.

*Formal and Informal urban areas*

The EAs are predominantly located in metropolitan municipalities, but also in some other urban areas where EAs are classified as urban. Predominantly black households were selected with a few coloured households (none Indian or white).

*Commercial farm owners and dwellers*

Fieldworker supervisors had to investigate whether and how many farms there were in each EA in a farming area. In addition, they needed to investigate how many farm workers were living on the farm. If a farm had only a few farm dwellers, interviews had to be conducted on another commercial farm within the EA. To ensure diversity in the farm sample, farms were selected that were not next to one another or too close to one another (unless there were only 2 farms in the EA). If there are no farms in the selected EA, the EA could be substituted with one of those EAs that had originally been selected in the large sample but excluded to reduce costs (i.e. one third of the EAs). In case a farm owner did not reside at the farm, the farm owner would be replaced by the residing manger in charge.

*Traditional authorities*

As was the case as with the farms, supervisors had to investigate the number of traditional authorities within a certain district. Depending on the province a tribal leader/ traditional authority had to be interviewed in every EA (Free State), or in every second EA (Limpopo and Eastern Cape).

## 2.5 Phasing of the fieldwork

The fieldwork comprised the following activities and time lines.

*Table 2.2 Time schedule for instrument development and fieldwork implementation*

Contract service provider (Development Research Africa)	27 Oct / 1 Nov
Draft questionnaire, consent form and ethics documents development	26 Oct / 29 Oct
Ethics committee	10 / 15 Nov

Sample finalisation	27 Oct / 2 Nov
Maps (printing)	3 / 10 Nov
Development training material and support letters	1 / 5 Nov
Printing and delivery questionnaire consent form English	1 / 8 Nov
In house training (HSRC)	8 Nov
Fieldwork pilot	10 / 12 Nov
Report pilot	10 / 12 Nov
Capturing data pilot	10 / 13 Nov
Analysis pilot	13 / 16 Nov
Adjustments questionnaire	13 / 16 Nov
Questionnaire and consent form translation, printing and distribution	15 / 22 Nov
Training @ service provider	23 / 24 Nov
Start of fieldwork	25 Nov
Checks in field	25 Nov / 6 Dec
Reporting checks	25 Nov / 6 Dec
Completion of fieldwork	6 Dec
Data capture and validation	3 Dec / 5 Jan
Draft commercial farmers questionnaire	3 / 15 Dec
Liaison South African Agricultural Union	10 Dec / 15 Jan
Questionnaire translation, formatting, printing and distribution	15 Dec / 15 Feb
Training @ service provider	17 / 18 Feb
Start of fieldwork	21 Feb
Checks in field	22 Feb / 7 Mar
Reporting checks	22 Feb / 7 Mar
Completion of fieldwork	7 Mar
Data capture and validation	7 / 23 Mar
Report writing	19 Mar / (25 Mar)

Originally it was planned to finalise the fieldwork by the end of 2004. However, because of the difficulties experienced in determining a means of randomly selecting commercial farms (there is no obvious sampling frame available, nor are maps a good guide) and gaining access to farmers, the fieldwork relating to farmers and farm dwellers was postponed to the beginning of 2005.

A survey company, Development Research Africa (DRA), was contracted to undertake the fieldwork. Phase 1 of the fieldwork was conducted in November 2004. This involved all interviews apart from those with (white) commercial farmers and (black) farm dwellers. After a small pilot study, and adjustment of the questionnaire, training for the fieldwork took place from 23 to 24 November in Johannesburg (Gauteng and Limpopo), Port Elizabeth (Eastern Cape) and Durban (KwaZulu-Natal for the eastern part of the Eastern Cape). The actual fieldwork started 25 November and finished 6 December.

Phase 2 of the fieldwork started in January with the finalisation of the farmers' questionnaire (design, translation, formatting, printing and distribution). Training took place 17 and 18 February in Johannesburg (Gauteng and Limpopo) and in Port Elizabeth (Eastern Cape), respectively. The fieldwork started 21 February and finished 7 March.

## 2.6 Fieldwork logistics

The original fieldwork plan for phase 1 was that there would be three provincial teams with supervisor Nogali (Limpopo) having 12 fieldworkers plus 3 field managers; supervisor Illitha (Eastern Cape) having 12 fieldworkers plus 3 field managers; and supervisor Tshepo (Free State) having 8 fieldworkers plus 2 field managers. The majority of the fieldworkers were black to ensure correspondence between ethnicity of respondents and interviewers. Two additional teams were added for the Eastern Cape team due to the geographical spread of the province and a realization that some EAs would be managed effectively by a KZN-based Trust. Each of these teams were assigned quality control managers who were responsible for monitoring and controlling quality of data coming through from these teams. Free State and Limpopo had one quality control manager based in Johannesburg.

DRA's original plan of assigning two fieldworkers per EA with one fieldworker completing five interviews a day did not work effectively largely because of the distances that field teams had to travel in-between the EAs.

For phase 2, 12 black fieldworkers were assigned, 4 in each province, who were supervised by 3 white field managers. The employment of white supervisors was necessitated by the fact that white farmers were to be interviewed. Prior to the interviews in farming areas, the South African Agricultural union (Agri-SA) was informed about the study. It is common practice in South Africa to first get their 'permission' to conduct surveys among white commercial farmers. Regional representatives of the union were contacted to collect information on farm names and contact details in the selected EAs. In most cases this did not pose a real problem. In some, on the other hand, farmers and representative were unwilling to cooperate. In one instance a farmer reported fieldworkers to the police, since they had entered his property without permission. This was a mistake by the supervisor and corrected the same day. However, problems were generally solved after further explanation about the study by the HSRC's Pretoria office.

Some typical problems experienced during fieldwork included the accessibility of and accuracy of information on the selected EAs. Firstly, field teams found some of the maps not really helpful in terms of guiding them to mark the boundaries of the EAs. For instance, some landmarks like schools were marked as within the EA boundary yet when field teams got into the area they found those landmarks outside the EA. Also, field teams found some of the maps not so reliable / helpful in terms of telling them the number of households within an EA.

Secondly, accessibility to EAs was difficult due to the distances between the EAs, especially in the Eastern Cape. For instance, the Transkei-based team found that some of the EAs were 200-300 kms apart from each other. In addition, some EAs were not accessible by car, especially on rainy days, e.g., Lusikisiki, and field teams either walked long distances in order to access the area or did another one instead. This compelled the change of the fieldwork plan. That is, it became impossible to have two fieldworkers working in one EA at a time. Instead all four fieldworkers had to complete one EA before moving to the next one. This caused delays as one team of four fieldworkers struggled to complete two EAs a day. For instance, the Transkei-based team had been allocated 5 days to complete its 22 EAs, but it took them 10 days to complete fieldwork.

Thirdly, accessibility in the Transkei-rural region was particularly difficult given the amount of time and energy invested in negotiating with traditional authorities and, to a lesser extent, police station commanders. Regarding the traditional authorities, DRA's project manager had contacted the National House of Traditional Leaders with the view to obtain contact details of the Houses of Traditional Leaders in the three Provinces, which only happened shortly after fieldwork had already begun. This was circulated to the Eastern Cape teams. A few traditional authorities were contacted and informed about the study coming to their areas. However, most of them did not have telephone or cell phone numbers. Fortunately, traditional authorities were generally co-operative in the other provinces.

Furthermore, there were many cases in the Eastern Cape where there were complications regarding the institution of traditional authority. For instance, in some areas there were no traditional leaders in the form of Chiefs or Kings but only headmen; in other areas, there were disputes between the local government system and traditional leadership system and residents of those areas did not know whether they had a chief or a councillor, which complicated the identification of the traditional authority. In some cases, the traditional leader was there but did not grant an interview because they felt land reform does not affect them. Two EAs in the Free State had belonged to one Chief (a similar situation also happened in the Eastern Cape); in four cases in the Free State, the EAs were rural but did not have a traditional leader. Therefore, it was advised that in EAs where there were no traditional leaders, fieldworkers should locate another traditional leader in a nearby area and interview him/her because the number of traditional leaders had already been reduced in the sample.

Households were randomly selected using the interval throughout the study, i.e., every  $n$ th household was selected depending on the total number of households and the required number of interviews in a particular EA. One problem was reported in the Eastern Cape regarding the selection. Field team members did not strictly follow the principle of household selection such that they ended up interviewing households that were in close proximity. Fortunately, the problem was reported whilst the team was still in the area. So, they were requested to redo the interviews, guided by proper selection method. This problem was fixed through sending fieldworkers in for a second time.

## **2.7 Quality assurance and data management**

Quality assurance was done in the following ways. Firstly, a standard training was conducted involving all fieldworkers.

Secondly, in the field, fieldworkers checked completed questionnaire schedules daily to ensure that all questions were answered and relevant skips were followed. The checked questionnaires were handed to field managers who, whilst in field, performed a second quality check on each questionnaire. They focused on skip patterns, as well as ensured that answers corresponded with previous responses and follow a logical process.

Thirdly, on completion of each survey area to the satisfaction of team leaders, questionnaires were submitted to the DRA office. In addition, call-back personnel performed telephonic and physical



call-backs on a target of 10% of randomly selected questionnaires. However, in practice it was not possible to reach so many respondents.

Fourthly, quality assurance staff both from the HSRC and DRA conducted field visits to ensure that field workers followed the methodology of the study and adhered to informed consent and interview procedures. No major problems were encountered.

Fifthly, the questionnaires have been captured utilising DRA’s ‘double capture’ mechanism. Two data capturers working independently capture the same batch of questionnaires into the same structure. Whilst this necessitates a slightly longer time period in project planning, it guarantees a consistent 0% capture error. The double capture process is facilitated by using EPI INFO. EPI runs full checks, highlights discrepancies and allows capturing errors to be rectified by returning to the original questionnaire schedule.

Finally, an overall validation of the entire database will be conducted on final output tables to verify quality and consistency.

## 2.8 Realisation

In phase 1, out of 985 interviews 971 were realised. Most of the unrealised interviews related to an inability to get interviews with traditional leaders – there were no traditional leaders in five of the selected EAs, and two EAs belonged to one traditional leader in the Eastern Cape.

Vacant EAs were replaced with another similar EA, i.e., an informal settlement EA should be replaced with another informal settlement EA, not with a formal or rural EA. This happened in Free State (one EA); Limpopo (two EAs); PE-based team (one EA) and one for the Transkei-based team.

*Table 2.3 Number of interviews conducted*

Phase 1	Port Elizabeth (EC)	Transkei (EC)	Free State	Limpopo	Sub-Total
Household interviews	261	196	118	354	932
Traditional authority interviews	4	15	4	20	39
Sub-total	265	211	121	374	971
Phase 2		Eastern Cape	Free State	Limpopo	
Farm workers interviews		104	109	96	309
Farmer interviews		24	24	21	69
Sub-total		128	133	117	378
Total		604	254	491	1349

In phase 2, ultimately, out of 440 interviews that were supposed to be conducted, 380 were realised (60 interviews short). Most of these failures were related to an inability to get permission to visit commercial farms.

Generally, most selected households and respondents were co-operative and supportive. There was a friendly atmosphere throughout all the communities that we visited. Respondents were generally welcoming and willing to participate in the survey. A significant number of were not aware of the implications of the land reform programme. Some respondents, though, were slightly bored by having to respond to issues that they did not really understand. There were very few cases where people refused to be interviewed. This happened largely in Port Elizabeth, where some fieldworkers were chased out of households. For those households that refused to be interviewed (and vacant stands), they were replaced with households immediately on the left of the refusal household.

### 3 Respondent characteristics

This section presents basic respondent characteristics based on the survey data (unweighted and weighted). All of the statistics refer to black respondents, and to be more precise exclude the small number of respondents to the commercial farmer questionnaire who also happened to be black.

*Table 3.1a and b Number and percentage of respondents per province and settlement type*

A: unweighted		Limpopo	Free State	Eastern Cape	Total
Farm dwellers	Count	126	128	87	341
	% within row	37.0%	37.5%	25.5%	100.0%
	% within column	27.2%	49.6%	15.6%	26.7%
	% of Total	9.9%	10.0%	6.8%	26.7%
Communal	Count	211	70	255	536
	% within row	39.4%	13.1%	47.6%	100.0%
	% within column	45.6%	27.1%	45.7%	41.9%
	% of Total	16.5%	5.5%	19.9%	41.9%
Urban formal	Count	52	38	94	184
	% within row	28.3%	20.7%	51.1%	100.0%
	% within column	11.2%	14.7%	16.8%	14.4%
	% of Total	4.1%	3.0%	7.3%	14.4%
Urban informal	Count	74	22	122	218
	% within row	33.9%	10.1%	56.0%	100.0%
	% within column	16.0%	8.5%	21.9%	17.0%
	% of Total	5.8%	1.7%	9.5%	17.0%
Total	Count	463	258	558	1279
	% within row	36.2%	20.2%	43.6%	100.0%
	% within column	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	36.2%	20.2%	43.6%	100.0%

B: weighted		Limpopo	Free State	Eastern Cape	Total
Farm dwellers	Count	82010	93764	36353	212127
	% within row	38.7%	44.2%	17.1%	100.0%
	% within column	7.2%	16.6%	3.0%	7.3%
	% of Total	2.8%	3.2%	1.2%	7.3%
Communal	Count	906518	71944	734847	1713309
	% within row	52.9%	4.2%	42.9%	100.0%
	% within column	80.0%	12.7%	60.7%	58.9%
	% of Total	31.2%	2.5%	25.3%	58.9%
Urban formal	Count	116424	303939	250857	671220
	% within row	17.3%	45.3%	37.4%	100.0%
	% within column	10.3%	53.8%	20.7%	23.1%
	% of Total	4.0%	10.4%	8.6%	23.1%
Urban informal	Count	28390	95162	188449	312001
	% within row	9.1%	30.5%	60.4%	100.0%
	% within column	2.5%	16.8%	15.6%	10.7%
	% of Total	1.0%	3.3%	6.5%	10.7%
Total	Count	1133342	564809	1210506	2908657
	% within row	39.0%	19.4%	41.6%	100.0%

	% within column	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	39.0%	19.4%	41.6%	100.0%

*Table 3.2a and b Age*

A: unweighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
<25	14.2%	20.3%	22.3%	17.0%	18.4%
25-35	34.1%	19.4%	28.3%	32.6%	26.8%
36-59	40.1%	35.3%	34.8%	37.6%	36.9%
60>	11.6%	25.0%	14.7%	12.8%	17.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

B: weighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
<25	13.2%	21.0%	26.6%	13.2%	20.9%
25-35	35.5%	20.5%	25.9%	26.8%	23.5%
36-59	41.5%	33.5%	31.9%	45.6%	35.0%
60>	9.8%	25.0%	15.6%	14.4%	20.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 3.3a and b Gender*

A: unweighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Male	69.5%	31.3%	35.3%	28.9%	41.7%
Female	30.5%	68.7%	64.7%	71.1%	58.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

B: weighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Male	70.1%	31.3%	34.7%	22.8%	34.0%
Female	29.9%	68.7%	65.3%	77.2%	66.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 3.4a and b Education by settlement type*

A: unweighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Other	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
None	26.1%	16.2%	4.3%	13.3%	16.7%
Grade 0	0.6%	0.6%	1.1%	0.9%	0.7%
Sub A/Grade 1	0.9%	1.7%	1.1%	1.4%	1.3%
Sub B/Grade 2	0.6%	2.6%	1.1%	2.3%	1.8%
Grade 3/Standard 1	5.9%	5.2%	2.2%	3.2%	4.6%
Grade 4/Standard 2	5.6%	4.7%	4.3%	3.2%	4.6%
Grade 5/Standard 3	5.9%	6.2%	1.6%	3.7%	5.0%
Grade 6/Standard 4	6.5%	4.5%	6.0%	6.4%	5.6%
Grade 7/Standard 5	12.0%	8.0%	7.6%	9.6%	9.3%
Grade 8/Std 6/Form 1	9.7%	9.7%	8.2%	11.5%	9.8%
Grade 9/Std 7/Form 2	4.7%	6.7%	4.9%	11.5%	6.7%

Grade 10/Std 8/Form 3	6.5%	10.8%	12.0%	8.7%	9.5%
Grade 11/Std 9/Form 4	5.9%	8.8%	10.9%	9.2%	8.4%
Grade 12/Std 10/Form5/Matric	8.2%	11.0%	22.3%	12.8%	12.2%
NTCI	0.0%	0.2%	1.1%	0.0%	0.2%
NTCII	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.5%	0.2%
NTC111	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.5%	0.2%
Diploma < Grade 12/STD 10	0.0%	0.2%	2.2%	0.0%	0.4%
Diploma + Grade 12/STD 10	0.6%	0.4%	2.2%	0.9%	0.8%
Diploma	0.6%	1.3%	2.7%	0.0%	1.1%
Postgraduate degree / Diploma	0.0%	1.1%	2.7%	0.5%	0.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

B: unweighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Other	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
None	26.1%	18.8%	4.1%	6.8%	14.7%
Grade 0	0.2%	0.5%	0.8%	0.5%	0.5%
Sub A/Grade 1	0.9%	1.7%	1.9%	0.9%	1.6%
Sub B/Grade 2	0.4%	2.4%	1.2%	0.8%	1.8%
Grade 3/Standard 1	6.6%	5.3%	1.8%	1.2%	4.2%
Grade 4/Standard 2	5.3%	4.8%	4.0%	1.4%	4.3%
Grade 5/Standard 3	5.5%	6.2%	1.1%	2.2%	4.5%
Grade 6/Standard 4	6.4%	3.4%	7.8%	11.9%	5.5%
Grade 7/Standard 5	11.4%	8.2%	8.8%	12.6%	9.0%
Grade 8/Std 6/Form 1	10.2%	8.1%	4.7%	15.4%	8.3%
Grade 9/Std 7/Form 2	5.0%	6.0%	2.0%	14.6%	5.9%
Grade 10/Std 8/Form 3	7.4%	9.8%	16.6%	6.5%	10.8%
Grade 11/Std 9/Form 4	5.1%	10.3%	10.6%	8.7%	9.8%
Grade 12/Std 10/Form5/Matric	8.2%	11.0%	21.9%	14.7%	13.7%
NTCI	0.0%	0.3%	0.9%	0.0%	0.4%
NTCII	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	0.4%	0.1%
NTC111	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	1.2%	0.3%
Diploma < Grade 12/STD 10	0.0%	0.1%	4.5%	0.0%	1.1%
Diploma + Grade 12/STD 10	0.8%	0.2%	1.2%	0.1%	0.4%
Diploma	0.4%	1.8%	2.0%	0.0%	1.6%
Postgraduate degree / Diploma	0.0%	1.2%	3.3%	0.0%	1.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3.5a and b Home language

A: unweighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Sesotho	34.6%	14.4%	21.2%	10.1%	20.0%
Setswana	8.8%	1.3%	2.2%	5.0%	4.1%
Sepedi	10.6%	20.3%	13.6%	12.4%	15.4%
Siswati	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.3%
IsiNdebele	0.3%	0.4%	0.5%	0.5%	0.4%
IsiXhosa	26.4%	43.8%	50.5%	65.6%	43.9%
IsiZulu	2.1%	2.4%	.5%	0.9%	1.8%

Xitsonga	8.2%	8.8%	9.2%	3.7%	7.8%
Tshivenda/Lemba	4.4%	8.6%	1.6%	0.0%	5.0%
Afrikaans	3.5%	0.0%	0.5%	0.5%	1.1%
Other African language	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

B: weighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Sesotho	41.4%	5.7%	41.5%	24.3%	18.6%
Setswana	11.6%	0.4%	5.8%	0.7%	2.5%
Sepedi	7.2%	27.9%	7.3%	5.7%	19.3%
Siswati	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
IsiNdebele	0.4%	0.5%	.3%	0.6%	0.5%
IsiXhosa	19.0%	39.6%	36.5%	65.4%	40.2%
IsiZulu	2.4%	2.2%	0.1%	0.3%	1.5%
Xitsonga	7.2%	14.8%	7.6%	1.7%	11.2%
Tshivenda/Lemba	6.0%	8.8%	0.7%	0.0%	5.8%
Afrikaans	3.1%	0.0%	0.2%	1.2%	0.4%
Other African language	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 3.6a and b Total monthly household income of all people in the household*

A: unweighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
No income	3.5%	9.0%	10.3%	12.8%	8.4%
R1 – R500	16.4%	18.5%	13.0%	23.4%	18.0%
R501 – R750	22.3%	25.6%	22.3%	16.5%	22.7%
R751 – R1000	24.6%	11.4%	7.1%	11.9%	14.4%
R1001 – R1500	16.7%	10.6%	13.6%	7.3%	12.1%
R1501 – R2000	6.5%	3.5%	7.1%	3.2%	4.8%
R2001 – R3000	4.7%	3.7%	3.3%	5.5%	4.2%
R3001 – R5000	1.8%	2.1%	5.4%	6.9%	3.3%
R5001 – R7500	0.3%	3.0%	2.7%	0.5%	1.8%
R7501 – R10000	0.3%	1.1%	1.1%	0.5%	0.8%
R10 001 - R15 000	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.2%
R15 001 - R20 000	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.5%	0.3%
R20 001 - R30 000	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Refused to answer	1.2%	2.8%	4.3%	3.7%	2.7%
Uncertain/Do not know	1.8%	7.8%	8.7%	7.3%	6.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

B: weighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
No income	2.9%	7.1%	13.4%	18.1%	9.4%
R1 - R500	16.4%	18.9%	8.7%	20.2%	16.5%
R501 - R750	22.2%	25.2%	22.5%	20.9%	23.9%
R751 - R1000	25.9%	12.0%	7.2%	10.8%	11.8%
R1001 – R1500	18.6%	9.5%	12.3%	4.2%	10.3%
R1501 – R2000	6.0%	4.1%	6.5%	2.2%	4.6%
R2001 – R3000	4.6%	4.1%	1.8%	2.8%	3.5%
R3001 – R5000	1.6%	2.1%	3.6%	6.5%	2.9%
R5001 – R7500	0.4%	2.8%	3.9%	0.0%	2.6%
R7501 – R10000	0.4%	1.0%	0.9%	0.0%	0.9%
R10 001 - R15 000	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%	0.5%
R15 001 - R20 000	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
R20 001 - R30 000	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Refused to answer	0.7%	2.4%	7.0%	9.5%	4.1%
Uncertain/Do not know	0.3%	9.8%	10.0%	4.8%	8.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 3.7a and b Household have a landline telephone*

A: unweighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Yes	3.5%	4.1%	16.1%	4.2%	5.7%
No	96.5%	95.9%	83.9%	95.8%	94.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

B: weighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Yes	3.1%	3.5%	18.4%	6.1%	7.2%
No	96.9%	96.5%	81.6%	93.9%	92.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 3.8a and b Household member(s) have a cell phone*

A: unweighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.1%
Personal use	37.0%	46.6%	49.7%	31.3%	41.9%
Business use	24.9%	15.2%	11.0%	18.7%	17.8%
Both	2.9%	3.0%	5.0%	4.7%	3.6%
None	35.2%	35.2%	33.7%	45.3%	36.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

B: weighted	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.1%
Personal use	35.0%	47.6%	51.8%	35.1%	46.3%
Business use	27.4%	14.8%	11.1%	12.5%	14.7%
Both	3.3%	2.7%	3.8%	4.9%	3.2%
None	34.3%	34.9%	32.8%	47.6%	35.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

#### 4 General findings in respect of governance and democracy

This section presents basic findings in respect of attitudes and behaviours related to the themes of governance and participatory democracy. All the findings presented are based on weighted data.

- The top three ‘important challenges facing South Africa today’ identified by respondents were unemployment, poverty and HIV/AIDS (Table 4.1). Only 2.6% of respondents mentioned ‘land reform issues’ among their list of the most important three challenges, although for communal dwellers the figure was 3.5%. Thus land reform does not seem to be perceived to be one of the major challenges in South Africa. Notwithstanding this finding, this does not necessarily mean the issue is not important. What it does suggest is that land reform is relatively less important than issues which impinge upon people’s daily lives, such as death, disease, no income and so forth.
- With regard to satisfaction with the way government is handling land reform, almost half of the respondents indicated that they did not know whether they were satisfied or not (Table 4.2). This is in sharp contrast to only 10.6% of respondents who did not know how satisfied they were with the way South Africa is being governed (Table 4.3). As will be discussed later, knowledge of land reform appears to be limited. Another noteworthy finding is that satisfaction with the way government is handling land reform among farm dwellers was higher than among any other group. Satisfaction with the way South Africa is being governed was also highest among the farm dwellers.
- Interestingly, the analysis of satisfaction with a number of other issues or areas of delivery revealed that farm dwellers were most satisfied in general. This raises the question whether the isolation of farm dwellers on white farms with a racial domination, the patronage, and limited access to information amongst other things contribute to an overall lower level of dissatisfaction or expression thereof. Furthermore, this finding may not be entirely a function of living in rural areas per se, as evinced by a lower level of satisfaction both with the way government is handling land reform and with the way South Africa is being governed among communal area respondents.
- The above pattern is confirmed by the large proportion among farm dwellers who indicate that they have never heard of tribal leaders (Table 4.4).
- Levels of trust in the land reform related institutions such as the land restitution commission, claims court, and the Department of Land Affairs were significantly lower than trust in tribal leaders and the national government (Table 4.5 through 4.8). Trust in tribal leaders was highest in communal areas. Distrust in the national government was highest among respondents in the urban informal areas. Distrust in the land reform related institutions was less in the rural areas than in the urban areas and least strong among farm dwellers. Interestingly, additional analysis showed that trust in other institutions such as courts and the police was generally higher among rural residents as well. It is beyond the scope of this study to interrogate these findings.
- Respondents within the urban formal areas and farm dwellers were most positive about changes in their living conditions over the past five years; almost two thirds indicated that



life status had improved (Table 4.9). Among urban informal respondents on the other hand this was approximately one third. A fairly large proportion of the communal area residents, about one third, was of the opinion that little had changed.

- Overall, we found very little variation in perceived influence on local government (Table 4.10). However, respondents from urban informal settlements tended to be somewhat more negative about their influence. Although this might be explained by the fact that because of their informal settlement status they might be less organized, the same reasoning would apply to farm dwellers. However these did not differ in their perceived efficacy from the urban formal respondents.
- Perceived effectiveness of moderate modes of participation, such as a voting, meeting politicians (*imbizos*), and peaceful marches was highest among farm dwellers (Table 4.11).
- Reported voting in the 2004 national elections and voting intentions for the 2009 national elections were very similar among the four groups of respondents (Tables 4.12 thru 4.14). Voting intentions varied from 88% to 95% and reported voting behaviour from 77% to 89%. The main reasons for not voting among farm dwellers and to a lesser extent also among communal and urban formal residents related to not being registered for voting. In the urban informal settlements the main reason given was a lack of interest.
- Interest and participation in politics, in terms of talking about politics and protest, did differ somewhat between the areas, with large proportions among farm dwellers and tribal residents indicating that they never or seldom talk about politics (72% and 67% respectively; see Tables 4.15 and 4.16). Overall 5% said that they had participated in protest over the past 12 months.
- Active membership of the landless movement and the farm workers' association was about 1.5% (Tables 4.17 and 4.18). Since the absolute number of activists was small, a breakdown by area is irrelevant.
- The above findings with regard to political participation and protest action are in line with other national studies that have been conducted on these subjects.

## 4.1 Governance

*Table 4.1 Most important challenges facing South Africa today (percent of respondents who mentioned among up to three responses)*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Unemployment	60.3%	70.7%	84.9%	78.1%	74.0%
Poverty	40.6%	46.7%	54.7%	34.7%	46.8%
HIV/AIDS	40.9%	37.8%	48.5%	48.7%	41.6%
Crime and safety	26.9%	27.6%	50.5%	45.0%	34.7%
Service provision/delivery	7.7%	25.7%	6.8%	14.0%	18.8%
Education	10.4%	11.9%	6.6%	8.3%	10.2%
Affordable housing	16.6%	6.7%	6.9%	24.8%	9.4%
Corruption	7.5%	6.6%	7.1%	5.6%	6.7%
Human rights abuses	8.9%	5.5%	3.5%	6.3%	5.4%
Other eco./financial issues	8.2%	4.0%	2.9%	4.2%	4.1%
Environmental issues	2.7%	5.5%	1.9%	1.2%	4.0%
Work-related issues	9.1%	3.3%	2.9%	0.2%	3.3%
Land reform issues	2.7%	3.5%	1.1%	1.3%	2.6%
Price increases/inflation	6.3%	2.2%	0.7%	0.0%	1.9%
Racism	5.0%	0.9%	0.3%	7.6%	1.8%
Family and youth issues	3.9%	1.4%	2.4%	0.3%	1.7%
Xenophobia	1.6%	1.2%	0.0%	1.5%	1.0%
Religion and culture issues	0.4%	0.5%	2.4%	0.0%	0.9%
Political stability	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%	0.2%	0.4%
Other	4.0%	4.8%	3.3%	2.8%	4.2%
Don't know	4.2%	6.7%	0.6%	1.2%	4.5%
n	308	556	184	218	1266

*Table 4.2 Satisfaction with the way government is handling land reform*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	41.1%	50.9%	44.9%	45.5%	48.2%
Satisfied	30.8%	17.2%	24.1%	17.0%	19.7%
Neutral	14.3%	8.4%	13.7%	6.2%	9.8%
Dissatisfied	13.9%	23.6%	17.2%	31.3%	22.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 4.3 Satisfaction with the way South Africa is being governed at present*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	2.0%	13.5%	6.7%	8.9%	10.6%
Satisfied	79.4%	42.8%	65.1%	31.2%	49.3%
Neutral	8.5%	18.6%	14.5%	28.9%	18.1%
Dissatisfied	10.1%	25.0%	13.8%	31.0%	22.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 4.4 Respondent trust/distrust of tribal leaders*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	12.8%	4.1%	41.7%	44.9%	17.6%
Trust	29.1%	74.3%	25.3%	10.8%	53.2%
Neither Nor	5.6%	4.5%	3.9%	10.4%	5.1%
Distrust	7.0%	16.4%	19.5%	22.0%	17.0%
Never heard of	45.5%	0.7%	9.5%	11.9%	7.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 4.5 Respondent trust/distrust of land restitution commission*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	18.2%	56.6%	54.0%	45.7%	52.0%
Trust	15.4%	15.6%	13.4%	10.7%	14.5%
Neither Nor	5.7%	8.3%	6.1%	8.4%	7.6%
Distrust	4.4%	6.6%	16.4%	15.4%	9.6%
Never heard of	56.3%	12.9%	10.1%	19.9%	16.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 4.6 Respondent trust/distrust of land claims court*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	18.1%	53.6%	57.4%	46.5%	51.1%
Trust	18.8%	16.9%	14.7%	7.2%	15.5%
Neither Nor	6.4%	10.1%	1.2%	9.6%	7.7%
Distrust	4.4%	5.0%	15.4%	20.1%	8.9%
Never heard of	52.2%	14.5%	11.4%	16.6%	16.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 4.7 Respondent trust/distrust of Department of Land Affairs*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	12.7%	49.4%	45.5%	45.9%	45.5%
Trust	25.3%	24.5%	20.5%	12.2%	22.3%
Neither Nor	7.5%	9.0%	10.0%	11.7%	9.4%
Distrust	4.0%	5.2%	15.1%	14.9%	8.4%
Never heard of	50.5%	11.8%	8.8%	15.3%	14.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 4.8 Respondent trust/distrust of National Government*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	2.3%	7.8%	4.7%	13.3%	7.3%
Trust	78.6%	69.8%	66.2%	54.5%	68.0%
Neither Nor	10.5%	7.4%	16.3%	10.6%	10.0%
Distrust	8.2%	13.8%	12.8%	20.7%	13.9%
Never heard of	0.3%	1.2%	0.0%	0.9%	0.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 4.9 Current life status for people like respondent in South Africa compared to 5 years ago*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	0.7%	1.3%	0.6%	0.5%	1.0%
Improved	63.6%	48.3%	60.9%	32.2%	50.6%
Stayed the same	22.8%	30.9%	21.2%	28.8%	27.9%
Gotten worse	12.9%	19.5%	17.3%	38.5%	20.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

*Table 4.10 Difficult/easy to influence government decisions that affect neighbourhood*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	3.1%	8.5%	7.3%	10.8%	8.1%
Difficult	41.4%	44.8%	41.3%	49.8%	44.3%
Neither difficult not easy	11.9%	11.9%	8.9%	21.2%	12.2%
Easy	43.5%	34.7%	42.5%	18.2%	35.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.11 Effectiveness common political activities like meeting politicians

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	4.6%	21.0%	21.5%	19.5%	19.7%
Ineffective	18.6%	30.4%	25.0%	37.4%	29.0%
Neither ineffective not effective	6.5%	9.1%	12.0%	6.2%	9.3%
Effective	70.4%	39.6%	41.5%	37.0%	42.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

## 4.2 Democracy

Table 4.12 Respondent voted in April 2004 national elections

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Yes	77.4%	82.1%	75.2%	88.8%	80.8%
No	22.6%	17.9%	24.8%	11.2%	19.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.13 Reason for not voting in the national elections

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Other	28.4%	26.4%	11.9%	17.1%	21.6%
Too young	6.2%	14.7%	12.5%	0.8%	12.4%
Not interested	6.4%	14.0%	5.1%	43.6%	12.5%
Not registered	47.1%	28.8%	38.6%	22.8%	32.9%
Disillusion with politics	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%	0.1%
Too much effort required	1.8%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.5%
Polling station too far away	1.8%	0.9%	0.0%	2.6%	0.8%
Fear of intimidation or violence	3.4%	1.5%	2.3%	0.0%	1.8%
Only one party could win	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	.7%
Health reasons/sick	4.9%	13.8%	26.1%	11.1%	16.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.14 Will vote in the next national elections

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Yes	95.2%	91.7%	93.0%	87.9%	91.9%
No	2.2%	3.5%	0.7%	6.4%	3.0%
Uncertain	2.6%	4.3%	6.3%	5.7%	4.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.15 Frequency of talking about politics

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Often	8.9%	9.0%	12.3%	6.9%	9.5%
Sometimes	18.9%	23.7%	37.7%	38.0%	28.1%
Seldom/Never	72.2%	67.3%	49.9%	55.1%	62.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.16 Number of times taken part in protest actions

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Do not know	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
0	96.5%	94.7%	93.5%	97.0%	94.8%
1	2.5%	1.8%	2.1%	1.4%	1.9%
2	0.6%	0.5%	2.7%	0.4%	1.0%
3 to 5 times	0.4%	1.4%	0.9%	0.2%	1.1%
More than 5 times	0.0%	1.6%	0.9%	0.9%	1.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.17 Active member of landless movement

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Yes	0.4%	1.6%	1.0%	1.6%	1.4%
No	99.6%	98.4%	99.0%	98.4%	98.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.18 Active member of farm workers' association

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Total
Yes	4.0%	1.8%	0.5%	0.1%	1.5%
No	96.0%	98.2%	99.5%	99.9%	98.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

## 5 Current land access and use

This section presents survey data on current land access and land use, in order to understand the situation of households that might or might not seek assistance through the Land Reform Programme.

The key findings are as follows:

- Although the nature of the survey was such that all respondent households have access to residential sites (i.e. no homeless people were interviewed) (Table 5.1), the nature of this access is often problematic. For urban informal dwellers, of whom 28% indicated that their tenure in respect of their main residence is not secure, this is fairly obvious, but even a larger share of farm dwellers also expressed a sense of insecurity, as well as almost a fifth of urban formal dwellers (Table 5.7). Farm dwellers are insecure by virtue of the fact that their residence, by definition, is on the farm owner's land.
- A high proportion of respondents report no access to land for gardening or cropping (Tables 5.2 and 5.3, respectively). It is especially astonishing that 60% of respondents from communal areas indicated having no access to fields, and two thirds no access to land for gardening. Among those who do have fields, these fields tend to be very small (Figure 5.1). For example, among those living in communal areas, over one third of those with access to fields have less than 0.25 hectares.
- In terms of livestock production, the situation is similar, in that a high proportion of households report having no livestock at all (Table 5.11). Here it may not be strictly a lack of access to appropriate land – at least in communal areas, there appears to be widespread access to 'traditional' commonages (Table 5.13) – but rather lack of means to own or maintain livestock. The fact that a fair proportion of farm dwellers have access to commonages suggests that many farm dweller households maintain a foot in the communal areas.
- The lack of access to productive arable land is mirrored in the lack of involvement in agricultural production (Table 5.14). In fact it is more than mirrored, in the sense that a fair proportion of households who do have access to productive arable land (50% for respondents from communal areas) did not actually use it in the last year (Table 5.16). As for why some households under-utilise their land, lack of financial means emerges as the most prominent reason, especially if 'lack of seeds' and 'lack of fertiliser' are taken as part of this same explanation (Table 5.17). Interestingly, poor land quality did not figure as an important reason for land under-utilisation.
- Among those who are using the productive land to which they have access, the main reason for engaging in agriculture appears to be to provide 'a main source of food for the household' (Table 5.15). Among those residing in communal areas, 80% selected this answer. The question itself is taken more or less verbatim from Stats SA's *Labour Force Survey*, however the results here are significantly different. According to the *Labour Force Survey*, the vast majority of rural blacks who practice agriculture, do so to procure 'an extra source of food', not a main source of food. The reason for this discrepancy is unclear. Beyond that, what is important about this question is the relatively small proportion of

respondents who practice agriculture as a main form of income earning, rather agriculture is largely about directly promoting household-level food security.

## 5.1 Land access and ownership

*Table 5.1 Number of residential sites 'owned' by the household*

Number of sites	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
0	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
1	82.4%	94.5%	96.5%	96.3%
2	16.5%	5.1%	3.5%	3.7%
3	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
4	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	308	556	184	216

*Table 5.2 Number of garden plots 'owned' by the household*

Number of sites	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
0	85.3%	65.9%	91.6%	91.0%
1	14.0%	31.7%	7.8%	9.0%
2	0.8%	2.3%	0.6%	0.0%
3	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
4	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	308	556	184	216

*Table 5.3 Number of fields 'owned' by the household*

Number of sites	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
0	97.3%	60.2%	81.4%	98.1%
1	2.5%	36.5%	18.6%	1.9%
2	0.2%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%
3	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%
4	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	308	556	184	216



Table 5.4 Number of business sites 'owned' by the household

Number of sites	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
0	99.7%	99.7%	99.7%	100.0%
1	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%
2	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
3	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
4	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	308	556	184	216

Table 5.5 Type of land – main residential site

Type of land	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Tribal	6.0%	95.0%	21.4%	4.7%
Pvt non-tribal	86.1%	1.8%	32.6%	11.3%
State land	8.0%	3.0%	40.9%	62.4%
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.4%
Don't know	0.0%	0.1%	3.7%	21.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	307	539	182	213

Table 5.6 Basis of land access – main residential site

Basis of land access	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Tribal land allocated to the HH	0.4%	76.3%	15.4%	3.1%
Tribal land rented from another HH	0.0%	1.9%	4.7%	1.6%
Tribal land rented to another HH	0.0%	0.3%	2.1%	0.0%
Tribal land for which HH pays by means of a portion of the produce (sharecropping)	0.0%	0.7%	0.3%	0.0%
Tribal land available to members of the community	0.4%	7.0%	0.4%	1.5%
Tribal land available to anybody	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Land purchased through the government's redistribution programme	0.3%	0.3%	16.1%	5.5%
Land purchased without government assistance outside tribal area	0.7%	0.3%	7.8%	2.7%
Land / residence rented by the HH	1.4%		8.8%	6.8%
The HH is allowed to use the land in return for providing labour to the owner	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
The HH is allowed to use the land because a HH member is a paid farm worker	85.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Private land used without permission	0.3%	0.5%	1.7%	0.6%
State land rented from the state	2.6%	0.3%	10.7%	13.8%
State land made available for free and with permission	4.0%	3.2%	28.2%	34.2%

State land used without permission	0.8%	0.0%	0.1%	9.0%
Other	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Do not know	0.0%	0.1%	3.7%	21.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	307	536	182	213

Table 5.7 Perceived tenure security – main residential site

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	64.8%	84.7%	77.2%	51.1%
No	35.2%	12.7%	18.0%	27.6%
Do not know	0.0%	2.6%	4.9%	21.3%
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	307	537	181	212

Table 5.8 Type of land – main field

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Tribal	15.0%	94.8%	3.8%	50.8%
Pvt non-tribal	77.5%	3.5%	3.9%	0.0%
State land	7.5%	1.6%	92.3%	49.2%
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Do not know	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	10	233	15	5

Table 5.9 Basis of land access – main field

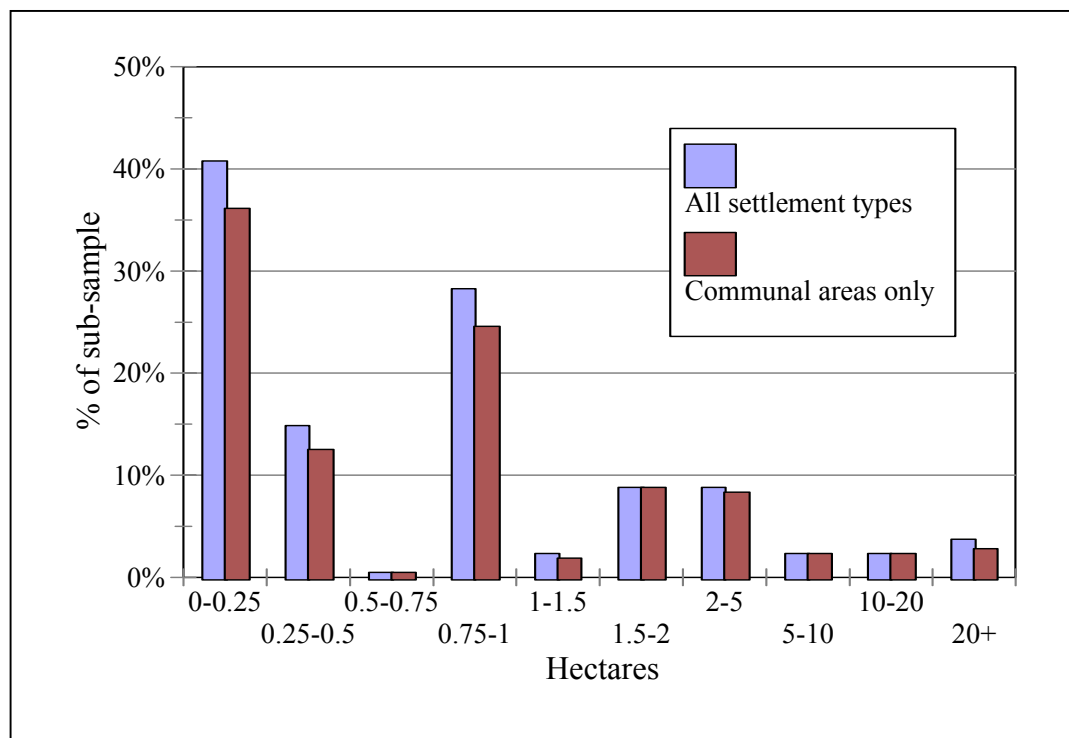
Basis of land access	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Tribal land allocated to the HH	7.5%	74.2%	0.0%	50.8%
Tribal land rented from another HH	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Tribal land rented to another HH	0.0%	0.7%	11.9%	0.0%
Tribal land for which HH pays by means of a portion of the produce (sharecropping)	7.5%	9.7%	10.1%	0.0%
Tribal land available to members of the community	0.0%	11.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Tribal land available to anybody	12.7%	0.0%	7.5%	0.0%
Land purchased through the government's redistribution programme	64.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Land purchased without government assistance outside tribal area	0.0%	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%
Land / residence rented by the HH	0.0%	0.5%	59.7%	0.0%
The HH is allowed to use the land in return for providing	0.0%	1.1%	7.0%	49.2%

labour to the owner				
The HH is allowed to use the land because a HH member is a paid farm worker	7.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Private land used without permission	7.5%	74.2%	0.0%	50.8%
State land rented from the state	0.0%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%
State land made available for free and with permission	0.0%	0.7%	11.9%	0.0%
State land used without permission	7.5%	9.7%	10.1%	0.0%
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Do not know	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	10	238	15	5

Table 5.10 Perceived tenure security – main field

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	87.3%	95.7%	92.7%	100.0%
No	12.7%	4.1%	7.3%	0.0%
Do not know	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	10	234	16	5

Figure 5.1 Frequency distribution of size of main fields



## 5.2 Livestock

Table 5.11 Households keeping livestock

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	30.6%	40.7%	6.2%	2.1%
No	69.4%	59.3%	93.8%	97.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	308	556	184	218

Table 5.12 If the household keeps livestock, does it have its own grazing land?

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	10.5%	10.3%	13.4%	na
No	89.5%	89.7%	86.6%	na
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	na
n	97	222	9	0

Table 5.13 If the household keeps livestock, does it have access to communal grazing land?

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	50.4%	80.6%	45.1%	na
No	49.6%	19.4%	54.9%	na
Do not know	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	na
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	na
n	97	222	9	0

## 5.3 Crop production

Table 5.14 Does the household grow farm produce?

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	19.9%	32.3%	4.6%	6.3%
No	80.1%	67.7%	95.4%	93.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	308	556	184	218

Table 5.15 Main reason for growing produce

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
As a main source of food for the household	37.8%	80.1%	59.7%	56.9%
As the main source of income/earning a living	14.5%	4.8%	31.6%	0.0%
As an extra source of income	15.4%	0.9%	6.2%	0.0%
As an extra source of food for the household	28.8%	12.6%	2.4%	43.1%
As a leisure activity or hobby, e.g. gardening	3.5%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	70	179	11	14

Table 5.16 Did the household use all of its available land this past year?

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	7.7%	50.0%	15.6%	4.1%
No	92.3%	50.0%	84.4%	95.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	120	292	16	26

Table 5.17 If not, why not?

	Yes	No
Lack off seeds	15.1%	84.9%
Lack of fertiliser	13.9%	86.1%
Lack off water	23.9%	76.1%
Lack of labour	5.8%	94.2%
Too little time	2.7%	97.3%
Pests	1.5%	98.5%
Rented out	0.8%	99.2%
Too old/young or weak	5.1%	94.9%
Too little money	22.2%	77.8%
Not interested	2.2%	97.8%
Poor quality of land	6.3%	93.7%

## **6 Land loss, redress and tenure insecurity on commercial farms**

This section presents data from the survey relating to respondents' experience of land dispossession and their attitudes related to how such dispossession should be redressed, and then relates these to the actual engagement with the Land Restitution Programme. For respondents other than farm dwellers, the section also briefly explores whether respondents had previously lived on commercial farms, and the circumstances of their no longer living there,

The key findings are the following:

- The experience of land dispossession was common but not the norm. Between 10% and 15% of respondents, depending on the type of settlement, reported that they themselves, or their ancestors, had been subjected to land dispossession (Table 6.1). A very small fraction of those who had experienced land dispossession indicated that this has happened prior to 1913 (Table 6.2). The significance of this is that 1913, being the year in which the Natives Land Act was introduced, is for purposes of Restitution the year before which people's claims for land restoration are not regarded as valid.
- Three quarters of those who reported having experienced land dispossession, indicated that 'whites' were responsible, though they may or may not still be in possession of the stolen land (Tables 6.3 and 6.4, respectively). 'Government' is also cited as key agent of land loss, and in fact 61% of those who indicated government had also indicated 'whites' as being responsible (not shown). Other tribes and other households are also cited, though much less frequently.
- What is clear from the data is that most affected households do feel that some form of redress is called for (Table 6.5). Why farm dwellers and urban informal dwellers should feel this less frequently than others is unclear, though one should bear in mind the effectively small sub-sample sizes underpinning this comparison.
- As for the form that this redress should take, there is a strong preference for financial compensation, though land restoration also figures highly (Table 6.6). Among those in favour of some form of redress, government is most commonly identified as the entity that should bear responsibility (Table 6.7). White farmers are also singled out by those from communal areas, but much less frequently than government. Importantly, the focus on government accords well with how land reform is conceptualised, in particular the fact that restitution claims are technically claims against the State rather than against particular property owners.
- Turning now to results from a different part of the questionnaire that deals with awareness of and participation in Restitution, it appears that awareness is a major issue. Only 28.5% of those who had experienced land dispossession could correctly describe the Restitution Programme, suggesting that lack of awareness posed a serious obstacle to getting legal redress as provided for in the land reform programme (Table 6.8).
- This is corroborated by the question of why respondents or their families did not lodge land claims (Table 6.10), that is to say, for those respondents who had demonstrated some knowledge of the Restitution Programme, but who had not in fact lodged a claim. The

predominant answer was, rather obviously, was that the household had never lost land. The second and third most common answers, however, are rather disturbing: almost 14% did not know how to lodge a claim, and another 8% could not explain ('did not know') why they or their families had not lodged a claim.

- The proportion of respondents who had at some earlier stage lived on a commercial farm was higher than the team would have predicted, especially among formal and informal urban dwellers (Table 6.11). However, the survey has limited power to ascertain the circumstances surrounding their departure from these farms, because at this stage the effective sample becomes rather small. However, it would appear that the vast majority of these departures occurred before 1997 (i.e. before the enactment of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act) (Table 6.12) and were predominantly voluntary (Table 6.12), although a substantial fraction were also involuntary.

## 6.1 Land loss

*Table 6.1 Did your household or your ancestors lose land through land dispossession?*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	9.2%	15.4%	14.9%	13.9%
No	74.0%	67.9%	64.5%	72.6%
Do not know	16.7%	16.7%	20.6%	13.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	308	556	184	218

*Table 6.2 In what year did your household or your ancestors lose this land?*

Before 1913	0.5%
1913 to 1993	62.2%
Since 1994	1.7%
Do not know	35.7%
Total	100.0%
n	176

*Table 6.3 Who caused this loss?*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Whites	76.5%	70.3%	85.3%	93.1%
The government	30.3%	31.9%	28.2%	42.6%
The colonialists	3.7%	6.3%	3.9%	28.4%
Another tribe	13.4%	8.4%	5.2%	1.7%
Another household	4.4%	1.1%	4.0%	9.0%

Table 6.4 Who is on the land now, i.e. the land of which you were dispossessed?

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Whites	76.5%	47.1%	38.7%	21.5%
The government	8.1%	10.4%	15.1%	1.9%
The colonialists	0.0%	3.3%	5.3%	0.0%
Another tribe	14.9%	19.0%	22.2%	0.2%
Another household	6.6%	9.1%	13.5%	6.9%
Have reclaimed	3.8%	6.7%	3.3%	10.6%

## 6.2 Attitudes towards compensation

Table 6.5 Should there be an apology or compensation made to those whose land was dispossessed?(As % of those who indicated that that had been dispossessed)

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Should be compensated for	52.6%	74.2%	60.3%	54.2%
n	31	76	33	26

Table 6.6 What form should this compensation take?(As % of those who indicated that their loss should be apologised for or compensated for somehow)

There should be an apology to us	14.1%
We should get the land back that was taken from us	48.3%
We should get some other land back	23.6%
We should be given money	59.3%
We should be given houses	14.5%
We should be given jobs	13.7%

Table 6.7 Who should be responsible for offering compensation?

The people who stay on the land that was ours	23.4%
The government	82.2%
Whites in general	11.2%
White farmers	18.4%



*Table 6.8 Relationship between experience of dispossession and awareness of the Restitution Programme*

	Yes, household or ancestors dispossessed	No, household or ancestors not dispossessed	Do not know
Correctly described restitution	28.5%	9.8%	10.4%
Did not correctly describe restitution	71.5%	90.2%	89.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	177	868	221

*Table 6.9 Have you or someone in your household lodged a land claim in terms of the land restitution programme, or been included in such a land claim?  
(This was asked only of those who were aware of the Restitution Programme)*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	10.0%	8.9%	17.8%	19.7%
No	82.0%	88.0%	70.4%	80.3%
Do not know	8.0%	3.1%	11.8%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	20	43	73	136

*Table 6.10 If no, what is the main reason you have not applied?  
(This was asked only of those who were aware of the Restitution Programme, and who indicated that they had not lodged a claim)*

Reason did not apply/lodge claim	Share
Household/family never lost land	61.1%
Did not know how to lodge a claim	14.8%
Do not qualify	7.4%
Land claim take too long	6.3%
Do not want the land back	3.1%
Lost land, but before 1913	0.3%
Do not know	5.4%
Other	1.5%
Total	100.0%

### 6.3 Tenure insecurity on commercial farms

Table 6.11 Have you ever lived on a commercial farm?

	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	10.4%	33.5%	32.6%
No	88.6%	64.7%	67.2%
Don't know	1.0%	1.8%	0.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	556	184	218

Table 6.12 If yes, in what year did you stop living on the last commercial farm you lived on?

	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
1996 and before	68.9%	85.5%	91.6%
1997 to present	8.0%	11.9%	8.1%
Other	6.6%	0	0
Do not know	16.5%	2.6%	0.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	64	48	59

Table 6.13 What is the main reason you left?

	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Decided to seek work elsewhere	12.4%	4.7%	15.6%
Decided to live elsewhere	30.5%	60.3%	56.1%
Living conditions were unacceptable	19.8%	7.7%	0.7%
Was asked to leave	25.6%	21.2%	23.6%
Received a court order to leave	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other	10.9%	6.2%	2.3%
Do not know	0.8%	0.0%	1.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	62	47	57

## 7 Land demand

The section on land demand seeks to quantify people's wishes in respect of more land, while also understanding the nature of their demand, e.g. proposed land uses. Before proceeding to the findings, one methodological note is in order. In drafting the questionnaire for the study, the team was uncertain whether they should be asking people whether they 'want land' or 'need land.' Because it was not possible to resolve this, it was decided to proceed in a manner that was generally inclusive, but which might also allow one to quantify the difference between 'need' and 'want' (see Table 7.9). In general we would conclude that trying to quantify what share of land demand relates to 'need' and what to 'want' has not proven useful; what we have learned however is that it was probably fortunate that an inclusive approach was adopted, first and foremost because the line separating 'need' from 'want' is indeed very fine.

The main observations are the following:

- The proportion of people wanting or needing land (or more land than what they currently have) varies discernibly between different settlement types and geographical areas, but less so between different types of people (e.g. women versus men, old and middle-aged people versus youth, etc.) (Table 7.1 to 7.8). Among the three provinces, Eastern Cape has the highest land demand and Limpopo the least (Table 7.2). The demand for land is least intense among those residing in communal areas, quite clearly because, notwithstanding observations made above about the limited access to land, many people residing in communal areas already own or access as much land as they are able to use, if not more (Table 7.10). Land demand is most intense among farm dwellers and urban informal dwellers. Presumably this relates to the more prevalent tenure insecurity among members of these two groups, but among farm dwellers it also relates to the relatively strong interest in land for commercial agriculture purposes (Table 7.11).
- In terms of what it is that people want land for, the overwhelming message is that food security is primary, followed by either tenure security or income generation, depending on the population studied (Table 7.11). Taking the sample as a whole, wanting land for the sake of recouping that which was wrongfully taken barely registers, suggesting that, notwithstanding a need for restitution, for example as discussed in the previous section, the economic importance of land is overriding. However, if one asks the same question while distinguishing those who experienced dispossession from those who did not, the importance of getting back that which was taken is far higher, though still generally secondary to economic motivations (Table 7.12).
- There is evidence that men are more keen than women to acquire (additional) land, and that those wishing relatively large amounts of land tend to be men (Tables 7.3 and 7.8, Figure 7.5). To some extent, the differential in terms of the amount of land desired can be traced to a tendency for women to be relatively less interested than men in land for income earning purposes (Figure 7.3).
- The relationship of land demand to age is complex. The conventional wisdom is that the youth are not especially interested in agriculture, land or land reform, and that in fact the strongest demand for land reform is from among the elderly. While in general those

younger than 25 are less likely to want land than those who are between 25 and 59, in fact they want land more than those who are 60 or older (Table 7.4). Moreover, youth want land considerable less than the middle aged when speaking of farm dwellers and urban formal dwellers, but among communal dwellers and urban informal dwellers there is no such relationship evident (Table 7.5). The complexity of the relationship may have to do with the demand for land for household formation purposes, which is discussed more below.

- The relationship between household headship and land demand is surprising. At the workshop conducted with stakeholders in July 2005, a number of participants indicated that if one were to isolate household heads, one would discover a higher demand for land. (It was also suggested that household heads would be more knowledgeable about land reform than non-heads, which is discussed in Chapter 9.) However, if anything the opposite appears to be the case (Table 7.7). This is the case even controlling for gender of household head, and indeed there is a strong pattern whereby female and males who are not household heads are younger than their household head counterparts (Table 7.8). The reason could be that demand for land is partially related to the need for opportunities for new household formation. For communal dwellers and urban informal dwellers, it is notable that, second to ‘planting field crops,’ the most important use which the respondent would put additional land would be ‘building a house for oneself’ (Table 7.13) (even though it is a distant second for communal dwellers), while when asked what respondents would want to do with their additional land, a strikingly high proportion indicated that they would wish to create a separate homestead for themselves (Table 7.15, last row).
- The relationship between demand for land and income is not straightforward (Figure 7.1). For urban formal dwellers and to a lesser extent communal dwellers, it would appear that those who want land are relatively well-off, while for farm dwellers no relationship is evident, and among urban informal dwellers the relationship is marginally the other way around. For urban formal dwellers, it is notable that 23% of those who want land regard business purposes as the most important use to which they would put it (Table 7.13).
- Because it is difficult to quantify the amount of land demanded in general, care was taken in the survey to ask about land demand for specific uses. Many households want land for livestock, but because of the non-exclusive nature of many commonages, it was not considered wise to ask about how much land in area is demanded for livestock, but rather for how many (additional) livestock the household would like land. Thus the total quantity of land demanded was the sum of that which was desired for field crops and tree crops, as well as the amount of land that would be required to accommodate the desired livestock numbers, based on an estimation using standing stocking rates. Demand for land is expressed both in terms of the total demand for arable (field and tree crop) land and for the total of arable and grazing land (see Figures 7.4 to 7.8). The general observation to be made based on these frequency distributions is that the demand for arable land appears to be characterised by a *tri-modal distribution*. This is not unambiguously the case, but the weight of evidence in support of it is significant. The first and second modes represent the demand of the majority of respondents for very small amounts of land, consistent with the idea that acquiring more land could assist in promoted household-level food security. The third mode is quite distinct, in that it involves a much smaller share of the respondents (and

one presumes therefore of the population), but relates to much larger amounts of land. This interpretation is supported by the average areas of land demanded by main use (Table 19).

- Finally, given the number of respondents wanting land, and the amount they want for arable and/or grazing purposes, it is possible to extrapolate as to the total area demanded for arable and grazing land (Table 20). The estimated total area demands comes to a total of 53 million hectares, which compares to a total of 27 million hectares of commercial farm land within the three provinces studied. In other words, the demand for land vastly exceeds the amount of land in existence. If one performs the simple thought-experiment of establishing an upper limit of 50 hectares per household, then the total land demanded is approximately 12.8 million hectares, which is 47% of the total commercial farm land in the three provinces.

*Table 7.1 Does the household need or want (additional) land?*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	53.2%	36.6%	46.9%	50.4%
No	35.4%	53.3%	46.6%	40.1%
Do not know	11.4%	10.1%	6.5%	9.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	308	556	184	218

*Table 7.2 Proportion of respondents who need/want land, by province*

	Limpopo	Free State	Eastern Cape
Yes	31.8%	43.5%	50.0%
No	57.7%	46.7%	42.0%
Do not know	10.4%	9.8%	8.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	453	257	556

Table 7.3 Proportion of respondents who need/want land, by gender

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
<i>Women</i>				
Yes	42.2%	34.3%	49.6%	50.6%
No	47.3%	54.3%	44.1%	38.7%
Do not know	10.4%	11.3%	6.3%	10.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	89	382	119	155
<i>Men</i>				
Yes	57.9%	41.6%	41.8%	49.9%
No	30.3%	51.2%	51.2%	45.1%
Do not know	11.8%	7.2%	7.0%	5.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	219	174	65	63

Table 7.4 Proportion of respondents who need/want land, by age range

	<25	>=25 & <35	>=35 & < 60	>=60
Yes	38.6%	48.3%	44.0%	32.7%
No	47.6%	40.9%	50.3%	57.8%
Do not know	13.8%	10.8%	5.7%	9.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	236	317	487	224

Table 7.5 Proportion of respondents who indicated that the need/want land, by age range and settlement type (percent who do need/want land)

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
<25	42.3%	36.2%	39.8%	51.2%
>=25 & <35	61.7%	35.7%	67.1%	53.7%
>=35 & < 60	51.2%	40.2%	46.3%	51.3%
>=60	49.3%	31.7%	30.1%	41.0%

Table 7.6 Proportion of respondents who need/want land, by experience of land dispossession

	Yes, household or ancestors dispossessed	No, household or ancestors not dispossessed	Do not know
Yes	48.1%	41.1%	38.3%
No	48.9%	51.2%	40.8%
Do not know	3.0%	7.7%	20.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	177	868	221

Table 7.7 Proportion of respondents who need/want land, household head respondents versus respondents who are not household heads

	Household heads	Non-household heads
Yes	39.1%	44.5%
No	52.3%	45.6%
Do not know	8.7%	9.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%
n	720	546

Table 7.8 Proportion of respondents who need/want land, by gender and household head status (with average age in years indicated in brackets)

	Household heads	Non-household heads
Female	35.8% [48.2]	43.5% [35.0]
Male	43.2% [48.5]	48.0% [30.1]

Figure 7.1 Relationship between land demand and average household income

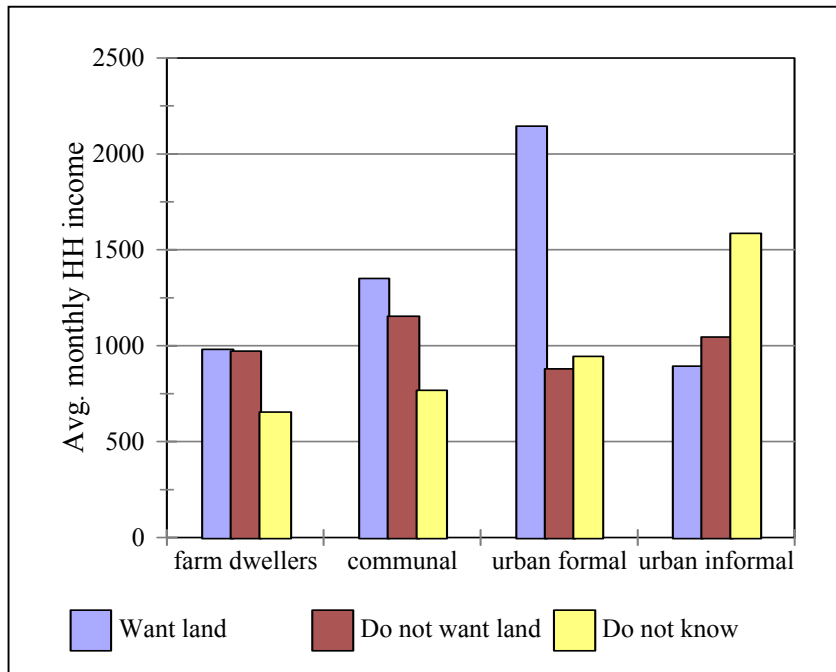


Figure 7.2 Relationship between land demand and present access and use

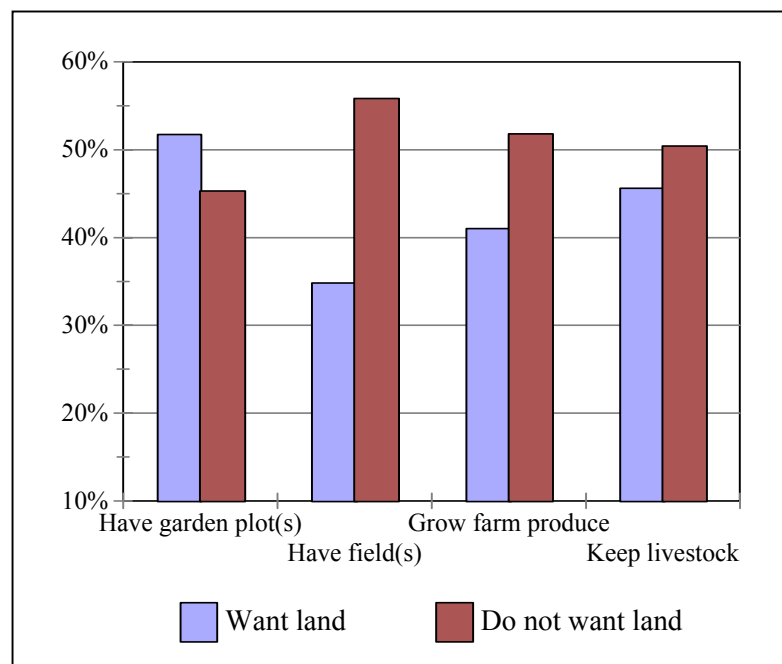


Table 7.9 Is this more of a 'need', a 'want', or is it both?

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Need	57.9%	62.9%	54.1%	62.5%
Want	18.8%	22.1%	18.5%	6.4%
Both	22.5%	14.5%	26.1%	31.1%
Do not know	0.8%	0.5%	1.3%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	172	200	83	116

Table 7.10 If you don't need/want land, what is the main reason why not?

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
We have enough land	13.9%	59.2%	35.8%	19.0%
Will be too costly to have more land	61.2%	13.3%	13.7%	17.8%
Will not be able to move to the land	0.0%	1.9%	5.9%	6.8%
Want to stay where we are now	9.2%	10.9%	21.9%	26.1%
Too long or difficult process to acquire more land	2.2%	1.3%	1.7%	9.8%
There is nothing that we need it for	12.9%	11.8%	17.1%	20.4%
Other	0.6%	1.6%	4.0%	0.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	94	284	79	76



Table 7.11 What is the main reason you want/need this land?

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
To grow food	57.5%	69.1%	50.7%	54.1%
To generate income	16.5%	12.1%	13.9%	13.4%
To have a secure place to stay	14.3%	12.2%	32.1%	31.9%
To use as collateral	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%
To get back what was taken from us	0.6%	4.3%	1.2%	0.0%
Other	11.0%	1.5%	2.1%	0.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	176	205	87	121

Table 7.12 Main reason respondent wants/needs land, by experience of land dispossession

	Yes, household or ancestors dispossessed	No, household or ancestors not dispossessed	Do not know
To grow food	58.6%	63.2%	55.9%
To generate income	5.6%	14.9%	13.6%
To have a secure place to stay	12.8%	20.2%	27.8%
To use as collateral	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%
To get back what was taken from us	13.7%	0.1%	1.5%
Other	7.1%	1.6%	1.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	104	396	89

Figure 7.3 Relationship between gender and reason for wanting land

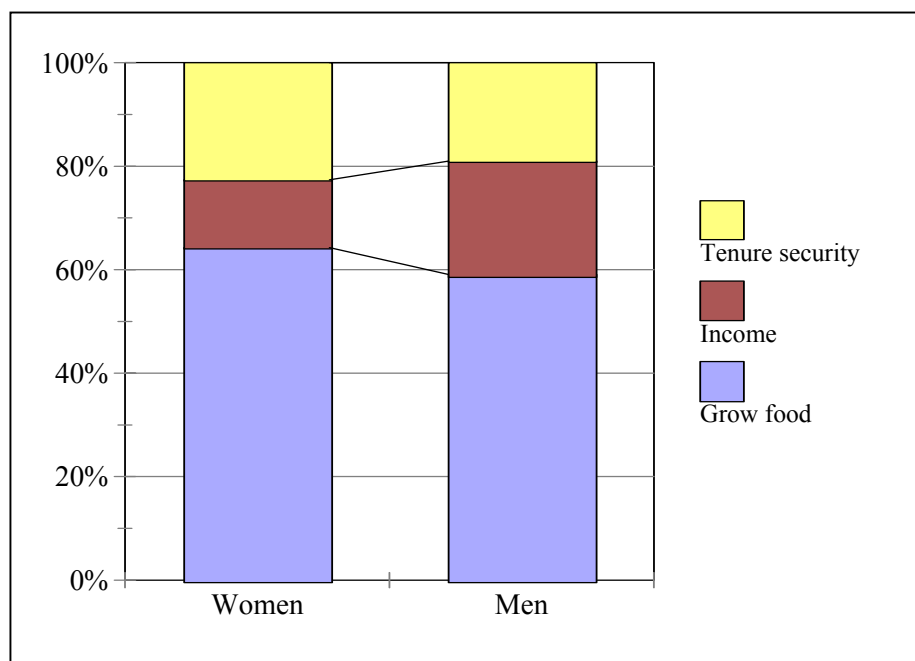


Table 7.13 What is the most important use to which you would put it?

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Planting field crops?	40.2%	66.5%	34.5%	34.4%
Keeping livestock?	49.6%	14.0%	24.8%	16.0%
Planting trees?	1.8%	0.0%	0.2%	4.9%
Mining?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Building a house for self?	4.5%	16.8%	9.5%	31.8%
Building a house to rent out?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Gardening?	0.9%	0.0%	8.2%	0.0%
Having a business?	3.0%	2.0%	22.9%	12.8%
To rent or lease out?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
To sell for profit?	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%
We would not use it	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	176	205	87	121

Table 7.14 If you were to get the land you want or need, would you expect... (Percentage answering 'yes')

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
To have family members work on it?	83.2%	83.1%	86.1%	83.7%
To hire full time, regular workers to work on it?	70.8%	40.8%	76.6%	65.7%
To hire casual workers from time to time?	59.6%	42.0%	44.6%	56.6%
To operate it with other small-scale farmers?	68.0%	46.6%	46.1%	51.6%
To take out a loan to buy inputs, equipment, or livestock?	82.5%	46.7%	50.6%	72.9%
Your children to take it over from you when you get old/die?	97.6%	91.3%	100.0%	90.1%
To earn an income from it?	96.1%	80.9%	96.3%	92.0%

Table 7.15 If you were to get this land, would you want... (Percentage answering 'yes')

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
To have a title deed for it?	99.2%	95.2%	95.4%	99.8%
To own it as part of a group?	30.7%	22.2%	36.0%	42.3%
To hold it within an area controlled by a traditional leader?	18.4%	37.8%	11.6%	12.9%
To sell it?	6.0%	2.3%	1.9%	4.5%
To rent/lease it out?	12.3%	12.1%	5.2%	7.3%
To use it as collateral to get a loan?	33.0%	13.9%	10.2%	8.3%
To create a homestead for myself separate from my parents	63.8%	38.8%	46.6%	44.8%

*Table 7.16 Would you be willing to move out of your community to this new land?*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	87.8%	36.1%	59.1%	65.4%
No	8.5%	61.9%	22.1%	31.0%
Do not know	3.7%	2.0%	18.8%	3.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	145	140	59	65

*Table 7.17 Willingness to move out of one's community to new land in relation to household head status and gender*

	Women respondents		Men respondents	
	Household head	Not household head	Household head	Not household head
Yes	41.5%	42.4%	69.6%	52.0%
No	46.1%	50.1%	27.7%	47.3%
Do not know	12.4%	7.5%	2.7%	0.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	66	135	161	47

*Table 7.18 If yes, would you be willing to build a house for yourself there?*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Yes	97.8%	95.0%	99.4%	99.6%
No	1.1%	1.9%	0.6%	0.4%
Do not know	1.1%	3.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	128	50	42	49

Figure 7.4 Land area wanted for field and tree crops, among those who want it, by settlement type

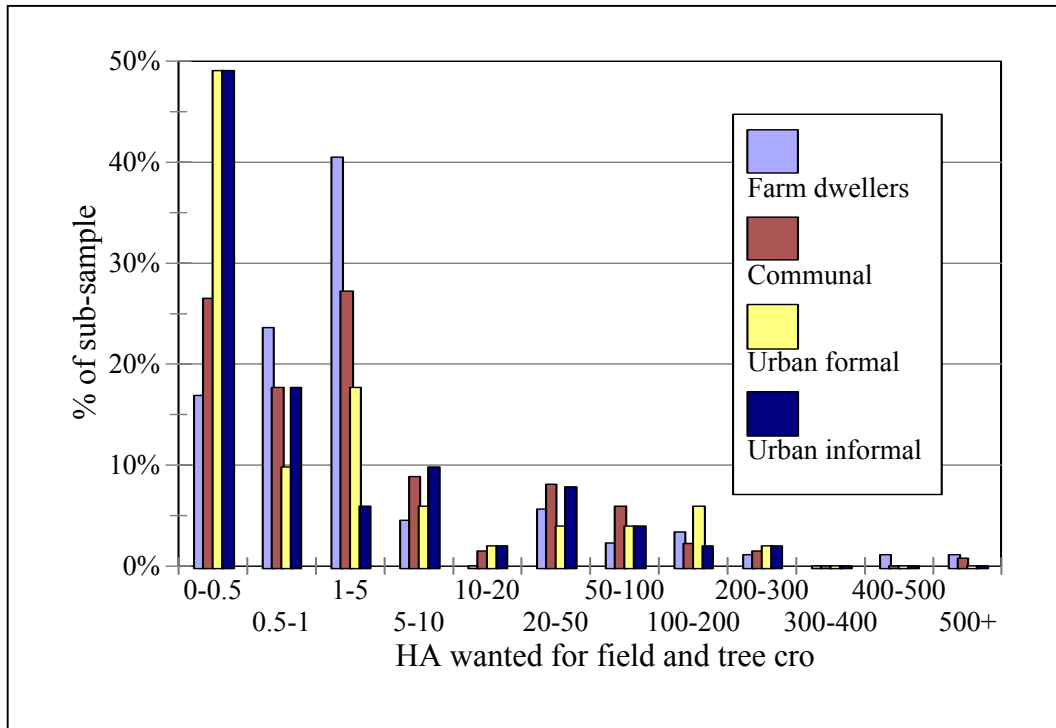


Figure 7.5 Amount of land wanted for field and tree crops, among those who want it, by gender)

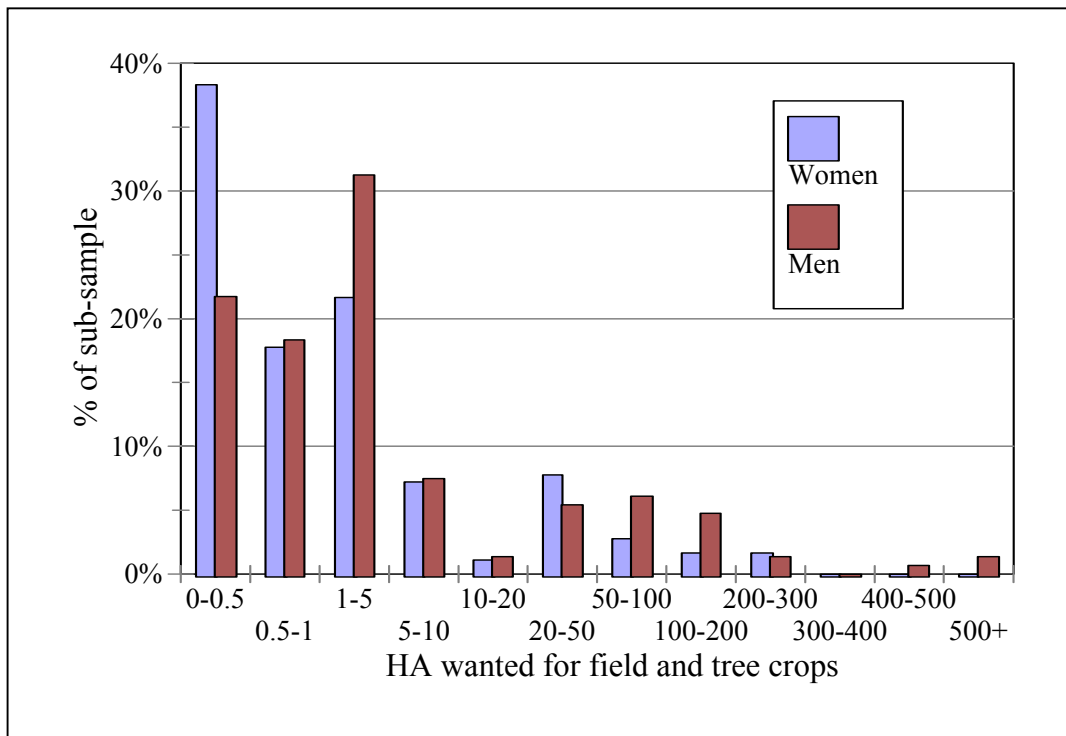


Figure 7.6 Land area wanted for field and tree crops, among those who want it, by age group

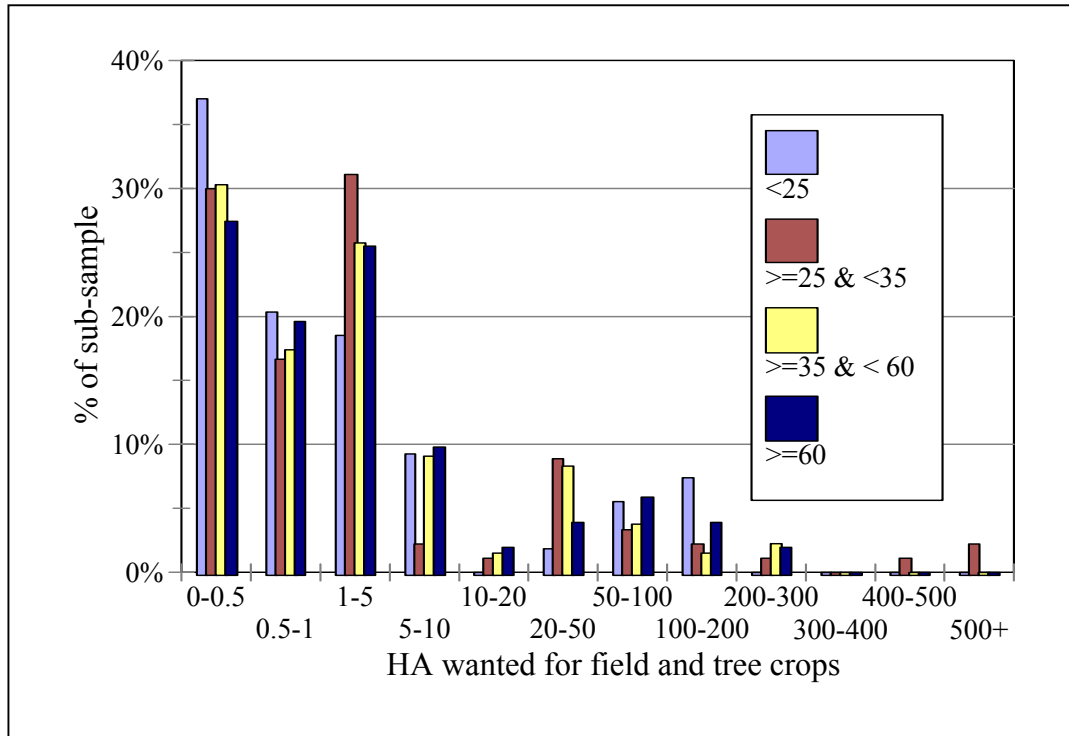


Figure 7.7 Land area wanted for field and tree crops, among those who want it, by province

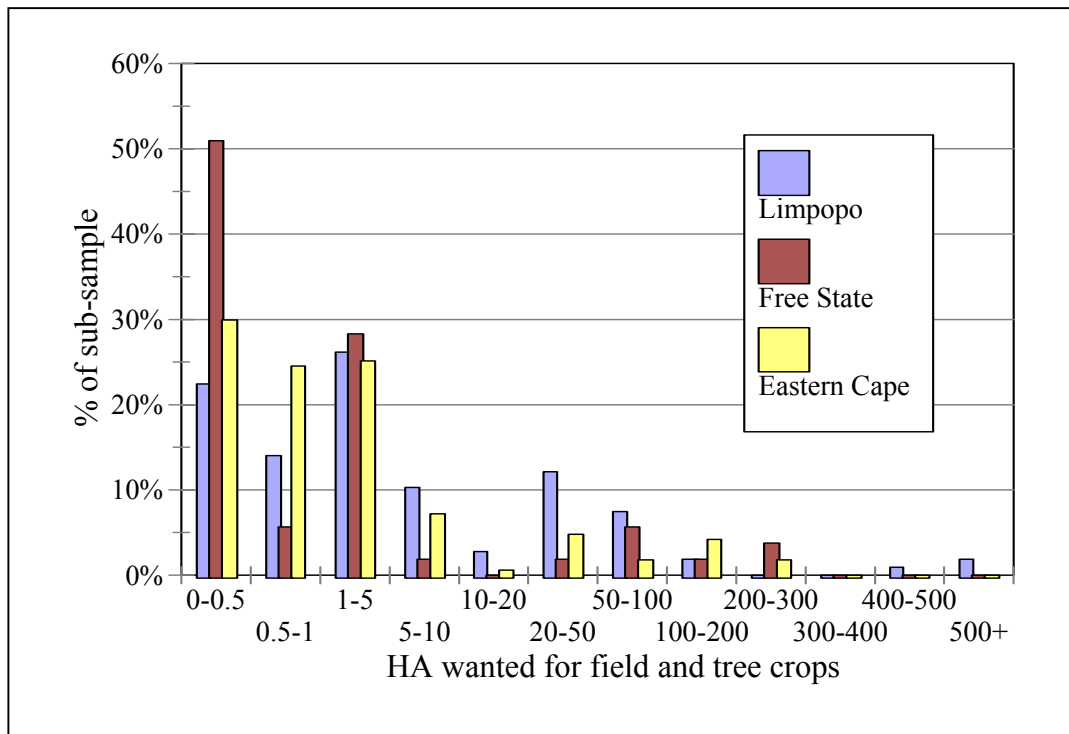


Figure 7.8 Land area wanted for field crop, tree crops and grazing, among those who want it

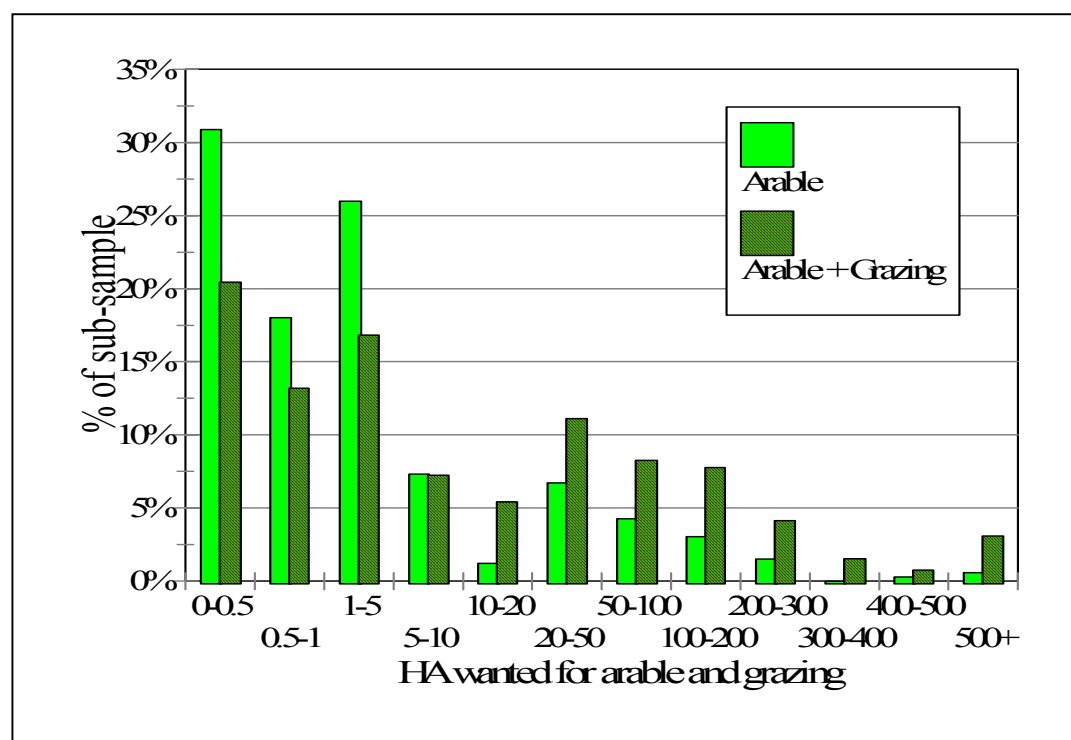


Table 7.19 Average hectares of arable land desired by main reason for wanting land

To grow food	11.9
To generate income	34.5
To have a secure place to stay	1.8
To use as collateral	
To get back what was taken from us	15.4

Table 7.20 Extrapolation of total land demand in three provinces

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
% who want land	53.2%	36.6%	46.9%	50.4%
Extrap. total HHs in 3 provinces	112,942	627,174	314,699	157,316
Of whom want for 'agriculture'	89,017	430,094	164,638	56,438
Avg. amount of land wanted (HA)	105.0	42.7	134.3	52.0
Extrap. land demanded (mn HA)	9.3	18.4	22.1	2.9
Extrap. land demanded if limited to 50 HA/HH (mn HA)	2.1	6.1	3.3	1.3

## 8 Preferences regarding land reform policy

Three parts of the questionnaire probed respondents' general attitudes towards land reform, that is to say, not their assessment of South Africa's land reform programme as such, but general beliefs or attitudes as to what land reform should seek to achieve, how it should achieve it, and for whom. The first of these consisted of a list of statements, in response to each of which the respondent was asked to indicate whether she agreed, disagreed, or felt neutral. Most of this chapter relates to understanding the results from this part of the questionnaire. The second relevant part of the questionnaire consisted of a set of questions as to who land reform should prioritise; and the third to a set of questions about the respondent's attitudes towards land invasions.

The key findings are as follows:

- There are areas of convergence and divergence in the attitudes of blacks and 'white' respondents. (To be precise, the distinction is between the black respondents from the four settlement types described, on the one hand, and commercial farmer respondents, on the other hand; however, the commercial farmers interviewed were overwhelmingly white, and thus for the purposes of this report are often referred to as 'white.')
- Table 8.1 ranks the statements according to the degree of similarity between black and white respondents, such that statements towards the top of the list are those regarding which there are fairly similar incidence of agreement or disagreement, while those at the bottom are those that more starkly distinguish black from white respondents. Beyond agreement on a number of disparate particular points (e.g. the fact that youth should be involved, that land reform is not a personal political priority nor a national fiscal priority, and the fact that women should be allowed to own land), the main area of convergence would appear to be mutual broad support for a conservative approach to land reform, e.g. one that is careful not to disrupt the economy, one that does not involve non-compensated land seizures, and in general one that does not 'follow the example of Zimbabwe.' The main areas of difference include the following: i) not surprisingly, black respondents believe white farmers should make more of a sacrifice than commercial farmers believe; ii) black respondents favour a broad approach to land reform rather than one that focuses narrowly on certain beneficiary groups; and iii) black respondents are more optimistic as to the benefits of properly conducted land reform for beneficiaries and for the economy.
- Table 8.2 seeks to find out what personal or other characteristics account for, or at least influence, these attitudes. The table reports differences at the 5% and 10% significance levels between the extent to which different sub-groups agree with the respective statements. (Unless otherwise indicated, the difference is that between the frequency with which a particular sub-group agreed with a statement, versus the frequency with which all black respondents agreed with it.) Points of interest include the following:
  - 'Mode 3' respondents (i.e. those who want relatively large amounts of land associated with the third mode of the frequency distributions) are more likely to agree with statements reflecting the idea that priority should be given to land reform for commercial purposes, while Mode 2 and Mode 3 respondents are more apt to have radical attitudes towards land reform, and to think that land reform is a fiscal priority

- Urban informal dwellers are more likely to agree with radical statements about how to conduct land reform, while farm dwellers are more likely to believe that land reform is important and to approach land reform from a commercial farming perspective
  - Men are less likely than women to believe that women should be allowed to own land, and more likely than women to regard land reform as important from a personal and national point of view
  - Neither age, perceived relative welfare, or voting behaviour in 2004 are associated with distinct views on land reform
  - More education is associated with less conviction as to the importance of land reform and appropriateness of radical measures to effect land reform
  - Belonging to a political party and being satisfied with government's performance generally are associated with relatively strong interest in land reform and how it is conducted.
- Views differ as to who should be prioritised to benefit from land reform. In terms of those from different settlement types (Table 8.3): farm dwellers favour those who wish to farm commercially and, not surprisingly farm workers; communal dwellers and urban formal dwellers favour those from whom the land was taken and 'the poor'; urban informal dwellers favour the youth, those from whom the land was taken, but most of all the poor; and (mostly white) commercial farmers above all favour the youth, followed by those with agricultural skills and those who wish to farm commercially.
  - Depending on settlement type, between 57% and 72% of black respondents feel that land invasions would be justified under some circumstances, versus 3% of white respondents. The circumstances under which large fractions of black respondents feel that land invasions are justified are quite diverse.
  - Some curious comparisons emerge between some of the data elicited in this section on land reform preference, and those from the section on land demand and dispossession. The following table combines statistics from these different parts of the survey:

Did you/your household/your ancestors ever lose land due to colonialism or apartheid? (% saying 'yes')	14.7%
Do you/your household presently need or want more land than you currently have? (% saying 'yes')	41.7%
Land reform is necessary for addressing the crimes committed against black people (% in agreement)	49.5%
Land reform is mainly important for healing and reconciliation (% in agreement)	58.9%
All black South Africans should receive some land (% in agreement)	73.7%

What is perhaps most interesting is the size of the gap between the percentage of the population who want land for themselves, and the percentage of the population who assert that all black South Africans should receive some land. A similar comparison can be drawn between the percentage who indicate that they themselves or their ancestors were dispossessed of land, versus the much larger proportion who see land reform as essential to right the wrongs of the past. The implication is perhaps obvious but warrants emphasis: the need for land reform operates on at least two different planes, namely in terms of benefits to particular households, families or communities, but simultaneous in terms of addressing the need for collective justice/redress.



*Table 8.1 Summary table of attitudes towards land reform of black respondents and commercial farmers – percent who ‘agree’, ranked by difference of extent of agreement between black and white respondents*

	Blacks	‘Whites’	Difference
Land reform is a waste of time because young people are not interested in farming	25.0%	33.3%	8.3%
Land reform is my main concern in deciding what political party to support	21.4%	13.0%	8.4%
Gov’t should spend more money on land reform than on education	10.0%	1.4%	8.6%
South Africa should follow the example of Zimbabwe	9.8%	0.0%	9.8%
Women should be allowed to own land	78.4%	88.4%	10.0%
Land reform should be done carefully so that it doesn’t hurt the economy	81.7%	98.6%	16.9%
Whites should be forced off their farms with no compensation	17.0%	0.0%	17.0%
I would like a bit of rural land to call my home	65.3%	84.1%	18.8%
Land should remain in productive use	76.5%	98.6%	22.1%
Land reform should be conducted in an orderly and conciliatory way	68.2%	92.8%	24.6%
Whites should be required to sell their farms	27.0%	0.0%	27.0%
All land in the former homelands should be privatised ...	29.7%	63.8%	34.1%
Land reform is necessary for addressing the crimes committed against black people	49.5%	14.5%	35.0%
Land reform is mainly important for healing and reconciliation	58.9%	17.4%	41.5%
All land should be nationalised (owned by government)	47.4%	1.4%	46.0%
The white South Africans can keep the land, but they must pay for it	54.1%	7.2%	46.9%
Land should be returned to the individuals from whom it was taken	83.6%	36.2%	47.4%
Land reform is essential to improve the economy	68.7%	17.4%	51.3%
Giving people land is fine, but they should have to pay something	36.5%	94.2%	57.7%
Land reform will lead to high land productivity	63.5%	4.3%	59.2%
All black South Africans should receive some land	73.7%	5.8%	67.9%

Table 8.2 Attitudes towards land reform of black respondents, significant differences by subcategories (unweighted)\*

	Agree (all resps.)	By demand mode				By 'settlement type'			
		No demand	Mode 1	Mode 2	Mode 3	Farm dwellers	Tribal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Land should be returned to the individuals from whom it was taken	82.0%							++	++
Land reform should be done carefully so that it doesn't hurt the economy	81.6%						--	++	
All black South Africans should receive some land	77.8%		++			++			
Women should be allowed to own land	76.1%							++	
Land should remain in productive use	75.4%					++			
Land reform should be conducted in an orderly and conciliatory way	73.3%					++	--		
Land reform is mainly important for empowering black South Africans	71.1%					++	--		
Land reform is essential to improve the economy	70.8%			++		++			--
I would like a bit of rural land to call my home	68.0%			++	++	++			
Land reform will lead to high land productivity	66.3%				++	++			
Land reform is mainly important for healing and reconciliation	64.3%					++	--		
I would like to become a large-scale commercial farmer	58.9%	--	++	++	++	++	--		
The white South Africans can keep the land, but they must pay for it	56.7%		--		++	++	--		
Land reform is important, but much less important than other things government should be doing	55.1%								
Land reform is necessary for addressing the crimes committed against black people	53.1%					++			
All land should be nationalised (owned by government)	51.8%			++		++	--		
All land owned by white South Africans should be handed over to black South Africans	46.9%						--		++
Only people who want to produce commercially ... should be given land, not to people who want to live on the land only	43.9%				++	++			
Giving people land is fine, but they should have to pay something	39.8%					++	--		
All land in the former homelands should be privatised ...	32.9%				++	++	--		
Whites should be required to sell their farms	29.8%		--						++
Land reform is a waste of time because our young people are not interested in farming	25.6%					++			
Land reform is my main concern in deciding what political party to support	24.8%					++	--		
Whites should be forced off their farms with no compensation	17.9%	--		++	++				++
Gov't should spend more money on land reform than on education	11.6%	--		++	++	++			
South Africa should follow the example of Zimbabwe	8.4%								++

Table 8.2 Attitudes towards land reform of black respondents, significant differences by subcategories (continued)

	Agree (all resps.)	Men versus women	HH worse off	Member of political party	Didn't vote in April 2004	By age group			
						<25	≥25 & <35	≥35 & < 60	≥60
Land should be returned to the individuals from whom it was taken	82.0%	+		+					
Land reform should be done carefully so that it doesn't hurt the economy	81.6%	++		+					
All black South Africans should receive some land	77.8%								
Women should be allowed to own land	76.1%	--	++	+					
Land should remain in productive use	75.4%			++					
Land reform should be conducted in an orderly and conciliatory way	73.3%	++							
Land reform is mainly important for empowering black South Africans	71.1%	++		+					
Land reform is essential to improve the economy	70.8%	++							
I would like a bit of rural land to call my home	68.0%			++					-
Land reform will lead to high land productivity	66.3%	++		++					
Land reform is mainly important for healing and reconciliation	64.3%	++		++					
I would like to become a large-scale commercial farmer	58.9%	++		++			+		--
The white South Africans can keep the land, but they must pay for it	56.7%	++							
Land reform is important, but much less important than other things government should be doing	55.1%								
Land reform is necessary for addressing the crimes committed against black people	53.1%	++		++		-			
All land should be nationalised (owned by government)	51.8%	++			+				
All land owned by white South Africans should be handed over to black South Africans	46.9%			++					
Only people who want to produce commercially ... should be given land, not to people who want to live on the land only	43.9%	++		++					
Giving people land is fine, but they should have to pay something	39.8%	++		-					-
All land in the former homelands should be privatised ...	32.9%	++		+					
Whites should be required to sell their farms	29.8%			++					
Land reform is a waste of time because our young people are not interested in farming	25.6%								
Land reform is my main concern in deciding what political party to support	24.8%	++				-			
Whites should be forced off their farms with no compensation	17.9%							--	
Gov't should spend more money on land reform than on education	11.6%	++		+					
South Africa should follow the example of Zimbabwe	8.4%								

Table 8.2 Attitudes towards land reform of black respondents, significant differences by subcategories (continued)

	Agree (all resp.)	By education		Satisfaction w/ gov't	
		No education	Finished high school	Dissatisfied	Satisfied
Land should be returned to the individuals from whom it was taken	82.0%				
Land reform should be done carefully so that it doesn't hurt the economy	81.6%		++		
All black South Africans should receive some land	77.8%	++	--		++
Women should be allowed to own land	76.1%				
Land should remain in productive use	75.4%				++
Land reform should be conducted in an orderly and conciliatory way	73.3%				++
Land reform is mainly important for empowering black South Africans	71.1%				++
Land reform is essential to improve the economy	70.8%				++
I would like a bit of rural land to call my home	68.0%	++	-		++
Land reform will lead to high land productivity	66.3%				++
Land reform is mainly important for healing and reconciliation	64.3%		--		++
I would like to become a large-scale commercial farmer	58.9%		--		++
The white South Africans can keep the land, but they must pay for it	56.7%				+
Land reform is important, but much less important than other things government should be doing	55.1%				
Land reform is necessary for addressing the crimes committed against black people	53.1%				
All land should be nationalised (owned by government)	51.8%				++
All land owned by white South Africans should be handed over to black South Africans	46.9%	+	--		
Only people who want to produce commercially ... should be given land, not to people who want to live on the land only	43.9%				+
Giving people land is fine, but they should have to pay something	39.8%				++
All land in the former homelands should be privatised ...	32.9%				
Whites should be required to sell their farms	29.8%		--		
Land reform is a waste of time because our young people are not interested in farming	25.6%		-		
Land reform is my main concern in deciding what political party to support	24.8%				++
Whites should be forced off their farms with no compensation	17.9%		--	++	
Gov't should spend more money on land reform than on education	11.6%				
South Africa should follow the example of Zimbabwe	8.4%			+	

\* + or - indicates a significant percentage difference at the 10% level, and ++ or -- indicates a significant percentage difference at the 5% level.



*Table 8.3 Who should be prioritised in terms of getting land through land reform?*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Commercial farmers
The youth	28.1%	23.9%	17.7%	43.1%	97.1%
MK veterans	1.4%	5.9%	5.6%	18.8%	0.0%
Those from whom the land was taken	33.0%	42.3%	47.4%	57.2%	11.6%
Those who wish to farm commercially	40.9%	22.9%	24.0%	38.5%	65.2%
The poor	39.5%	44.9%	53.0%	68.7%	0.0%
Those who do not have enough to eat	19.3%	16.8%	12.2%	40.5%	0.0%
Those with agricultural skills	23.3%	19.1%	26.3%	36.4%	72.5%
Traditional leaders	3.5%	16.2%	8.0%	14.9%	1.4%
Farm workers	36.8%	15.1%	15.6%	32.6%	18.8%
Everybody	15.6%	20.9%	20.6%	30.6%	0.0%

*Table 8.4 If at all, under what circumstances would you approve of land invasions? (Percentage of respondents who said 'yes')*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Commercial farmers
When land reform is moving too slowly	44.5%	29.9%	34.7%	40.8%	1.5%
When land reform is not benefiting the right people	50.8%	41.8%	43.1%	52.7%	2.9%
When people have no other option for survival	46.3%	36.9%	52.8%	51.7%	1.5%
When people want to take back their ancestral land	42.7%	49.9%	52.4%	59.3%	1.5%
Never	43.2%	37.2%	27.8%	37.5%	97.1%

## 9 Knowledge of land reform and overall assessment

This section summarises findings in respect of knowledge of land reform and the overall assessment of land reform. As with the previous section, care is taken where possible to compare the responses from black respondents to those of commercial farmers, who are mainly white.

- The general finding is that a majority of black respondents have very little awareness or understanding of land reform, in contrast to commercial farmers who are much better informed (Tables 9.1 to 9.3).
- The possibility that household heads are better informed than non-household heads was explored (Tables 9.4 and 9.5). The finding is that household heads are indeed more aware of land reform and how it works, but not dramatically so, for instance among household heads, only 54% had not heard of government's land reform, versus 60% among non-household heads.
- On the other hand, those who personally or whose ancestors experienced land dispossession are significantly more likely to be aware of land reform, and in particular of land restitution (Table 9.6). However, the degree of ignorance (71% of dispossessed households were not aware of the restitution programme) is still high and cause for concern (see Chapter 6).
- Two other characteristics to which awareness/ignorance can be related are household income and level of education (Table 9.7). The income of those who 'have heard about the programme and know well what it is about' is about 2.5 times as great as the average, while the income of those who 'have heard about the programme and know a little bit what it is about' is about 60% greater than the average. Similarly, those who 'have heard about the programme and know well what it is about' are 2.7 times as likely to have completed secondary school, while those who 'have heard about the programme and know a little bit what it is about' are 44% more likely to have completed secondary school than the average household. This suggests a strong bias in favour of the relatively well off and educated in terms of just being aware that the land reform programme exists, which presumably has a bearing for the ability to get involved in land reform.
- Despite the relative lack of awareness of land reform among blacks – or perhaps because of it? – black respondents generally have a better impression of the success of land reform than commercial farmers (Tables 9.8 and 9.9).

*Table 9.1 Who is the Minister of Land Affairs?*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Commercial farmers
% correct	27.3%	22.9%	28.2%	22.9%	95.7%
n	308	555	184	218	69

*Table 9.2 How would you characterise your knowledge of the land reform programme?*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Commercial farmers
Have heard about the programme and know well what it is about	3.0%	3.5%	2.8%	4.3%	75.4%
Have heard about the programme and know a little bit what it is about	14.7%	9.2%	15.0%	10.0%	18.8%
Have heard about the programme but do not know what it is about	13.4%	6.4%	5.3%	10.5%	4.3%
Have not heard about the programme, but I do know about land reform	7.6%	24.0%	24.5%	14.1%	1.4%
Have not heard about the programme	61.3%	56.9%	52.3%	61.1%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	308	556	184	218	69

*Table 9.3 Ability to describe/define the three main components of the land reform programme*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Commercial farmers
Redistribution	5.0%	6.8%	7.4%	10.2%	60.9%
Restitution	10.1%	14.0%	9.8%	13.1%	68.1%
Tenure reform	4.4%	5.6%	4.6%	5.5%	69.6%

*Table 9.4 How would you characterise your knowledge of the land reform programme?*

	Household heads	Non-household heads
Have heard about the programme and know well what it is about	4.2%	2.5%
Have heard about the programme and know a little bit what it is about	13.5%	8.4%
Have heard about the programme but do not know what it is about	6.5%	7.7%
Have not heard about the programme, but I do know about land reform	22.1%	21.5%
Have not heard about the programme	53.6%	59.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%
n	720	546



*Table 9.5 Ability to describe/define the three main components of the land reform programme, household heads versus non-heads*

	Household heads	Non-household heads
Redistribution	8.3%	5.9%
Restitution	14.0%	11.2%
Tenure reform	6.7%	3.7%

*Table 9.6 Ability to describe/define the three main components of the land reform programme, by experience of land dispossession*

	Yes, household or ancestors dispossessed	No, household or ancestors not dispossessed	Do not know
Redistribution	15.0%	5.8%	6.0%
Restitution	28.5%	9.8%	10.4%
Tenure reform	15.8%	9.4%	5.6%

*Table 9.7 Awareness of the land reform programme in relation to average monthly household income and level of education*

	Average monthly household income (Rand)	% of respondents who have finished secondary school
Have heard about the programme and know well what it is about	3031	52.1%
Have heard about the programme and know a little bit what it is about	1884	27.4%
Have heard about the programme but do not know what it is about	969	13.2%
Have not heard about the programme, but I do know about land reform	1071	20.6%
Have not heard about the programme	1021	15.5%
Average	1187	19.0%

*Table 9.8 Are you satisfied with the way land reform is being conducted?*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal	Commercial farmers
Satisfied	41.0%	18.4%	30.9%	20.1%	11.6%
Neutral	13.3%	15.9%	16.8%	17.1%	23.2%

Dissatisfied	23.1%	12.7%	11.0%	14.5%	55.1%
Do not know	22.5%	53.0%	41.4%	48.2%	10.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
n	305	538	177	207	69

*Table 9.9 Do you feel land reform is performing well, average, or poorly in...*

	Well	Average	Poorly	Do not know	Total
informing people about how to get involved	24.4%	11.1%	30.5%	34.0%	100.0%
progressing at a good speed	16.2%	11.6%	24.5%	47.7%	100.0%
benefiting the right people	27.8%	11.2%	13.4%	47.6%	100.0%
providing land of good quality	22.7%	10.6%	12.1%	54.6%	100.0%
providing large enough pieces of land	20.9%	10.9%	11.8%	56.4%	100.0%
providing support to the people who get land	22.6%	10.1%	14.7%	52.6%	100.0%
ensuring that land reform is free of corruption	17.6%	9.0%	14.1%	59.3%	100.0%
promoting access to markets	17.6%	8.5%	12.2%	61.7%	100.0%
providing agricultural extension	20.7%	9.8%	11.4%	58.1%	100.0%

## 10 Selected findings form the survey of commercial farmers

Up to now the results of the commercial farmer survey have figured only by way of comparison to results of the 'black respondent' survey on questions of awareness of and attitudes towards land reform. This section pulls together selected findings from the commercial farmer survey, focusing especially on commercial farmers' attitudes towards 'their' role in land reform. Table 10.1 simply demonstrates that 96% of the sample of commercial farmers are indeed white, thus justifying the fact that in describing the results from this survey, 'white farmer' and 'commercial farmer' have generally been used interchangeably. Even so, it must be recalled that, with only 69 respondents, the white/commercial farmer survey is merely exploratory, i.e. there is no suggestion that the results can be generalised to all white/commercial farmers in the three provinces from which the sample was drawn.

The main findings are as follows:

- White farmers have a relatively high degree of dissatisfaction with the way South Africa is being governed, perceive there to be a high incidence of corruption, and are inclined to distrust the government in general as well as the Department of Land Affairs (Tables 10.2, 10.3, and 10.4). The attitudes of white respondents is thus significantly more negative than those of the black respondents (recall Tables 4.3, 4.7 and 4.8). It would appear that white farmers' distrust of the Department of Land Affairs reflects a general disaffection with government rather than being particularly to do with disaffection over land reform.
- There is a general feeling that white farmers are supporting rather than impeding or exploiting land reform, though there is also consistent recognition that a certain minority of white farmers may indeed be hindering or seeking to exploit land reform (Tables 10.5, 10.6 and 10.7).
- Going beyond what respondents feel about the behaviour of white farmers in general, a number of questions seek to tease out how the respondents themselves would behave in the event land reform was happening in their midst, in particular whether the respondents would impede market transactions related to land reform. In response to the question, 'How do you, or would you, feel about a neighbour wishing to sell his/her land to land reform beneficiaries?' 14% of respondents answered that they would try to discourage such a transaction, while another 7% said that they would oppose the transaction but not attempt to discourage it from happening (Table 10.8). These figures are arguably quite low, but perhaps more worrying is that 42% of respondents indicated that their reaction '...would depend on who the beneficiaries are.'
- Asked whether the respondent would consider 'selling land to land reform beneficiaries' himself/herself, 57% replied that they would, plus another 28% indicating 'maybe' (Table 10.9). Of those who answered 'yes' or 'maybe', about half indicated that they would prefer to sell to 'anybody who would farm commercially,' versus only 2% who said they would prefer to sell to 'anybody who desperately needs land' (Table 10.10). The rest were more or less split between those who would sell 'to anybody' (24%), and those who would prefer to sell to their farm workers (22%).

- A large proportion (44%) of respondents indicated that they think land reform does or will negatively affect them, versus a small share (7%) who said that they do or would benefit, and a fair share (32%) who feel that land reform will not affect them at all (Table 10.11).
- The perception among some civil society groups is that white farmers grossly underutilise their land. This claim cannot be assessed based on a study of this sort, but it is worth noting that 77% of respondents indicated that in the past year they had used all of the land that is suitable for cultivation (Table 10.12). This compares to 50% of communal dweller black respondents (recall Table 5.16). It is not surprising therefore that about half of white farmer respondents indicated that they wanted or needed more land than they presently have (Table 10.13).
- Finally, about one fifth of respondents affirmed that in the past, whites in their magisterial district had benefited from land reform policies of some kind, versus 54% who indicated that this had not happened, and 23% who did not know (Table 10.14).

*Table 10.1 Racial composition of the commercial farmer sample*

African	2.9%
Coloured	1.5%
White	95.6%
Refused to answer	1.5%
Total	100.0%
n	69

*Table 10.2 Satisfaction with the way South Africa is being governed at present*

Satisfied	28%
Neutral	33%
Dissatisfied	38%
Do not know	1%
Total	100%
n	69

*Table 10.3 In your view, how big a problem is corruption in government?*

Not such a big problem	4%
A big problem	94%
Do not know	1%
Total	100%
n	69

*Table 10.4 Indicate the extent to which you trust or distrust the following institutions in South Africa at present...?*

	National government	Department of Land Affairs
Never heard of	7%	3%
Trust	17%	10%
Neither trust nor distrust	25%	28%
Distrust	45%	49%
Do not know	6%	10%
Total	100%	100%
n	69	69

*Table 10.5 Do you think that commercial farmers are impeding land reform?*

Yes, many do	1%
Yes, some do	19%
No, few do	61%
Do not know	17%
Total	100%
n	68

*Table 10.6 Do you think farmers typically try to take advantage of land reform?*

Yes, many do	6%
Yes, some do	9%
No, few do	77%
Do not know	7%
Total	100%
n	68

*Table 10.7 Do you think that commercial farmers are contributing positively to land reform?*

Yes, may do	33%
Yes, some do	39%
No, few do	9%
Do not know	19%
Total	100%
n	69

*Table 10.8 How do you, or would you, feel about a neighbour wishing to sell his/her land to land reform beneficiaries?*

I would oppose it, and would try to discourage it	14%
I would oppose it, but not try to discourage it	7%
It would depend on who the beneficiaries are	42%
I would be happy to see it happen	13%
I would wish to help if I could	10%
I would be indifferent	4%
I don't know how I would feel	7%
Total	100%
n	68

*Table 10.9 Would you ever consider selling land to land reform beneficiaries yourself?*

Yes	57%
Maybe	28%
No	15%
Other	1%
Total	100%
n	69

*Table 10.10 If 'yes' or 'maybe', who would you prefer to sell to?*

Anybody	24%
My farm workers	22%
Anybody who would farm commercially	49%
Anybody who desperately needs land	2%
Other	4%
Total	100%
n	55

*Table 10.11 To what extent does or will land reform affect your own household positively or negatively?*

Positively effect	7%
Will not affect	32%
Negatively effect	44%
Do not know	16%
Total	100%
n	68

*Table 10.12 Over the past year, did you cultivate all land that is suitable for cultivation?*

Yes	77%
No	23%
Total	100%
n	69

*Table 10.13 Do you or your household presently need or want more land than you currently have?*

Yes	48%
No	51%
Do not know	1%
Total	100%
n	69

*Table 10.14 In the past, did any commercial farmers in this magisterial district benefit from land reform or land settlement policies?*

Yes	19%
No	54%
Do not know	23%
Total	100%
n	66

## **11 Proposed indicators**

### **Approach to indicator development**

One of the main purposes of this study is to propose indicators that could be applied in similar studies in the future, or could even be used as points of reference, for example to track changes in South Africa over time, or compare South Africa to other countries. The approach to indicator development adopted here entailed three main stages: 1) identify desirable characteristics of government policy in general and land policy in particular, with an emphasis on good governance, human rights and democracy; 2) identify variables from the survey that would appear to relate to these characteristics; and 3) where more than one such variable relates to a particular characteristic, determine whether there is a statistical and heuristic rationale for combining them, or some of them, into a composite indicator. The idea is not so much that the indicators as they appear here could simply be applied to other countries, but that the process according to which they were established could serve as a model, with various degrees of variation, that could be followed.

For the purposes of this exercise, seven main ‘indicator categories’ are proposed in all, relating to five distinct dimensions of government policy and land policy, where some of these indicator categories contain more than one indicator:

- Trust/distrust – the individual’s sense of trust or distrust in public institutions, with one indicator for land-related institutions, and one indicator for other public institutions.
- Efficacy – the belief held by an individual that she can influence government decisions.
- Participation – the tangible engagement of the individual within a participatory democracy, with one indicator for land-related processes, and one indicator for other processes.
- Land demand – the extent to which people want to acquire land for whatever reason.
- Awareness of land reform – the functional awareness of individuals of the land reform programme
- Satisfaction with land reform – the perception of individuals as to the overall performance of the land reform programme
- Land reform policy preferences – the extent to which individuals agree with key ‘stereotypic attitudes’ towards land reform, where these ‘stereotypic attitudes’ are identified by analysis of the data; there are five indicators associated with this indicator category.

### **Problems encountered**

The process of developing indicators on the whole was successful, however we note two problems that were encountered.

The first problem was that, because there were so few respondents who had knowledge of the components of land reform, it was not possible to construct indicators related to the perceived



performance of these components. Out of the total sample of 1266 black respondents (excluding traditional leaders), a total of 81 knew about redistribution, 136 about restitution, and 16 about the Extension of Security of Tenure Act, i.e. which is one of the main pillars of tenure reform. We were therefore left with only one measure of perceived land reform performance, with the caveat that even here the meaning of the indicator must be qualified by the fact that awareness of land reform is very low.

The second problem is endemic of studies of this kind. Since respondents were gradually more exposed and alerted to various aspects of land reform in the course of the interview, their answers were not always consistent with one another. This is illustrated by two questions about satisfaction with land reform that happen to appear at different places in the questionnaire, on pages 9 and 23, respectively:

*How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way that the government is handling the following matters?*

	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Do not know
Land reform	1	2	3	4

*How satisfied are you with the way land reform is being conducted at the moment?*

Satisfied	1
Neutral	2
Dissatisfied	3
Do not know	4

The Pearson correlation coefficient between these variables turned out to be only 0.38, which is astonishingly low given the similarity of the questions. For this particular example, the decision was taken to use the responses to the first question.

## **Trust/distrust**

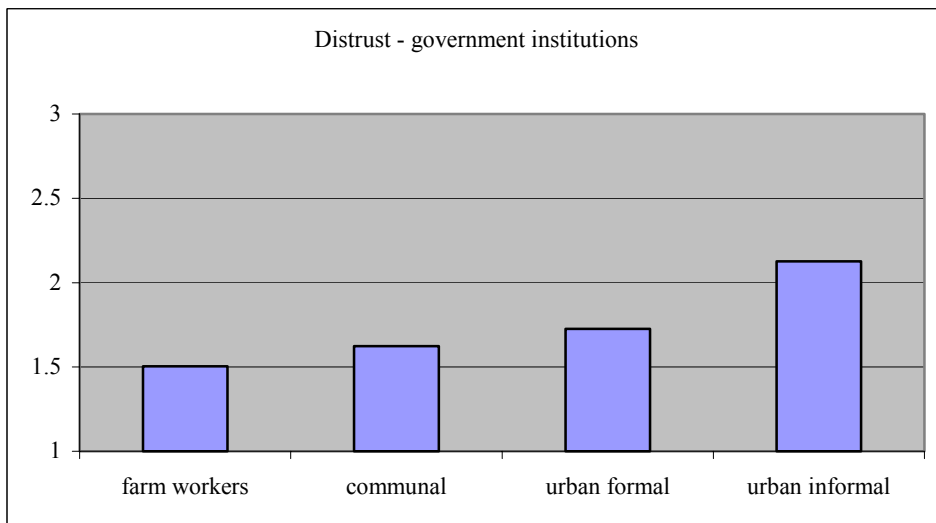
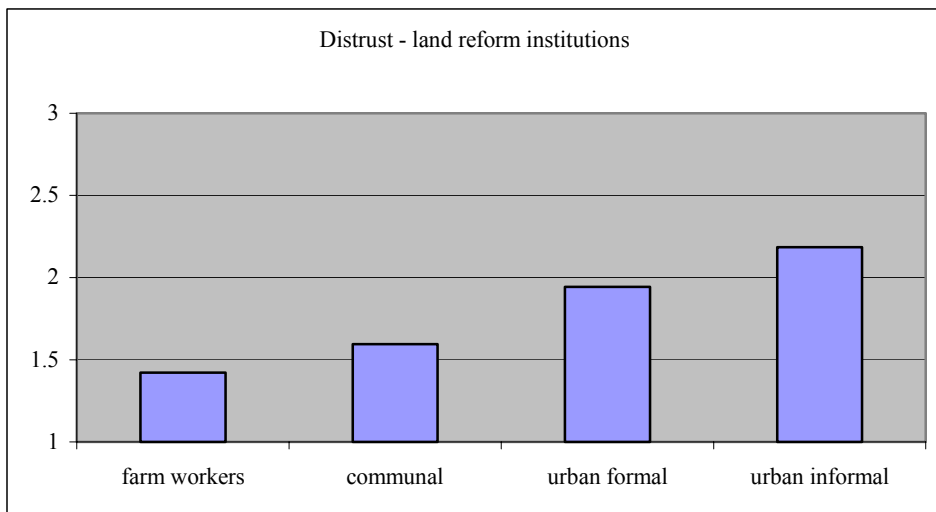
Trust in institutions was measured with a battery of questions including various relevant governance institutions in the country (see below).

*Indicate the extent to which you trust or distrust the following institutions in South Africa at present. Fieldworker: Please read out all options, including “never heard of”.*

Institutions	Never Heard of	Trust	Neither trust nor distrust	Distrust	Do not know
National government	1	2	3	4	5
Courts	1	2	3	4	5
Your provincial government	1	2	3	4	5

The police	1	2	3	4	5
Your municipality	1	2	3	4	5
Tribal leaders	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Commission for the restitution of land rights / the land restitution</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>The Land Claims Court</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>The Department of Land Affairs</i>	1	2	3	4	5

After recoding the questions so as to exclude those responses indicating one had not heard of the institution or did not know what to answer, factor analysis was applied and extracted two factors with an eigenvalue of greater than 1, which collectively accounted for 58% of the variance. The non-land related institutions loaded on one factor and the land related institutions (in italics) on the other. Reliability analyses of the scales of the two factors resulted in one scale for government non-land institutions with a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.79. The land related government institutions scale resulted in a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.91. Both scales range from '1' (trust) to '3' (distrust).



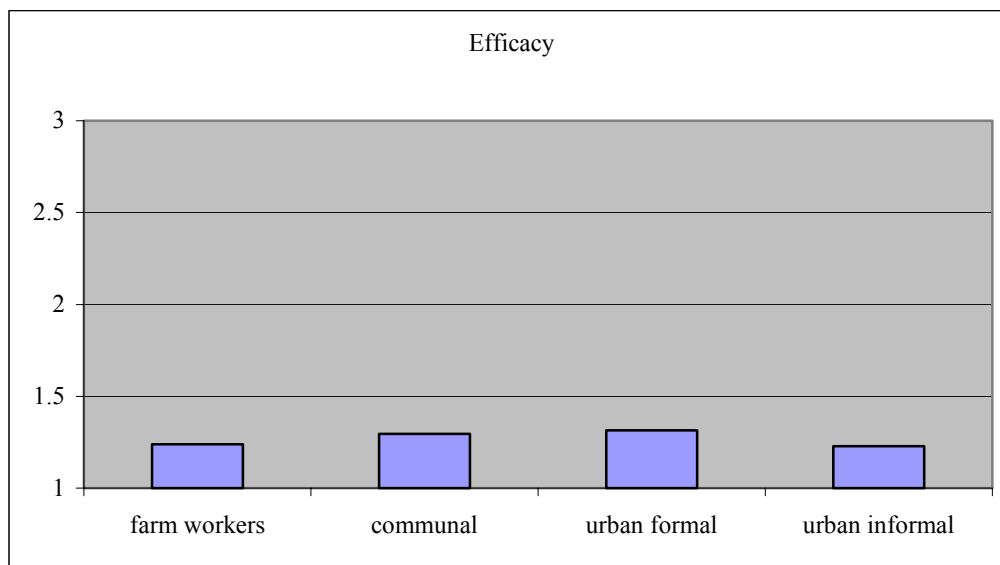
Distrust in land reform related institutions was clearly greater among urban residents. In the same vein, distrust in government was higher in the urban areas, especially in informal areas.

### Efficacy

An indicator of efficacy was developed from combining answers to the following two questions. The Cronbach’s Alpha of efficacy was 0.98. The scale ranges from ‘1’ (low efficacy) to ‘3’ (high efficacy).

*How easy or difficult is it for people like you to influence government decisions that affect...*

	Difficult	Neither difficult nor easy	Easy	Do not know
South Africa	1	2	3	4
Province	1	2	3	4



In line with the above trust in institutions, perceived influence on government was lowest in urban informal areas. However, overall little difference was found between the four types of settlement.

### Participation

Participation in politics was explored by asking about past voting behaviour, political interest, and past participation in protest action (see questions below).

*Did you vote in the April 2004 national election?*

Yes	1
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No	2
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*How often do you talk about politics?*

Often	1
Sometimes	2
Seldom / never	3

*How many times have you taken part in protest actions during the past twelve months?*

0	1
1	2
2	3
3 to 5 times	4
More than 5 times	5

*Are you an active member of a...*

	Yes	No
Landless movement?	1	2
Farm workers' association?	1	2

Very weak correlations were found between these measurements (ranging from  $r = 0.02$  to  $r = 0.26$ ) prohibiting not only an overall combined measure of participation, but even separate combined measures for land-related participation and non-land-related participation. The strategy adopted therefore was simply to identify which questions were more independently useful as measures of political participation. The decision was that in respect of political participation generally, the question regarding voting was the single most useful measure, thus the proposed indicator was simply the proportion of respondents who indicated that they had voted in the latest general election. This is despite the fact that it is well known that respondents do tend to exaggerate participation in polls. In respect of the land-related participation, the proposed indicator is simply the proportion of respondents who identify themselves as members of a landless movement.

*Proportion of respondents who voted in the most recent general election*

Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
77.4%	82.1%	75.2%	88.8%

*Proportion of population who are active members of a landless movement*

Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
0.4%	1.6%	1.0%	1.6%

## Land demand

The proposed indicator in respect of land need is simply the proportion of the population or sub-population expressing a need or wish to have (additional) land. The apparent fuzziness about the distinction between ‘needing land’ and ‘wanting land’ is in principle worrying, however the data suggest that for most respondents the distinction is not very meaningful. Moreover, in probing respondents as to why they do or do not want/need land, and how much they want if they do want it, it is clear that people are not frivolous when articulating their land demand.

### *Percentage of households demanding (additional) land*

Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
53.2%	36.6%	46.9%	50.4%

From a policy perspective, it is obviously also important to know the total amount (hectares) of land demanded, however even though estimates to this effect have been made in this study, it is felt that they do not constitute a useful indicator as such, not least because of their total lack of transferability across space.

## Awareness of land reform

A key constraint on people’s participation in land reform is the lack of awareness that land reform exists, not to mention how to involve oneself. The finding of the present study is that awareness of land reform in South Africa is very low, and furthermore that this lack of awareness is worse among more marginal households. In terms of indicator development, the key choice to be made is whether and how to combine the various questions asked in this respect. A main consideration is how specific to South Africa the indicator should be. For South African policy purposes, awareness of particular aspects of land reform policy is of vital concern (i.e. redistribution, restitution, tenure reform), but these do not translate well to other country settings. However, the principle is that policy-specific indicators can be developed to cater to a country’s particular circumstances. Thus for awareness, we propose two indicators, i.e. general and specific, both of which are defined in terms of the proportion of the population/sub-population that is aware of the land reform or land reform component in question. The first of these is based on replies to the question, “How would you characterise your knowledge of the land reform programme?”

### *Proportion of the population that has heard of the land reform programme*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Have heard about the land reform programme	38.7%	43.1%	47.7%	38.9%

*Ability to describe/define the three main components of the land reform programme*

	Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
Redistribution	5.0%	6.8%	7.4%	10.2%
Restitution	10.1%	14.0%	9.8%	13.1%
Tenure reform	4.4%	5.6%	4.6%	5.5%

### **Satisfaction with land reform**

As mentioned above, constructing indicators of satisfaction with land reform performance is hindered by the low awareness of land reform, and in particular of the particular components of land reform. We therefore offer only one satisfaction measure, based on a question appearing relatively early in the questionnaire, namely “How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way that the government is handling the following matters?” The associated indicator is simply the mean value of responses using a Likert scale where ‘1’ implies satisfaction and ‘3’ implies dissatisfaction.

*Index measures of satisfaction with land reform*

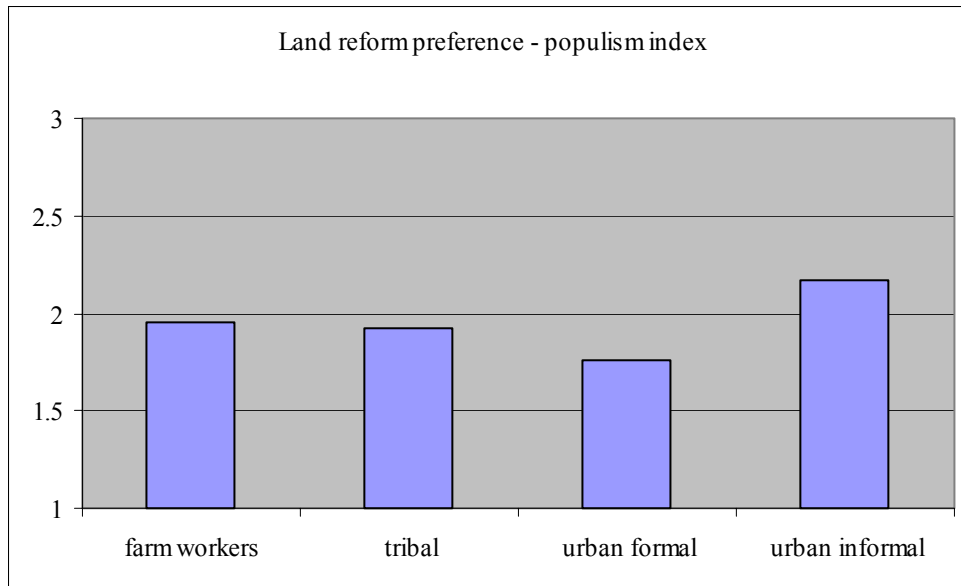
Farm dwellers	Communal	Urban formal	Urban informal
1.71	2.13	1.87	2.26

### **Land reform policy preferences**

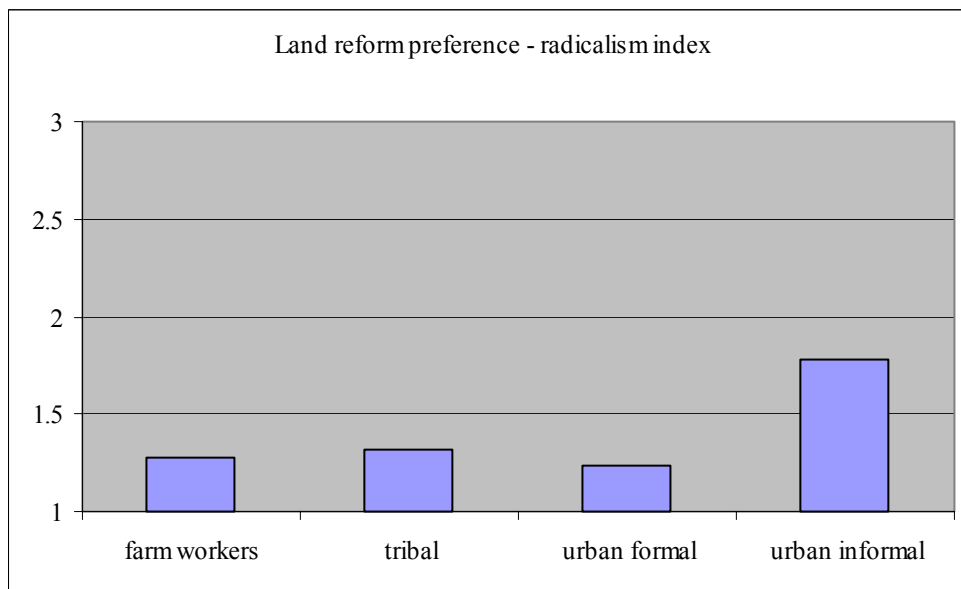
A battery of statements / beliefs with regard to land reform was developed. After recoding the questions in such a way that the meaning of higher and lower scores was comparable, factor analysis extracted eight factors with an eigenvalue of greater than 1. However, factor loadings were generally quite low (less than 0.60).

Those factors with items that loaded higher than 0.55 are presented here. Reliability analyses of combined measures of the items loading on the respective factors clearly revealed that only a few items could be combined into meaningful composite scores, i.e. indicators. Although Cronbach Alphas were generally low, we believe that conceptually the combined measures are worthwhile to present.

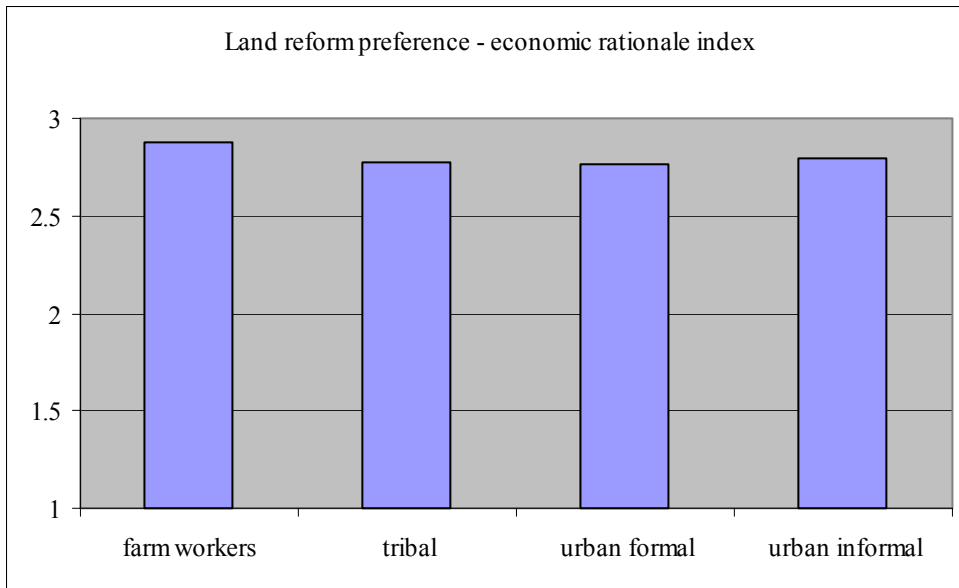
A ‘populist’ standpoint on land reform was formed by: “All land owned by white South Africans should be handed over to black South Africans” and “Whites should be required to sell their farms.” Cronbach’s Alpha was 0.62. Some agreement with this view was found among urban informal dwellers. Among the other groups the majority disagreed with these statements, however.



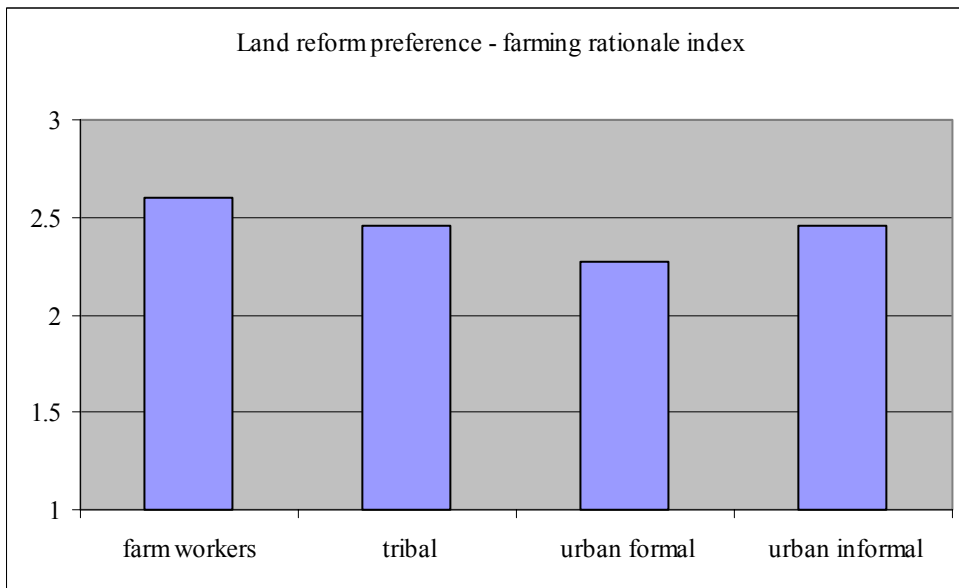
Another factor relates to more radical opinions about land reform. The two items that loaded high on this factor were: “Whites should be forced off their farms with no compensation” and “South Africa should follow the example of Zimbabwe.” Cronbach’s Alpha was 0.65. Again agreement was highest in the urban informal areas. However, also among this group a large majority disagreed with the radical approach.



A factor relating to improvement of the economy could be distinguished: “Land reform is essential to improve the economy” and “Land reform will lead to high land productivity.” Cronbach’s Alpha was 0.70. Clearly the belief that land reform will benefit the economy was widely shared.

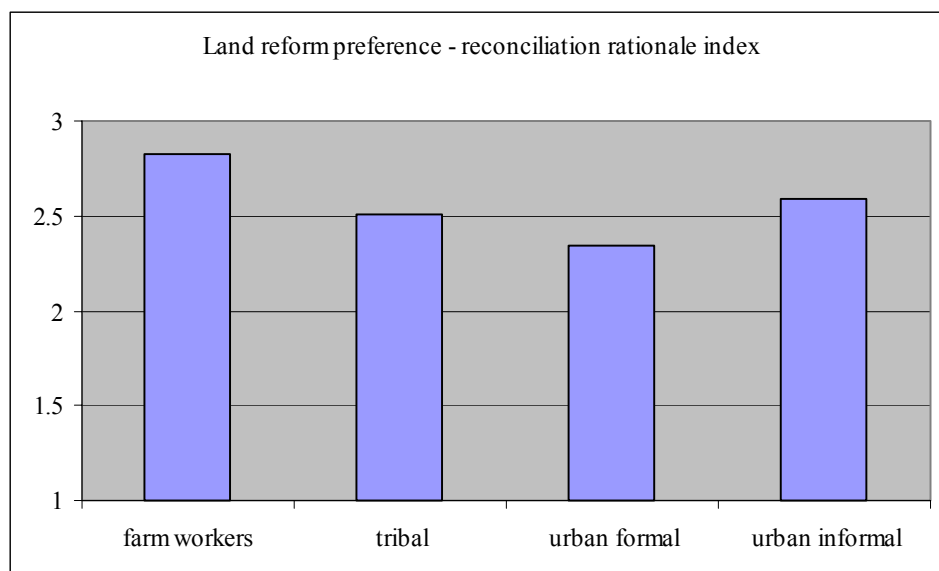


Although the items did not load strongly, another factor relating to willingness to farm was formed by the items: “I would like to become a large-scale commercial farmer” and “I would like a bit of rural land to call my home.” Cronbach’s Alpha was 0.60. Farm workers most strongly agreed with these statements. The least interest in farming was found in the urban formal areas.



A clear one-item factor on the reconciliatory aspect of land reform was formed by “Land reform is mainly important for healing and reconciliation”. This belief was strongest among farm dwellers and in urban informal areas. Overall, the belief that land reform is mainly important for reconciliation was largely shared among the different groups.





### Summary of proposed indicators

To summarise, the proposed indicators are as follows, together with their minimum and maximum theoretical values, and the estimated current value aggregating across settlement types:

	Minimum	Maximum	Estimated current value
Trust			
• Land reform institutions	1	3	1.75
• Other public institutions	1	3	1.67
Efficacy	1	3	1.29
Participation			
• Land-related	0	1	0.014
• Other	0	1	0.81
Land demand	0	1	0.42
Awareness of land reform			
• General	0	1	0.43
• Redistribution	0	1	0.07
• Restitution	0	1	0.13
• Tenure reform	0	1	0.10
Satisfaction with land reform	1	3	0.20
Land reform policy preferences			
• Populism	1	3	1.85
• Radicalism	1	3	1.35
• Economic rationale	1	3	2.79
• Farming rationale	1	3	2.42
• Reconciliation rationale	1	3	2.50

## 12 Conclusion: assessing the success of the South African component of METAGORA

The purpose of this study was to test the proposition that statistical survey methods could make a positive contribution to measuring the realisation of democracy, human rights and good governance in the context of South Africa's land reform programme. There are various ways in which this could have been approached, and it is important to emphasise two key decisions that were taken that inform the approach that was eventually adopted.

First, guided by the philosophy and principles of METAGORA, the 'realisation of democracy, human rights and good governance' was understood not in a formal or normative manner, e.g. by examining how well commitments to socio-economic rights in national law or international conventions have been or are being fulfilled by South Africa's land reform programme. Rather, the idea was to understand the perceptions, attitudes and aspirations of those for whom, broadly speaking, land reform is intended, to understand how well their needs are being addressed by land reform policy. The underlying principle is that, subject to constraints, a land reform programme that is aligned to people's needs and aspirations is one that does in fact honour the principles of democracy, good governance and human rights.

The second key decision was to focus not on the delivery of the land reform programme *per se* (as has been done quite effectively for instance by the South African Human Rights Commission), but rather to focus on the 'appropriateness' of land reform policy itself. This is both a limitation and strength of the present exercise. It is a limitation in the sense that issues of implementation are therefore largely untouched or are only touched on tangentially. However, it is also a strength in that it is especially in terms of the appropriateness of land reform policy that the least is known. Whereas there is a fair amount of research on the welfare impacts of land reform on beneficiaries, on the performance of land reform projects, and on the obstacles to land reform delivery, there is very little known about more fundamental questions such as who land reform should be for, how many people want land, why they want land and what they would like to do with it, what land reform can contribute to national reconciliation, and so forth.

As for whether the research team has been successful in its endeavour, it is somewhat premature to tell, but thus far there are some indications either way.

First and foremost, the richness and self-evident policy importance of the study's findings vindicates some of the key decisions taken by the research team, namely in focusing on policy appropriateness as opposed to impact of implementation, in ensuring that different types of household members were interviewed (i.e. not only household heads), and in focusing on particular rural and urban sub-populations (i.e. the four main 'settlement types').

Second, despite concerns expressed by some stakeholders that concepts such as 'demand for land' are too subtle and ephemeral for a quantitative treatment such as that employed here, the results by and large form a coherent whole to an extent that suggests that respondents' answers to questions about land demand, for example, are well considered and meaningful from a policy perspective.

Third, while stakeholders may disagree as to the interpretation of some of the findings, and some concerns have been raised about methodology, the engagements thus far have demonstrated that

the deliberately value-neutral nature of the study does indeed lend itself to the promotion of dialogue among disparate stakeholders.

And fourth, despite the rather casual, oblique treatment of democracy, human rights and governance, these issues come very much to the fore through findings. Arguably the issue that leaps out with greatest force is that of lack of awareness of the land reform programme. Not only are there clear signs that the Restitution Programme is badly flawed for the fact that a high proportion of dispossessed households are not aware of the Programme and thus did not lodge claims before the deadline, there is a clear link between lack of awareness on the one hand, and low income and education, on the other. Another salient issue is the role of land reform in contributing to racial reconciliation, and the fact that a greater proportion of blacks see the necessity of land reform for this purpose, than in fact want land for themselves.

However, the project has not been without shortcomings. In the view of the research team, the most significant shortcoming was the failure of the research team to engage with stakeholders all the way through the process. Although this sort of engagement was envisaged in the project proposal phase, it was not carried through due to lack of time and staff over-commitment. However, it is clear to the research team that such long term engagement with stakeholders would indeed have resulted in better questionnaires, more clarity regarding methodology, and better engagement with stakeholders regarding findings. Moreover, such engagement would have been faithful to the METAGORA philosophy. Unfortunate as it is, the awareness of the research team that the project could have been more successful that is was, confirms the METAGORA approach in the breach.