LRES

LAND RESTITUTION EVALUATION STUDY

Opportunities Reclaimed?

A portrait of land restitution beneficiaries in South Africa

Preliminary results from the Land Restitution Evaluation Study

Executive Summary

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1 Introduction

The Land Restitution Evaluation Study (LRES) represents the first systematic large-scale study of the South African land restitution programme. It aims to measure the impact of a once-off cash and land transfer on the programme's beneficiaries. Given the national imperative to see more radical forms of land reform, this study is of primary interest to both the implementing agency and policy makers in general.

This report is an executive summary of two reports prepared in 2021 (listed in section 7) and presents the qualitative study and baseline quantitative study components of LRES. The qualitative analysis provides a broad picture of the lived experiences of land restitution beneficiaries, while the baseline quantitative analysis provides baseline information from which to measure the impact of restitution on sampled beneficiaries.

The remainder of this report is structured in the following way. The next section provides background and the motivation behind LRES. Section 3 then gives an overview of the LRES' components, namely qualitative and quantitative studies. Section 4 presents key elements of the qualitative study, followed by section 5, which does the same for the baseline quantitative component of LRES. The report then concludes by summarising the findings.

2 Background and Motivation

There can be no doubt that forced removals exacted a tax on society that still resounds today. Between 1913 and 1994, millions[i] of non-white South Africans were evicted and forcibly relocated both in rural and urban settings in South Africa.

Supporters of effective and efficient land restitution argue that the return of land is central to addressing large inequalities among racial groups and classes in South Africa. Correcting the historical wrongs of forced removals revolves around three arms of land reform: redistribution, restitution and land tenure. LRES focuses on restitution, as it uniquely aims to directly address justice to victims of land dispossession that occurred after the passage of the Land Act of 1913.

While there are pockets of success in the South African restitution programme, there is a public perception that land reform in general, and land restitution in particular, is failing. However, there is not enough research focused on exploring the effectiveness of the programme's outputs to counter this perception. While a sizable once-off cash or land transfer to individuals is large enough to potentially lift households out of poverty, there is currently no empirical evidence on whether this is indeed the case. The key question of LRES therefore, is whether such once-off transfers can impact overall individual and household welfare. In answering this question, LRES aims to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the impact of the land restitution programme on its beneficiaries.

3 Study Methods

To enable a comprehensive understanding of the impact of land restitution, many aspects of the programme's impact must be measured. To do this LRES utilizes a mixed-methods approach, using a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies.

Using qualitative methods, LRES conducted in-depth interviews with a select group of respondents to understand their lived experiences in detail. In order to explore difficult topics and concepts, open-ended questions and observations were used. Interviewers guided respondents by asking a series of questions, however respondents were free to explore any topic that related to the central theme. Transcripts and recordings of interviews were made.

Quantitative methods involve a large number of interviews conducted in a similar way but using a structured set of questions. This provides a broad overview of the population under study. The quantitative results are important in understanding and broadly describing the population of land restitution beneficiaries. Using quantitative methods, LRES has thus far administered baseline household and individual level questionnaires to sampled respondents to gain a better understanding of the household structures, consumption profiles and a range of individual outcomes. As part of the individual questionnaires, several cognitive tasks were performed to assess respondents' executive functioning. These results are preliminary and broadly describe the population of land restitution claimants. Follow-up interviews with the same respondents before and after restitution takes place, seeing how their lives change and are impacted by the restitution is allowed for. In so doing, the quantitative study seeks to evaluate the impact of restitution on the lives of the beneficiaries.

4 Qualitative Study

Many aspects of land restitution are not easily quantifiable. These include cultural benefits (land as the consolidation of a people's history), non-agricultural uses (such as the provisioning of shelter and culture), and importantly the role of land in reconciliation (healing the wounds of apartheid).

The primary objective of the qualitative study therefore was to detail the nuances of dispossession and explore whether beneficiaries thought restitution had healed the wounds of dispossession. Regarding the latter, the focus was on two aspects:

1. **Assessing the impact of both land restitution and financial compensation on social cohesion.**
2. **Investigating the generational impact of restitution on the quality of life of beneficiaries. Particularly, whether the impact of both dispossession and restitution was felt across generations.**

4.1 Design

The qualitative study evaluates the impact of land dispossession across generations and the efficacy of restitution in healing the wounds of apartheid and colonialism. It did this by examining two case studies in KwaZulu-Natal, one an urban case that involved financial compensation; and the other, a case of both land restitution and financial compensation.

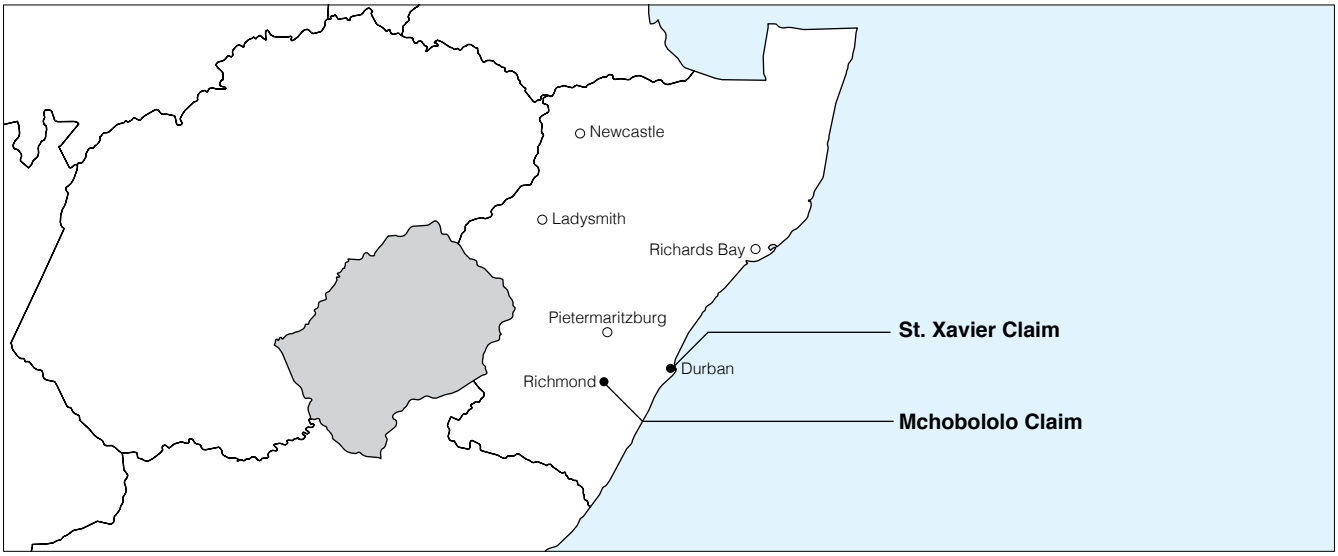
As outcomes from the land restitution programme vary across provinces and rural and urban areas, it is unclear whether any representative qualitative study of land restitution is possible. Keeping this limitation in mind, the key aim of the qualitative study was to uncover the nuances of the impact of restitution on the individual households from the two claims that were studied. Therefore, the study sheds light on how the process and results of restitution were felt among the households that were interviewed.

4.2 Sample Selection

The focus of the qualitative study was a detailed look at land restitution and to investigate the impacts of restitution for already concluded claims' beneficiaries. Sample selection was thus primarily focused on claims that were already finalised and settled. Beneficiary lists and other documents for sample selection were obtained from the Land Claims Commission. Potential participants, claimants and beneficiaries were invited to participate in interviews or focus group discussions.

The first claim the study focussed on was an urban land claim involving a community that was forcibly removed from St. Xavier, in an area which today is known as the Bluff, in the southern part of Durban. This was a financial compensation case. The second case regarded Mchobololo in Richmond, a rural area about 150km south-west of Durban. This was a case of both land and financial compensation. The location of the sites is shown in figure 1.

Figure 1: *Location of qualitative research sites in KwaZulu-Natal*



Fifteen households were selected for interview from the St. Xavier case. Household selection was based on the existence of either an original dispossessed individual (ODI) or an adult who was present at the time of dispossession. Households also needed to contain at least one further generation (either children or grandchildren). In total, 30 in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted either in-person or telephonically from the St. Xavier claim.

4 land beneficiary households and 10 households of beneficiaries of financial compensation, were interviewed from the Mchobololo case. Household selection was guided by the same principle of the existence of an adult with the memory of dispossession and the presence of a descendant. In total 28 people participated from the Mchobololo claim.

4.3 Data Collection

Data collection was conducted in 2021 using various qualitative research methods, including focus group discussions, semi-structured interviews, life-history interviews, transact walk and participant observations. Table 1 contains a comprehensive list of the methods used.

Table 1: *Qualitative research methods used*

Key objective	Method	Respondents
To assess the impact of restitution on social cohesion	Focus group discussions	• Community leaders • Beneficiaries
	Semi-structured interviews	• Beneficiaries
To unpack the nuances of dispossession and assess its impacts	Life history interviews	• Beneficiaries
	Semi-structured interviews	• Beneficiaries
To evaluate the impact of financial restitution on beneficiaries	Semi-structured interviews	• Beneficiaries
	Transact walk	• Beneficiaries
To evaluate the impact of restitution on recipients of land	Participant observation	• Claimants
	Transact walk	• Claimants
	Semi-structured interviews	• Claimants
	Focus group discussions	• Beneficiaries

Since the study was interpretive, themes and codes were developed inductively to capture the meaning and contents of each interview. This was a laborious process of line-by-line coding from each interview to generate codes[ii]. From these codes, patterns of shared meaning united by a central idea or theme were generated. The purpose of this was not to search for some objective truth but rather to offer a nuanced picture of the impact of dispossession and restitution.

4.4 Sample Description

A total of 58 individuals were interviewed for the qualitative study, including 13 ODIs, 22 direct descendants and 23 grandchildren or great-grandchildren of ODIs. Shown in figure 2, the sample is older than overall South Africa on average, with 65% of the sample aged between 45 and 75 years. More than half (63%) of the sample was female.

Figure 2: *Age groups and gender breakdown*

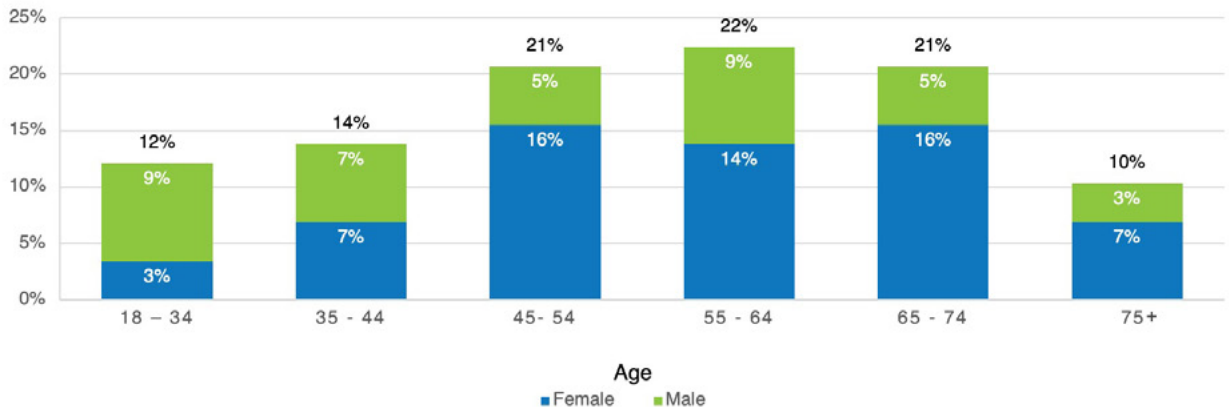
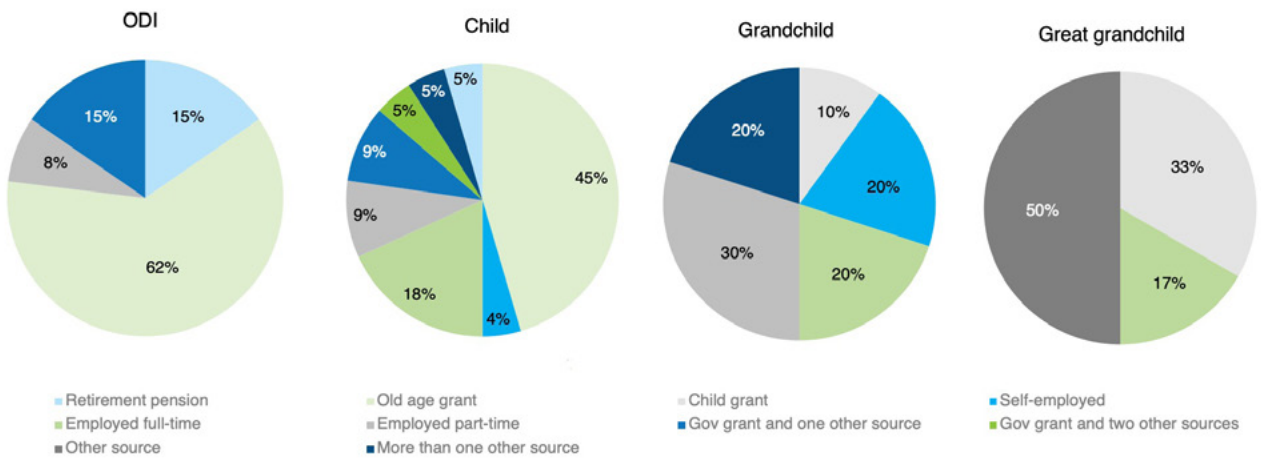


Figure 3 shows the main sources of income reported by these study respondents. The most common primary source of income for the individuals varied by the type of respondent, with ODIs and their children most commonly having the old age pension grant as their primary source of income. Grandchildren of ODIs most commonly reported their primary income source as being from part-time employment and great grandchildren *"other"* income, as their primary source of income.

Figure 3: *Main source of income for ODIs and direct descendants*



4.5 Anecdotal Findings

Primary themes generated by the qualitative research related to the intergenerational traumas and psychosocial impacts of dispossession. The choice and size of the compensation, plus added complexities and timing issues that arose from the processing of a claim were also investigated, as were the social cohesion of beneficiaries. Findings regarding these key areas of interest are presented below.

4.5.1 Socially transmitted memories through generations

Memories of land, belonging, dispossession, and hope are socially transmitted through the names of places and names parents give their children. Several people whose names carried the history or hopes of their dispossessed parents were interviewed:

"My father named me Ngangezwe (as great as the land) and my brother Zwelethu (our land), that is why when the moment to choose between land and money, for me it was an easy choice" (Ngangezwe, 8 Oct 2021).

4.5.2 Dispossession and health

The connection between dispossession that occurred decades ago, and the current physical health and psychosocial well-being of the beneficiaries interviewed was hard to extract. Yet, many respondents were able to draw a distinct line between the current hardships of their descendants and their families' traumatic histories.

4.5.2.1 Psychosocial well-being

Many beneficiaries told of unease and stress in their households. After interviewing a beneficiary who had one of the most tragic life histories, a researcher shared the following from their fieldnotes:

"I feel that she had hoped that receiving the compensation would be the turning point in her life. Had she received a decent house her life would have improved considerably. She is poor but she knows that there are people who have it worse. I wish there was a way for the government to interview people like her to "ukubona ukuthi isilonda sabo singapholiswa yini" [to assess how this wound can be healed]. Lindiwe was not around when her mother and her siblings were forcefully removed but it is clear to me that this event has impacted her life tremendously." (PN, Fieldnotes 8 Aug 2021).

For others though, the restitution process healed them spiritually and psychologically. When asked what land has meant for them, many households emphasised dignity and calm. As one person put it,

"if a person owns land, that brings dignity. A person who has land, a house, that person is more respectable than a homeless person." (Zwelethu, 22 Sept 2021).

4.5.3 Impact of the restitution process

4.5.3.1 Time: justice delayed, justice denied?

Timing issues have affected the lives of the victims of dispossession in several ways. First, the decision of cash versus land was often driven by the passing of time. A respondent recounting his experience of dispossession said that earlier on in the restitution process he wanted his old life back. But that was 25 years ago, and he was in his 50s. By the time of settlement when he was nearly 80 years old, that was no longer an option.

"… I realized that it would be burdensome as I would have to go there and I asked myself, 'What are we going to do with the buck, the impala, zebras, how am I going to work the land?' I was too old, so I had to be happy with the money." (P. M., 9 Sept 2021).

Second, it was not only the aftermath of dispossession, but the long process leading up to eviction that caused great anxiety and distress:

"For three years, they told us not to farm, not to plant anything. It was June of 1966 when they brought us here, it was in winter." (M. M. FGD3, Ematendeni, Donnybrook, 9 Sept 2021).

4.5.3.2 Communication: rumour and rumours of rumour

Lack of communication, or poor communication among beneficiaries, between them and their elected representatives and the Land Claims Commission was cited by many respondents as a serious cause of lack of information and therefore unrealistic expectations, poor decision making, and thus extreme disappointment.

Even when there was communication, respondents mentioned additional problems. In the case of Mchobololo, respondents complained about the use of English in meetings and the transcribing of other important documents in English.

4.5.4 Impact of restitution on quality of life

Findings from the qualitative research indicate a key improvement in the lives of beneficiaries was the ability to connect with ancestors. Those that chose land also expressed a high degree of satisfaction with their decision to opt for land as they were able to diversify operations and generate multiple sources of income. However, most of the intended beneficiaries of financial compensation (whether rural or urban) had a negative view of the impact of restitution on their lives. Some beneficiaries stated that while they were content with their decision to choose financial compensation (and would make the same decision again), they were not satisfied with the amount they received, which they believe neither matched the violence endured nor the value of the property lost.

4.5.4.1 Ancestors

The ability to perform cultural activities, especially spiritual connections with ancestors seemed important to beneficiaries. For claimants of the Mchobololo case, it would have been sacrilege to take money over land. In fact, they were adamant that they would not take alternative land either, stating that:

"We said no, we just wanted what belonged to us; and we wanted to be taken back to where our ancestors' bones were buried. Can you imagine what our ancestors would say if we started running looking to settle at a different place? They would look at us as fools. So we decided to stick with what was ours" (Mchunu, 5 Sept 2021).

4.5.4.2 Housing and restitution

One of the strongest complaints among the Mchobololo beneficiaries of financial compensation was about the unkept promises of government to relocate and build houses for them following the uprooting of forced removals.

4.5.4.3 The multiple affordances of land

Though a lot of effort was required to maintain productive land, beneficiaries of the Mchobololo case were able to point to multiple sources of diversified income, particularly from their operations in livestock, vegetables, hospitality, forestry, and rent. To them, the restoration of land afforded many benefits.

4.5.4.4 One stomach, many mouths!

The negative sentiment around the value of financial compensation was shared mostly by households of the St Xaviar claim, where the restitution award had been spread too thin as a result of many generations of descendants under one claim. *"Izingane zesisu esisodwa"* is how it was phrased, or children of the same stomach/womb.

In cases where the compensated amount was enough to make a difference, beneficiaries were able to

repair homes, relocate, share the money, settle debts, and start businesses. The most recurring theme found was beneficiaries sorting relations with ancestors.

4.5.5 Impact of restitution on social cohesion

Higher levels of psychosocial well-being and social cohesion are potential effect-modifiers. Therefore, they could play a role in determining how well land restitution works as a tool to lift beneficiary households out of poverty. A life history interview approach was used to examine the impact of land restitution on family dynamics and social cohesion among beneficiary communities.

Instead of social cohesion, strife and discord among beneficiaries were often detected. The source of this was not always clear to us, however, what we observed was less conflict being reported by the families choosing financial compensation. This is not so surprising given that a key distinction between cash and land claims is the level of engagement and active participation a beneficiary must have with other beneficiaries of the same claim. Typically, claimants choosing cash only need to cohere for as long as the claim is still in the restitution pipeline (i.e., not yet settled or finalised). Whereas for land beneficiaries, depending on the manner of restoration and the commitments put forward in settlement agreement, the need for collective engagement and responsibility still arises in the daily management and use of land post settlement and finalisation.

Although there have been some disagreements, the families of the Mchobololo case have managed to collectively and effectively make use of their land. This is helped by the fact that this claim involves a smaller the number of households (8) compared to the average land claim. Moreover, the families of this claim are all blood relatives descending from one lineage. Not only have they succeeded in fostering bonds with each other, but also with those in surrounding communities. Asked how they maintained respectful interactions with the neighbours, a representative of the claim had this to say:

"In the past there were some youngsters who would steal from the lodges. This would affect our visitors terribly, so we engaged the community and arranged support for the local soccer team and got the community to our side. On the other side of the mountain, we struggled with another community that wanted to hunt here. We talk to the community leaders and we manage. Some cattle trespass, but that comes with the territory. We talk." (Mathuba, 5 Sept 2021).

4.6 Summary

Land, its dispossession, and its restoration are all generational issues. The harm of forced removals has been felt many generations later, however, many of the respondents struggled to connect their current psychosocial and socio-economic troubles to the original dispossession. Upon hearing their accounts and documenting their life histories, it became clear to us that there was indeed a connection. Therefore, it may be prudent to suggest that any attempts at restitution take careful notice of the intergenerational trauma inflicted by the shock of forced removals and the tormented frustrations that were building up in anticipation of that very event. That is to say, the government's focus on benefitting ODIs and their descendants is well-intended, but it is not enough to simply count the number of beneficiaries in a claim without clear consideration of the necessary post-settlement supports or compensations that would satisfy more than the current generation. The same should be said of housing provisions. Increased scope for the provision of housing alongside financial compensation could go a long way in securing the futures of land restitution beneficiaries.

Like other studies on land restitution that focus on the question of perceived justice, this qualitative study's findings concur; for dignity to be restored, the value of equitable redress needs be perceived as fair. It is not only the final resolution that matters, but the process in which dignity is restored. Considering the evidence, it is often tempting to conclude that the joint seeking of justice and improved livelihoods is a difficult balance to strike. However, examination of the Mchobololo case is offered as proof that it is quite possible to pursue both dignity and welfare. Albeit under the right conditions. The Mchobololo case stands out as an outlier of land restitution as it differs from the difficulties and failures often cited in the literature. It can be argued that it finds its

success in the following characteristics: 1) it has a small and manageable number of households; 2) it is an actual community, not a re-enacted community chained together by imagined pasts and obligations that perhaps were true and solid in the past but no longer exist, and 3) members of the community are allowed to operate their own independent businesses on the land. For example, while the land is collectively held in trust, individual members are allocated plots within the farm to conduct their own independent businesses.

Findings from this research also acknowledge that the victims of forced removals should have been afforded an opportunity to face their tormentors and bring into inspection the gross violations that took place during rounds of dispossession. Many respondents indicated it was the first time that they had an opportunity to talk in detail with an institution about what happened to them and their families. While the question of redressing the wounds of colonial and apartheid land dispossession obviously requires material compensation, the qualitative findings suggest that the restitution process did not give people that opportunity. The implications are that going forward, the restitution process needs to open avenues for victims of forced removals to air their grievances in order for healing to continue.

5 Quantitative Study

Outputs of the land restitution programme (choosing land versus cash) are likely to have diverse and distinct impacts on the lives of beneficiaries. Below is a framework that describes how change might occur. This framework informed the composition of the household and individual survey questionnaires used, and the outcomes that are measured for the quantitative study.

Distressed neighbourhoods are poverty traps: Consumption is the key measure of the impact of restitution, due to the benefits of restitution. Beneficiaries often receive substantial once-off cash or land transfers, both of which could see lasting effects. Research suggests distressed neighbourhoods can serve as a trap: though residents may come and go, poverty levels stay the same. The benefits of land restitution have the potential to interrupt this cycle[iii].

Forced removals broke down social cohesion: To what extent do newly formed social ties and connectedness, fostered by the restitution programme, promote social cohesion?

Poverty compromises psychological well-being: Psychological healing is arguably the most important type of restorative justice that the restitution programme can hope to bring about. This is an important theme in much of the available historical qualitative evidence.

Poverty diminishes cognitive capacities: A person's cognitive capacity is an important but limited resource. It guides a person's decisions, choices and actions. When a person's cognitive capacities are affected, so is the quality of the choices that they make. Research[iv] shows that poverty and stress negatively affect cognitive ability. The loss of income and property as a result of forced removals is a plausible cause of much distress. Poverty, stress and cognitive outcomes are therefore likely to be key to understanding the pathways of how restitution might lead to positive changes for the beneficiaries.

5.1 Design

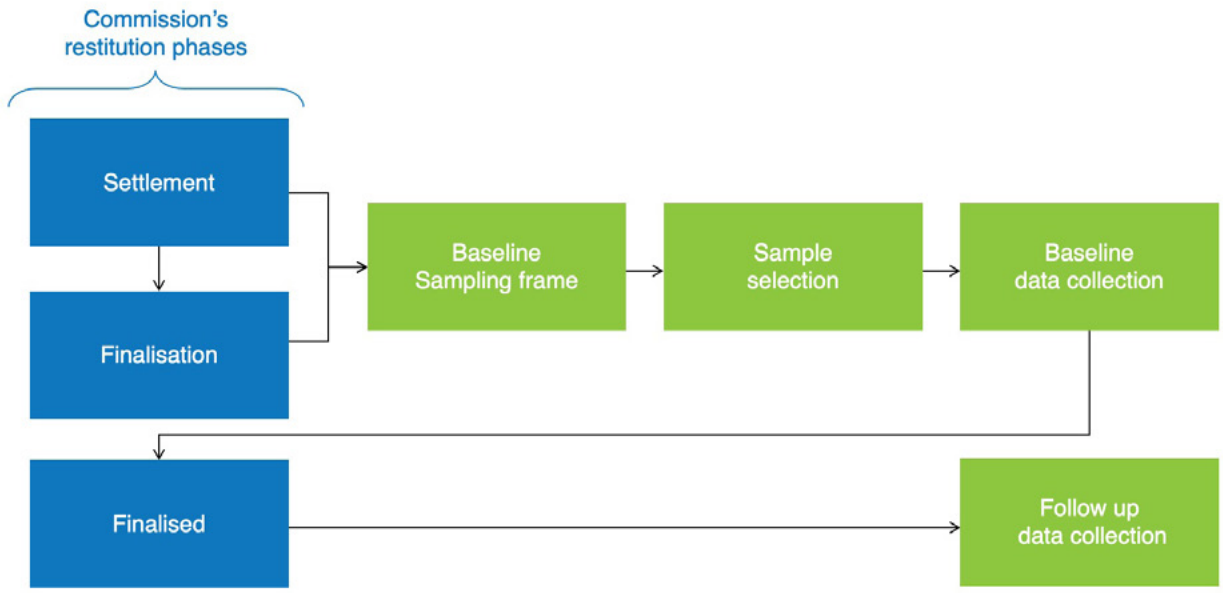
The key challenge in measuring the impact of an intervention like restitution is knowing what would have happened in the lives of the beneficiaries had they not been in the programme. Since this is not possible, a credible method of creating a counterfactual is required. This is what a control group brings. However, a control group chosen by the researcher might differ in ways related to the outcomes to be measured. Quasi-experimental studies (where a control group is chosen) therefore, must deal with biases to the impact analysis, and sophisticated statistical techniques need to be used to try to correct for them. Thus, instead of choosing the control group, choosing the overall study participants, and then randomly assigning to a control group, is often preferred. Randomisation solves the concern of bias affecting the estimated impacts and the need for using complicated techniques during the analysis.

The quantitative component of LRES uses a type of randomisation called *"pipeline randomisation"*, where all study participants will eventually receive the benefits of the programme. This is important in the context of land restitution because no beneficiary can be denied a legitimate claim. A pipeline randomisation creates a queue or pipeline of applicants awaiting the benefits of the programme, and randomly assigns their place in the queue, with the treatment group receiving benefits earlier than the control group. A minimum of two rounds of data collection then takes place, with the second round occurring sometime after the treatment group has received the benefits, and before the control group has. The difference in outcomes between follow-up and baseline are then estimated for the control and treatment groups. If the differences between these are statistically significant, the estimated difference (i.e., the impact) is interpreted as being due to restitution and not just unobserved factors.

Implementing this design however, is complicated for a programme like land restitution. The reason is that treatment group beneficiaries must have a high probability of actually receiving the benefit (cash compensation or land restoration) at some point between the two rounds of data collection. However, the process does not guarantee a specific timeline for restitution; only that a claim will be finalised after it has been settled. Therefore, before implementing a pipeline randomisation approach, several other activities are necessary to construct a sample frame. This sample frame should be composed of only beneficiaries that have a high probability of receiving restitution before the second round of data collection.

Figure 4 shows the part of the restitution pipeline that is relevant to the study. The first step in building the sampling frame is to determine the subset of claims that are approved for Settlement. This subset of claims identifies the first layer of eligible claims, which are then carefully screened to eventually lead to the final sample.

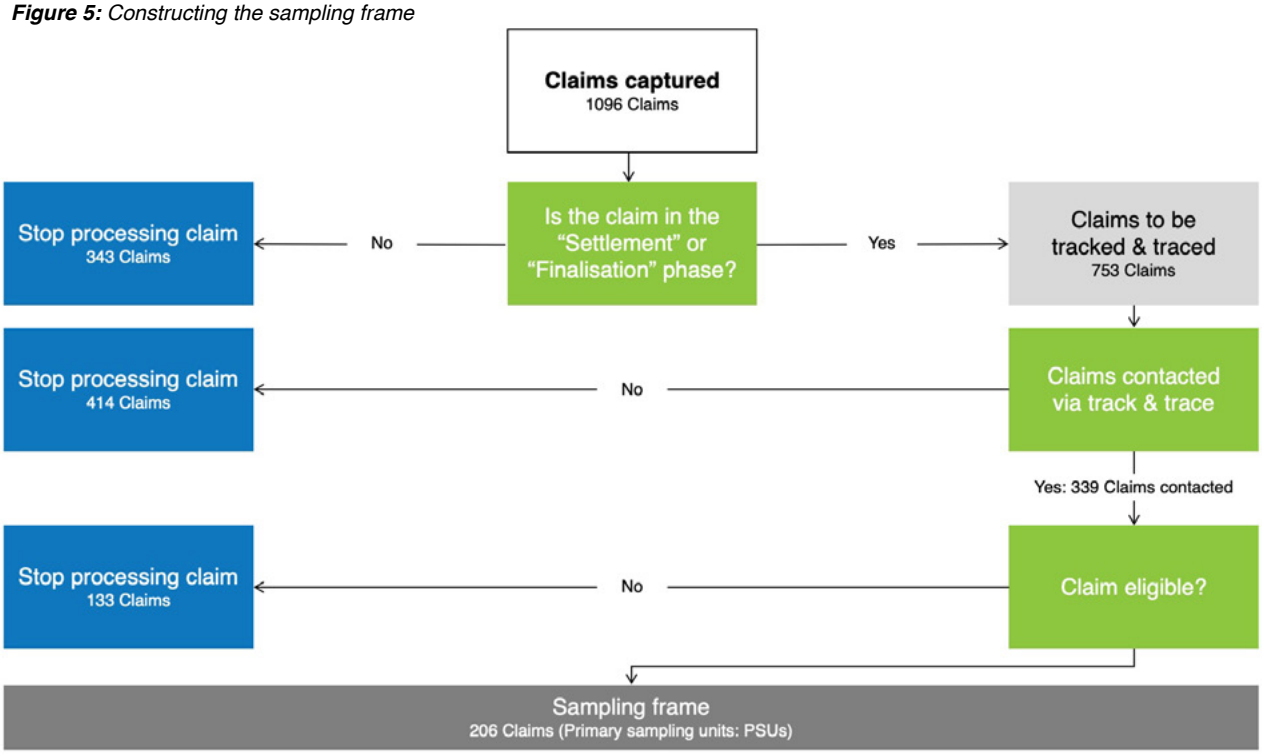
Figure 4: *The first step: narrowing the pipeline*



5.2 Sample Selection

Figure 5 shows the complete process flow that went into constructing the quantitative study's sampling frame. Only financial compensation claims were sampled for baseline data collection. Having stared with 1096 claims, 343 claims which were not approved for Settlement, 414 claims that could not be tracked or traced, and a further 133 claims that were ineligible for other reasons were removed. The final sample frame therefore consisted of 206 claims, of which 100 were selected for the baseline data collection and then randomised into equal proportions between the treatment and control groups. Then, based on a sampling criterion, beneficiaries from each claimant household were selected for individual interview.

Figure 5: *Constructing the sampling frame*



5.3 Data Collection

Interviews were conducted between November 2018 and December 2019 on eligible beneficiaries of restitution, which are termed *"core sample members"* (CSMs) in LRES. Where a sampled household had fewer than four beneficiaries, co-residing non-beneficiaries or *"non-core sample members"* (NCSMs) were also interviewed. At least one member from each household was required to complete all of the following: a household roster, household questionnaire, and individual questionnaire (which included completion of four cognitive tasks).

5.4 Sample Description

In total 1671 individuals were surveyed. 41% were direct beneficiaries (CSMs), shown in figure 6. As shown in figure 7, 77% of surveyed individuals were in urban areas, which is to be expected given that only financial compensation claims were sampled. 21% of the sample resided on traditional land. Figure 8 shows that just over half of the sample (55%) was female and aged below 45 (56%).

Figure 6: *Sample type*

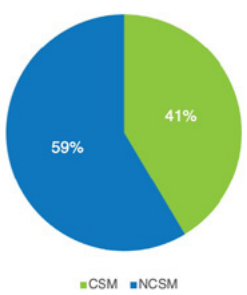


Figure 7: *Geographical location type*

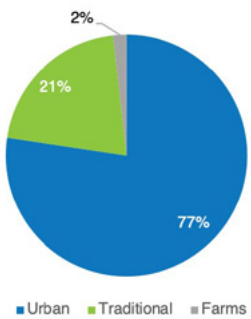
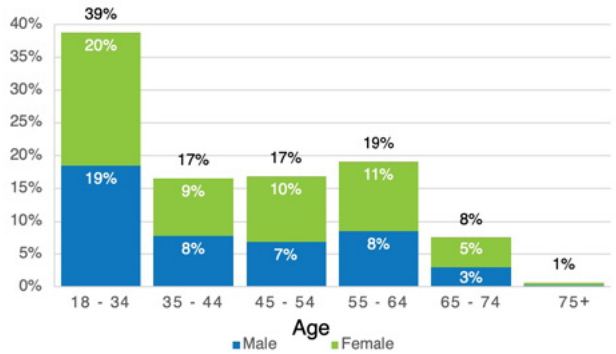


Figure 8: *Age groups and gender breakdown*



5.5 Baseline Findings

5.5.1 Household Characteristics

5.5.1.1 Main dwelling information

Household questionnaire respondents were asked about the main dwelling that the household lives in. In figure 9, the type of main dwelling of the households have been classified into three broad categories: formal, informal and other. The vast majority (87%) of the sample lived in dwelling types which were classified as formal. Just under a quarter (24%) of households lived in dwellings either fully or partially owned by a household member (figure 10). Government housing assistance was limited, with 16% of households having received housing assistance (e.g. RDP housing, but excluding restitution or land grant) from the government (figure 11); and very few (only 2%) had received a land grant to obtain a plot of land for residence or for farming (figure 12).

Figure 9: *Type of main dwelling*

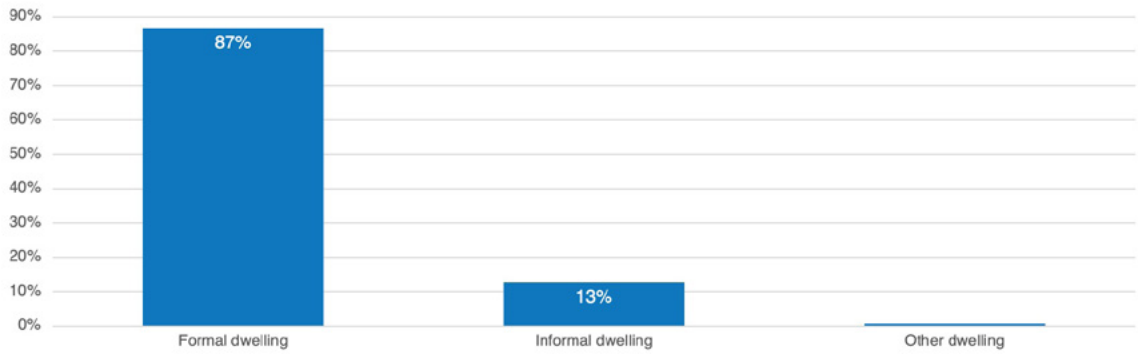


Figure 10: *A household member owns all or part of the dwelling?*

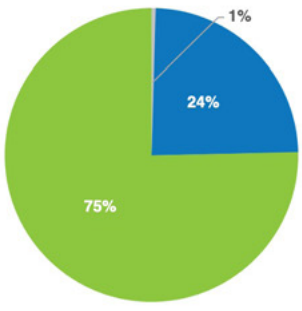


Figure 11: *Household received government assistance (excl. restitution or land grant) to obtain this or another dwelling?*

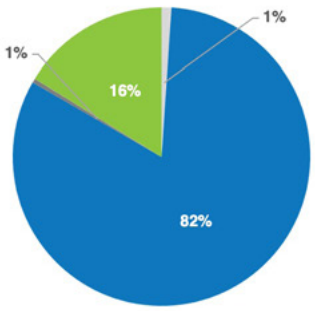
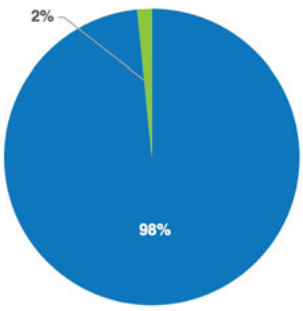


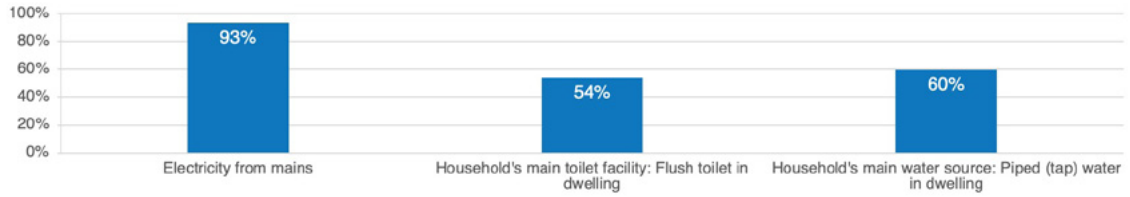
Figure 12: *Household received a government land grant to obtain a plot for residence or farming?*



5.5.1.2 Access to water, sanitation, electricity and food security

Figure 13 shows that the vast majority of households have access to electricity from the mains. Household respondents were asked what type of main toilet facility the household had and what the main source of water for the household was. Most (54%) of the households had a flush toilet in the dwelling and piped (tap) water inside their dwelling (60%). These characteristics align with most of the households living in formal dwellings.

Figure 13: *Households with access to water, sanitation, and electricity*

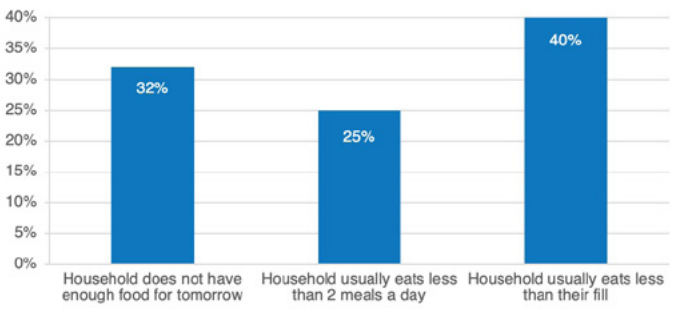


The World Food Summit's definition of food security is when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active life[v]. This informed the questions that household respondents were asked regarding their household's food security.

Figure 14 shows that 6% of households skipped meals in the last month. These households that skipped meals were then asked more in-depth questions regarding their degree of food insecurity, shown in figure 15. Of the households usually eat less than 2 meals a day (25%), and we also see (40%) of households usually eat less than their fill. Unfortunately, 32% of these households were in the unfortunate position of not having enough food for the next day.

Figure 14: *Households skipping meals in the last month*

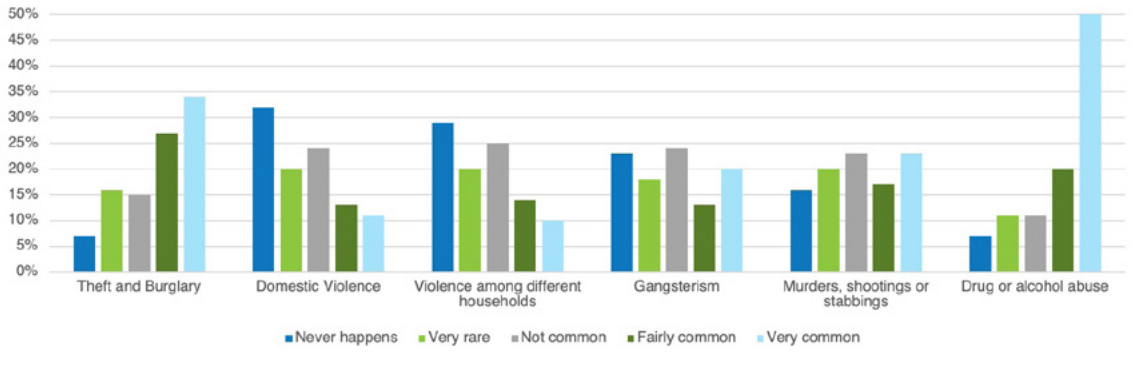
Figure 15: *Food security among households which skipped meals in the last month*



5.5.1.3 Crime and safety

The household questionnaire respondent was asked about their perception of the frequency of different crime-related activities in their neighbourhood. Responses to these questions are shown in figure 16. Drug or alcohol abuse was reportedly most common on average, followed by theft and burglary. Domestic violence and violence among different households were the least common on average.

Figure 16: *Frequency of crime-related activities in the household's neighbourhood*

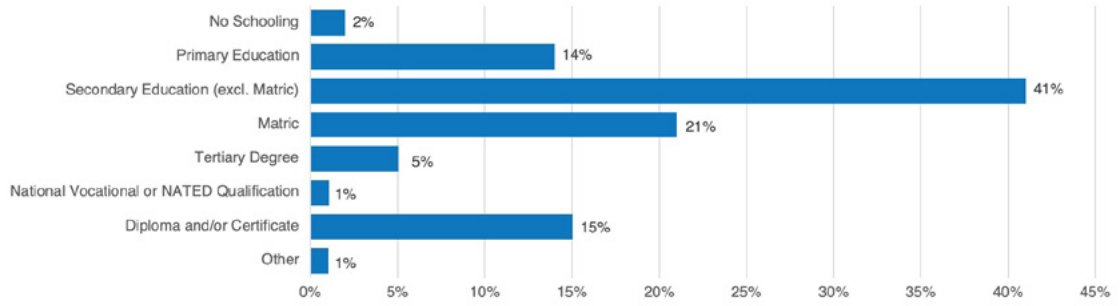


5.5.2 Individual characteristics

5.5.2.1 Educational attainment

Shown in figure 17, most respondents had either some secondary education or had higher levels of education, with the highest proportion (41%) of the sample having incomplete secondary education (i.e. excluding matric) as their highest education attainment.

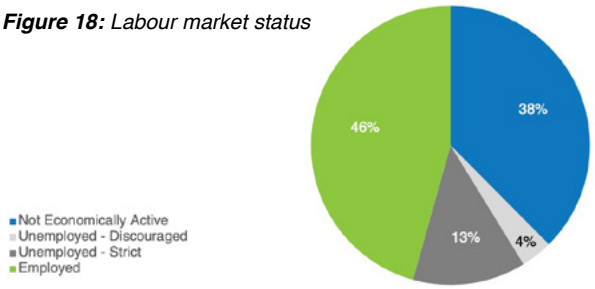
Figure 17: *Educational attainment*



5.5.2.2 Labour market participation

Figure 18 shows the current labour market status of respondents. Just under half of the sample (46%) were employed, 38% were not economically active (42% if including discouraged unemployed), and 13% were unemployed by the strict definition of unemployment[1].

Figure 18: *Labour market status*



5.5.2.3 Trust and social cohesion

To gather an indication of people's trust of others, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statement, *"Generally speaking, most people can be trusted?"*. Shown in figure 19, 67% of respondents disagreed, indicating that most of the sample were weary of trusting others.

To evaluate access to social resources or social capital, respondents were asked about whether they had contacts who could provide them help with varies activities. Figure 20 shows that similar amounts of people knew someone that could help them find a job (21%) and knew someone who could give them legal advice (20%). Relatively fewer knew someone who could help start a project, and even fewer knew someone who could help them lend a large amount of money.

Figure 19: *Generally speaking, can most people be trusted?*

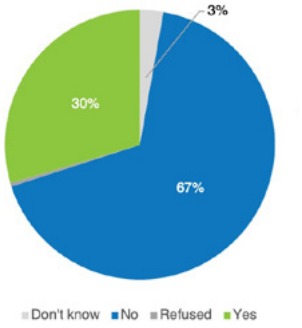
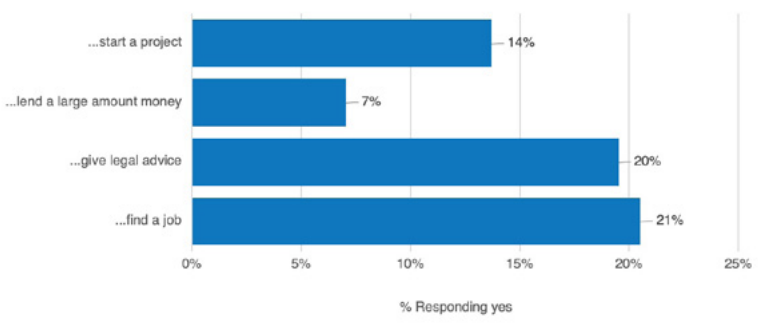


Figure 20: *Do you know someone who can help you…?*



[1] Including discouraged work seekers in the not economically active category, rather than unemployed, as would be the case using the broad definition of unemployment.

5.6 Key Outcomes

In this section, baseline findings of the three key outcome measures to be used in the impact evaluation are presented. Rather than a detailed discussion of the data, several important patterns that speak to the main outcome areas of consumption, cognitive capacities and psychological well-being are highlighted.

Two main questions are addressed in this section:

1. **What broad patterns are evident in the data and are there signs of anomalies?**
2. **Has the randomisation worked?**

The second question is a key in any baseline report of an impact evaluation study since a concern is that control and treatment groups might be different in ways that are related to the outcomes to be measured by the study. As a result, the following section shows these main outcome measures for the treatment and control groups separately to check that they are balanced across these measures.

5.6.1 Household consumption

All data regarding household expenses were collected through the household questionnaire. The household questionnaire respondent was asked about total household expenditure in the last 30 days on food and non-food items. These were summed to provide total food expenditure and total non-food expenditure, respectively. These two components were added to total rental expenditure to give total household expenditure.

Figure 21 and figure 22 show averages of the sub-categories of household expenses by sample treatment status. Average total expenditure in both the treatment and control groups was similar and non-food expenditure contributed a greater amount toward total expenditure than food expenditure. The most important point to note on these two figures is that none of the mean differences between treatment and control groups are statistically significant.

Figure 21: *Total household expenditure in the last 30 days*

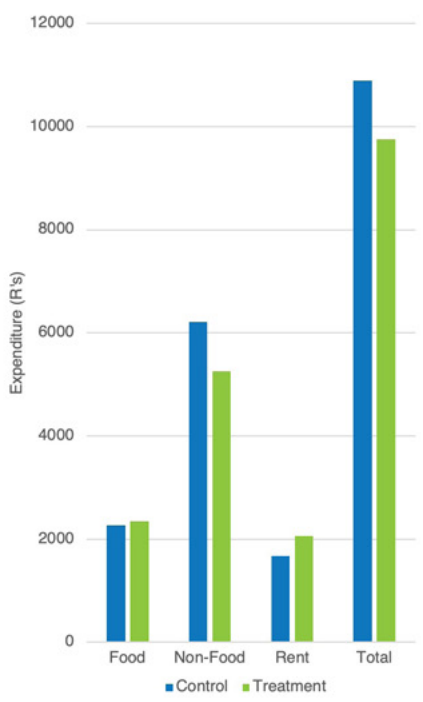
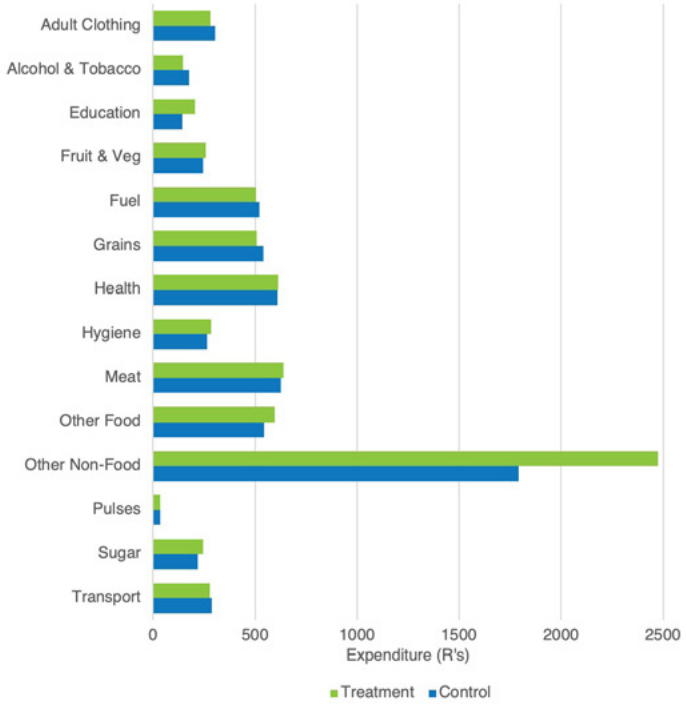


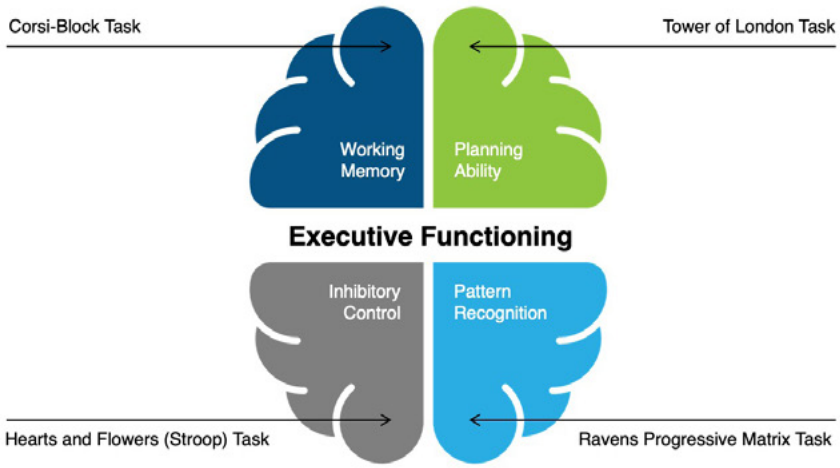
Figure 22: *Household expenditure in the last 30 days, by sub-categories*



5.6.2 Cognitive capacity

Executive functioning refers to the mental processes that dictate the way that we absorb and interpret information such as working memory, planning, inhibitory control and pattern recognition. These capabilities are measured through four tasks (shown in figure 23) completed by each interviewed household member as part of their individual interviews.

Figure 23: *Executive functioning aspects and cognitive tasks used to measure each*



Explanations of what aspect of cognition is measured by the different tasks, why they are important, and the results from these tasks, follows. Before going into this detail, it should be noted that the cognitive data overall, except one of the tasks, seem to be well balanced across the treatment and control groups.

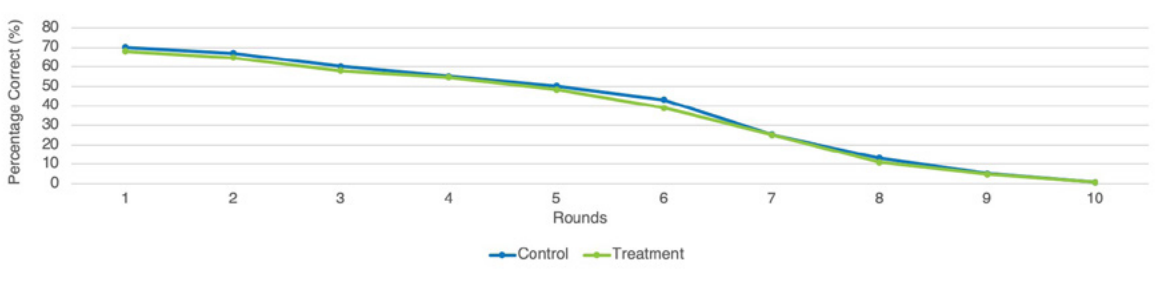
5.6.2.1 Working memory

The Corsi-Block task measures short term memory (working memory) using visual task completion. Working memory is a key component of cognitive activity and is closely linked to the ability of an individual to control their attention and perform higher-level cognitive tasks.

During the test a set of blocks flashes a different colour on a screen, one at a time, in quick succession. The participant is then asked to recall the sequence. Several rounds are run with each successive round increasing in difficulty.

The results indicate that on average, respondents could correctly recall the order of flashing blocks if on average 4.6 blocks were involved in the sequence. A numerical version of this test would be to recall a 10-digit telephone number heard once by the respondent very quickly. The results suggest that not more than 5 digits would be accurately recalled, on average.

Figure 24: *Percentage of complete responses in Corsi-Block task*



5.6.2.2 Planning ability

The Tower of London task is a widely used measure of planning ability. By asking participants to complete a puzzle in the quickest amount of time using the least number of steps, its purpose is to measure whether the participant can resist the temptation to complete the task without first planning it out mentally. Performance is indicative of planning ability, a key component of cognitive control.

Table 2: *Descriptive Statistics: Cognitive Tasks*

	Corsi-Block (Span)	Tower of London (Moves)	Hearts and Flowers (%)	Ravens Progressive Matrix (%)	Depression Score
Control	4.697 (1.253)	8.718 (3.536)	67.9% (23.0%)	44.2% (28.4%)	7.842 (5.340)
Treatment	4.534 (1.269)	8.020 (3.646)	64.7% (26.9%)	46.7% (26.7%)	8.915 (4.995)
Total sample	**4.604** **(1.264)**	**8.307** **(3.615)**	**66.0%** **(25.4%)**	**45.7%** **(27.4%)**	**8.455** **(5.171)**
Observations	*561*	*597*	*389*	*541*	*1,301*

Standard deviations in parentheses.

Table 2 shows the number of correct responses in the Tower of London task, across the interviewed sample. The task was to be completed in 3-4 moves. These results suggest that respondents took over 8 moves on average, suggesting that both treatment and control groups show lower planning ability.

5.6.2.3 Inhibitory control

The Hearts and Flowers (Stroop) task measures inhibitory control, a component of executive function which is used to suppress irrelevant stimuli. Participants are shown a picture of either a heart or a flower on a computer screen in rapid succession. The participant is asked to press on the same side of the screen as the heart when a heart flashes and to press on the opposite side of the screen as the flower when a flower flashes on the screen.

Table 2 shows results of the Hearts and Flowers task. The scores are reflected as the mean percentage of correct responses: 67.9% correct (control group) versus 64.7% (treatment group).

5.6.2.4 Pattern recognition

The Ravens Progressive Matrix is a well-known and widely accepted pattern recognition task aimed at measuring fluid intelligence (logical thinking and novel problem solving). Fluid intelligence is important as it forms part of a person's ability to reason, solve problems and think logically.

The task is non-verbal and designed to be independent of background knowledge or education. Participants are presented with an incomplete puzzle or series and instructed to choose the piece that best completes it, from 8 choices. A total time limit is applied and each successive puzzle gets more difficult. Performance is measured by the percentage of correct matches.

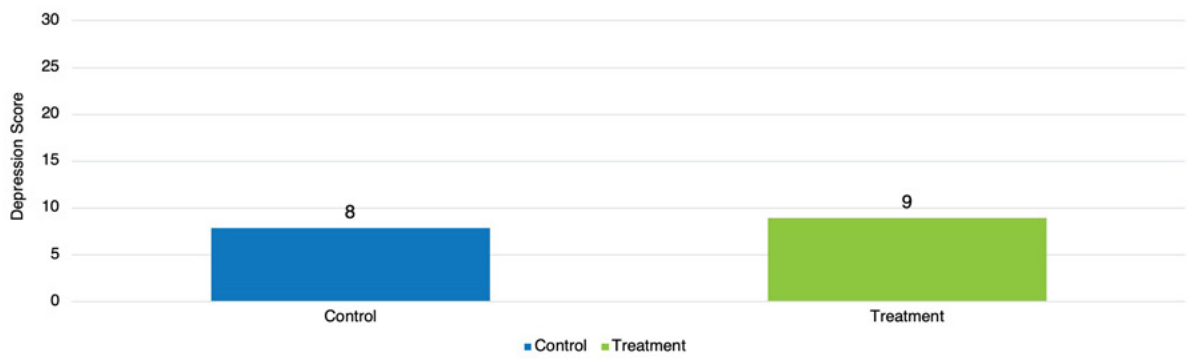
Table 2 shows the percentage of correct responses in the Ravens Progressive Matrix task. These results suggest that respondents scored between 44.2% (control group) to 46.7% (treatment group) on average.

5.6.3 Psychological well-being

Historical land dispossession and the resulting poverty created by displacement is likely to have long-term effects on mental health. The key measure of psychological well-being used in the study is constructed from the Centre for Epidemiological Studies 10 question depression module (CES-D-10), asked as part of the individual questionnaire. Each of the 10 questions in the module is assigned a score of 0-3, depending on the answer selected by the respondent. These are then summed to a total depression score out of 30, which indicates the extent of self-reported symptoms of depression experienced by the respondent in the past week.

Figure 25 shows the average total CES-D-10 depression score measure for the control and treatment groups. The average depression score for the control group was 8, while the average for the treatment group was 9. The depression score results are statistically significant at the 1% level indicating that this variable was not balanced among the control and treatment groups. The imbalance currently evident in the data is likely as a result of an imbalance at the individual level of the number of control treated versus treated respondents (46% versus 54% of the overall individual sample). We expect that additional data from the second round of baseline data collection on this outcome will exert a mitigating effect on this pattern.

Figure 25: *Total CES-D-10 depression score experienced by respondents in the past week*



5.7 Summary

Now that a significant amount of baseline data has been collected, it was possible to explore the composition of the sample and test whether the randomisation into treatment and control groups served its purpose: namely, if there are significant differences on average between the two groups for the main outcome variables. At baseline, the aim is to ensure that there are no statistically significant differences so that we can be sure that any differences detected at the follow-up stage of data collection can be reasonably attributed to the impact of restitution.

Except for the psychological outcomes, baseline results show no significant differences in outcome variables.

6 Conclusion

The qualitative findings conclude that in the communities studied, though the beneficiaries of land reform have not seen many material gains, the restitution of land has had significant impact on them with regards to the restoration of their dignity, the connectedness to their cultural practices and history, and as a socio-economic *"buffer"*. The beneficiaries of financial compensation on the other hand were generally extremely dissatisfied with the results and process of their claims. They cited the excessively long time it took to resolve their claim and the social dissatisfaction from the small amounts of money spread across many families and individuals.

The main implications of the baseline quantitative findings are that the design remains sound. Almost all the main outcome variables are balanced, even under the revised sample sizes necessitated by the revisions to the study owing to COVID-19, gives the study team a degree of freedom as we look to embark on the next phase of data collection.

These findings provide a good basis for the next stage of LRES, which is conducting the second round of quantitative interviews and quantitatively investigating the impact of restitution on beneficiaries.

7 Further Reading

This summary report draws from the following detailed reports on the qualitative and baseline quantitative components of LRES:

7.1 Qualitative Report

"Qualitative Evaluation of Land Restitution in KwaZulu-Natal" by Mvuselelo Ngcoya.

7.2 Quantitative Report

"Land Restitution Evaluation Study (LRES) Analysis of Key Outcomes Baseline Version 1.0.1" by Malcolm Keswell, Mvuselelo Ngcoya, Timothy Brophy, Patricia Chirwa, Ianthe Goddard.

Please refer to these reports for more detail.

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9 Endnotes

[i] It is estimated that at the height of Apartheid (1960-1983), about 3.5 million (of about 20-24 million) non-white South Africans were removed from their lands by the state (Pechtel and Pizzagalli, 2011). This excludes a further 2 million, estimated to be at risk of forced removals, under various land consolidations under the policy of *"betterment planning."* Further, the apartheid government modified its approach to forced removals to one of *"voluntary relocations"* after April 1981. Though this policy appears to have used less force, it still resulted in the relocation of large parts of the black population living on lands subject to influx control. The sum of 5.5 million removals is likely a gross underestimation of the true number affected (Platsky and Walker, 1985).

[ii] Britten et al., 2002; Fisher et al., 2006.

[iii] See Bardhan, Bowles and Gintis (2000), Chetty, Hendren and Katz (2016) and Ludwig et al. (2012) for example.

[iv] See Haushofer and Fehr, 2014; Mani et al., 2013; Shah, Mullainathan and Shafir, 2012 and Shanmugan et al., 2016.

[v] FAO, 1996.

10 Implementing agency and funders

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