Land Restitution Evaluation Study (LRES)
Analysis of Qualitative Case Studies
Version 2.0.0

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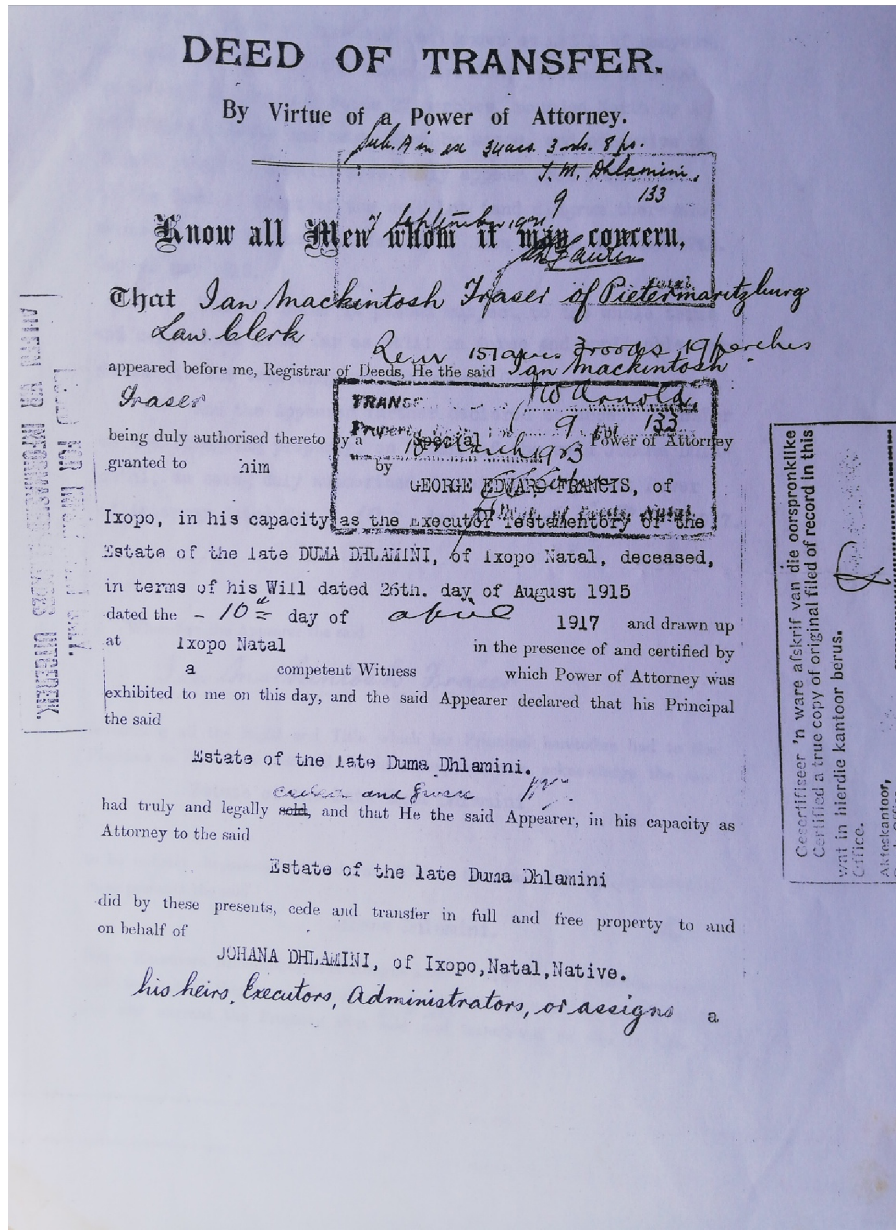


DEED OF TRANSFER.

By Virtue of a Power of Attorney.

Know all Men whom it may concern,

That Ian Mackintosh Fraser of Pietermaritzburg Law Clerk

appeared before me, Registrar of Deeds, He the said Ian Mackintosh Fraser

being duly authorised thereto by a Special Power of Attorney granted to him by GEORGE EDWARD FRANCIS, of Ixopo, in his capacity as the Executor Testamentary of the Estate of the late DUMA DHLAMINI, of Ixopo Natal, deceased, in terms of his Will dated 26th. day of August 1915 dated the 10th day of April 1917 and drawn up at Ixopo Natal in the presence of and certified by a competent Witness which Power of Attorney was exhibited to me on this day, and the said Appearer declared that his Principal the said

Estate of the late Duma Dhlamini.

had truly and legally ~~sold~~ ceded and given, and that He the said Appearer, in his capacity as Attorney to the said

Estate of the late Duma Dhlamini

did by these presents, cede and transfer in full and free property to and on behalf of

JOHANA DHLAMINI, of Ixopo, Natal, Native.

his heirs, Executors, Administrators, or assigns a

Gesertifiseer 'n ware afskrif van die oorspronklike wat in hierdie kantoor berus.
Certified a true copy of original filed of record in this Office.
Aktekantoor,
Deeds Office,

Figure 1: Deed of Transfer of a property dated 10 April 1917

(a) Deed of Transfer of the property of one Duma Dhlamini to his son and then to John Arnold, dated 10 April 1917. Source: M Ngcoya, 5 September 2021

Section 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview

> "Ngino R5 kuphela ngane yami la ocingweni. Ngiyocela ungishayele. [I only have a R5 balance on my phone my child, please call me]. That's what the gogo (grandmother) said. I'm still shocked. Shocked at her generosity of calling us back even though her phone literally has no credit. How could this be? This person is recorded as a direct beneficiary and yet she can't even afford a phone call? How can someone who was removed from the Bluff be reduced to such a state?" (Fieldnotes, 22 August 2021).

Reversing course on the legacies of apartheid and colonial South Africa has been at the forefront of the democratic agenda since 1994. Three decades later and the prevailing system of land and agrarian reform has barely turned a page on this regrettable past. Despite the strategic goals and visions outlined in the 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy, and the many initiatives embarked on since then to redress the centuries of systemic oppression and racial segregation, the unequal patterns of land and property ownership have maintained a stable hold on South Africa's ability to secure better lives for its citizens. Especially for those who have yet to experience true liberation in a social and economic sense.

A land audit commissioned by the Department of Land Reform and Rural Development revealed in 2017 that over two decades into the democratic dispensation, nearly three quarters of the country's arable land remained in the hands of Whites who comprise less than a tenth of the population. Proponents of effective and efficient land restitution argue that the return of land is at the centre of the jarring inequalities among racial groups and various classes in South Africa. Correcting the historical wrongs of forced removals revolves around three axes of land reform: redistribution, restitution and land tenure. This present study focuses on restitution, for it is unique among these as it seeks to directly address questions of justice to victims of land dispossession that occurred after the passage of the Land Act of 1913.

The legal framework governing restitution is the Restitution of Land Rights Act No. 22 of 1994 and the agency tasked with administering land restitution is the Commission of Restitution of Land Rights (Land Claims Commission). The key objective of the Act is "the achievement of equality and redress the results of past racial discrimination" (Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994). In other words, the Act seeks to restore dignity and hasten the effective participation of victims of colonialism and apartheid in the social, economic and political life of the new polity.

To date, the Land Claims Commission has settled land claims estimated at 3,5 million hectares benefiting some 340 000 households or just over two million individual beneficiaries (DRDLR 2021, 2). In 2018/19,

the Commission settled 501 cases at the cost of R2,7 billion (DRDLR 2019, 5). Importantly, about three-quarters of all claims are settled financially. In many cases, claimants 'choose' financial compensation because the original land is no longer available, non-restorable, undesirable, or the options were not too clear for claimants. While in others, the ability or thought to cooperate with a greater community or group to secure land is disincentivising.

While there are pockets of success in the restitution programme, there is general agreement that the excruciatingly slow pace of restitution and the poor performance of restituted land contradict the objectives of the Restitution of Land Rights Act. In a unanimous judgment in a matter pertaining to land restitution, Judge Mbuyiseli Madlanga echoed a widely acknowledged view that the painful emotive subject of land dispossession and the failure of the state to restitute land effectively and efficiently will continue to "plague South Africa's politico-legal landscape" (Ledwaba 2021).

Further driving the need for this critical assessment of land reform solutions is the question around the viability of community-based ownership and group-farming models. Especially when many of the communities reconstructed through land restitution become so easily disrupted and divided once the land is transferred or cash is paid. These types of dysfunctional community structures have become so ubiquitous that even stakeholders, community members, tribal authorities and commission employees that were once part of the restoration process have viewed them as 'models of contempt' or 'zones of conflict' (Presidential Advisory Panel, 2019).

According to the DRDLR's 2015-2016 annual report, of the 1490 registered CPA's, only 208 were found to be compliant with the Communal Property Associations Act No. 28 of 1996. While this shows a need for serious intervention, the lack of support and mediation in cases of conflict resolution; the high incidence of poorly planned project designs and misaligned partnerships; and the process of batching individual and group claims as if they had ties to the same community, has only added to the problem.

A fast-growing theory in economic and social science literature that could help resolve these issues is that of institutional and neighbourhood poverty traps. It is said that a community is either fostered or undermined by the type of neighbourhood or community that an individual is exposed to Sampson and Morenoff 2011). For poorer neighbourhoods the effect tends to be more pronounced as they struggle to benefit from positive role models and peer effects. Like the neighbourhoods of relocation that communities were forcefully moved to during apartheid, these sorts of neighbourhoods tend be identifiable by their high levels of class segregation and racial isolation which then contribute to a durable inequality and never-ending cycle of poverty.

One very practical way in which we see land restitution outcomes being affected, is when the historical fragmentation of families and communities caused by forced removals leads otherwise similar individuals (at the time of dispossession) to develop very different social norms and beliefs over time. This can potentially limit the ability of families and communities most affected by fragmentation to reconstruct their lives in the wake of the trauma they experienced following eviction. Do such individuals display a lower level of connectedness with others? Does connectedness in general depend on the degree of fragmentation that occurred? Are these factors predictive of trust and cooperative behaviour. For example, are beneficiaries more likely to have more fractious and conflict-ridden engagements with each other when it comes to negotiating over what form of compensation to choose? The latter question is of importance given the fact that opting for land potentially requires a greater propensity to cooperate and cohere, which in turn is bound to be correlated with the level of social connectedness one can foster with members of the broader community (both contemporaneously and prospectively). These questions are ultimately about understanding group

dynamics and how biases lead to compromised social processes and entrenched divisions in communities. Such findings would have major implications for decision makers and the treatment of community claims.

The report begins by briefly giving and overview and discussing the background, theory, and objectives of the report. This is followed by the design detail of the chosen sample, data collection strategy, and methods used for measuring the data. The subsequent sections present the analysis for the key outcome variables and discuss the findings. The penultimate section denotes the challenges and limitations of the study, before concluding.

1.2 Objectives of the case studies

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 quite importantly the role of land in reconciliation (healing the wounds of apartheid). Furthermore, to truly uncover the mechanisms that hinder reform success requires serious ground truthing and evidence-based exploration. Of the many theories explaining why land reform failure is so ubiquitous, the most widely accepted are the stories about lack of delivery, rising cost of implementation, corruption, and inefficient administrative processes. Though this study maintains an honest truth and depiction of the accounts of beneficiaries, it also attempts to lessen the burden held by the commission by exploring alternative theories to the causes of these failures.

Therefore, a main aspect of our qualitative evaluative work was to first detail the nuances of both dispossession and explore whether beneficiaries thought restitution had healed the wounds of dispossession. Regarding the latter, our focus was on two fronts: a) to assess the impact of both land restitution and financial compensation on social cohesion; and b) to investigate the generational impact of restitution on the quality of life of beneficiaries. We were particularly focused on whether the impact of both dispossession and restitution was felt across generations.

Another key aspect of our study was to examine the social capital, cohesion, and trust of communities in restitution as they pertain to the issue of low collective efficacy and therefore low collective outcomes. Holding the view that communities are either fostered or undermined by these factors, and that these social divisions further entrench and impair economic prosperity and welfare (Banerjee, Iyer and Somanathan 2005), we consider a further dimension that analyses the social networks of communities to determine the degree of connectedness and cohesion, and therefore cooperation.

Section 2

Scope

The qualitative research study was implemented in two phases. Firstly, through case study interviews that could attract wide responses from open-ended questions and help sharpen our understanding of the main impact domains and how they link together. The results from this first stage design provide a basis around which the outcomes of the quantitative research study are explained. Secondly, it took a more targeted and measurable approach to the exploration of these same themes by increasing the number of community and claimant observations and adding more structured research tools.

We conducted qualitative research to finesse and buttress quantitative findings by focusing on claims that had been settled and finalised. We obtained beneficiary lists and other documents from the Land Claims Commission. In particular, the beneficiary lists are organised by claim and contain useful information including claimant status (whether original claimant or descendant) and telephone numbers. Although many of the telephone numbers were outdated, we obtained useful contacts from that list that helped identity our participant pool.

2.1 Phase One

The phase 1 case studies were conducted using a wide variety of qualitative research tools. These included focus group discussions (FGDs), semi-structured interviews, life-history interviews, participant observations, and transact walks. See Table 1 below for a more detailed specification of research tools.

From the St Xavier case, we selected 15 households to interview. Our selection was purposive based on the existence of either and original dispossessed individual (ODI) or an adult who was present at the time of dispossession. We also chose households where there was at least one further generation (either children or grandchildren). In total we conducted 30 interviews in-depth semi-structured interviews either in person or telephonically. We used the claim documents from the Commission to select cases that satisfy this criterion. The purpose was to interrogate the intergenerational transfer of trauma and to paint a dynastic picture of the effects of land dispossession and restitution.

For Mchobololo, we interviewed four of the eight households of land beneficiaries and 10 households of beneficiaries of financial compensation. Again, our selection was guided by the same principle of the existence of an adult with the memory of dispossession and a descendant. In total there were 28 people who participated from the Mchobololo claim.

The duration and intensity of the methods varied depending on the case or the household interviewed.

For the land component, we visited the farm a number of times to conduct interviews with various trustees and their families. We had to interview one of the trustees twice due to time constraints imposed by the pressures of the planting season. This offered us an opportunity to use participant observation and we spent over two hours planting potatoes with the farmers. We conducted a guided drive through both the Mochobolo and St Xavier sites. In the case of the latter, we conducted transact walks through the original site of dispossession (the Bluff suburb of Durban)

Table 2.1: Use of mixed-methods: phase 2

Key objective	Method	Respondents
Social cohesion	Focus group discussions (FDG)	· CPA leaders · Beneficiaries
	Semi-structured interviews	· Beneficiaries
Nuances of dispossession	Life history interviews	· Beneficiaries
	Semi-structured interviews	· Beneficiaries
Financial compensation	Semi-structured interviews	· Beneficiaries
	Transact walk	· Claimants
Land restoration	Participant observation	· Claimants
	Transact walk	· Claimant
	Semi-structured interviews	· Beneficiaries
	Focus group discussion	· Beneficiaries

The interviews were conducted in isiZulu, the first language of our participants. We recorded all our interviews and translated them into English. The same researcher who conducted the interview usually was the same person transcribing it. The lead qualitative researcher listened to all the interviews and checked the quality of the transcripts. To ensure anonymity, we use pseudonyms in this report.

COVID-19 restrictions limited the number and size of FGDs in 2021. Additionally, we conducted most of our semi-structured interviews telephonically instead of in-person. This had obvious limitations in that we could not observe many of the residences of our interviewees and we also lost the opportunity to observe their non-verbal cues. When COVID-19 restrictions were relaxed, we were able to conduct some interviews in person and complemented that with participant observation and transact walks where it was possible.

Themes covered during the interviews include intergenerational patterns of memory and trauma, social cohesion quality of life. We transcribed the FGDs, interviews and field notes and used reflexive thematic analysis to generate key themes. The analytic process involved “dwelling in the data” (Braun and Clarke 2021, 332) by holding weekly reflective meetings with the research team, writing individual reflections after each interview, and coding.

Emerging themes and patterns were analysed by code responses inductively. This was an arduous process of a line-by-line coding from each interview to generate codes (Britten et al., 2002; Fisher et al., 2006). From these codes, we generated themes, patterns of some shared meanings united by a central idea or theme.

2.2 Phase Two

The research methods applied in this phase of data collection combine structured and semi-structured interviews with more specialised tools of social network mapping and cognitive game tasks (see Table 2 for further specification).

In person interviews were conducted on 345 claimants from 6 different communities located across 3 provinces. Two communities are in Western Cape and account for 50% of the sample, one is in Eastern Cape

and accounts for 28% of the sample, and three are in KwaZulu-Natal, accounting for 22% of the sample.

The interviews were conducted in the primary language spoken by the respondent or alternatively, the respondents' language of choice. Our sample was predominantly isiXhosa and isiZulu first language speakers.

Table 2.2: Use of mixed-methods: phase 2

Key objective	Method	Respondents
Social cohesion	Structured survey	· Claimant beneficiaries · Main family representatives
	Semi-structured interviews	· Claimant beneficiaries · Main family representatives
Collective efficacy and psychological well-being	Structured survey	· Claimant beneficiaries · Main family representatives
Social fragmentation	Social network survey	· Claimant beneficiaries · Main family representatives
	Secondary data source	· CRLR administrative data · Surplus people project

To support the data collection of the phase 2 data collection, experienced fieldwork staff were recruited. This was particularly important for the method adopted under the qualitative study design - in-depth personal interviews (IPI) which entails very personal questions and take a minimum of 90 minutes to complete.

Section 3

Measuring social cohesion

In this section, we outline the novel methods we use to measure social cohesion. Key theme are the relationships between kith and kin that constitute restitution claims, attitudes about the trustworthiness of others among kith and kin, and the structure of the social networks that form within a claim.

Social cohesion can seem like a nebulous concept. For a study of land restitution, where communities are often not communities in the standard sense of people living among one another, having a precise way of defining and measuring social cohesion is key. In a now classic definition, Fukuyama (1996) stated that while 'the radius of trust' extends beyond the family, trust itself is "a lubricant that makes the running of any group more efficient" (Fukuyama, 1999:16). Similarly, ties and networks are core elements of social cohesion as they can uncover potential obligations to nuclear and extended family members, community members and outsiders. As Bourdieu (1986: 249) pointed out, social ties and networks comprise actual or potential durable relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition to membership of a group. The concepts of social capital bonding (institutionalised relationships within a group) and social bridging (relations with external members) are key to understanding why groups cohere or become fractured.

The degree to which a group of people are socially connected with each other can reinforce commonly held beliefs, in the process transmitting novel information that could change behaviours and potentially alter outcomes. The restitution programme necessarily relies on the willingness of beneficiaries to cooperate with one another. Therefore, the nature of the interactions between beneficiaries – the star players, their positions and the clusters, cliques and other kinds of groups they belong to, is key to understanding why a claim might succeed or fail. The starting point to measuring these patterns is to map the network of social relations within claims.

3.1 Definitions

When exploring the question of how social networks affect the spread of ideas, norms, and behaviour, the first key aspect to consider is a network's structure or topology. Who a person is connected to is who they come into contact with, and therefore who they "allow" to have an impact on their behaviour. The extent to which this affects the individual is dependent on how they "choose" to come into contact with this person: how close they are, how frequent the contact is, is it through a close knit group of mutual friends or through separate interactions? More specifically, when asking how a certain environment, neighbourhood, or community could play a role in defining and influencing norms, preferences and behaviours, identifying the

relational bonds formed between one person and the next becomes very important. This allows us to test theories about the way in which interventions can be used to effect change in behaviour and foster greater collective action.

Determining a network's ability to converge to a type of behaviour has mostly been assessed through the concept of small worlds. Small worlds characterise a fascinating aspect of large social networks that find that even if nodes in a network are not directly connected, the likelihood that their neighbours are each others neighbours is high. This means any given node in a network can be reached in a small number of steps, which translates to a highly clustered networks, possible made up of a few cliques. Naturally, this creates an easy path for diffusion or spread of information, ideas, and opportunities. Because small world networks are also more likely to exhibit higher levels of cohesiveness, they have a higher chance of being more cooperative and thus more productive. By comparing the centrality (how a beneficiary relates to its neighbours and overall community), clustering (how closely knit the community is in terms of the extent to which beneficiaries friends are friends with each other), and average path length (the length or number of contacts between two beneficiaries), we can, for instance, examine whether communities of low fragmentation (high clustering and short average path length) experience relatively higher levels of efficiency than what we would expect from a randomly selected community of the same size. We now discuss some common ways of measuring these features of a network. However, before proceeding we define key concepts.

A Network (graph) describes a collection of nodes (vertices) and the links (edges) between them. A node can represent any entity; in our case, it represents a restitution beneficiary within a claim. A link between two nodes therefore signifies a direct relation between two beneficiaries in the same claim. Below are key definitions of different types of networks.

Directed network: this type of network is where there is a clear distinction between source (the sender of a tie) and target (the receiver of the tie); relationships between two nodes are recorded as either asymmetric, mutual, or null. Asymmetric relationships are those where a nomination is unidirectional (i.e. when only one person claims to know/be friends/to have spoken with the other person); a mutual (reciprocal) relation is when both nominate each other; and a null relation is when there is no connection or link that exists.

Undirected network: this type of network makes no distinction between sender (the person who contacted someone else for support or advice) and target (the person who had been contacted for support or advice). Simply once someone says they know someone, we assume the reverse; that the other person knows them.

Connected component: this type of network is a complete network or sub-network where every node is at least connected to one other node, i.e. there must exist a path such that any two nodes can be connected starting from point A to point Z. If there exists a node K in the network where it is not possible to connect a path between any other node in the network, then we say the network is disconnected.

Giant component: is the subnetwork found by extracting the component with the largest number of connected nodes in the network.

Node centrality: measures of a node's "importance" within a network and is often defined in terms of;

Degree: Number of nodes a node is connected to (both sending and receiving ties).

Indegree: Number of nodes nominating a node (receiving a tie).

Outdegree: Number of nodes a node nominates (sending a tie).

Closeness: Proximity to each node in the network.

Betweenness: The count of how many times a node interupts or lies on the path of shortest distance between two other nodes. (Frequency at which this node connects every other node in the network using the shortest path.)

PageRank: A link analysis measure that calculates the importance of a node based on the importance of the nodes connected to it.

Authority: A link analysis measure that retrieves the most relevant nodes based on the incoming ties. The more a node is linked to nodes that are recognised as "hubs", i.e. primary sources of information, the higher the authority score.

Hubs: A link analysis measure that retrieves the most relevant nodes based on the outgoing ties. The more a node is linked to nodes that are recognised as "authorities", i.e. primary receivers of information, the higher the hub score.

3.2 Network centrality

Network centrality is a measure of a node's ties relative to the ties present in the network and the distribution of ties throughout the network. For example, we can determine the extent to which the "importance" of a node in a network or the "power" of a node in a network is concentrated in a few nodes by examining whether the network's degree distribution is normally distributed or skewed.

Degree distribution: Frequency distribution of degree values of nodes. A skewed degree distribution, where there are a few high degree (popular) nodes and many low degree (periphery) nodes, is evidence of preferential attachment (i.e. the more connected a node is, the more likely it is to make new connections), and therefore concentrated power.

Density: Volume of connections in a network. It is the number of ties relative to the number of all possible ties. A density is 0 for a graph without edges and 1 for a complete graph.

Average Path Length: Average shortest (geodesic) distance between each starting and ending node (i.e. the average number of steps one has to take across the network for connecting two separate individuals).

Diameter: Longest of all shortest (geodesic) paths between each starting and ending node (i.e. after calculating all shortest paths, the length that is the furtherest apart from one node to the other is the diameter). This measure is used to guage the overall size of the network or the longest distance it would take to reach the node furtherest away in the network (i.e. the distance from one end of the network to another.).

3.3 Connectivity and social cohesion

Connectivity and cohesion properties refer to the direction, frequency and consistency of relations between nodes and the nodes in their neighbourhood [a personal or ego network that only includes nodes a node is connected to]. This includes the study of dyads (relations between 2-nodes), triads (relations between 3-nodes), clusters and cliques (subset of densely connected ties or subgraphs), and structural holes (the absence of vital ties or redundancy of close-knit ties). These measures can be examined through the following properties:

3.3.1 Triads

Connectivity and cohesion properties refer to the direction, frequency and consistency of relations between nodes and the nodes in their neighbourhood [a personal or ego network that only includes nodes a node is connected to]. This includes the study of dyads (relations between 2-nodes), triads (relations between 3-nodes), clusters and cliques (subset of densely connected ties or subgraphs), and structural holes (the hole (absence) of vital ties vs redundancy (presence) of close-knit ties). These measures can be examined through the following properties:

Reciprocity: Ratio of nodes in a nodes neighbourhood that a node is connected to that reciprocate ties.

Hierarchy: Number of triads in a nodes neighbourhood where there is a consensus on the directionality of ties (e.g. many subordinates nominating one boss or followers nominating one leader). A high value indicates a high dependency rate where power or information is concentrated in a few nodes.

Transitivity: Fraction of all triangles in a nodes neighbourhood where a node is connected to a node that is connected to another node that it is also connected to (e.g a friend of a friend is a friend).

Constraint: The extent to which a node has the same ties as other nodes in their neighbourhood. While having many close redundant ties can offer support for those most vulnerable, it can also constrain those that seek to grow outside of their environment and achieve a competitive advantage.

3.3.2 Clustering

The structural cohesion of a network can be defined as the minimum number of actors who, if removed from the network, would disconnect it. A key measure for overall network cohesion is estimated through the Clustering Coefficient that indicates the number of routes and paths available in connecting the network. A closely related measure is the articulation point(s) of a graph which represent vulnerabilities in a connected network. These are single points that are vital to the function and resilience of the network. Their removal would lead to a failure or fragmentation of the network.

Clustering Coefficient: Extent to which links in a network follow a transitive property (i.e. likelihood of node i being connected to node k given that i is connected to j and j is connected to k). This captures how tightly knit or cohesive the network is.

Articulation Points: The point (or cut vertex) is the vertex that if removed would disconnect a connected graph.

Another important structural feature of the network is the extent to which homophilic ties are produced. This occurs when nodes exhibiting similar attributes have a higher than expected likelihood of forming bonds with each other than with nodes that are dissimilar.

Homophily: Tendency for nodes with similar attributes to be more likely connected with each other then with nodes of dissimilar attributes.

Assortitivity: The similarity of connections in the graph with respect to the node degree. In other words, how similar they are in the number of connections they make.

3.4 Small worlds

One way to determine the extent to which ties strengthen collective interest is by assessing the network's interaction structure. Many studies attempt to evaluate the performance of different network structures based on their ability to converge to a cooperative outcome. By comparing different structures, researchers can, for instance, examine whether networks of low fragmentation (high clustering) and short average path length (short distance between individuals) increase efficiency in diffusion of cooperative strategies, similar to those found in small world networks.

Descriptive measures are very rarely intuitive and should therefore be analysed in conjunction with other features. As such, a good heuristic to follow when evaluating a network is to assess how much of the current network's features are simulated by a random process, and how closely they resemble a small world. Introduced by Watts and Strogatz (1998), a small world embodies the idea that that unlike random networks of the same size, large networks tend to have a small diameter or small **Average Path Length** and a high **Clustering Coefficient**.

Two small-world coefficients can be used to evaluate the network:

- **Sigma** = C/Cr / L/Lr. > Where C and L are respectively the average clustering coefficient and average shortest path length of G. Cr and Lr are respectively the average clustering coefficient and average shortest path length of an equivalent random graph. > A graph is commonly classified as small-world if sigma>1
- **Omega** = Lr/L - C/Cl. > Where C and L are respectively the average clustering coefficient and average shortest path length of G. Lr is the average shortest path length of an equivalent random graph and Cl is the average clustering coefficient of an equivalent lattice graph. > The small-world coefficient (omega) measures how much G is like a lattice or a random graph. Negative values mean G is similar to a lattice whereas positive values mean G is a random graph. Values close to 0 mean that G has small-world characteristics.

Section 4

Sample Description

> "Putting a tombstone on my mother's grave gave us great peace, it made things a lot better. Even though it did not get to that place we desired if we had enough funds" (Gladys Hlophe, 15 Aug 2021)

4.1 Historical background of sampled communities

The selection of communities in our qualitative study was purposive and convenient. Cohen and Manion (1986:100) argue that the most important attribute of this approach is discretion – the researcher handpicks the cases to be included based on their typicality and utility for the purpose at hand. To that end, the first design phase selected two claims: the first is an urban land claim involving a community that was forcibly removed from what is today known as the Bluff, in the southern part of the city of Durban. The second case, Mchobololo in Richmond, a rural area about 150km south-west of Durban. It is a dual case of land and financial compensation.

Our next design phase selected communities based on a similar criterion that identified community claims either at the finalised or post-settlement stage of the restitution process. Post-settlement includes claims that have been settled but are awaiting transfer or occupation of their restored land. With consultation from the respective regional offices who oversaw the settlement and finalisation process, we agreed on the following communities: Protea village, Ndabeni community, Tharfield community, and Phatheni river community, in addition to the communities included in our phase 1 study.

4.1.1 St. Xavier (Kwazulu-Natal)

The claimants in this case were forcibly removed from the coastal areas of the South Durban Basin including the areas of Bluff, Wentworth and Merepark. The removals occurred in waves beginning in the 1940s, through the 1950s until 1965. They were initially removed for the development of the St Francis Xavier Mission. However, as the study participants revealed, this period coincided with the commissioning of Standard Vacuum Oil Refinery in the area in the 1950s. While this area is mostly a residential area (making the land non-restitutable), the Engen Oil Refinery operated in the Wentworth until 2020 (producing about 120 000 barrels per day).

The total land claimed was 686ha and it was filed on 22 December 1998 and it was converted into a community claim in 2006 to include 152 households or 912 beneficiaries. Financial payments of R96 000

Figure 4.1: Site of forced removal: Xavier St. Francis

(a) Picture of a house in Bluff on the site where our respondent was removed. Source: M Ngcoya 8 Aug 2021.

were made in tranches in 2014/2015. The beneficiaries are a mix of claimants who were originally dispossessed and descendants.

4.1.2 Mchobololo (Kwazulu-Natal)

The Mchobololo claim on the other hand is in a rural area outside the town of Richmond in the southern region of KwaZulu-Natal. This land straddles the Mkhomazi River, under the Hhelele mountain, one of the most captivating scenic routes between Richmond and Bulwer. Quite unique among land restitution claims, the descendants of Duma Dhlamini, who was forcibly removed in the 1920s have a title deed in their great-grandfather's name (see figure 1, above). It is dated 10 April 1917 and transfers the property to his son Johana Dhlamini in accordance with his will of 1915. The deed documents refer to Farm

Umnyesa no. 7744 and the first date recorded on transfers is dated 27 May 1910 when it was granted to Duma Dhlamini. The land record also lists Dlamini as a transferrer to John W. Arnold in May 1923.

There were various waves of dispossession here as well starting in the 1920s and ending in the 1960s. Eight households (all Dhlamini's descendants) received land spanning some 850 hectares and another 114 households received financial compensation. The land component was restituted in 2011 and financial compensation in 2017 (totalling R25m or about R220 000 per household). In addition, the land claim also included a vast area comprising a nature reserve.

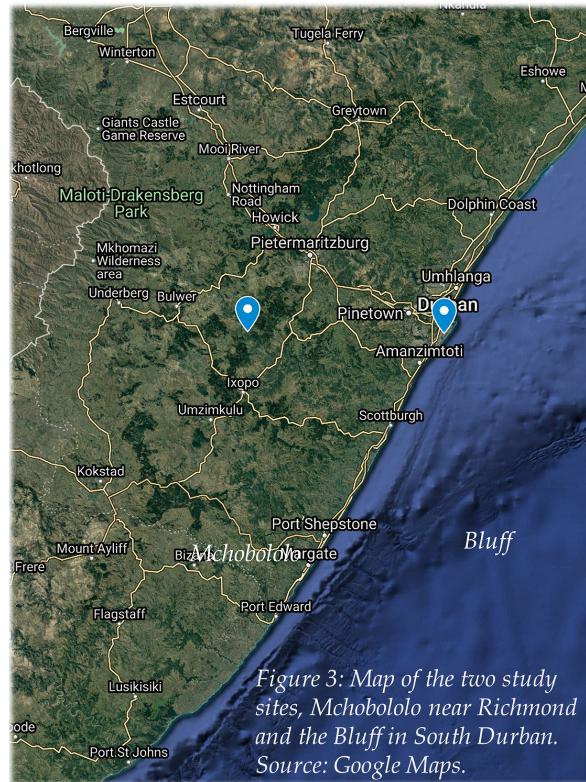


Figure 3: Map of the two study sites, Mchobololo near Richmond and the Bluff in South Durban. Source: Google Maps.

4.1.3 Phatheni (Kwazulu-Natal)

The dispossession of the Phatheni River Community happened gradually from the early 1930s to the late 1970s. The community had been living in an area comprised of farms now known as Kraal, Cleveland and Riversdale in UMgungundlovu District Municipality. In the 1950s, members of the community who had survived the first eviction were forcibly removed by a company called Springbok Timbers to allow for the planting of timber in the area. They were all relocated to Ntubeni ward until the late 1960s when the timber plantation was extended, and the community was again forcibly removed. The Ntubeni ward was later transformed into a conservation forest for the protection of flora and fauna, preservation of woods and protection of water supplies. This led to the removal of all huts that had been in that area.

The land claim was filed on 30 November 1998. The total claimed land is 2122.0547 ha. The beneficiaries are a mix of originally dispossessed individuals and direct descendants, making up a total of 266 households. It was agreed that each household would receive a financial payment R321 146.

4.1.4 Protea Village (Western Cape)

The Protea Village claim located in Cape Town, Western Cape, pertains to the restoration of land bounded by the highly affluent suburbs of Bishopscourt and the Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens.

The forced removal of the people of Protea Village took place in a series of scheduled phases between 1959 and 1970. After it had been proclaimed a "White Group Area" under the Group Areas Act Proclamation 190 of 1957 and Proclamation 34 of 1961, people were forcibly relocated as and when sub-economic

accommodations located in outskirt and segregated areas of Cape Town became available. The community of Protea Village was extremely cohesive and close-knit at the time of these removals, and thus suffered a great social loss as many were moved to different parts of the Cape Flat area. Claimants described the community as having been like “one large family”. This description of close family bonds could also be seen in the mapping of family trees where the high level of interconnectedness between many households had formed either through descent or through marriage.

Before forced removals, life in Protea Village was free of restriction and people were allowed to move around as they pleased. They further benefitted from other ancillary rights such as the ability to farm vegetables and flowers for selling purposes and have access to water rights. The land claim was filed on the 4th of April 1995. The extent of the total land claimed was 28.4 ha. At the time of settlement, the community had comprised of 86 households of which 37 were female headed. The settlement of the claim was split between claimants choosing cash and others choosing land. 46 claimants each received a cash compensation of R17 500 in 2004. In 2006, 86 claimants voted to have their land restored back to them. However, only 66.4% of this land could be restored as it now formed part of the Kirstenbosch National Gardens and Rhodes Trust. It was therefore agreed that the shortfall of 33.6% owing to the remaining land would be paid out in cash at a historical value calculation of R321 146.

Our phase 2 study sample only includes the subset of claimants that opted for land restoration as a settlement option.

4.1.5 Ndabeni (Western Cape)

The systemic removals of Ndabeni, located in Cape Town, Western Cape, were executed in terms of Natives (Urban Areas) Act No.21 of 1923 and the Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act No. 25 of 1930.

The history of Ndabeni began in 1901, when it was established as a confinement zone or area of isolation for African victims of the bubonic plague. The dock workers who were among the original inhabitants of District Six, had suffered a break-out of the plague since the early 1900s and therefore were among the first arrivals. Named after Sir Walter Stanford in 1902, Ndabeni was used to “accommodate”, at low rental, those people who were living in the slums of Cape Town. It was subsequently made illegal for Africans within the Cape Town area to live anywhere other than Ndabeni, with a few exceptions. This confinement and restriction of African people continued until the break-out of the Spanish influenza in September/October 1918. This event highlighted the plight of the people in Ndabeni. A new site in Epping was recommended in 1921 by the Cape Town Council, then in 1927, another location called Langa township was established. This is when the mass relocation from Ndabeni to Langa took place.

The Ndabeni land claim was filed on the 28th of June 1995. The extent of the total land claimed was 58.4 ha. At the time of settlement, 587 claimants had been registered to receive benefit. Given that the original land was not restorable as it was now an industrial area that formed an important part of the economy of Cape Town, an alternative land option in an area known as Wingfield Estate was offered. 408 claimants voted to resettle in Wingfield, 58 voted for alternative housing in resettlement areas other than Wingfield, and 105 chose financial Compensation. 15 of the claimants still had undefined preferences at the time of settlement. The claim, which has long been finalised, has not seen progress in terms of people gaining access or relocating to the land that was restored. Most are still living in Langa, the place of their original relocation.

Our phase 2 study sample only includes the subset of claimants that opted for land restoration as a settlement option.

4.1.6 Tharfield (Eastern Cape)

The Tharfield community in Peddie, Eastern Cape, was dispossessed of their labour tenancy rights by the Department of Population Development and Plural Affairs in the 1980s. The dispossession formed part of the Released area No. 58 Act No. 18 of 1936 which saw the transfer of land from white farm owners to the state. The purchased farms were consolidated into Ciskei homeland in 1983 and onwards.

The process of dispossession in this case was distinct in that, when land was purchased by the state, the labour tenants who remained were subject to the forces of the SADT and later Ciskei government. At some point, there had even been plans to resettle people from these farms to non-agricultural Trust land, i.e., land that they would not be allowed to own livestock of plough on. This plan was successfully opposed by the Peddie farmers and Fruit Growers Association.

The Tharfield land claim was lodged before the cut-off date of 31 December 1998. The extent of the total land claimed was 4637.4720 ha. At the time of settlement, the community had comprised of 132 households with roughly 435 individuals set to benefit. Tharfield community will be fully restored in land. The first phase of settlement was approved in 2019 for the restoration of 696.0828 ha of land and the second phase for 710.8216 ha was just approved in 2020.

Our phase 2 study sampled from the full list of claimants .

4.2 Sample profile

4.2.1 Phase one

We focused on claims that were already finalised and settled. In other words, the purpose of this segment was to engage the nuances of land restitution and shed light on the impacts on already concluded claims.

Table 4.1: Demographic characteristics of study participants

Age	Female	Male	Total
18 – 35	2	5	7
35 - 45	4	4	8
45- 55	9	3	12
55 - 65	8	5	13
65 - 75	9	3	12
75	4	2	6
Total	36	22	58

As can be seen from Table 2 and 3, we interviewed 58 individuals for the qualitative study, including 13 individuals who were originally dispossessed, 22 direct descendants and 23 great/grandchildren. Nearly two thirds of our respondents were between the ages of 45 and 75 (37 in total). Similarly, two thirds were female. In the case of the St. Xavier claim, this aligns with the beneficiary list from the Commission which showed that 67 percent of households were female-headed.

The main sources of income in the study population are old pension grant (for most the ODI and their direct descendants) and some employment (13 individuals who are employed either full-time or part-time) as Table 4 shows. Other researchers have found this to be common among beneficiaries of land claims. In a study of two communities in the Eastern Cape, Xaba (2018, vi) concludes that “Beneficiaries have

Table 4.2: Status of participants in relation to the claim

Status	Number
Originally dispossessed individual (ODI)	13
ODI Child	22
ODI Grandchild	12
ODI Great grandchild	11
Total	58

not managed to reap any meaningful benefits from the land, meaning that restitution has not led to self-sufficiency for these beneficiaries because all land beneficiaries are heavily dependent on social grants" Our findings suggest that this is the case for many beneficiaries of financial compensation, too.

Table 4.3: Main sources of beneficiary income

Main source of income	ODI	Child	Grandchild	Great grandchild
Retirement pension	2			
Old age grant	8	10		
Child grant			1	2
Self-employed		1	2	
Employed full-time		4	2	1
Employed part-time	1	2	3	
Gov grant and one other source	2	2		
Gov grant and two other sources		1		
Other source		1		3
More than one other source		1	2	

4.2.2 Phase two

Our phase two sample is in the majority African and Xhosa. This is consistent with our sample being largely based in Western Cape and Eastern Cape.

Table 4.4: Claimant description

	ODI	Direct descendant	Other	Don't know	Total
Mchobololo	0	22	0	0	22
Ndabeni	0	82	26	1	109
Phatheni	0	16	2	0	18
Protea	9	49	5	0	63
Tharfield	40	37	21	0	98
Xavier	1	33	1	0	35
Total	50	239	55	1	345

Considering how much time that has passed since land dispossessions, it is not surprising to find 14% of respondents being ODI's while close to 70% were direct descendants. We had also set a maximum age limit of 75 to our study sample, which likely reduced the rate of ODI participation.

Table 4.5: Age and gender categories

	Female	Male	Total
<18	2	3	5
18-35	8	4	12
35-45	7	6	13
45-55	28	22	50
55-64	60	44	104
65-75	44	39	83
75	41	17	58
Total	190	135	325

Table 6 shows the age distribution of respondents across gender. Females make up 57% of our sample. The largest share of both male and female respondents are between the ages of 55 and 59 years.

Data on demographics are summarised in Table 7. Our sample is 80% African, 58% were isiXhosa speakers, and 22% were isiZulu speakers. Respondents from Protea Village were mostly Coloured and English speaking. In terms of marital status, respondents were in majority married or living with a partner (38%). Traditional area/chiefdom (34%) and township areas (37%) were the most common area descriptions for where respondents lived. % of Protea Village respondents however were reported to live in formal residential areas.

Education outcomes are reported in Table 8. Highest completed education level for most respondents was a secondary education level, excluding matric (30%). Mchobololo and St. Xavier claimants mainly had certificates and diplomas not requiring a matric.

Given that the average age of claimants in our sample was around 60 years old, it fits that 47% of our respondents were not economically active. Of the respondents able to work, 76% were involved in some form of labour market activity, including self-employment, while 24% were unemployed. St. Xavier had the highest relative rate at 51%.

Table 4.6: Demographic characteristics

	Protea	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
Male	39	36	47	12	13	6	153
Gender = Female	25	79	52	12	22	14	204
Race = African	0	113	99	24	34	20	290
Race = Coloured	62	2	0	0	0	0	64
Race = Other	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Language==IsiNdebele	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Language==IsiXhosa	0	108	99	0	0	0	207
Language==IsiZulu	0	0	0	24	35	20	79
Language==Sesotho	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Language==Setswana	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Language==Afrikaans	18	2	0	0	0	0	20
Language==English	46	2	0	0	0	0	48
Married/living together	41	30	47	7	5	7	137
Divorced/separated	5	20	4	0	5	1	35
Widowed	14	25	25	5	4	7	80
Single	4	40	22	12	21	5	104
Traditional area/ chiefdom	0	0	90	11	1	19	121
Informal settlement	1	0	1	0	2	0	4
Township	2	92	5	6	31	1	137
Formal residential	61	23	2	4	0	0	90
Farm	0	0	1	3	0	0	4
Observations	64	115	99	24	35	20	357

Table 4.7: Education Status

	Protea	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
Primary education	6	16	61	2	6	9	100
Secondary education excl. matric	20	47	20	1	12	3	103
Matric	10	16	4	3	2	1	36
Diploma and/or certificate	4	19	5	11	13	3	55
Tertiary degree	12	7	3	1	0	0	23
Education = Other	5	3	0	4	0	0	12
National vocational or NATED	6	7	0	0	2	0	15
Observations	63	115	93	22	35	16	344

Table 4.8: Employment Status

	Protea	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
NEA	27	78	49	1	8	5	168
Unemployed	7	7	1	8	18	4	45
Employed	30	30	49	15	9	11	144
Observations	64	115	99	24	35	20	357

Section 5

Findings: phase 1

5.1 Intergenerational trauma

Memories of land, of belonging, and indeed of dispossession and hope are transmitted through the names of places and names parents gave their children. We interviewed several people whose names carried the history/hopes of their dispossessed parents: "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 Mchunu, 8 Oct 2021). History and memories flow through these cultural capillaries, and it seemed like it helped Ngangezwe make particular decisions to honour the wishes of his ancestors.

Our interviews also indicated that the overwhelming weight of forced removal was a familiar topic in many households. The grief was passed down from generation to generation. A focus group discussion involving two families (two elders, ODIs and two of their daughters) captured this quite well. Ntokokozo, the 46-year-old daughter of one of the descendants was usually the most articulate about historical events. She recounted stories told to her by her mother and grandfather (both of whom were forcibly removed from the Bluff). She talked in great detail about important artifacts from the 1950s that had been kept in the family for generations: a) a diary that had been kept by one of her aunts where she kept records of important family events, b) a three-legged black pot that had been kept in the family since the days in the Bluff, and c) a sword (*intshumentshu*) that her grandfather had kept and that she (Thabile) continues to guard to this day. For her *intshumentshu* and the black pot indicate the rural lives that her grandparents lived on the Bluff (meaning he hunted with the *intshumentshu* and they cooked on open wood fire flames with the three-legged pot). She went into great detail, recounting the bucolic life that she thought her grandparents had on the Bluff and then lamented the squalid conditions of their surroundings in the township.

Yet it was also clear that a few parents had shielded their descendants from the trauma of dispossession. The veil of protection was so resolute that some of them did not know the history of the dispossession, nor the long process of restitution that their parents participated in. For example, 18-year-old Sithembile indicated that her grandmother had only briefed her about the details of their removal from the Bluff in preparation for our interview. As she put it, "Makhulu (grandma) explained to me that they used to live in the Bluff then they were removed from there and they would receive money or something like that now that they live this side. She explained this to me a little bit and that said you'd call so that I would know what was going on." Our conversation with her was unsurprisingly marked by long pauses and short sentences.

This exchange with her is illustrative:

> NN: Do you remember the details of your forced removal?
>
> Sithembile: Uhm, no they didn't explain that to me.
>
> NN: What has the resolution of the land issue meant for you and your family?
>
> Sithembile: Yo, I don't know how I can respond to that.
>
> NN: Regarding the decision to opt for land or receive money, how was that decision reached?
>
> Sithembile: [Silence] I don't know they didn't tell me anything.
>
> NN: What are some of the things the restitution of land has allowed you to do that you couldn't do before?
>
> Sithembile: No. . . .No
>
> NN: Has it placed any limits?
>
> Sithembile: Concerning that, I'm not sure, I don't know
>
> (Sithembile Ndimande, 10 Aug 2021).

Another grandchild stated that she is *uqandaqhofoka* (the family's precious first grandchild, or literally an egg that could break) and as such, she is the centre of the household. However, when we asked her what she knew about the dispossession of the 1950s she said:

> "Gogo (grandma) just recently told me about it, and she said she had included me in the research [meaning this study]. My mother has married and left so the only people who are left in this house are myself and her and the little kids. She includes me in most things because if she had to suddenly die, she would leave me in this house. She hasn't explained anything to me regarding ST. Xavier, she's never said anything about it" (Nompilo Zondi, 17 Aug 2021).

5.2 Dispossession and psychosocial well-being

The long arc between a traumatic event that happened many decades ago and current psycho-social and physical state of the people we interviewed was hard to trace. Yet, many of them drew a resolute line between the current afflictions of their offspring with their families' traumatic histories. We asked one direct descendant of an ODI if the transfer of the financial asset has had any positive impact on her family relations. She told us that her family comprises of mostly women: in addition to herself, there is her mother (who has passed on), her aunt (mother's sister). Her aunt has sons who are in and out of jail. As she put it,

> "All of that is a result of poverty. Some of her children live with their fathers, I'm not even sure where they are. She used to live with her daughter, but she was shot and killed by her boyfriend and he then shot himself. She had to witness all of this and it caused her a lot of trauma, she is now an alcoholic. My cousin's children are also in and out of jail" (Thembani Mthethwa, 7 Aug 2021)

There were many tales of disappeared children or other family members. When we asked one woman about what she did with her financial compensation, she said she shared it with her children but "one of

them didn't get anything because even to this day I don't know where he is." Similarly, she wanted to share it with her departed sister's descendants, but they have also all passed away and a search for her sister's remaining grandchildren was fruitless (FDG3, Lamontville, 9 Aug 2021).

Misery also seems to have found somatic residence among many of the people we interviewed. Tales of ill health littered many of our interviews. One daughter of an ODI stated that she could not complete her grade 12 examinations because of ill health. "I have had bladder problems since then and failed my matric because I couldn't sit for exams. I was 19 when this problem started, and I have carried it for 25 years. I can't work" (Ms Mzobe 9 Sept 2021). Some were on medication for blood pressure, diabetes, and ARVs. While many did not connect their ill health to dispossession, a 69-year-old gentleman however blamed the lasting effects of forced removal for his poor health. He said he had lived in misery with his children since 1984. He was 33 years old when he fell sick: "I was admitted to a hospital in Pietermaritzburg and since then I never went back to work, I am currently left behind with two of my kids.... twins, a boy, and a girl, and their mother only in this house" (Jacob Ndlovu, 69 years old, 10 Oct 2021).

However, poor health was not a simple result of forced removal, it in turn affected people's decision making about land restitution. We asked an ODI why he chose financial compensation. He recounted that in the beginning he certainly registered for land. He was in his fifties and healthy. However, over two decades later when the claim was settled, his knees had caved in and he could not do arduous agrarian work and chose money. We also asked his daughter if she would have taken a different decision: "I also wish I could opt for land, but for health reasons I wouldn't be able to work the farm either. Therefore, I would have taken the money as well" (Ms Mzobe, 9 Sept 2021).

Many beneficiaries recounted harrowing tales of unease and stress in their households. Describing the state of her children, Duduzile Nyoni lamented that she did not know where eldest son is. "He has succumbed to the temptation of *whoonga* [an addictive drug concoction of heroine, rat poison, AIDS medications]. Even my younger son will disappear for days. I don't know whether they do this because they are unemployed and they get depressed? I'm not sure what is happening with them. *"Uyabona nje ukuthi usizi luyakwazi kubo kwabo"* (you can see that misery has found residence in my home) (Duduzile Nyoni, 15 Aug 2021).

Lindiwe's life history was one of the most tragic we heard. She has had a difficult life right from the start. Her mother was fourteen when she had her, she was still a child herself. She was taken in by welfare services and later moved in with her aunt. She had her first child at seventeen years old. She is 57 years old but still works at a retail outlet earning below minimum wage. Describing her life history, she said "I don't know what's happening, but my life has never been stable. *Angikaze ngizizwe nje ukuthi cha ngiyaphila, uNkulunkulu wangidala ngenhloso* (I have never spent a single day feeling, yes, I'm alive, that God created me purposefully). Life is so tough I can't even afford to pay for my funeral policy, even though I am currently working." Although she did not reveal it, her cousin told Lindiwe's children are in and out of jail. Here is how one of the researchers remembered her in her 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 was a welcome balm that healed them spiritually and psycho-

Figure 5.1: Mchobololo Farm, KwaZulu-Natal province

(a) Spinach growing on Mchobololo Farm. Source: M. Ngcoya 18 Sept 2021

logically. When we asked many land recipients what it has meant for them, all four households emphasised dignity and calm. For them, restitution brought calm as they have what they call their own, a foundation to built on. It brought dignity and respect. 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 Mchunu, 22 Sept 2021).

5.3 Experiences of the restitution process

Other themes generated by our research pertain, not simply to the impact of the choice or size of the compensation, but the process of restitution itself. For this section, we have divided our findings into the time/period it took for restitution to be finalised and settled and also on the communication elements.

Time: Justice delayed, justice denied?

In our interviews, it was quite clear that many claimants made decisions based on particular moments in the claim. So, when thinking about decision making, we need to think of it as a continuum. It is not as if the decision choice is a single point, a moment. For example, one of the beneficiaries said he always oscillated between land and finance depending on the context. In the beginning, he wanted land. He had clear memories of the bountiful life he had when he was a young man, living on the banks of the uMkhomazi River. He had clear memories of his upbringing there and how they were forcibly removed. Earlier on in the

restitution process, he wanted that life back he said. 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 option was no longer on the table for him. As he put it,

> "I looked at my kids and they said they couldn't do anything, my children are girls, and my wife died in 2017. So, in 2018, I had to be satisfied with money. I looked at this and because I am familiar with that place where we were removed, 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. Mzobe, 9 Sept 2021).

One respondent lamented that the process took long so that some of the people who were originally dispossessed had passed on. Her grandmother had filed the application, but she died before she could receive compensation. She expressed sadness that the compensation meant different things to them compared to her grandmother who was the original claimant:

> "The financial compensation meant something very different to the people who received because for them it was just getting money but for my grandmothers, it meant something else… That's what hurt that when it arrived the people who were supposed to receive it had passed on and I'm sure many families faced the same thing it would have been better if they didn't come but the elders had that hope until they passed on without anything happening" (Funani Ndaba, 5 Sept 2021).

Temporal issues also seemed to have coloured the lives of the victims of dispossession in other ways. From our interviews, it appears that we need to pay attention to not only the final act of forced removal but the times and events leading up to it. While the act of forcible removal was summary for some claimants, for others the process was elongated, some waiting years to be removed. Living with this axe of dispossession hanging over your head for a long time caused great anxiety and other psychological harm. So, in this case, dispossession was not something that happened to you after your land was taken away, it was an elongated process: "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. Mzobe FGD3, Ematendeni, Donnybrook, 9 Sept 2021).

Communication: Rumour and rumours of rumour

Earlier on in our research when we asked beneficiaries about their choices and how they made them, one stated that he had wanted land. He said he had been adamant about land from the beginning but could not take that option because he had heard that you needed to first pay R45,000 to be part of the group that wanted land. This was strange to us as this was the first time we had heard such a requirement. We asked whether it was the Project Officer who had told him this. No, it was other claimants, he said, or as he put it, *"kwaba inzwabethi nje"* (it was just rumours of rumour). We asked whether he had confirmed with the Commission through the Project Officer if this was indeed true:

> "No we don't ask him; and I blame my ignorance and lack of education (*yikhona ukuvaleka kokungafundi*). I herded cattle and didn't go to school; that's why… if you lack education you eat whatever you are fed, we ate that because….. I look at this and…The others heard this

> but it is hard for them to talk about it because they all received that information, almost all the people we were with received that information just like how I am not taking the R45000 matter casually, it was a meeting" (P Mzobe, 9 September 2021).

He was not the only one to cite rumour as an important element in his decision making. We asked another claimant how she reached her decision: "I did hear rumours that some would be given flats, I just went with the option at hand. I know there is no land available in Bluff where we were removed, that area is now occupied by whites" (Joyce Nduli, 9 Sept 2021). Similarly, another claimant from the St. Xavier case said:

Lack of communication, or poor communication among the 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 therefore, profound disappointment. Sometimes beneficiaries claimed they missed meetings because nobody informed them, or they heard after the fact, or not at all. Here is an exchange with a number of claimants and beneficiaries that captures this poor communication and its effects:

> Anele: So, when it came to the compensation, who attended the meetings? When it came to decision making, who was responsible?
>
> Mama Ndawo: I attended the meetings together with my sister Ntombi. She passed on before the matter was resolved. [At this point, Mama Sithole interjects]
>
> Mama Sithole: They hadn't heard about the compensation. My father told me to come here and tell them so that they could apply. I then took both of them to apply for the compensation. I also know of one family that never submitted their claim, the Cele family. I met their daughter Lindiwe and asked her if they had submitted their claim, she said she knew nothing about that.
>
> Thabile: That was the biggest problem. There was no official communication regarding the meetings. I have never changed my cell phone number. Both my mother and I use the same number, but we never received any formal communication. No one from the committee ever called us to inform us of any developments
>
> (FGD2, Lamontville 9 Aug 2021).

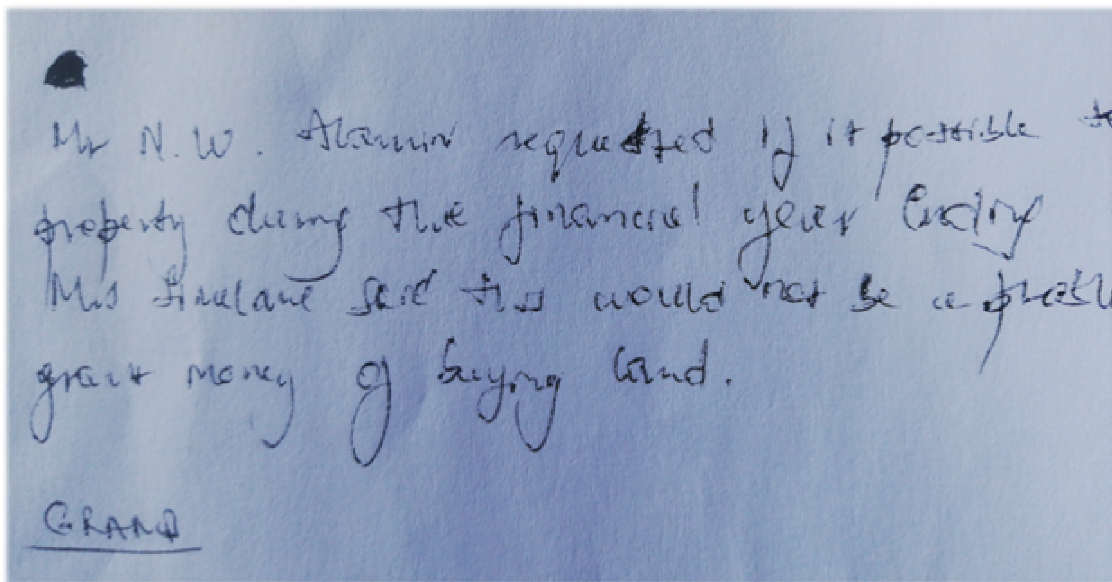
Even when there was communication, our respondents cited additional problems. In the case of Mchobololo, the respondents complained about the use of English in meetings and in other important documents. They were mostly rural elderly people who did not receive formal education. Sometimes when they went to meetings, the project officers would use English. One claimant said he was a member of the committee and he would receive meeting agendas and minutes written in English with no translation. As he put it, this "Big English" (*isiNgisi esikhulu*) would make him emotional:

> "I get confused when they do things in their Big English instead of IsiZulu because we don't know English, we know IsiZulu. So when the people you are with want to tell you things but speak in English so that we don't understand, you end up not knowing what was said. . . I then have to ask other people what the meeting was about. I am now not getting information from the horse's mouth, and they tell me whatever they want and I'll be none the wiser" (P. Mzobe 9 Sept 2021).

He proceeded to pull out a folder and show us some meeting minutes. [We wondered why he still had these records nearly a quarter century later.] The minutes were handwritten, and he asked us what the document said:

> “I see my name there, but I have no idea what they say I said. They say DP Mzobe but I don’t know what they were saying about him, this DP. I am DP Mzobe. But when I look at it, I can’t read what was being said in that meeting. I don’t know what it says I did at the meeting. Whether it was good or not I didn’t know, all I know is IsiZulu and when I tried reading it I couldn’t and the person who wrote this has handwriting that looks like that of a doctor they are really educated, that’s a doctors handwriting. Did I say something they didn’t like?” (P. Mzobe 9 Sept 2021).

We went on to read and translate for him: “The handwriting says that you requested Mrs. Simelane to call a meeting with the community so she could explain the progress report to the community. You also suggested that in your next meeting once they have evaluated the land and how much it would cost they should tell you its worth. That’s what is what the English says.”



Mr N.W. [illegible] requested if it possible to [illegible]
property during the financial year ending
Mrs Simelane said this would not be a [illegible]
grant money of buying land.

[illegible]

Figure 5.2: Handwritten minutes of a meeting with a Mchobololo Project Officer

(a) Source: N. Ngubane, 9 Sept 2021.

This murky world of rumour and Big English contributed to people taking what was on the table and not asking any questions because they felt they had no voice. Or, as one woman put it when we asked her how she felt about the choice she took, ”Well what can I say, if someone says here’s what I’m giving you, you can’t reject that, you take what they give you because they know best, *wena awunamlomo* (you have no mouth)” (Joyce Nduli, 5 August 2021).

It makes sense then that many children of ODIs claimed that they were not involved in the decision making processes around restitution. If their parents had “no mouth” in the process, it follows that they could not share information with their children either. If their parents were still alive during the course of the

claim, few children expressed intimate knowledge of the decisions that were made and how they were made. For example, here is one of our researcher's fieldnotes after a phone call with a descendant of a claimant:

> "Zinhle (46) sees herself as a third party to all of this. She doesn't think it involves or affects her in any way. The money was for her mothers and her siblings, she had no part in any of the decisions. They are not people who complain a lot, they are grateful to have food on their table" (PN, Fieldnotes, 5 Aug 2021).

The issue of "having no mouth" seemed to have coloured our respondents' views about the process of restitution in general. We were surprised by how willing many of them were to talk about the land from which they were removed, their eagerness to talk about the fateful day they were removed, and the minute details of that horrible day. In fact, they were grateful were there to listen. When we asked if they had not told these stories to the Land Claims commission, they repeated that cry about not having a mouth. But many of them also expressed deep gratitude that the government, through us, was following up on them. As one put it, "It means our names live on somewhere, we have not been erased so we are happy if the government still remembers us" (Teresa Nyawose, 5 Aug 202). Similarly, introducing his family members during a focus group discussion, another elder said, "Thank you, we are grateful that the leaders care enough to do a follow up." (Baba uShelembe, FDG2, 13 Oct 2021).

5.4 Quality of life

Findings from the qualitative research indicate that most of the intended beneficiaries of financial compensation (whether rural or urban) had a negative view of the impact of the restitution on their lives. This included not just the result (some had wanted land), but the size of the financial amount and the process of restitution itself. This section focuses on major themes that were generated by the research: connection with ancestors, housing, and livelihoods.

An important consideration during our evaluation was to ask what people did with their financial compensation. Although they used the money for a combination of things, we focused on what they considered meaningful things they did. Many repaired homes, relocated, shared the money, settled debts, two started businesses, but the majority seemed to have used it to cover their basic needs. However, the most recurring theme was sorting relations with ancestors.

Ancestors

The ability to perform cultural activities, especially spiritual connections with ancestors seemed important to both urban and rural claimants and across restitution types. Connection with ancestors was repeatedly cited as an important consideration by the families beneficiaries of land restitution in the Mchobololo claim. For them, it would have been sacrilege to take money over land. In fact, they were adamant that they would not take alternative land either. They wanted the same lands where their ancestors' bones and spirits were located. Recalling their process, Mathuba Mchunu said the Commissioner tried to offer them a different farm in Richmond that was supposedly more valuable:

> "We said no, we just want had 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 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" (Mathuba Mchunu, 5 Sept 2021).

When we visited him in September 2021, they were in the process of building a traditional hut on the farm, a structure that he said needed to be erected in order to perform a ceremony for the ancestors. They will have a healing ceremony soon to "tell the elders or ancestors that that the land that the white people took has been returned; that even though they lost so much with the forced removals, but now the land is back, they need to know" (Mathuba Mchunu 14 Sept 2021).

IT'S OUR LAND AGAIN

ABOVE: Zwelihle Mbhele, Nora Phoswa, Bhekisisa Mbhele, Elliot Dlamini, Bongekilie Ngubane chose the money over the land.
LEFT: Zwelihle Dlamini, Nhlanhleni Dlamini and Sandile Dlamini.

Families forcibly removed from land in KZN almost a century ag share their joy at successfully reclaiming what is theirs

PICTURES AND TEXT: ZAMA CHUTSHELA

THEY never thought this day would come. But final- 114 households – and eight chose land. sion on restitution and land rights.

Figure 5.3: Press coverage of Mchobololo Farm

(a) This copy was kept in a folder with the 1917 deed of transfer and other important claim documents. Source: Drum Magazine 2 April 2018

Similarly, a recipient of financial compensation in the townships stated that a traditional ceremony had to be performed: "We couldn't just use the money any old how; it was not meant for that. A ceremony is what the ancestors wanted. *Abantu abangasekho bayakhuluma* (ancestors speak)" Zinhle Nduli, 5 Aug 2021). According to her, your life is 'calmer' when the ancestors have been attended to.

Another recipient of financial compensation in the Mchobololo claim divvied her money thus:

> "We got about R200 000, that was a lot of money, money I had never dreamt of, can you imagine, son. I said, now I can free myself from domestic work, which I did. I bought some cottages in eMbali township to make extra money. I get some money from it, yes. But I built a house for myself in rural areas, eSkobho so that I can have a nice place with fresh air and practice tradition. I sent my children to school, so they can get good jobs and not be like me. Things like that. Yes, I also thanked the ancestors and we slaughtered cows for them" (N Makhubu, 3 Oct 2021).

Even for people who did not perform a traditional ceremony to connect with the ancestors, this was an important concern. We asked 60-year-old Thembani Mthethwa what it would take for her family to move up or down the stages of progress and she cited roots and connectedness with her ancestors. She stated that when she retires, she will want to relocate away from townships to places with more land and tradition such as Adams Mission and eMbumbulu so she could bring her "entire family to live under one roof... to put roots somewhere." She called this *imuva* (history, rootedness, background, or literally 'a back' and proceeded to say: "The township is not a place you can call home, you can live there for work purposes and that's it. I think families that have *imuva* are better off. Our family and all the other families who were forced to leave Bluff don't have *imuva*" (Thembani Mthethwa, 7 Aug 2021).

Housing and restitution

A significant finding from our qualitative research is the preponderance of housing and shelter in discussions of land restitution. For example, a word count of shelter/house/housing/home in a 45min interview we conducted with Thembani, yielded 27 mentions. Similarly, during the focus group discussion with the Mchobololo beneficiaries of financial compensation, one of the strongest refrains about the unkept promises of government was that when they were forcefully removed, the government had promised it would relocate them and build houses for them. Instead, they were cast off to a cold and remote area of Donnybrook, close to the Drakensberg mountains. It was winter they were dumped into refugee tents. To this day, the area is called Ematendeni (the place of tents). Individual interviews with other beneficiaries emphasised this complaint.

Figure 5.4: Restitution in Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal

(a) A beneficiary's home in Richmond. The house on the far right was built with money received through restitution. Source: M Ngcoya 9 Sept 2021

Housing was also a recurring theme among the St. Xavier beneficiaries:

> "There are nine of us. We still live in that four-room house that my parents were moved to in 1964. It has been difficult. Even the compensation we received didn't do much to help our situation, it was too little" (Duduzile Nyoni, 15 August 2021).

The supremacy of shelter in many of our study's participants' considerations became clear when we asked one ODI about the stages out of poverty. Here is how she described people moving in and out of the stages of poverty:

> AN: How would you describe a poor family?
>
> JGM: Yes, you will find that the house is falling apart and they still live there because they are absolutely poor and they have no place/land.
>
> AN: And someone who is moderately poor?
>
> JGM: This person lives in a better house, in a better neighbourhood, with no hazards close to them.
>
> AN: A stable family?
>
> JGM: This is someone who was able to secure land that is enough for them to build and live with their family, and do whatever they wish to do at their own house/home.
>
> AN: And someone who is well off?
>
> JGM: At this point my child, those who are well off, live in luxurious houses. I'm just making an example, close to the beach. . . and just having the choice to decide where you live and money doesn't factor in.
>
> (Thoko Mhlongo, 4 Aug 2021).

Yet there was an overwhelming sense that the amount of money they received was too small, not enough to do justice to their ancestors nor to themselves. This was particularly true among the beneficiaries of the St. Xavier financial compensation. This was exemplified by two respondents who said they could only buy sweets with the money.

Sweet Restitution?

As one son described it, his mother gave them some of the compensation money and said they should buy sweets for the grandchildren.

> "So comparing the weight of the things that I would have liked for them to be able to do for themselves [his parents]. . . I wouldn't say there was anything that she was able to do. Because, yes my mother did give us some money for us to be able to buy her grandchildren sweets, in fact that is what she called it... She said it was [money] for us to be able to buy her grandchildren sweets" (David Mhlongo, 15 Augu 2021).

We were initially taken aback by this description. The weighty matters of traumatic dispossession did not seem to match with "sweets for her grandchildren". Upon reflection we understood this to mean that for this family and this grandmother in particular, the compensation was so small as to equate to money for snacks. Instead of being insulted by the payment, she thought to use it to cement her relationship with her

grandchildren. Similarly, when we asked Ms Ndawo what she did with her compensation, she also mentioned sweets: "Yes, I gave them small amounts, *amaswidi okuthi ugogo uyakuthanda"* (sweets to let you know grandma loves you) (Mama Ndawo, 9 Aug 2021).

Yet others were able to invest they compensation money in some business. Although he complained bitterly about the "ludicrous amount" they received, Thanda (43) said his family invested the money into a small business, renting out cold storages and portable toilets. He was struggling to compete with bigger companies because he lacked land to store his equipment, but he was satisfied that he and his wife were entrepreneurial and that the compensation allowed them to pursue their dreams of financial independence, small as it was.

The multiple affordances of land

While the land beneficiaries all expressed a high degree of satisfaction with their decision to opt for land, it was clear that working the land was a struggle. They have diversified their operations and kept many of the operations they inherited from the previous owner. In particular, the hospitality segment is a key segment of the farm operations. Since getting the land back in 2011, they have expanded the number of lodges from 7 to 12 lodges. Yet, they have not been able to pay any dividends to the 8 trustees. Why, we asked? One of the trustees cited losses due to the COVID-19 pandemic. But when we asked about the period prior, he confessed that the business was not making enough to yield any dividends. "We've never divided any profit amongst each other, there isn't any money. It's been 9 years since it's been open and we've never divided any profit from the lodge" said one trustee (Ngangezwe Mchunu, 22 Sept 2021). Prior to the pandemic, they were paying the white business manager R30,000 a month.

Yet they were highly satisfied with their decision. In addition to the hospitality business, the trust also had cattle, trees and were in the process of approving architectural plans for a 400-seater conference/event centre. Two households conducted agricultural activities on the farm and a charcoal business. During our participant observation, we worked the land with the with the claimant and, his two sons and a nephew (all in the late 20s). The young people stated that they found the land as an important buffer: you could run to the city to explore options knowing that you had something to fall back on at home. One of them had a job in the city but worked on the farm during weekends to secure this 'buffer' as he called it. The second family also involved two generations in the farming operation. Although one of the three stated that she would leave the farm if she found a job, her sister pointed out that she cannot see herself ever working for someone else again.

Their commitment to working the land notwithstanding, it was clear from observing the project that they still need greater support. On one of the days that we visited the farm, they were troubled by some cattle from the neighbouring community. The poor fences and gates seemed to be a constant concern. They also expressed that they would benefit from extension services and markets. Because they are a private farm, the agricultural extension officer drives right past them supporting various village projects in areas under traditional governance. They claimed she has told them that they do not qualify for her support as they are no longer typical small-scale farmers (even though they really are farming plot sizes that are similar to many 'typical' small-scale farmers in rural KZN).

One stomach, many mouths!

Figure 5.5: Charcoal production site in Mchobololo

(a) Source: M Ngcoya 18 Sept 2021

A constant complaint we heard was that government considered the swirling endurance of pain divisible; that compensation for the cutting, acute wounds of the past could be divided and distributed. As one elderly woman put it, when the government says the descendants of a victim of dispossession form one claim, it can lead to unjust results if there are many generations of descendants under the claim. *"Izingane zesisu esisodwa"* is how she phrased it, or children of the same stomach/womb. Her two sisters have passed away and their grandchildren did not receive anything because they were too young to apply for themselves at the time. Here's how our conversation in a focus group discussion went:

> Mvu: Then did you submit the claim under your grandfather or your father?
>
> Woman1: If your parents had nine children, then the money would be divided between the nine children, excluding those who have passed on.
>
> Woman2: My father had three wives, they said that they would divide the money between the wives. It didn't matter if one wife had more children than the others, they received an equal share.
>
> Man4: That's what I was trying to explain, there are no other family members, we are one family. My father had one wife, we had to share the money with the wives of his two brothers. They

> don't even live here, one is in Pinetown, the other in Hlokozi. Their husbands were supposed to be compensated individually, but that never happened. We only received R75000 and had to split it in many directions. In the end it was just too little and meaningless
>
> (FGD3, Donnybrook, 9 Sept 2021).

Another claimant stated that she shared her money with her sister's grandchildren as she felt bad for them. "I gave them small amounts, to show them that I love them" (Mama Ndawo, FGD2, Lamontville, 9 Aug 2021). Similarly, Duduzile claimed that the money was not enough for her and her family as she had to divide it among many people:

> "When we got the money, it had to be divided among the surviving members of the family, if they had passed on then it went to their children. So the money was divided into four. My nieces were still in school at the time so most of the money went into paying for their school fees. We couldn't fix the house we're currently living in. With my share of the money we were able to buy groceries for a while, but we are struggling financially" (Duduzile Nyoni, 15 Aug 2021).

The importance of the size of the compensation and the number of people under the claim seems clear from our interviews. Although all our St Xavier interviewees stated that they were not happy with the amount they received, it seemed to have made a difference to some claimants who did not have many beneficiaries under the claim. A good example is Mqondisi Luthuli. His family was forcibly removed from the Bluff in his youth and he was an only child. He now has five descendants but three passed away. When we asked him what he did with his financial compensation, he seemed to have done a lot more than his contemporaries. He renovated his house in Glebelands, and later they moved to another section of Umlazi and they relocated again to section W of Umlazi. He proudly stated that when they moved the second time to his current location, they were able to keep the previous house in section N and gave it to his son when he got married. He connected his ability to do all of that to the financial compensation.

On another hand Thembani Mthethwa cited a significant sum of money she received following a work-related car accident. "I received a pay-out from that and was able to extend my house. I added a garage and two bedrooms. Yes I got hurt in that car accident, but my life improved somewhat after that. It also allowed me to put a gravestone on my parents' grave, as they were laid to rest in the same grave" (Thembani Mthethwa, 7 Aug 2021). It took a car accident for a beneficiary of land restitution to feel that her "life improved somewhat".

What was also dispiriting during our research was to meet families that had seemingly done everything that is expected of them, and yet struggling to make ends meet. The Ndawo family is a case in point. We met in their modest, match-box size but well cared for living room. They live in a duplex council house (with another family on the top floor). There are three generations comprising of nine people, including a cousin's child. Because of space shortage, they have built another room adjacent to the main house, dangerously close to the main road. The descendants of the ODI have earned their postsecondary qualifications but still cannot find meaningful work. So, we asked them how they support themselves.

> Thabile: *Ey, siphila ngoJesu* (through Jesus Christ). We used to have jobs but not anymore. I used to work for a private company in the health sector. My sister was teaching in Nkandla, but the contract ended because she did not have the required qualification in education. At the time they were looking for people with a degree in education. She studied at UCT but for a different course.

AN: How many of your mother's children finished school?

Thabile: Three of us. One is in his third year of university. My sister went to UCT and I also studied but not through university.

(FGD2, Lamontville, 9 Aug 2021).

Figure 5.6: Housing quality in Lamontville

(a) The beneficiary, her four children and five grandchildren occupy the lower floor of the duplex on the right and the external structure in the middle of the picture.

However, some beneficiaries stated that while they were satisfied by their decision (and would make the same decision again), they were not satisfied with the outcome. For example, Mrs Nduli chose financial compensation because she did not like the flats she was shown and would still choose money again. However, she was not satisfied with the amount she received as she felt it neither matched the violence that they endured nor the value of the property they lost. Answering our question about life in the Bluff, she said:

"(Sighs) I lived there from 1946 to 1964 when we were moved. So no, I was not satisfied with the amount. We had plenty of land back then, we could farm and grow our own crops. *Yayipholile indawo esasihlala kuyona* (it was a rustic place). [But then when we were moved to] the township, there were ten of us in a four-room house. It was a confusing time. We left behind everything we had known. Our houses were bigger than the ones they moved us to, we had plenty of land

> and we had livestock. *Sasuswa lapho safakwa ekopini nje!* (They removed us and packed us in a can.) We had nowhere else to go so we stayed there. It was a difficult time" (Joyce Nduli, 5 August 2021).

Similarly, at the end of one of our conversations, we asked participants in a FGD what they would tell the Land Claims Commissioner if she were in the room. Thabile quickly said, "First I would ask her where she lives, and I would want to see where she lives. Then I would take her to Bluff to see the area where our parents used to live. Did you see that huge house on Marine Drive? Then I would ask if she thinks they did alright by us."

5.5 Social Cohesion

Higher levels of psychosocial well-being and social cohesion are potentially effect modifiers and may well play a role in determining how well land restitution works as a tool to lift beneficiary households out of poverty. We used life history interviews approach to examine the impact of land restitution on family dynamics and social cohesion among beneficiary communities.

Instead of social cohesion, we found strife and discord among beneficiaries. However, the source of the dissension was not always clear. Was there more discord among groups who got financial compensation or land? Did the degree of poverty and people's expectations cause strife or did the size of the community who got land matter? Did the level of education of the Board of Trustee or CPA members matter? Or was it their style of leadership? From our research, it seems like there is less conflict among recipients of financial compensation. Their interactions generally ended when the claim was settled.

When we attended another final meeting of a restitution case (also in Richmond), although the community representatives were exasperated by community questions and demands, they expressed relief that this was their ultimate meeting as a group. In land claims however, beneficiaries must interact with one another seemingly in perpetuity. Research abounds showing how land restitution programmes have failed due to discordant group dynamics. In meetings with members of another claim that did not form part of our present study, a member of a Community Property Association (CPA) of 78 beneficiaries in Richmond stated the following:

> "I got accused by a relative of 'eating' their money. I mean, this is a family member, when she saw me pushing a shopping trolley out of Spar. She said, "*hho hho*, you will only be satisfied when you have 'eaten' all our money." I mean, for real now? I can't buy groceries? I need to repair my roof, but I can't even think about. People will say I am eating their money for my family. It's ridiculous but it's dangerous" (Interview with a female member of CPA, Richmond, 7 June 2021).

A fellow CPA member concurred. There was buyer's remorse among the majority of claimants:

> "They are done with the land. They want money. But what can we do? We've had this land for many years now but it's making no money. All the grants we have received from government have gone back into the project. All the equipment we bought, the fences, etc. People say we are eating their money. They are done. The committee had to be disbanded because the hotheaded people wanted their own committee that would represent them effectively with the Commission. We, well, we were seen as weak. Guns. They bring guns to meetings. But where has that led us?

> We are here. You can't get money. We got land, that's what we wanted, but now I think it was a mistake. We are suffering" (Interview with a male CPA member, Richmond, 7 June 2021).

However, the Mchobololo case suggests that a smaller number (in their case, 8 households) may be more manageable. Although there are some disagreements, it seems like they manage them well. It may also help that they are all blood relatives as they share lineage. This is not some re-enacted community chained together by some imagined ties and obligations that perhaps were veritable and solid in the past but are no longer there, as often seems to happen in many community land claims. They also seem to have liveable relations with the surrounding communities. We asked them how they maintain respectful interactions with the neighbours:

> "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 Mchunu, 5 Sept 2021).

Among some beneficiaries of financial compensation, we heard many stories of social discord as well. While this did not extend to community conflict, there were stories of families who are not in communication. But again, in this context, it was not clear whether the financial compensation led to discord or whether the relationship was already soiled before the claim was filed. Mzobe Junior's story illustrates this:

> "My father had two wives, we filed for our side, but then when the money came, the other family received money even though I was the one who had been running around fighting for my father's dignity. They just sat there but when the money came, they were chomping at the bit ready for the money. It was not fair. "

We asked whether relations with his father's other children had been well before the claim. "We were OK but the money came between us. We are still in touch with them but it's no longer the same." We asked an 18-year-old how the financial compensation affected his larger family. He said his father represented the family in the claim and his family bothered him a great deal. They were jostling for the money before it arrived and had made big plans. When the amounts proved to be smaller than their dreams, it ploughed great division between his father and his aunt (Thomas, 18 years old, 10 Oct 2021)

Land restitution cases are often rife with discord. The breakdown of whatever social fabric had been shattered by apartheid is a common lamentation among beneficiaries of land restitution particularly in KwaZulu-Natal but also elsewhere. The dissipation of *ubuntu* was a common theme we heard. Yet, we also heard and saw people who had been bonded together by the pain of forced removal work hard to maintain the fabric of their ties. The St. Xavier community were generally in praise of Mama Sithole for acting as a glue that holds them together. Indeed, during our research she was the person we called the most when we needed to find telephone numbers or information about the claim.

Section 6

Findings: phase 2

6.1 Experiences of the restitution process

6.1.1 Time

When asked to think about what made them most happy about their experience with the land restitution process, a respondent gave the following answer:

> "The fact that we got money eventually because it took a long time. I used to work in tree plantations and it pained me a lot because we worked there because we were oppressed" (Phatheni respondent on happiness over the restitution process).

Psychological healing is arguably the most important type of "restorative justice" that the restitution programme can hope to bring about. However, the amount of time it has taken to affect this justice has likely muted the real impact on beneficiary's livelihoods. Because this present research is not principally focused on measuring the impacts of restitution on psychological outcomes, we merely report the levels of depression and stress as captured by the survey tools. Using Cohen's perceived stress scale, we asked a series of questions about the ways in which the respondent might have felt in the past month, and how often they felt that way based on 5-point scale of 0-never to 4-very often. Examples include how often the respondent felt "unable to control the important things in your life" or felt that "difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them". Across all 10 questions, 40% or more respondents answered with a 2-sometimes they felt that way. Higher scores indicating less stress were found when stress questions were framed or worded positively, like "how often have you felt that you were on top of things?" Out of a total score of 40, stress across the communities was measured at: Mchobololo – 13.7, Ndabeni – 13.6, Phatheni - 11.1, Tharfield – 10.2, Xavier – 9.6, and Protea - 6.9.

Depression, on the other hand, is measured using the CES-D-10 score which indicates the extent of self-reported symptoms of depression experienced by the respondent in the past week. Some questions asked were whether the claimant had in the past week felt "hopeful about the future" or if they "had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing". On a scale from 1-rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day) to 4-all of the time (5-7 days), respondents in large responded with 1-rarely or none of the time. For the positive-directed questions on hopefulness and happiness, 4-all of the time and 3-occasionally or a moderate amount of the time were the most common responses. Out of a total index of 30, depression across the communities was

measured at: Xavier – 9.9, Phatheni- 9.8, Ndabeni – 9.1, Mchobololo – 8.3, Tharfield – 5.7, and Protea - 3.4.

6.1.2 Communication

When we investigated the issue of poor communication and lack of information, we found 51% of respondents reporting to have heard a rumour about their claim that they later found out was incorrect or untrue.

> "There wasn't enough information given to all family members so there was a lot of confusion that then caused conflict because people had questions but no one wanted to answer" (Mchobololo respondent on conflict within the family/household).

Specifically, in Ndabeni and Tharfield, where over two thirds of the respondents said they had come across this issue before. In contrast, 84% of respondents in Protea say they have never experienced such an incident. Furthermore, when asked where beneficiaries of a claim received most of their information, responses were mostly consistent (49%) across the communities. Attending a community meeting was the most favoured way of gaining access to information and updates. Close friends, which had a significantly lower share, was the second most preferred source (8%). A further source frequently mentioned, though not included in the options we presented, was that of family members.

6.1.3 Quality of life

> "There wasn't an actual agreement within the family on what should happen exactly. A part of the family members hid the truth about the claim to a point that when it was finalized they took the money and distributed it amongst themselves without some of us. We only found out after they had spent some of it" (Xavier respondent on conflict within the family/household).

Recognising how much the options workshop provides an opportunity for community engagement and collective decision making, we asked respondents about their participation. This would essentially tell us something about whether the choices that ultimately get decided upon reflect the collective choice of claimants and therefore the broader community they represent. 52% of claimants said they participated in the options workshop. Of those that participated, 53% had voted for land and 44% for cash, the remaining 2% voted other or said they "don't know". On a community level, 100% of Phatheni respondents voted for cash, while 96% of Protea village voted land. Option workshop participation was 16% in Phatheni and 80%in Tharfield. Moreover, involvement in some form of a settlement planning committee or group that was in charge of making decisions about how the community would use and manage the restored land or develop the community was 34% before the claim was finalised. Since the finalisation, 22% of claimants have remained involved in post-settlement planning activities.

6.1.4 Housing

To determine the extent to which restitution claimants benefited from the programme, in addition to receiving land or cash, we included a question on whether respondents had received housing. Less than 1% said yes. We then asked about cash, and 18% reported to have received cash since the claim had been finalised. The largest share of cash recipients was in KZN, which is in line with St. Xavier and Mchobololo claims being

settled, wholly or partly, in cash. The average amount reported to have been received by respondents was R 107151.8, which also fits the standard settlement offer of R110000 paid out to cash claims around this period. The highest amount received R350000, according to a member of the Phatheni community, and the lowest was R9000 in St. Xavier.

6.1.5 Conflict

The study of conflict in this study was focused on the family/household unit. This is because, family and kinship ties continue to play a significant role in the democratic period. When institutions fail, it is often families that fill the gap to moderate the rapacious effects of poverty and inequality. In land restitution in particular, it is family ties and networks that are at the centre of the claims. Family actors are also the axis of the restitution process itself and carry the burden of judiciously and equitably distributing the intended reparative effects of the restitution. In other words, while the compensatory award of either land or cash is seen as a balm against the historical wound of dispossession, it is the various actors within families that are charged with the informal task of applying the ointment. The question then is, what types of family structures and networks are better suited to handle the sometimes fractious process of restitution? Or does restitution itself weaken or strengthen social cohesion within and among families?

We asked respondents if they thought the land restitution process had increased or decreased tension and conflict within their community/neighbourhood. Most responses were neutral, neither increase nor decrease, however, the percentage of people that felt that conflict had increased (21%) was slightly higher than the share that said they had decreased (18%). In Phatheni and Ndabeni, the feeling that tensions had risen within their community/neighbourhood was significantly higher (39%) than the those that felt the opposite. The conflict that was reported within the family/household had mostly stayed the same since the restitution process had started, same with the reported conflict between surrounding the communities/neighbourhoods. Only focusing on these respondents, it looks like no conflict or tension came out of the restitution process, however when we analyse the written responses, we find the following being said:

> “There was a conflict because my grandmother’s children wanted the money for themselves and they believed it should not come to us as grandchildren. There was also conflicts between them as siblings, fighting over who should handle the money. The one who is a bread winner felt they should be the one handling everything since they feed the family” (Phatheni, 2020)

Of the many ways in which conflict has manifested through restitution, including tensions between different of age groups, gender, wealth, power, interests, and religion/culture, it has also been incited by greed, envy, a lack of information and knowledge, as well as disagreements around who had more legal right versus customary right.

6.1.6 Happiness

“Thinking about your experience with the land restitution process, would you say you are: 1. very happy, 2 happy, 3 a little happy, or 4 not happy?” This is the question we posed to respondents before asking them to share what about restitution process made them happy, and what about it made them unhappy. Overall, the share of respondents that were not happy was higher (58%) versus the 16% of respondents that said they were happy and the 5% that said they very happy. To summarise some of the responses,

> "The money came at a time when ubaba (my husband) had dreams of purchasing certain things for the farm so at least he was able to do those things he had wished with the money that is all" (Phatheni beneficiary on happiness over the restitution process).

Respondents from Phatheni expressed a lot of happiness after the government "came through on their promise" to pay out their compensation as well as the manner in which the claim was handled by the commission.

> "I was happy because our committee would call us for meetings and we would be satisfied with whatever they bring us. I was excited when they brought the news that the government has accepted our claim and we will get compensated. They helped us through out the process and told us what we need to do and submit. Then we were able to open bank accounts and submit required documents" (Phatheni beneficiary on happiness over the restitution process).

Claimants in Tharfield community were still waiting to move on to their land, however they expressed hope after they had been shown the land they were to be relocated to.

Whether they had received land or cash, Mchobololo claimants were mostly happy to have received money and to have some weight lifted.

> "We were able to build our home even though it wasn't much. We were also able to fetch our parents traditionally from the graveyard in the Bluff and put them to rest here peacefully using that money. We also performed much needed ceremonies for them that we couldn't afford so that really put my heart at ease that we were able to do that for them. (Xavier beneficiary on happiness over the restitution process)"

Protea Village respondents were positive about the progress being made on the claim. The fact that the community still maintained close bonds and how they will all be relocating together. Some were grateful to the executive committee for getting the claim this far along because of all the difficulties and obstacles it took. Ndabeni claimants were overall unhappy and disappointed as they expressed many frustrations about lack of progress and still not having access to their land. The research study also appeared to inspire a new hope in beneficiaries as many, especially in Tharfield, were quoted as saying *''Now that I'm seeing you I'm hopeful for a solution"*.

If it wasn't the length of time, it was the size of the money. The issue of communication, rumours and false information also came up several times. They felt a lot of pain many people had died since the claim was lodged yet the claim is still not finalised. One response perfectly summed up what most people were frustrated about when it came to the restitution process.

> "For me the problem was that we had to sort out everything ourselves. The main problem was that we had to divide the money between sisters and I but two of my sisters are late so now there's two of us. We then registered our sister's kids as beneficiaries and that's where the problem started in that when the claim was finalised they only wanted to make a payout to me and my sister and not the beneficiaries. When we inquired they said they must go to Pietermartzburg and claim it themselves. They haven't received it until this day so you see, there's a problem with this process because why do that or at least help teach us as family how to manage claims and beneficiary differences so there's no confusion. Having a committee

representing us was also a problem because we had to change it four times. The third group took peoples money and bought farms and livestock, they are rich now yet they keep telling people their money is coming" ().

6.2 Collective efficacy: survey results

Social cohesion or broadly, collective efficacy, is a key outcome of this research as it relates to the kinds of anti-social behaviour fostered in certain types of communities and neighbourhoods, especially those with concentrated poverty. Trust, social control, social capital, social cohesion, and group membership participation, which we treat as key outcome variables, are all factors that can affect one's efficacy or shared belief in the group's ability to make decisions that ultimately improve collective outcomes.

6.2.1 Trust

Trust is a vital ingredient in social exchange as it is often found to be the missing piece for why cooperation fails. Therefore, environments that can foster higher trust can stand a better chance when resolving social dilemmas (Messick and Brewer, 1983, Coleman, 1990), thus contributing to growth and economic performance (Knack and Keefer, 1997; Coleman, 1990).

Table 6.1: Trust

	Protea	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
WVS trust	0.531	0.374	0.424	0.125	0.200	0.200	0.373
Lost wallet: neighbour	0.328	0.513	0.434	0.708	0.771	0.850	0.515
Lost wallet: stranger	0.828	0.687	0.646	1	0.629	0.900	0.728
Observations	64	115	99	24	35	20	357

1. WVS Trust: 1 = most people can be trusted

On average, 63% of respondents felt that most people could not be trusted. This is fairly consistent across the communities. Slightly more respondents felt in Protea Village that most people could be trusted versus could not be trusted (52%). These patterns are even more stark for other trust measures. For instance 73% of respondents say that a lost wallet containing money in it (R250) is more likely to be returned by a stranger that does not live in their community than by a neighbour from their own communities.

6.2.2 Social control

Social control is typically assessed through the following type of questions: ' *"what do you believe the likelihood is that your neighbours could be counted on to take action if: children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner, children were spray-painting graffiti on a local building, a fight broke out in front of their house,"* etc.. Given that our survey could not accommodate any more questions than what we already had due to time constraints, we decided to include a question on whether claimants preferred to stay or leave their

current community/neighbourhood. Ideally, the view that you prefer your neighbourhood or community over others should help reinforce valued norms and standards within that same community.

Table 6.2: Social Control

	Protea	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
Preference to stay	0.250	0.539	0.939	0.417	0.171	0.600	0.557
Preference to leave	0.438	0.0957	0	0.0417	0.314	0.0500	0.146
Observations	64	115	99	24	35	20	357

People in our sample displayed a stronger preference to continue living in their current place of residence (56%) than to leave their communities (15%). An exception is the case Protea Village, in which the reverse pattern is observed in the data. This is an interesting finding since this community had been through a process of extended litigation over their land claim with the current residents' association of the community where they were awarded a land claim; the affluent suburb of Bishopscourt in Cape Town. From our extensive engagements with the trustees of the Protea Village Action Committee, it is evident that these beneficiaries have a clear desire to return to Bishopscourt.

6.2.3 Social cohesion

Social cohesion is measured by asking respondents how strongly they agreed with the following statements: *"People around here are willing to help their neighbours"; "This is a close-knit neighbourhood"; "People in this neighbourhood can be trusted"; "People in this neighbourhood generally don't get along with each other"; and "People in this neighbourhood do not share the same values"*. In our sample we found significantly high measures of social cohesion on all 5 questions of cohesion.

Table 6.3: Social cohesion within family/household

	Protea	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
Familiy members help neighbours	0.969	0.878	1	0.958	0.943	0.750	0.933
Close-knit family	0.953	0.852	1	0.917	0.829	0.800	0.910
Trust in family	0.953	0.852	0.970	0.875	0.743	0.700	0.885
Don't get along in family	0.672	0.487	0.727	0.583	0.400	0.600	0.591
Shared values in family	0.656	0.487	0.657	0.500	0.343	0.550	0.555
Observations	64	115	99	24	35	20	357

Ninety three percent of respondents across all six claims viewed their family members as being helpful to their neighbours. These families also reflect high levels of cohesiveness, when viewed from the vantage point of connectedness (91%) as well as high levels of trust (89%).

6.2.4 Social Capital

Higher levels of social capital are typically viewed as a good thing and have even been linked to higher economic performance (Chetty et al., 2022). However, it is also important to consider the view that high social capital group members mean low social capital non-group members (Durlauf, 2011). In other words, claimants in communities might very well have high social capital which affords them preferential access to rationed resources, new information, etc. Another consideration to the study of social capital is the relative rate of bonding within families/household versus with other community members or people in other communities. In particular, forms of social capital outside of the family unit, increases the set of opportunities and allows the flow of new ideas and information, whereas social capital between kin brings other kinds of benefits, such as support networks that are more easily accessible. These two sources of social capital can also work against one another and are therefore sometimes seen as substitutes rather than complements (Sanders and nee).

Table 6.4: Social Capital within family/household

	Protea	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
family help finding job	0.516	0.565	0.606	0.167	0.543	0.150	0.515
family help start project	0.563	0.565	0.576	0.333	0.457	0.300	0.527
family help with law	0.516	0.470	0.455	0.458	0.429	0.250	0.457
family help financially	0.375	0.557	0.525	0.0833	0.371	0.200	0.445
Observations	64	115	99	24	35	20	357

Table 6.5: Social Capital within own community/neighbourhood

	Protea	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
community help finding job	0.266	0.330	0.444	0.250	0.114	0.150	0.314
community help start project	0.359	0.409	0.505	0.208	0.171	0.300	0.384
community help with law	0.406	0.313	0.394	0.250	0.400	0.300	0.356
community help financially	0.0156	0.243	0.263	0	0.0857	0	0.162
Observations	64	115	99	24	35	20	357

Responses to questions on social capital were highest for the family/household network: *"knowing someone in their family/household that could help you find a job" or "help you with a project you want to start"* had the highest scores (52%). Considering the lack of contacts in the respondents' community/neighbourhoods and surrounding community/neighbourhoods, we can assume that when needing assistance, respondents have mostly their family to turn to. Across the different communities, we find social capital highest in Protea village and Tharfield. St. Xavier has notably higher social capital within their family network.

Table 6.6: Social Capital in other community/neighbourhood

	Protea	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
other community help finding job	0.313	0.278	0.404	0.125	0.286	0.350	0.314
other community help start project	0.281	0.304	0.384	0.208	0.229	0.350	0.311
other community help with law	0.297	0.278	0.323	0.0833	0.343	0.150	0.280
other community help financially	0.0156	0.217	0.343	0.0417	0.0571	0	0.176
Observations	64	115	99	24	35	20	357

6.2.5 Crime

High levels of crime are typically associated with neighbourhoods of concentrated poverty where collective efficacy and general community wellbeing are observed to be low (Robert J. Sampson, Jeffrey D. Morenoff and Thomas Gannon-Rowley, 2011). High levels of social control and social cohesion can mitigate against high crime.

Table 6.7: Crime within family/household

	Protea	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
Burglaries, muggings or thefts	0.0469	0.0783	0	0	0.114	0	0.0448
Violence in own households	0.0469	0.0696	0	0.167	0.0286	0.100	0.0504
Gangsterism	0.0469	0.0609	0	0	0	0	0.0280
Murder, shootings or stabbings	0.0469	0.0609	0.0101	0	0	0	0.0308
Drug or alcohol abuse	0.0781	0.191	0.0404	0.167	0.229	0.300	0.137
Observations	64	115	99	24	35	20	357

Measures of crime in our sample showed some levels of variability across the claims and across social groups. Crime and violence in families and households are significantly low, unlike crime in the community neighbourhood which is mostly high for cases involving burglaries, muggings, or thefts, as well as drug and alcohol abuse. The highest levels of crime were reported by respondents living in WC communities.

Table 6.8: Crime within communities/neighbourhoods

	Protea	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
Burglaries, muggings or thefts	0.516	0.296	0.384	0.458	0.657	0.350	0.409
Violence within households	0.188	0.261	0.0909	0.167	0.343	0.200	0.199
Violence between households	0.234	0.226	0.0202	0.250	0.343	0.0500	0.174
Gangsterism	0.313	0.200	0.0101	0.0833	0.229	0.150	0.160
Murder, shootings or stabbings	0.281	0.243	0.111	0.333	0.400	0.350	0.241
Drug or alcohol abuse	0.344	0.496	0.374	0.667	0.743	0.650	0.479
Observations	64	115	99	24	35	20	357

6.3 Social cohesion within claim networks

To measure the connectedness and cohesiveness of restitution communities, we collected network by asking respondents to give the names of other claimants in their communities that they had *"met with or contacted for advice, support, or to discuss important matters about restitution and the community's claim for cash or land?."*. Respondent's could choose up to 10 people from a list of other main claimants. A follow up question also allowed respondents to include 3 additional names not listed in the claimant list that they had received support and advice from when it came to matters pertaining to the claim.

Table 6.9 shows the summary statistics of several of the measures discussed in Section 3. The full set of results for each claim is given in Appendix A. Here we focus on two broad measures of social cohesion: connectedness and cohesiveness.

Table 6.9: Network descriptives

	Protea Village	Ndabeni	Tharfield	Mchobololo	St. Xavier	Phatheni	Full sample
Degree	6.551	3.535	4.604	4.458	4.690	2.929	4.490
Indegree	2.449	1.030	2.132	1.750	1.103	0.571	1.627
Outdegree	4.102	2.505	2.473	2.708	3.586	2.357	2.863
Closeness	0.356	0.270	0.301	0.339	0.267	0.565	0.312
Betweenness	19.84	13.24	99.51	17.17	15.17	2.143	39.93
Pagerank	0.0116	0.00470	0.00937	0.0277	0.0128	0.0237	0.0106
Authority	0.139	0.0418	0.0544	0.188	0.0575	0.0714	0.0754
Hub	0.231	0.0315	0.305	0.308	0.233	0.0714	0.187
Reciprocity	19.76	1.152	3.978	9.125	16.10	0	6.961
Hierarchy	75.37	7.949	23.24	12.79	16.76	5.714	24.41
Transitivity	9.612	0.182	3.681	3	0.724	0.0714	3
Constraint	0.429	0.422	0.383	0.431	0.385	0.588	0.416
Observations	49	99	91	24	29	14	306

6.3.1 Connectedness

By assessing each community's centrality and connectivity and cohesion properties, we are able to find sufficient evidence of small worlds in 5 of the 6 communities, except in the case of Protea Village. This is an interesting result given that Protea Village has the highest number of connections (degree) between each person, and has significantly high levels of clustering. However, the community seems to exhibit an average path length that is not significantly shorter than what we would expect from a random network of the same size. In other words, the number of connections or people that one must first go through before reaching any one person in this community is longer that what we might expect to find in a small world. This doesn't necessarily mean that the network is not cohesive, but that it is potentially less efficient at spreading information. Ndabeni, on the other hand, has a high small world coefficient which would normally signal higher levels of cohesiveness, where ideas and behaviours ("good" as well as "bad") are easily transmitted throughout the entire network. But given that Ndabeni, compared to the other communities, has the highest number of unconnected or isolated components (i.e., groups of people that don't share any path or connections between each other), the calculation for average path length and small word coefficient (which are both affected by this number of connected components), is potentially skewed. We therefore turn to other methods to assist us in measuring cohesiveness and fragmentation in each community.

6.3.2 Cohesiveness

To further examine the cohesiveness of each community, we use a popular graph partitioning technique that tries to discover separate and distinct subgroups or clusters within the network, such that members who belong to the same groups share close and tight bonds with each other, while members of outside groups share few or sparse bonds with each other. Depending on the outcome, networks are either defined by weakly partitioned groups or strongly partitioned groups. Weakly partitioned groups occur when the algorithm

struggles to find clear or distinct groups, which often indicates highly cohesive networks. Analysing the Protea Village network, we find 6 weakly partitioned groups. This suggests high levels of cohesiveness and low levels of fragmentation. Incontrast, groups in Ndabeni (20 groups), St. Xavier (9 groups), and Phatheni (10 groups) were all strongly defined. Tharfield (9 groups) and Mchobololo (5 groups) were the only other communities with weakly partitioned groups.

A last step in analysing these communities explores the link between community cohesion and diffusion. To do this, we examine the outcome of diffusion by tracing and plotting the adoption trends and spread of diffusion at specific iteration points. Assuming 10% of the Protea Village network were introduced to new information, within 5 iteration steps, the diffusion process would on average reach between 35% and 40% of the the members of this community. The same process in Ndabeni would only reach between 11% and 13%, then in Tharfield, between 17% and 20%, 20% and 25% in Mchobololo, 13% and 16% in St. Xavier, and lastly 10% and 12% in Phatheni.

Taking all things together, we find Protea Village to be the most cohesive of the communities, and thus most likely to benefit from the network's connectivity and interaction structures. This is consistent with Protea Village being viewed as a beacon of success in land restitution post-settlement projects. Conversely, Ndabeni shows signs of a much more divided and fragmented community. This could explain the severe challenges and delays that have arisen since land was restored. While Ndabeni Trust took ownership of land with the signing over of title deeds in 2004, beneficiaries who form part of this community have to this day not taken physical occupation or moved onto on this land. Until that happens, it is impossible to reap the benefits of land restitution as promised.

In conclusion, exploratory analysis can only go so far in understanding and predicting the mechanisms that underpin social behaviour and the pressures inherent in choosing to adopt a certain behaviour that, for example, is good for the collective. One intervention strategy not yet explored is the altering of connections in a network to observe how robust or resilient the network's function remains. This essentially asks how the network would behave if we were to rewire or change the structure to increase performance and efficiency. It also applies to situations of change, uncertainty, and adversity where policies that can take advantage of the interaction between social structure and social behaviour are required.

In their study of the role of social networks and homophily on inequality, Jackson (2022) proposes a novel policy intervention that promotes the restructuring of large organizations and communities into smaller structures of well-mixed sub-communities and groups. In their view, the creation of smaller groups helps foster a greater sense of collective and social identity within groups as well as greater exposure and interaction level between groups. This is not so different from the structuring of universities, companies, and other large institutions, where teamwork is fostered by breaking away in smaller, more effective teams. Much like what you would expect of small world networks, the cross-group connections here act as bridging or social capital that has the ability to reduce informational and opportunity barriers and connect different demographic and socio-economic groups.

This is particularly relevant for land restitution because the size of communities and groups participating in land reform projects have previously been cited as a main contributing factor toward conflict and low productive outputs. A 2005 and 2010 panel study of land reform projects in the North West Province found that group operations of 5 or less members were most successful. These small groups had the greatest proportion (78%) of projects in which production was either stable or increasing. The success rates of projects started to decline as the size of the group increased. In groups with 6-10 members, only 50% of projects were successful. Even less successful (44% and 38%) for groups having between 11-20 and 21-50

members respectively, and only a third (33%) for groups with more than 50 members. The study concluded that failure in projects was highly attributed to conflict between members as more than half (56%) of the projects with increasing or stable production had not reported conflicts (Mahlati et al. (2019)).

These sorts of findings have led some policymakers to argue that group farming and operating models have no prospect of success and that restitution communities are better off dividing into smaller cohesive groups (Centre for Law and Society (2015)). However, without a clearer picture of the structure of the networks making up these collective farming groups and their, shared or unshared histories, is key to understanding the fault lines within restitution communities that lead to break downs in decision making, attitudes and behaviours. Our in-depth study into the 6 case study communities selected by LRES is a first step toward building such an evidence base.

Section 7

Study challenges and limitations

A limitation of the qualitative component of the study is that it included few beneficiaries of land restitution. Furthermore, the Mchobololo land restitution case is atypical of land claims because of the small number of beneficiaries who are organised. Another limitation is that our qualitative research was only conducted in one province. Although the work covered urban and rural sites, we miss the nuances of other provinces. While this is a serious limitation in the study, land restitution in South Africa defies meaningful empirical comparison and generalisation because of the diversity of claims throughout the country. It is unlikely that a single qualitative study could capture the complexity and nuances of land restitution nation-wide in any meaningful comparative manner. For that reason, it was never the aim of our research to extend any generalisations across South Africa. However, the nuances unveiled here may shed some light on the process and impact of restitution for policymakers.

COVID-19 restrictions also limited our ability to explore questions of social cohesion in greater depth. We wanted to interview groups of non-beneficiaries in the wider communities surrounding out two case studies. We therefore curtailed the number and size of FGDs due to COVID-19 restrictions. Additionally, we conducted most of our semistructured interviews telephonically instead of in-person diminishing our ability to observe the residences of our respondents and non-verbal cues.

Also, because of the global pandemic, we had to drop our original land claim case study of Nkanini. The traditional leaders of that community lost family members during the period scheduled for research. The long period of mourning meant that we could not conduct fieldwork there. A long selection process had identified this particular case as potentially fruitful for the purposes of this study as dispossession was more recent than Mchobololo. As such it met our criteria for exploring the multi-generational effects of dispossession and restitution and on social cohesion. It was also potentially rich in other areas because it involved many households, was initially lodged by the traditional leaders and involved other third parties.

Section 8

Implications and conclusion

One of the lead investigators for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Lungisile Ntsebeza, now says he thinks we scored an own goal by not making the issue of land dispossession a core business of the TRC (Ngcukaitobi 2021, 284-5). With hindsight he thinks the victims of forced removals should have been afforded an opportunity to face their tormentors and bring into scrutiny the gross violations that took place during waves of dispossession (Ngcukaitobi 2021, 285). Our findings seem to give weight to Ntsebeza's point. Many of our 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, our findings suggest that the restitution process did not afford 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 for healing to continue.

Healing also has a temporal dimension. A key finding of our research is that the exceedingly long process of restitution causes further harm. Many studies cite this as an ongoing critique of the restitution process in South Africa. Claimants die long before their claims are finalised. In addition, when the process takes too long, people age and they are bound by decisions they made in their youth, or families expand spreading the size and impact of the restitution thin. Related to this, it was quite clear that many claimants made decisions based on particular moments in the claim. So, when thinking about decision making and restitution, we need to think of it as a continuum. It is not as if the decision choice is a single point, a moment. And claimants change their minds during the life of the claim. President Cyril Ramaphosa announced during his 2021 State of the Nation Address that his government would establish a new agency to frast-track land reform. This is laudable if this agency will have administrative clout and budgets to undertake this herculean task.

It is tempting to place justice and the improvement of livelihoods as polar opposite goals of restitution. Xaba does this in his study of restitution in the Eastern Cape. As he provocatively argues, "the government appears to be more interested in 'correcting apartheid' rather than creating viable farms" (Xaba 2018, vi). Our examination of the Mchobololo case suggests that it is quite possible to pursue both. But the right conditions have to be in place. We concede that our Mchobololo case is an outlier. It differs from the chaos and failure of land restitution cited in the literature in numerous ways. Yet, a few lessons can be drawn from it as the Commission continues its work. It suggests that a smaller number of households (in his case 8) may be more manageable. Also, it seems to help them that they are an actual community (descendants of one Duma Dhlamini). This is not some reenacted community chained together by imagined pasts and obligations

that perhaps were veritable and solid in the past but are no longer there, as often seems to happen in many community land claims.

The Mchobololo case also seems to suggest that land restitution tends to favour beneficiaries who are well-resourced in terms of their education, economic and political networks. This is in line with Murray's (2009) observation that those with disposable resources, have access to communication and transport are more likely to benefit from land reform programmes. A pro-active trusted leader also seems to have made a difference. He avoids conflict by managing expectations. For instance, he took the initiative to apply for funding from the provincial government and only informed the members of the trust once it had been approved. And it was not an insignificant sum (R1,8m) for the construction of a conference facility. Multiple sources of income seem to also help. For their operations to grow, the trust has used various sources: a) Livestock (sold about 80 cattle) to match a government grant of R1,5 million for tourism b) The lodges c) Forestry d) Vegetables e) Rental income from some plots that they rent to some individuals.

Another key element is that members of the trust are allowed to operate their own independent businesses on the land. In other words, while the land is held in trust, individual members are allocated plots within the farm to conduct their own independent businesses. As the trust chair put it, "because we know that the trust isn't making any money or doesn't have an income yet, we are open to let members of the trust start their own business with land or do what they need to do using the land in order to make a living or income for themselves. They can bring it to the trust" (Mathuba Mchunu, 5 Sept 2021). Indeed, when we visited the farm on another occasion, we met a trustee who was operating his charcoal business. This was in addition to his two hectares of land where he grows and sells vegetables.

For beneficiaries of financial compensation in both Mchobololo and St. Xavier claims, the amount in relation to the number of beneficiaries in the household seems to matter a great deal. Many complained the financial compensation was not enough. They seemed to echo Yako's ode to lost land we opened this report with, when he says "Coins that come and go, come and go." When we asked our respondents about major events in their lives that have affected their quality of life, those who responded in detail to this question expressed events that pertained to financial resources. First, none mentioned the financial compensation from the land claim. Second, the event seemed to yield a significant sum of money. Or, it was not a large amount but sustained at regular intervals. An important question to consider going forward is what is the financial compensation/household size ratio that is required for financial compensation to be meaningful. The interviewees who expressed a degree of satisfaction with their financial compensation were single claimants although the amounts differed.

Like other studies on land restitution that focus on the question of perceived justice, our findings concur that for dignity to be restored, the amounts and types of land need to be perceived as fair. Yet it is not the final resolution that matters, the process too. Many of our respondents decried the top-down nature of the process of restitution and the poor communication among them as groups and between them and the LCC. This is in line with Atuahene's observation that the perceived fairness of restitution rests on whether beneficiaries "were able to sustain a conversation with commission officials" (Atuahene 2014b: 904). Because of the absence of this 'sustained conversation' two thirds of the respondents in her study on restitution stated that they felt that the restitution was unfair.

Similarly, our findings confirm the importance of this 'sustained conversation'.

Land, its dispossession and its restoration, these are generational issues. The harm of dispossession was felt many generations later. Although many of our respondents could not connect their current psycho-social and socio-economic troubles to the original sin of possession, it is clear to us that any attempts at restitution

should take this into account. The government's focus on benefitting ODIs and their beneficiaries is well-intended, but it is not enough to simply count the number of beneficiaries in a claim without buttressing that with the necessary post-settlement support (in the case of land) and significant amounts of money that will satisfy many generations (in the case of financial compensation). As other observers have noted, it is clear from our findings that land is a multisplendoured thing (Ferguson 2013). While the Mchobololo case shows that agriculture is quite important, yet agricultural productivity is not the only concern. In their case, land is a site tourism, a small-scale industry, housing, and quite importantly, as site for cultural reproduction. In dealing with post-settlement support for land claims, the multitudinous uses of land need to be considered. Similarly, among beneficiaries of financial compensation, the cry for housing rang loud (in both urban and rural contexts). It seems that there is a need to consider restitution and housing more deliberately in policy discussions. Our report is not the first to site the significance of housing in these debates. In an in-depth analysis of the differing outcomes of two prominent large urban land restitution cases (Cator Manor in Durban and District Six in Cape Town), Beyers (2016, 203) notes that in District Six, the application was accompanied by provisions for low-income housing but it failed. In Cator Manor, on the other hand, there was a largescale programme involving housing (but at the exclusion of restitution claims). If Beyers' argument for the twinning of housing provisioning and settlement is correct, and our findings seem to corroborate his view, then it would appear there should be a role for the Department of Human Settlements in land restitution. What that looks like is murky. One proposal could be to prioritise claimants of financial compensation in housing provisioning, for example. In conclusion, for many intended beneficiaries of financial compensation, it seemed as if the process had in fact scratched an old wound instead of healing it. Instead of an old memory, the promise of restitution had planted an idea that the loss of land had became a container, a depository of new hopes. Was our land going to be given back? Will we go back to that life of fishing, walking on the beach, livestock, space, fresh air? And then, at least according to many people we interviewed, it all became digits, ones and zeros – a cheque, an Absa bank account. And an insignicant amount to some. That loss was devastating for many of them, as it represented the disintegration of hope. If, during the period of negotiations around restitution, their historical loss had embodied new hopes, the financial compensation shredded those hopes, and was replaced by a vast wasteland of shattered dreams. If, during the negotiations, the loss of land seemed like something that could potentially be repaired, after restitution, loss and misery now "know where home is – it is here in our squashed up township homes, in our families and bodies" (as one of the respondents put it.

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Appendix A

Detailed analyses of claim networks

1_LRES_Summary_appendix

February 24, 2023

Social Network Analysis   Protea Village

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Average Degree:
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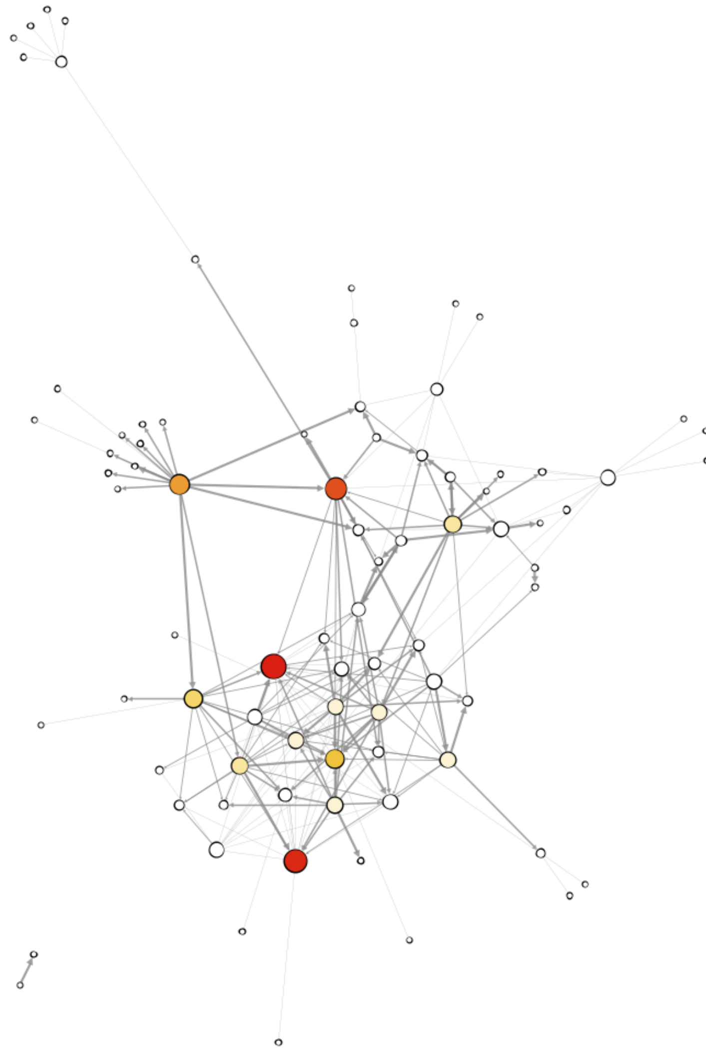


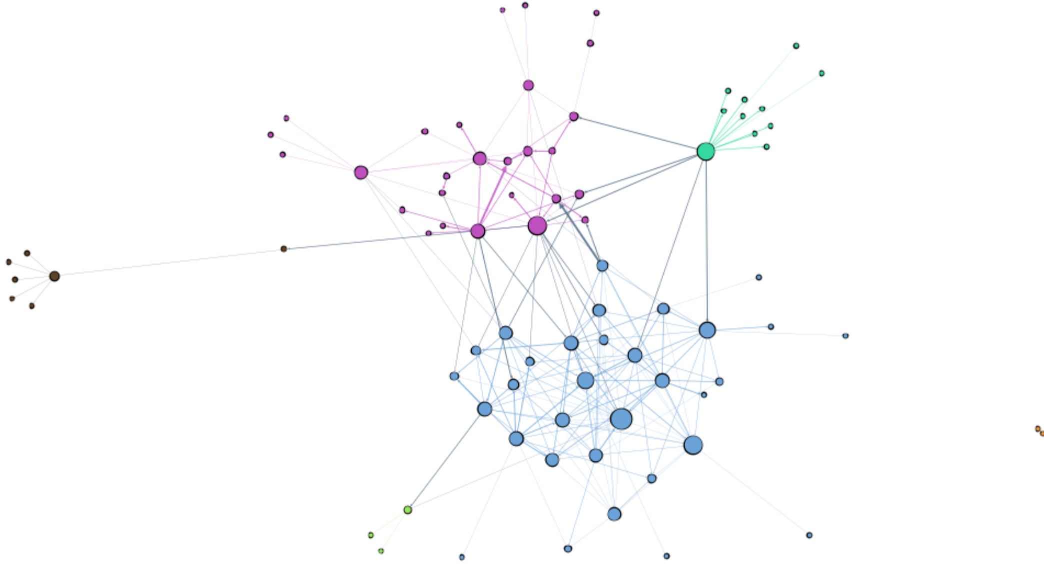
- The total number of claimants surveyed: 63
- The total size of the (directed) network: 82 nodes and 201 edges. The number of nodes includes surveyed claimants, claimants nominated but not survyed, and "other" contacts nominated but not listed as claiments.
- The number of connected components: 2
- The size of the giant component: 80 nodes and 200 edges
- Average degree: 4.902
- Small world coefficient (sigma > 1): 1.048

This community exhibits higher levels of clustering but longer path length distances than randomly simulated networks of the same size. We were not able to find evidence of a small world network by our measures.

Prominent claimants in this network:

- Claimant **601** received the highest number of nominations in terms of *indegree* and has the highest *authority* score. This person is a leader in this community or holds a position of power or respect. They are also linked to hubs or primary sources of information.
- Claimant **609** cumulatively, sent and received the highest number of nominations in terms of *degree* and has the second highest *betweenness* score (claimant **627** has the highest). This person is a bridge in this community role and is vital to the connecting of people and spreading of information. This ability to connect different people across the network makes them influential.
- Claimant **654** sent the highest number of nominations in terms of *outdegree* and has the highest neighbourhood *reciprocity* and *hierarchy* scores. This person is an informer or active person in this community.

Community Network:



Using community detection techniques, we detect 6 (weakly partitioned) subgroups/clusters within the network.

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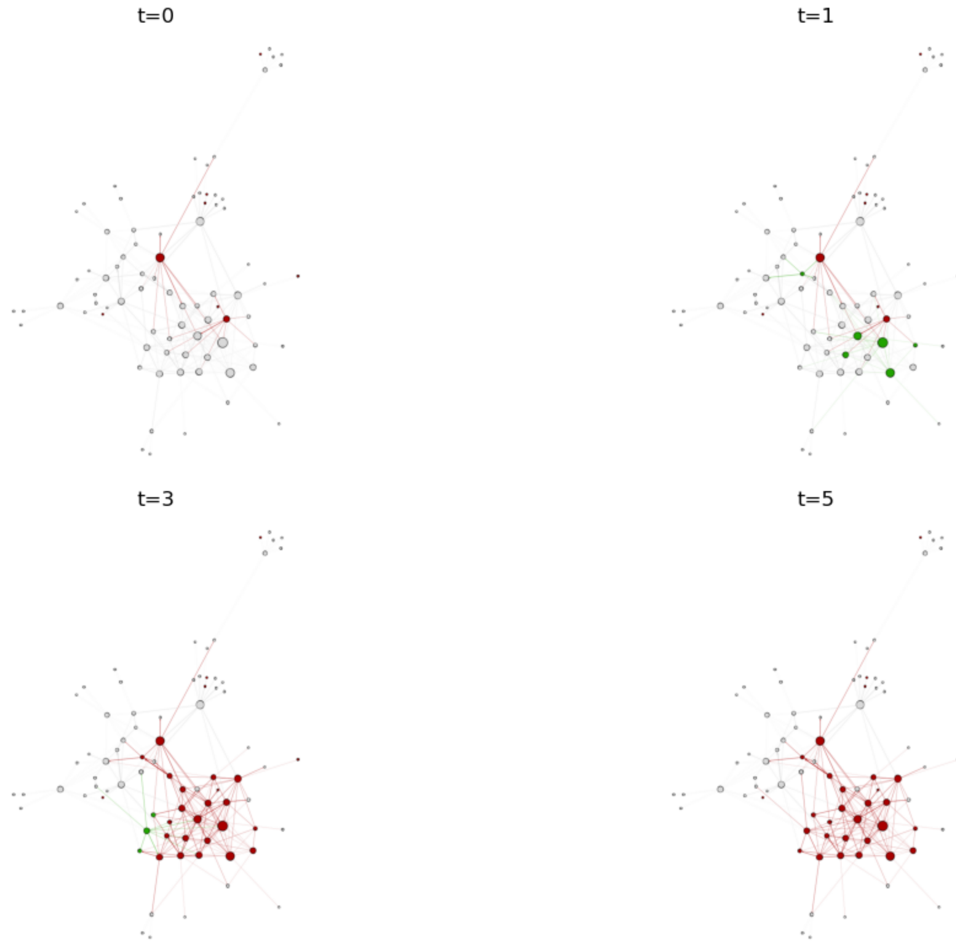
Diffusion Network:



After simultating multiple diffusion models, we find that starting with 10% of the network asssigned as first adopters, the diffusion process will on average reach between 35% and 40% of the population within 5 steps. When we specify initial adopters as people who have high degrees of centrality, we find a similar average outcome after 5 steps. The difference however is that the rate of diffusion is much faster or occurs much earlier in the diffusion process when the initial adopters are central figures. We also note that more isolated nodes are reached when people with high *betweenness centrality* scores are the first to adopt. Conversely, when the diffusion process starts off with people nested deeply with the core of the network, we find possible containment effects or an exclusion of outside nodes.

Ndabeni

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Average Degree:
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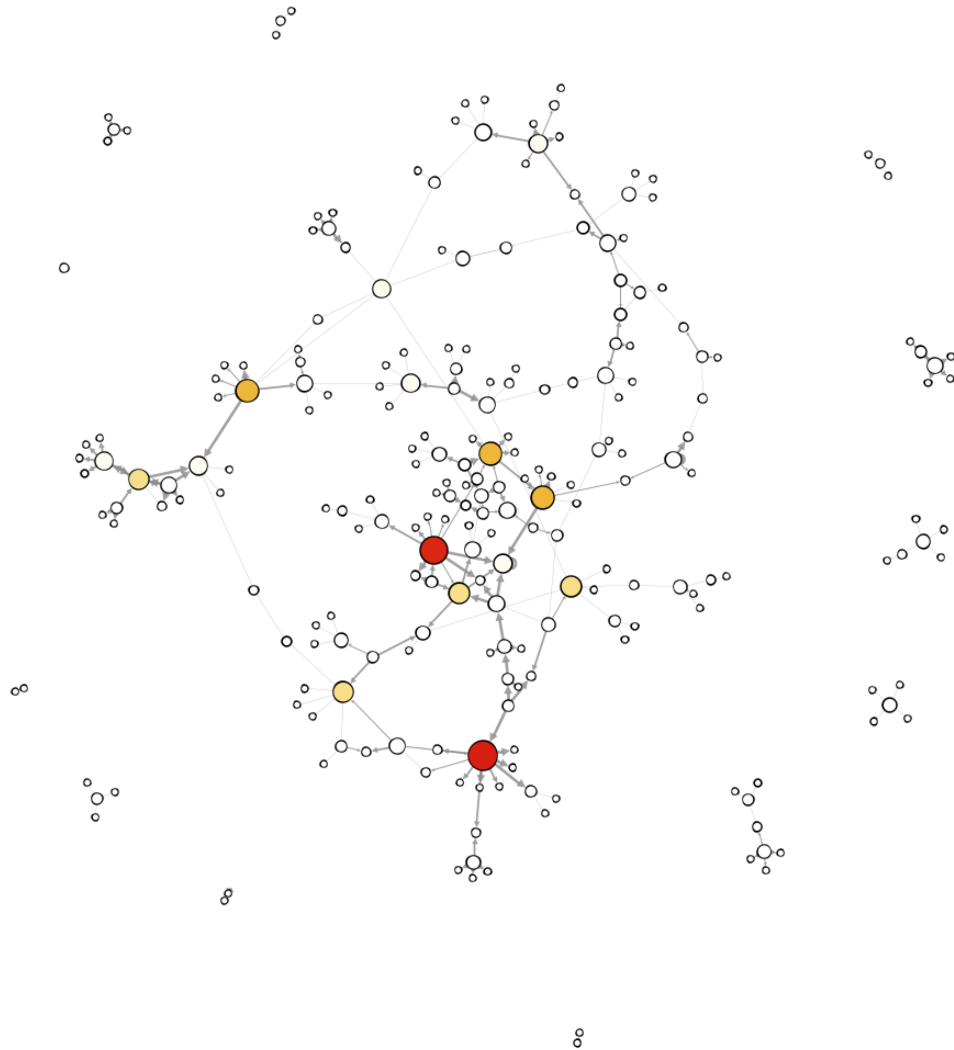

- The total number of claimants surveyed: 110
- The total size of the (directed) network: 234 nodes and 256 edges. The number of nodes includes surveyed claimants, claimants nominated but not survyed, and “other” contacts nominated but not listed as claiments. The number of edges is the connections between them.
- The number of connected components: 12
- The size of the giant component: 188 nodes and 220 edges
- Average degree: 2.188
- Small world coefficient (sigma > 1): 3.254

This community network exhibits significantly higher levels of clustering and shorter path length

distances than randomly simulated networks of the same size. We were able to find evidence of a small world network which suggest the community benefits from high levels of connectedness and cohesiveness. (Note that the average path length of disconnected networks is measured by calculating the average path lengths in each component and then averaging that across the entire network. Therefore, the measure of average path length and therefore small world properties in networks of many small disconnected components, like in the case of *Ndabeni*, can have misleading results.)

Prominent claimants in this network:

- Claimant **284** received the highest number of nominations in terms of *indegree*. This person is a leader in this community or holds a position of power or respect.
- Claimant **301** and **422** sent the highest number of nominations in terms of *outdegree*. Claimant **422** has the highest neighbourhood *reciprocity* and *hierarchy* scores and *hub* scores. These people are informers or active people in the community who are linked to other people in positions of authority.
- Claimant **539** and **212** have the highest *betweenness* score. These people is a bridges in this community role and are vital to the connecting of people and spreading of information. This ability to connect different people across the network makes them influential.
- Claimant **256** has the highest *pagerank* and *authority* scores. This person's importance is determined by the importance of people they are connected to. They are also linked to hubs or primary sources of information.

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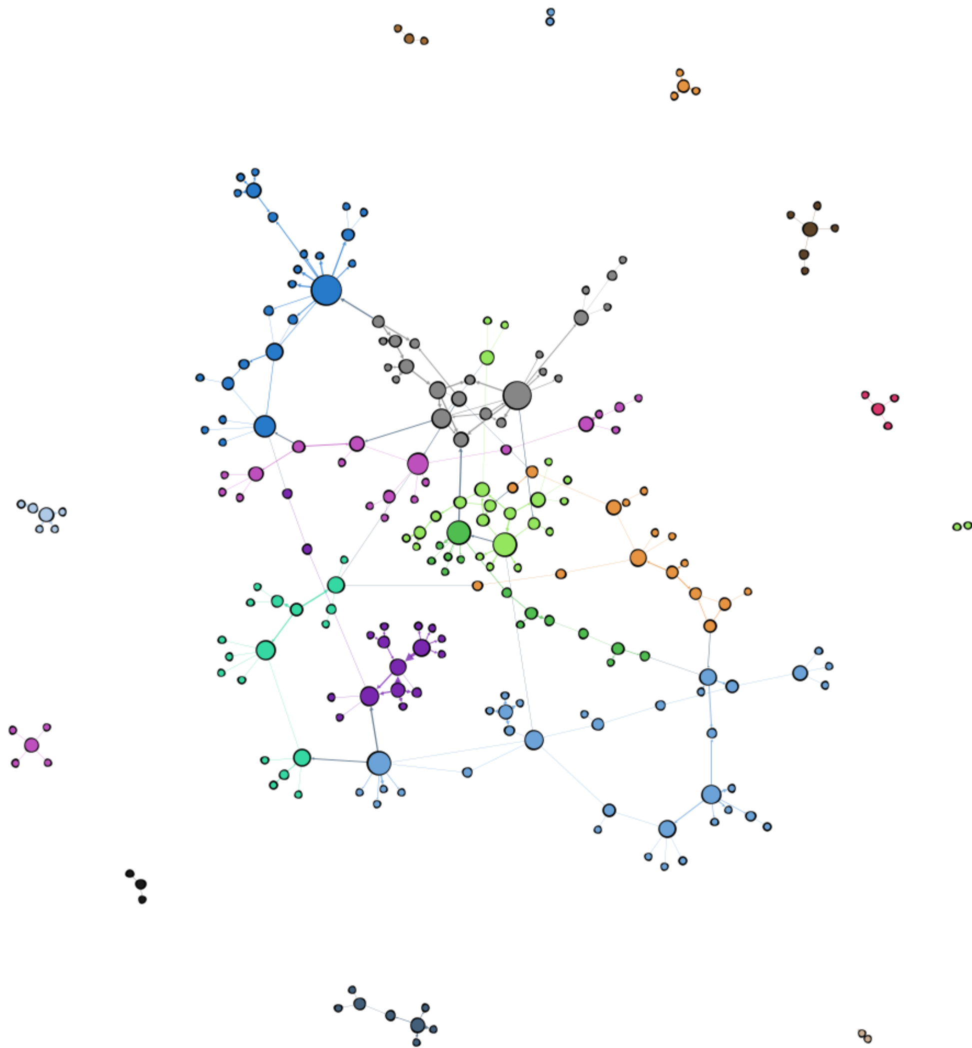
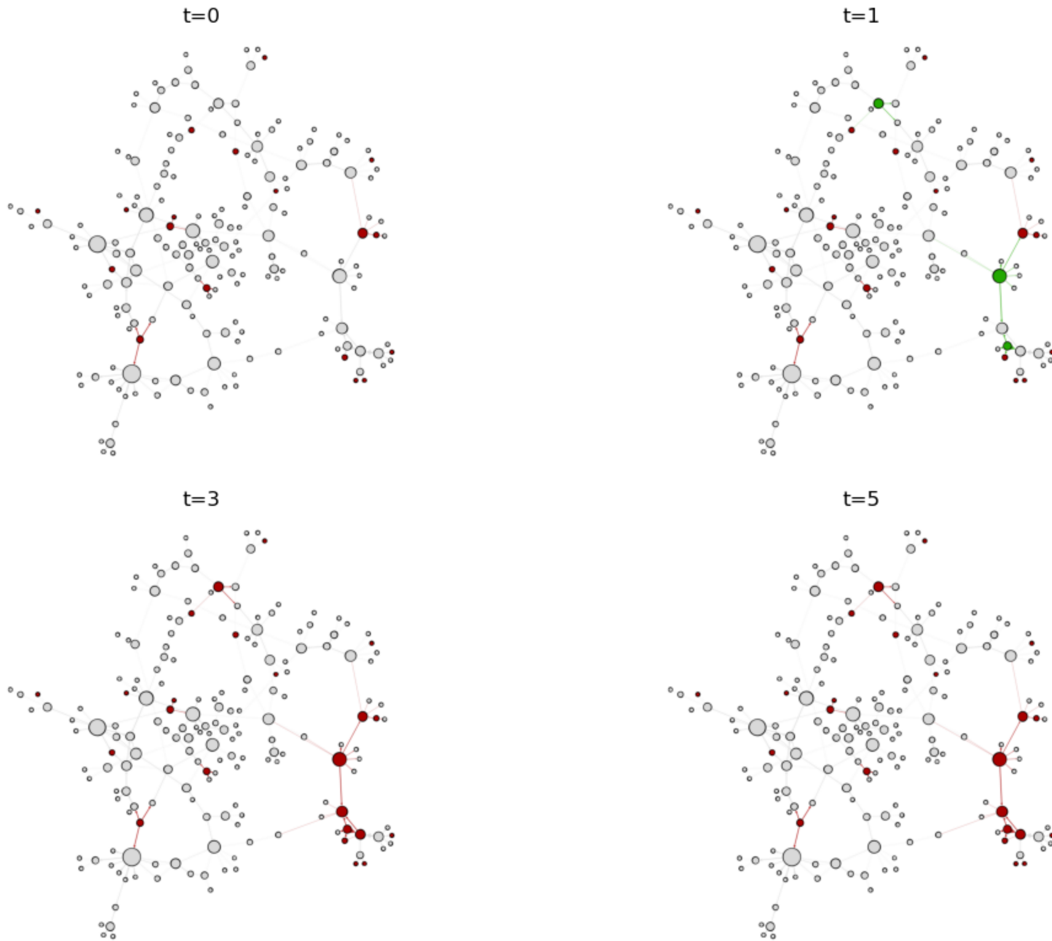
`Community Network:`



Using community detection techniques, we detect 20 (strongly partitioned) subgroups/clusters within the network. In other words, 20 distinct groups were found to have very dense connections within each other and sparse connections between each other.

Diffusion Network:



After simultating multiple diffusion models, we find that starting with 10% of the network asssigned as first adopters, the diffusion process will on average reach between 11% and 13% of the population in 5 steps. When we specify initial adopters as people who have high degrees of centrality, we find a similar average outcome after 5 steps. We also note that more isolated nodes are reached when people with high *betweenness centrality* scores are the first to adopt.

Tharfield

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Average Degree:
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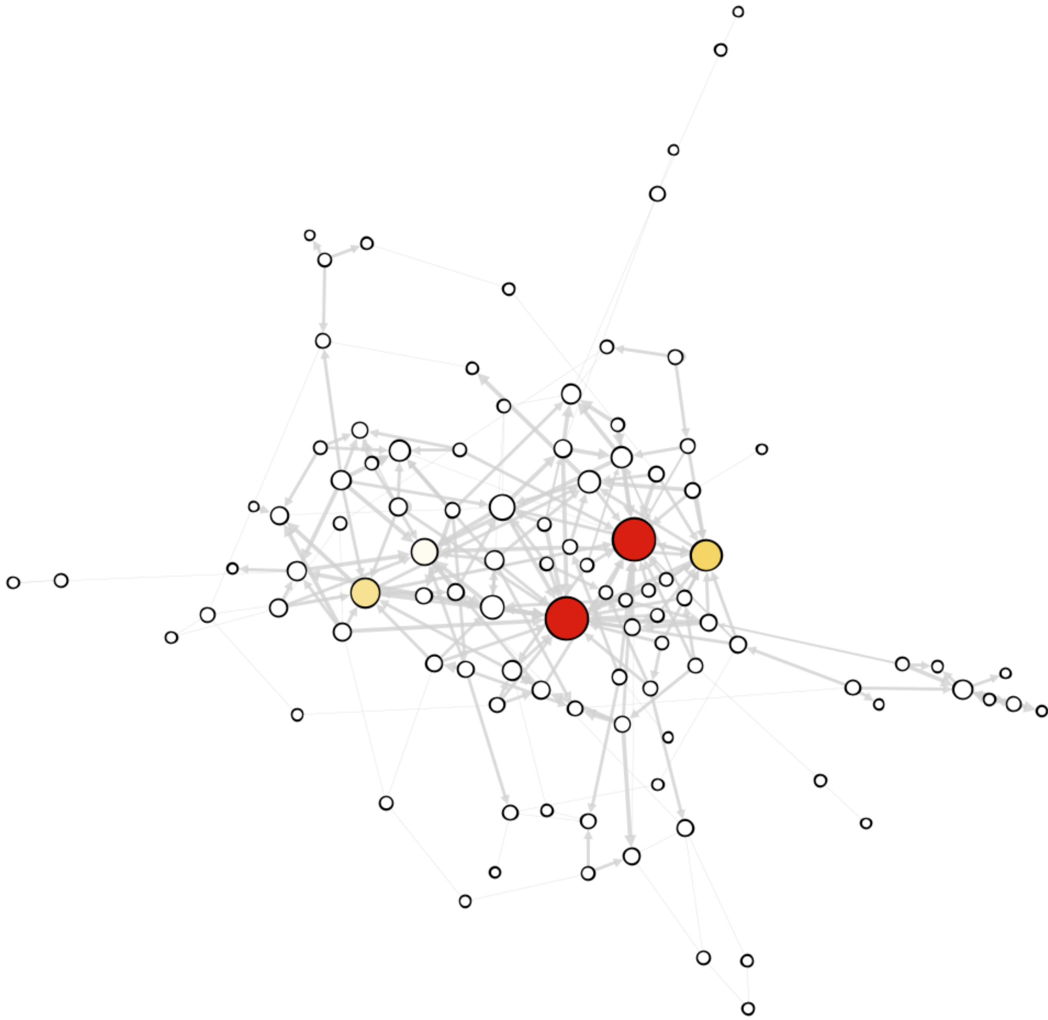

- The total number of claimants surveyed: 98
- The total size of the (directed) network: 101 nodes and 225 edges. The number of nodes includes surveyed claimants, claimants nominated but not survyed, and "other" contacts nominated but not listed as claiments. The number of edges is the connections between them.
- The number of connected components: 1
- The size of the giant component: 101 nodes and 225 edges
- Average degree: 4.455
- Small world coefficient (sigma > 1): 1.535

This community exhibits higher levels of clustering but longer path length distances than randomly

simulated networks of the same size. We were still able to find evidence of a small world network which suggest the community may benefit from high levels of connectedness and cohesiveness.

Prominent claimants in this network:

- Claimant **915** and **901** received the highest number of nominations in terms of *indegree* and have the highest *pagerank* scores. Claimant **901** has the highest *authority* score. These people are a leaders in this community or are hold a position of power or respect. These people's importance is also determined by the importance of people they are connected to. They tend to be linked to hubs or primary sources of information.
- Claimant **923** sent the highest number of nominations in terms of *outdegree*. They have the highest neighbourhood *transitivity* and *hierarchy* scores. This person is an informer or active person in the community.
- Claimant **980** has the highest *betweenness* score. This person is a bridges in this community role and is vital to the connecting of people and the spreading of information. This ability to connect different people across the network makes them influential.

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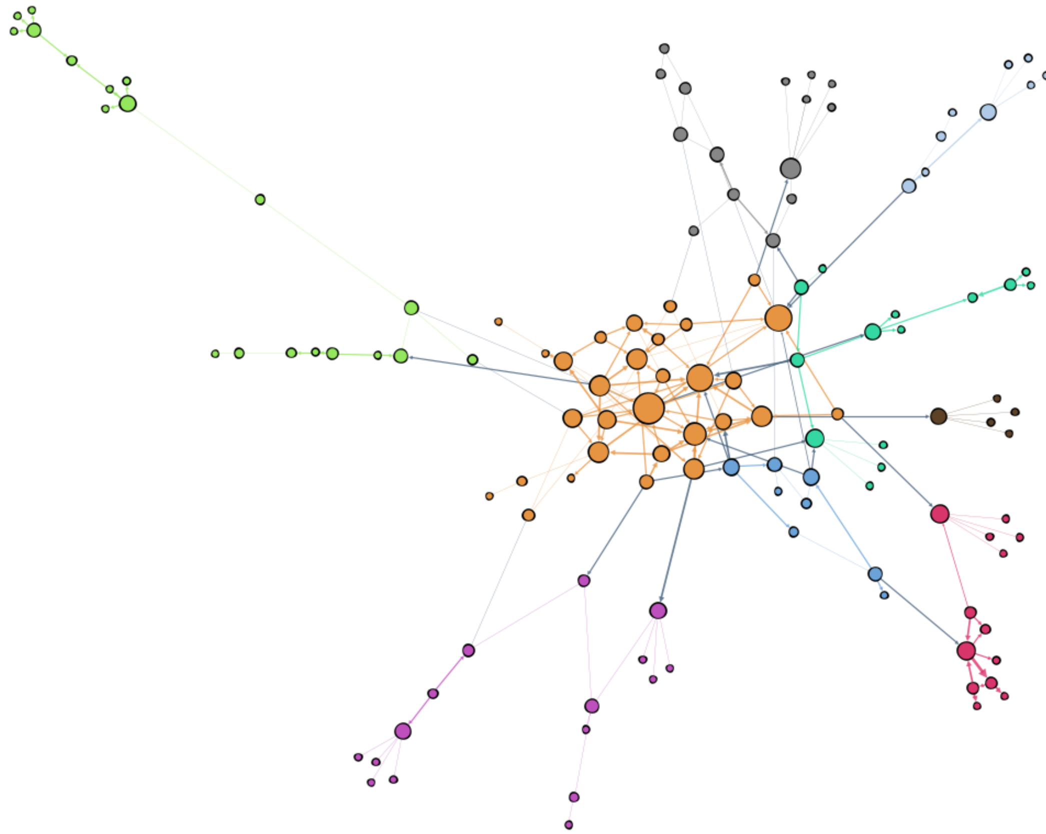
`Community Network:`



Using community detection techniques, we detect 9 (weakly partitioned) subgroups/clusters within the network.

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Diffusion Network:
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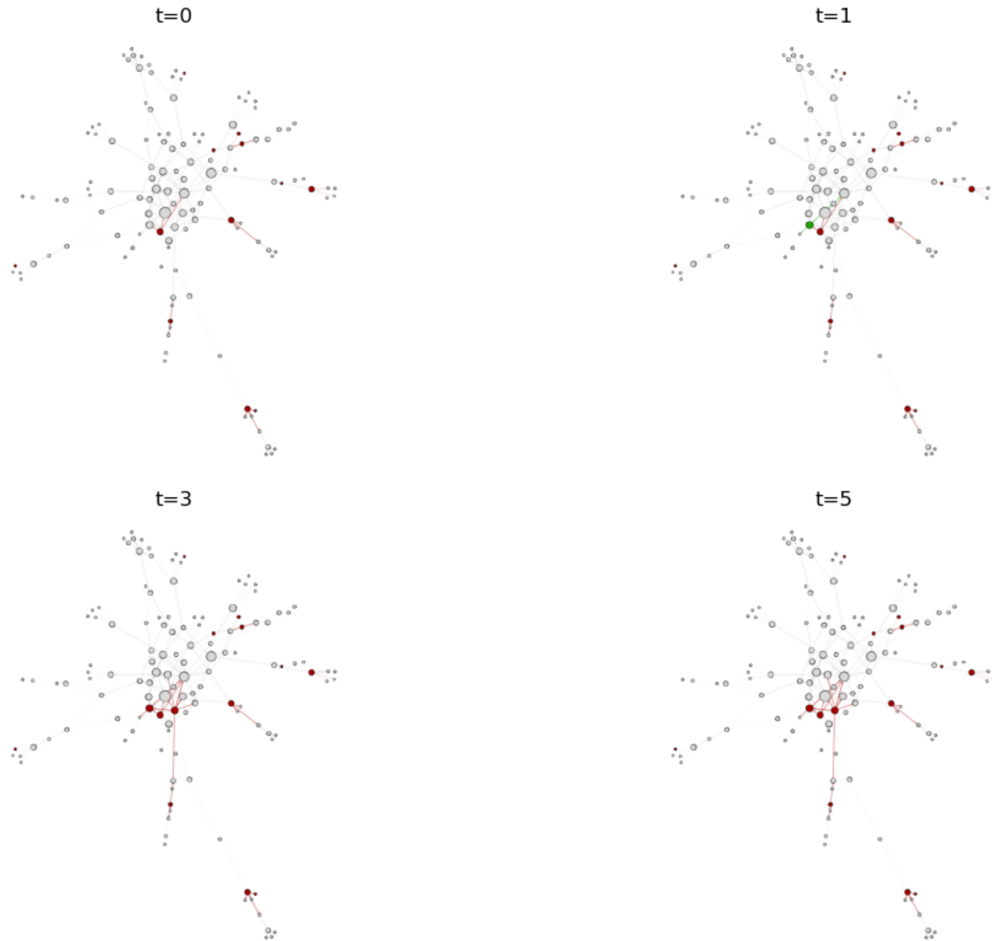

After simultating multiple diffusion models, we find that starting with 10% of the network asssigned as first adopters, the diffusion process will on average reach between 17% and 20% of the population in 5 steps. When we change the first adopters to people who have high values of centrality, we find a similar average outcome after 5 steps. When we specify initial adopters as people who have high degrees of centrality, we find a similar average outcome after 5 steps. We also note that more isolated nodes are reached when people with high *betweenness centrality* scores are the first to adopt. Conversely, when the diffusion process starts off with people nested deeply with the core of the network, we find possible containment effects or an exclusion of outside nodes.

Mchobololo*

- The total number of claimants surveyed: 22
- The total size of the (directed) network: 38 nodes and 65 edges. The number of nodes includes surveyed claimants, claimants nominated but not survyed, and "other" contacts nominated but not listed as claiments. The number of edges is the connections between them.
- The number of connected components: 1
- The size of the giant component: 38 nodes and 65 edges

- Average degree: 3.421
- Small world coefficient (sigma > 1): 1.585

This community network exhibits higher levels of clustering and shorter path length distances than randomly simulated networks of the same size. We were able to find evidence of a small world network which suggest the community may benefit from high levels of connectedness and cohesiveness.

Prominent claimants in this network:

- Claimant **706** received the highest number of nominations in terms of *indegree* and has the highest *betweenness*, *pagerank* and *authority* scores. This person is a leader in this community or holds a position of power or respect and their importance is determined by the importance of people they are connected to. They are also linked to hubs or primary sources of information. Additionaly, this person is a bridge in this community role and is vital to the connecting of people and spreading of information. This ability to connect different people across the network makes them influential.
- Claimant **703** sent the highest number of nominations in terms of *outdegree* and has the highest neighbourhood *transitivity*, *reciprocity*, and *hierarchy* scores and *hub* scores. These people are informers or active people in the community who are linked to other people in positions of authority. They also have a high number of triad closures in their neighbourhood of contacts which suggests close-knit or dense ties.

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Average Degree:
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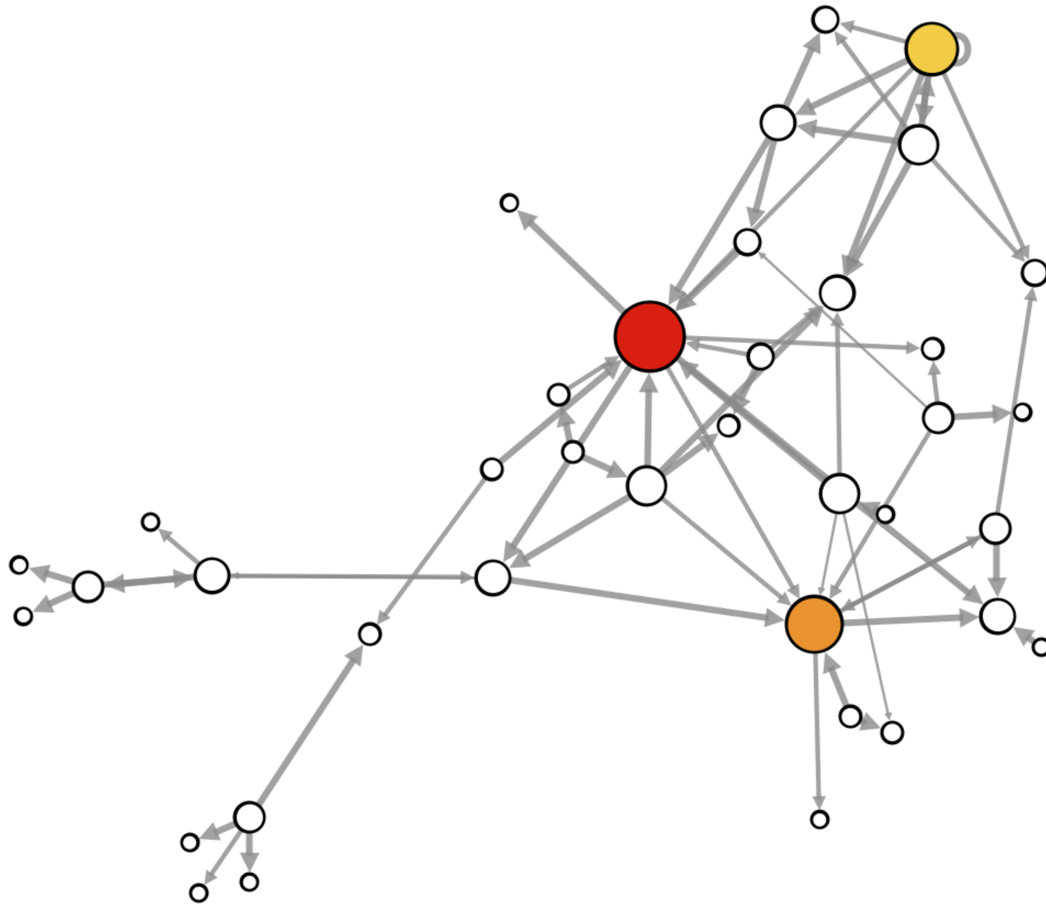

Using community detection techniques, we detect 5 (weakly partitioned) subgroups/clusters within the network.

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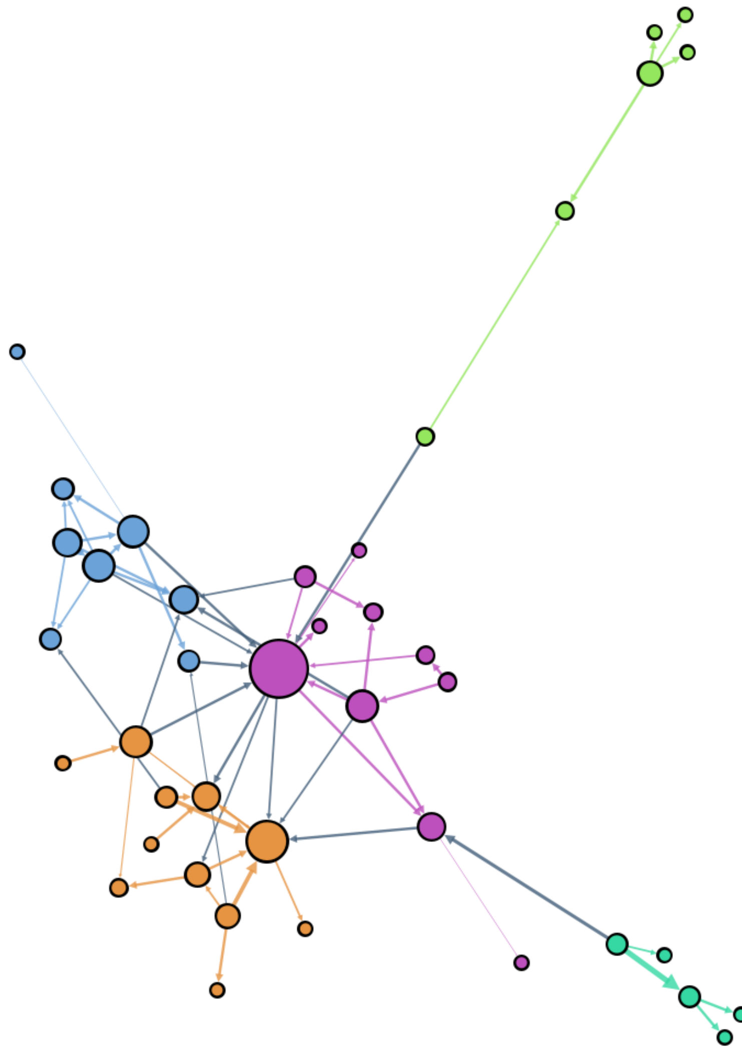
`Community Network:`



After simultating multiple diffusion models, we find that starting with 10% of the network asssigned as first adopters, the diffusion process will on average reach between 20% and 25% of the population in 5 steps. When we change the first adopters to people who have high values of centrality, we find a similar average outcome after 5 steps, except in the case where high *betweenness centrality* scores are chosen. Suprisingly, less nodes are reached in total. Similarly, when the diffusion process starts off with people nested deeply with the core of the network, we find possible containment effects or an exclusion of outside nodes.

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Diffusion Network:
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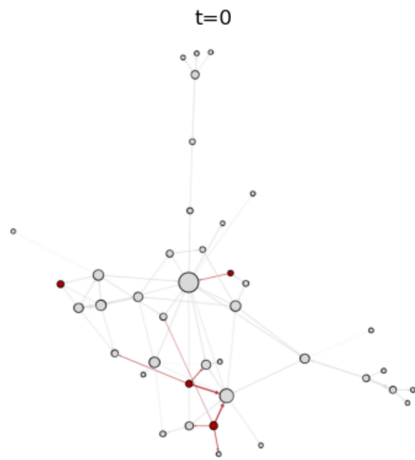

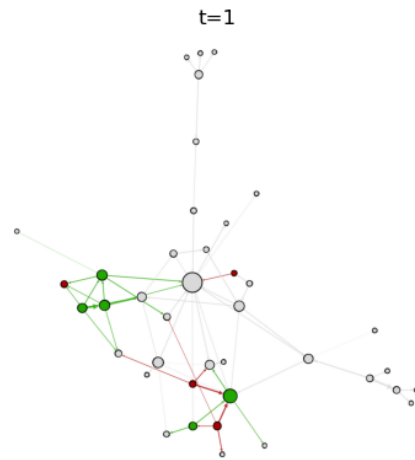

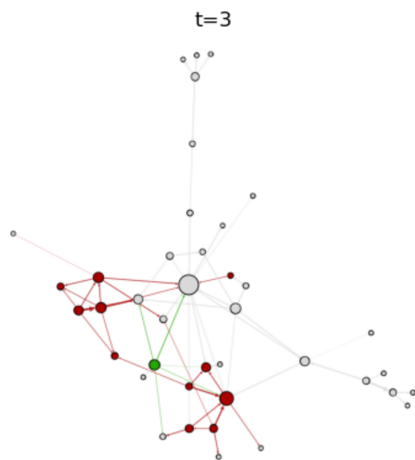

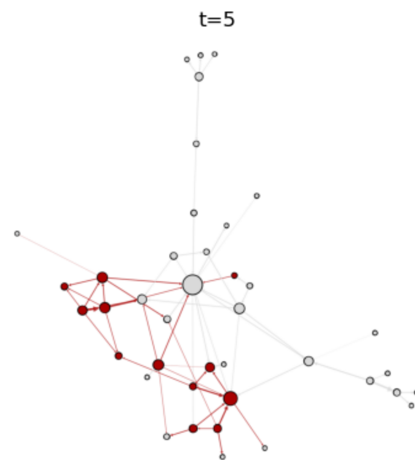

St. Xavier

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Average Degree:
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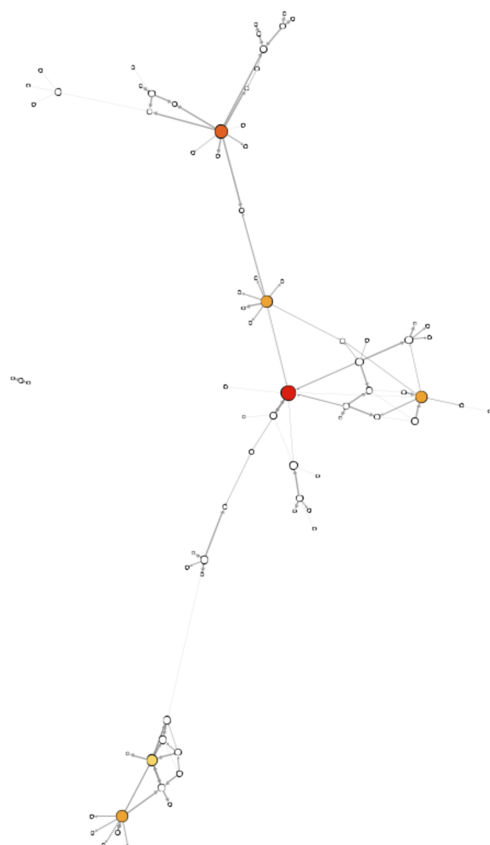


- The total number of claimants surveyed: 35
- The total size of the (directed) network: 81 nodes and 104 edges. The number of nodes includes surveyed claimants, claimants nominated but not survyed, and “other” contacts nominated but not listed as claiments. The number of edges is the connections between them.
- The number of connected components: 3
- The size of the giant component: 75 nodes and 100 edges
- Average degree: 2.568
- Small world coefficient (sigma > 1): 1.259

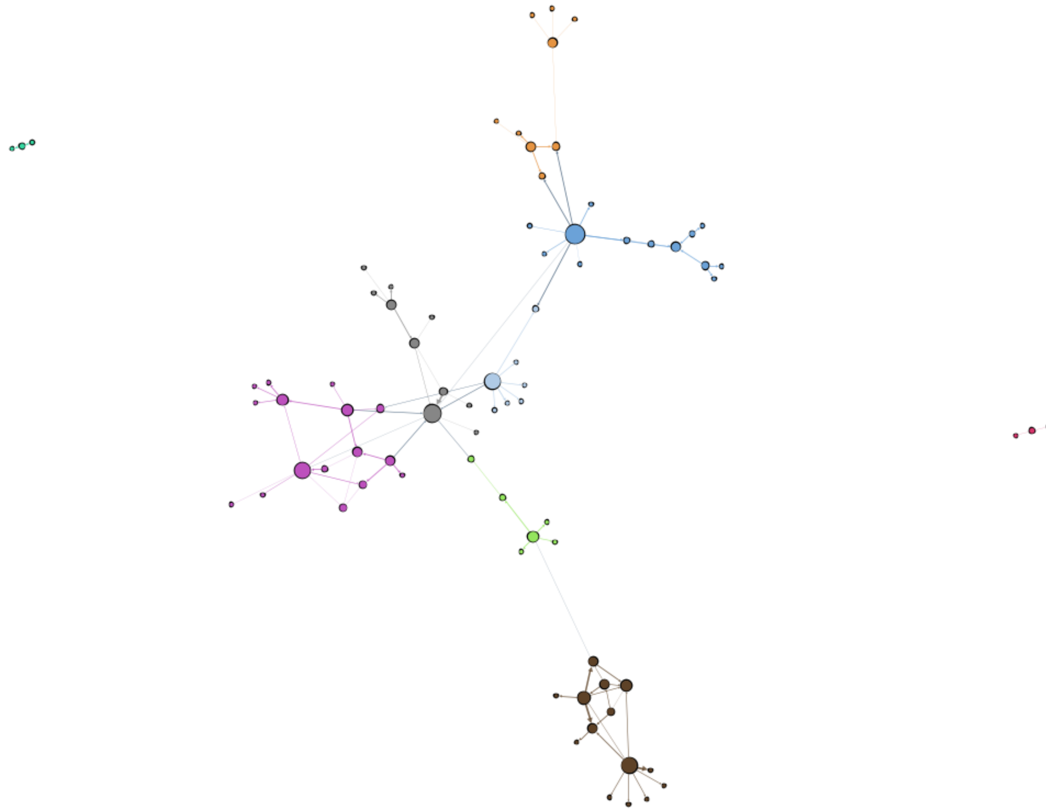
This community network exhibits higher levels of clustering and shorter path length distances than

randomly simulated networks of the same size. We find evidence of a small world network which suggest the community may benefit from high levels of connectedness and cohesiveness.

Prominent claimants in this network:

- Claimant **879** received the highest number of nominations in terms of *indegree* and has the highest *betweenness*, *pagerank* and *authority* scores. This person is a leader in this community or holds a position of power or respect and their importance is determined by the importance of people they are connected to. They are also linked to hubs or primary sources of information. Additionaly, this person is a bridge in this community role and is vital to the connecting of people and spreading of information. This ability to connect different people across the network makes them influential.
- Claimant **771** sent the highest number of nominations in terms of *outdegree* and has the highest neighbourhood *hierarchy* scores and *hub* scores. These people are informers or active people in the community who are linked to other people in positions of authority.

Community Network:



Using community detection techniques, we detect 9 (strongly partitioned) subgroups/clusters within the network. In other words, 9 distinct groups were found to have very dense connections within each other and sparse connections between each other.

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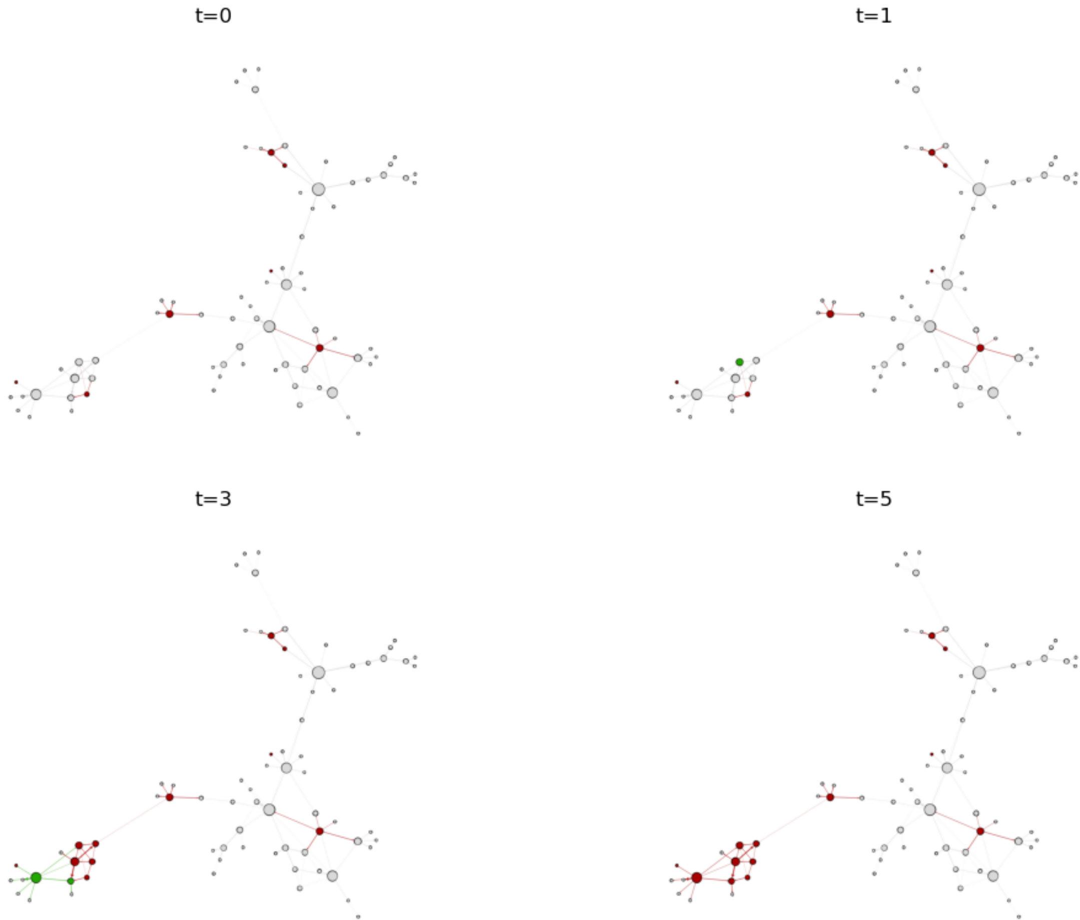
`Diffusion Network:`



After simultating multiple diffusion models, we find that starting with 10% of the network asssigned as first adopters, the diffusion process will on average reach between 13% and 16% of the population in 5 steps. When we change the first adopters to people who have high values of centrality, we find a similar average outcome after 5 steps. When we specify initial adopters as people who have high degrees of centrality, we find a similar average outcome after 5 steps. We also note that more isolated nodes are reached when people with high *betweenness centrality* scores are the first to adopt. Conversely, when the diffusion process starts off with people nested deeply with the core of the network, we find extreme containment effects or an exclusion of outside nodes as no further diffusion process occurs after first adoption.

Phatheni

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Average Degree:
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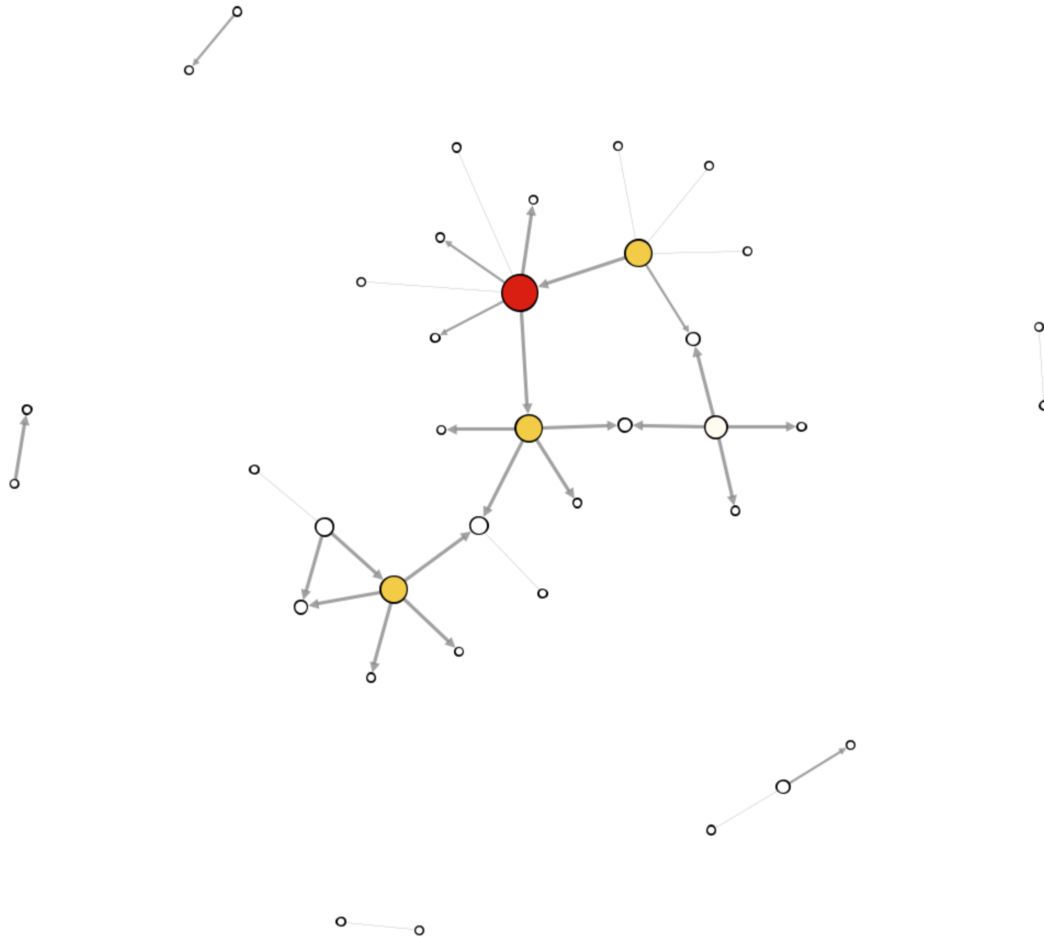


- The total number of claimants surveyed: 18
- The total size of the (directed) network: 37 nodes and 33 edges. The number of nodes includes surveyed claimants, claimants nominated but not survyed, and “other” contacts nominated but not listed as claiments. The number of edges is the connections between them.
- The number of connected components: 6
- The size of the giant component: 26 nodes and 27 edges
- Average degree: 1.784
- Small world coefficient (sigma > 1): 1.644

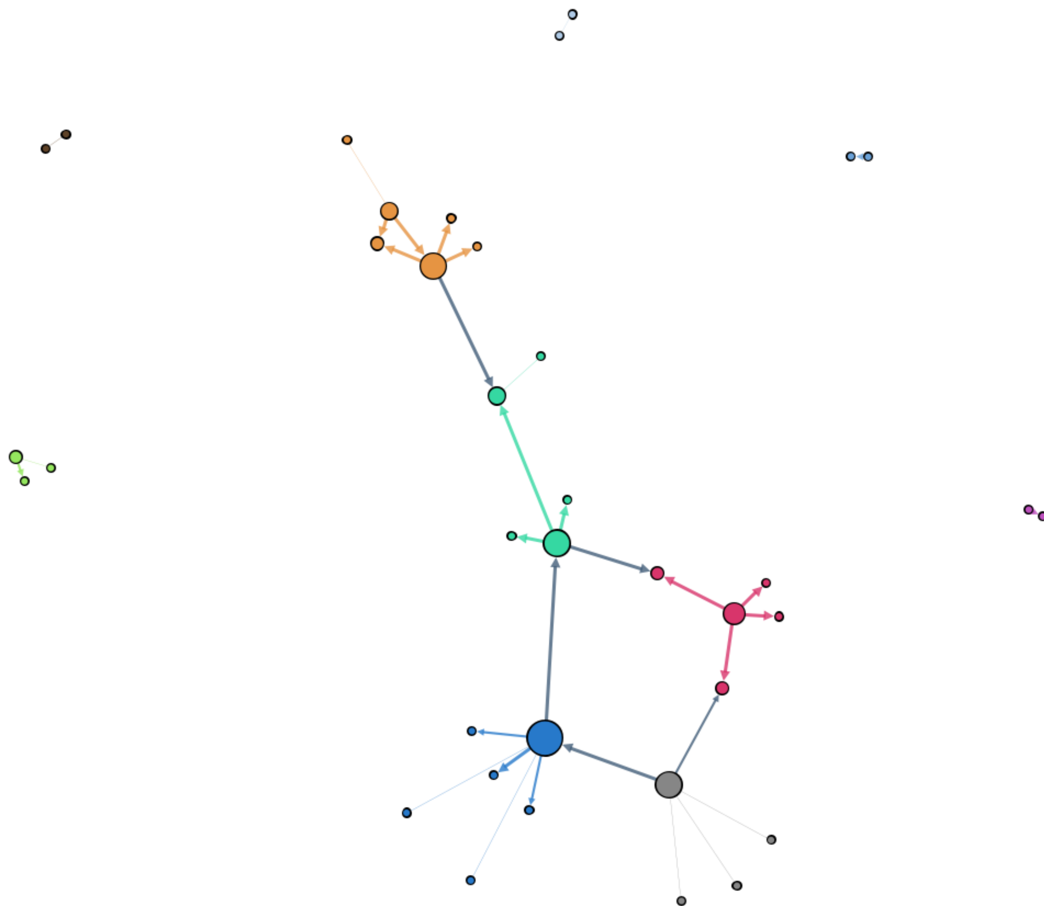
This community network exhibits higher levels of clustering and shorter path length distances than randomly simulated networks of the same size. We were able to find evidence of a small

world network which suggest the community may benefis from high levels of connectedness and cohesiveness.

Prominent claimants in this network:

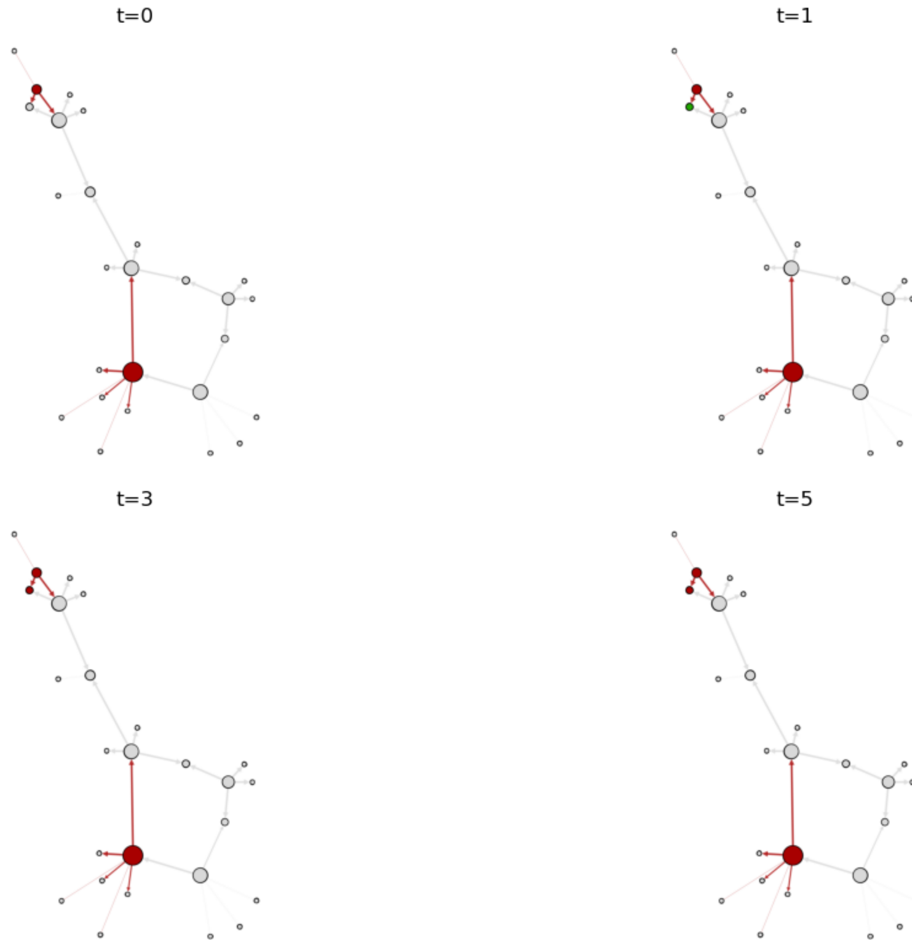
- Claimant **195** sent the highest number of nominations in terms of *outdegree* and has the highest *betweenness* and *hub* scores. These people are informers or active people in the community who are linked to other people in positions of authority. They are a bridge in this community role and is vital to the connecting of people and spreading of information. This ability to connect different people across the network makes them influential.

Community Network:



Using community detection techniques, we detect 10 (strongly partitioned) subgroups/clusters within the network. In other words, 10 distinct groups were found to have very dense connections within each other and sparse connections between each other.

Diffusion Network:



After simultating multiple diffusion models, we find that starting with 10% of the network asssigned as first adopters, the diffusion process will on average reach between 10% and 12% of the population in 5 steps. When we change the first adopters to people who have high values of centrality, we find a similar average outcome after 5 steps. The results from this network are fairly consistent across the different diffusion simulations.