

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **RESEARCH PROBLEM AND RESEARCH DESIGN**

#### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

The implementation of public policy is undertaken by public administrators operating within public institutions, hence the focus and locus of the research will be on the administrative aspects of policy implementation as it happens within a public service environment. The purpose of this chapter is to explain in detail what the research is about, and how the research was conducted.

Public Administration as an applied social science uses a number of research methods as the basis for conducting research. *Research* can be defined as “the process of systematically acquiring data to answer a question or solve a problem” (Strauss & Corbin in McNabb, 2002:5). Since research is a process-driven activity, research methodology refers to the steps involved as well as choices made in terms of appropriate research methods to use in solving a problem. The chapter will also briefly outline as well as justify the choice of research methods used in this study. The choice of research methods shall be discussed in the context of the following: research into public administration and specifically governance, public policy analysis and public policy implementation.

#### **1.2 RESEARCH INTO PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

Public Administration research concerns itself with how to improve the practice of public administration, hence its applied nature (Rutgers in McNabb, 2002:16). In its quest to improve the practical side of the discipline, concepts as well as research methods have been borrowed from other disciplines (Garson & Overman, Lan & Anders, Stivers in McNabb, 2002:16). Kuye (in Kuye, Thornhill, Fourie, Brynard, Crous, Mafunisa, Roux, Van Dijk & van Rooyen, 2002:1) is of the opinion that to understand the modern concepts of the discipline of Public Administration a need exists to embrace the transdisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches. According to Kuye (in Kuye *et al.*, 2002:2), the following two factors affect the significance of the transdisciplinary and

interdisciplinary approaches, and have a significant influence on public administration research:

- the adaptation and expansion of concepts borrowed from other disciplines; and
- the use of findings from other disciplines.

The use of concepts borrowed from other disciplines does not dilute the importance and significance of Public Administration as a scientific discipline, but rather enhances the ability to understand the social phenomena under study, namely the practice of public administration. The practice of public administration is in itself a social construct, which is undertaken by people within a given socio-political context, hence the need to borrow concepts from other social science disciplines.

Denhardt (in Lynn & Wildavsky, 1990:52), proposes that the Burrell and Morgan model (1979) used for classification of theories of organisation, be adapted to the study of the theories of Public Administration. The model adapted by Denhardt (in Lynn & Wildavsky, 1990: 54) is presented in figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: Classification of theories of Public Administration



According to Denhardt (in Lynn & Wildavsky, 1990:52), the subjective/objective dimensions focus on related questions of human nature, ontology, epistemology and methodology. Denhardt (in Lynn & Wildavsky, 1990:52) agree with the definitions by Burrell and Morgan, firstly, of the subjective dimension to say that it relates to “an understanding of the way in which the individual creates, modifies, and interprets the

world in which he or she finds himself” and secondly, of the objective dimension to say it relates to a search for “universal laws which explain and govern the reality which is being observed”.

In the context of Public Administration, research aligned towards the subjective dimension views the individual as capable of shaping and giving meaning to the social world in which he/she lives, whereas research aligned towards the objective dimension seeks to define structures and laws that determine the behaviour of individuals within their social setting. Exponents of the objective dimension have according to Denhardt (in Lynn & Wildavsky, 1990:58), always maintained the viewpoint that public and private organisations are the same, and that in studying them, generic principles of organisation and management, which are not underpinned by Public Administration theory, can be applied.

The subjective dimension, according to Denhardt (in Lynn & Wildavsky, 1990:58), covers a number of organisational and political topics, whose concern is to derive meaning from the perspective of those who were directly involved in the experiences. This dimension assumes the interpretive epistemological approach in recognising the fact that meaning is both individually and socially constructed. According to Denhardt (in Lynn & Wildavsky, 1990:58), the subjective dimension is consistent with the trends in the social sciences, and has assumed the level of orthodoxy in Public Administration. The differences and shifts in the theoretical approaches among the Public Administration theorists are much more discernible within the subjective/objective dimension, than within the organisational/political dimension (Denhardt in Lynn & Wildavsky, 1990:58). This is due mainly to the fact that the issues of political concern such as accountability and responsiveness cannot be delinked from issues of organisational concern such as efficiency and effectiveness.

In terms of practical application of the analytical model to the understanding and classification of the literary positions of various scholars, Denhardt (in Lynn & Wildavsky 1990:54) proposes that articles with a more subjective dimension, but which are focused on political issues, tend to focus on issues pertaining to the role of public administrators in governance issues. However, issues of values and ethics are of critical importance in understanding the administrative actions undertaken by public administrators. Those articles leaning more towards the objective dimension, and which are focused on political issues, are concerned mainly with the development of models of governance to enhance decision making, public choice and accountability with regard to public policy issues. Articles having an objective dimension, but which are focused on organisational issues, are generally concerned with development of theories and models for organisation, management and control of organisations. Articles having a subjective dimension, but which are focused on organisational issues, recognise the fact that improvement in organisational efficiency and effectiveness can be achieved by drawing on the lessons of how public organisations go about implementing their policies, hence the recognition of qualitative research.

The analytical model by Denhardt (in Lynn & Wildavsky, 1990:54-63), like any framework of analysis, has its own deficiencies in that it cannot comprehensively describe and categorise theoretical developments in a complex social phenomenon such as Public Administration. It nevertheless is a useful tool, which will form the analytical framework for literature review in the chapter on Public Administration. This research integrates both the subjective experiences of public officials with the relevant theories to develop grounded theory on the factors responsible for the ineffective administration of the LRAD programme in the North West Province.

## 1.3 DEFINITION OF TERMS

### 1.3.1 Triangulation

The purpose of triangulation in qualitative research is to ensure that the research process is legitimate by conforming to the scientific requirements of rigour, without necessarily adopting the scientific requirements of the quantitative paradigm (Tobin & Begley, 2004:390). According to Tobin and Begley (2004:389), triangulation emerged as an attempt from those using naturalistic methods of enquiry to justify that their methods meet the scientific standards of validity, reliability and generalisability as employed in the rationalistic approaches. However, Tobin and Begley (2004:389-390) synthesise the views of various scholars in the naturalistic paradigm to indicate that the language employed in the rationalistic paradigm cannot be transferred as is to explain the epistemological and ontological philosophical beliefs within the naturalistic paradigm.

Triangulation can be undertaken through a variety of means, as follows:

- constant comparative method (if an issue appears more frequently, this increases its saliency) (Smith & Biley in Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999:379);
- interdisciplinary triangulation (the use of knowledge from different disciplines to solve one problem) (Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:169);
- investigator triangulation (the use of multiple researchers, who conduct the investigation independent of each other) (Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:169; Denzin in Thurmond, 2001:254);
- methodological triangulation (the use of a number of methodological approaches on one problem) (Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:169; Smith & Biley in Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999:379), which can also be further classified into:
  - the within method, where the researcher uses research methods from one research paradigm only, namely the qualitative paradigm or the quantitative paradigm; and
  - the between or across method, where the researcher combines research methods from both the qualitative and quantitative paradigms (Thurmond, 2001:254);
- participant triangulation (the more people highlight the importance of a particular issue, the more the 'truth value' of that is being confirmed) (Smith & Biley in

- Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999:379), of which Alvesson (in Cox & Hassard, 2005:121) cautions against assuming the ‘truth value’ of a particular issue frequently raised by interviewees since they are affected by environmental context as well as by “the cultural scripts about how one should normally express oneself on particular topics”; and
- theory triangulation (the use of different theoretical perspectives on a single set of data) (Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:169).

Blaikie (in Cox & Hassard, 2005:114) highlights the reality of encountering convergence and divergence of views when using methodological triangulation in a subjectivist epistemology and how to interpret them by saying that “convergence may mean consensus exists on how reality is viewed, or that a common reality is shared, while a lack of convergence may reflect legitimate and different views of reality, or the habituation of different social worlds”. According to Blaikie (in Cox & Hassard, 2005:114), such differences of views as described above, cannot serve to attribute bias to or against any method.

The choice of research strategies will not automatically translate into enhanced validity of the findings. What matters most is the ability of the researcher to decipher meaning and draw conclusions by contrasting and integrating the facts as generated by the various research strategies. In an effort to move away from the lingering shadow of the rationalist approach as epitomised by its emphasis on the validity of findings, researchers from the interpretive background proposed criteria by which research studies conducted within the naturalistic paradigm could be judged for adherence to the rigour of validity, reliability and generalisability. Lincoln and Guba (in Tobin & Begley, 2004:391) suggest such criteria:

- *confirmability* (comparable with objectivity or neutrality) refers to the process of ensuring that data presented is the data actually collected and that the interpretation of findings is aligned to the data (Tobin & Begley, 2004:391);
- *credibility* (comparable with internal validity) refers to the degree of ‘fit’ between the views of respondents, and how the researcher represents (explains) those views (Schwandt in Tobin & Begley 2004:391);
- *dependability* (comparable with reliability) refers to establishing an audit trail of data documentation, methods employed, decisions taken and the final product,

so as to enable other researchers to audit the process, assess the logic followed by the researcher, and to authenticate confirmability (Tobin & Begley, 2004:391); and

- *transferability* (comparable with external validity) refers to whether findings can be applied widely, of which in the context of naturalistic studies, where case studies are sometimes employed, results may not find wider application beyond the research case concerned.

Arminio and Hultgren (in Tobin & Begley, 2004:391) discuss the concept of ‘goodness’ not so much as a separate construct, but as an integral component of measuring the rigour with which the entire research process (meaning the entire study) was conducted (Tobin & Begley, 2004: 391). Arminio and Hultgren (in Tobin & Begley, 2004:391) suggest six factors which can be used as a measure of goodness in interpretive studies, namely:

- foundation (epistemology and theory), which locates the study within a given philosophical and theoretical context (epistemologically and ontologically), and informs the study;
- approach (methodology), which grounds the study within a particular research framework and criteria;
- collection of data (method), which provides information about how data were collected and managed;
- representation of voice (researcher and participant as subjects who both shape and inform the content of the study), whereby researchers outline their relationship with participants, as well as the phenomena under exploration;
- the art of meaning-making (how findings are interpreted and presented), which is a process through which new insights are derived and presented; and
- implication for practical application of the findings (e.g. recommendations).

The concept of ‘goodness’ as suggested by Arminio and Hultgren (in Tobin and Begley, 2004:391) should not be viewed as a linear process since qualitative research is dynamic and interactive and involves a “...constant process of moving back and forth between design and implementation” (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson & Spiers in Tobin & Begley, 2004:391). While the efforts of Arminio and Hultgren (in Tobin & Begley, 2004:391) were lauded, concern was raised (Tobin & Begley, 2004:391) that such a

move away from the positivist language can create confusion in the already turbulent waters of the naturalistic paradigm, which is trying to justify that it too is following the rigour of validity, reliability and generalisability.

### **1.3.2 Idiographic and nomothetic explanation**

*Idiographic explanation* means establishing an exhaustive list of causal reasons or factors to explain in idiosyncratic detail the circumstances unique to a particular situation (Babbie, 2005:19; Williams in May, 2002:125). According to Babbie (2005:20), the fact that some of the causal factors might be applicable to other circumstances is only incidental, since the intention is to explain a unique case fully.

The reasoning applied in idiographic explanation can be applied to inductive inquiry. If after studying and describing a number of independent events and a set of causal factors common to all events emerges, a theory can be developed describing in general terms the relationship between the factors and the variable under observation.

*Nomothetic explanation* identifies a few causal reasons or factors that generally impact on a particular event or situation (Babbie, 2005:21). The relevance and significance of the causal factors can be qualified with generic words or phrases such as “on the whole”, “usually”, or “all else being equal”; thus providing a partial explanation of events (Babbie, 2005:21). In the same manner as for idiographic explanation, the reasoning behind nomothetic explanation can be applied to deductive inquiry. The preceding theory or hypothesis can be tested for its validity by examining the relationship between variables.

### **1.3.3 Quantitative research paradigm**

The quantitative research paradigm can manifest itself in a number of forms as follows:

- measuring the properties of phenomena in numerical terms;
- the description and analysis of social phenomena through the analysis of variables; and
- the use of experimental and statistical controls so as to control the sources of error in research (Babbie & Mouton, 2005:49).



The quantitative methodological paradigm is sometimes linked to the *positivist* school of thought, which is a research epistemology that takes the approach that social science research has to be objective, and must deal with measurable and verifiable propositions, which can serve to explain and predict observable social events (Babbie & Mouton, 2005:27; Kincheloe in Maykut & Morehouse, 2001:3). Quantitative information on the administration of the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) programme in the North West Province will be provided to corroborate the qualitative findings and to enrich the value of this research in general.

#### **1.3.4 Qualitative research paradigm**

Qualitative research falls under the broad umbrella of the phenomenological paradigm or approach (Patton in Maykut & Morehouse, 2001:3). The phenomenological approach focuses on the meaning people attach to their social environment (Patton in Maykut & Morehouse, 2001:3), and adopts a position that since human beings and their environment co-exist, the only meaning that human beings have, is based on their interaction with the world (Valle & King in Maykut & Morehouse, 2001:3).

*Qualitative research* refers broadly to the use of research methods that subscribe to a non-positivist epistemology (Gabrelian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:167). According to Gabrelian (in Miller & Whicker, 1999:167), qualitative research methods could mean one of the following:

- the underlying research epistemology in terms of applicable methods used to generate knowledge;
- the research strategy or design used with a view of revealing and interpreting meanings people attach to their social environment; and
- specific techniques of a non-numeric nature.

## 1.4 POSTULATES OF THE QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE RESEARCH PARADIGMS

The postulates of the positivist paradigm and phenomenological approach (alternate paradigm) as adapted by Maykut and Morehouse (2001:12), are presented in table 1.1.

**Table 1.1: Postulates of research paradigms**

Questions	Postulates of the positivist paradigm	Postulates of the phenomenological approach
How does the world work?	There is only one objective reality, which can be understood by studying its constitutive parts	There are multiple realities, which are socio-psychologically constructed and interconnected into a whole
What is the relationship between the knower and the known?	The knower can objectively observe that which is to be known	The knower and the known depend on each other for knowledge
What role do values play in understanding reality?	The knower can suspend his/her values in order to understand	Values mediate and shape the meaning of what is to be understood
Are causal linkages possible?	One event precedes another and can be said to cause it	Multiple events shape one another in a multidirectional way
What is the possibility of generalisation?	Generalisations can be made from one event, place and time to another	Events in one place and time can only offer tentative explanations
What does research contribute to knowledge?	Verification or proof of propositions	To discover or uncover the underlying meaning behind the proposition
	Quantitative research	Qualitative research

	approach	approach
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Adapted from Lincoln and Guba (in Maykut & Morehouse, 2001:12)

## 1.5 CHOICE OF RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODS

Public Administration research must have practical utility in terms of:

- understanding the problems of society better; and
- managing and controlling the affairs of society better.

It has been imperative for the researcher to take a literary position in terms of which understanding of the concepts would be relevant given the institutional context in which the LRAD programme was administered. The choice of which meaning to attach to concepts within the context of the study will influence the choice of research methods as well as the questions to ask. The challenge therefore is to mesh into a coherent and intelligible whole the pre-emptive position and understanding of the researcher with the knowledge and experiences of the participants, to create a new understanding with regard to challenges in the administration of the LRAD programme. The above postulate that the knower and the known depend on each other for knowledge (Maykut & Morehouse, 2001:12) is valid in this regard. The choice of research methods, research techniques, as well as questions to be asked has to be designed such that the methods and techniques recognise the mutual dependence of the knower and the known on knowledge.

In the context of this study, *administration* refers to exercising the functions that are common among the actions undertaken by government institutions with the purpose of accomplishing the goals and objectives of public policies (Botes, Brynard, Fourie, & Roux, 1992:298).

The generic approach to Public Administration as proposed by Cloete (1994:58-59) classifies the generic functions (classified into conceptual and managerial) as follows:

- policy-making and analysis;
- organising;
- staffing;
- financing;

- determining work methods and procedures; and
- controlling.

These functions are not independent from each other. In the administration of government policies, managers integrate the generic functions in a manner that ensures the achievement of policy objectives. LRAD programme administration involves the integration of the generic administrative functions towards the achievement of the target to redistribute 30% of white-owned agricultural land by the year 2014. Effective administration of the LRAD programme means the achievement of the policy outputs, and policy integration by management is instrumental in achieving LRAD programme outputs. *Governance* in the context of this study refers to the integrated interaction of systems, procedures and human dynamics in order to achieve LRAD programme objectives. This position is consistent with the view by Heinrich and Lynn (2000:4-5), namely that in the context of public policy administration, governance implies a configuration of interrelated factors which induce public programmes and performance of government institutions, and also mediate the effects of particular strategies undertaken to bring about particular changes in society. The configuration of these factors depends on temporal, spatial and institutional effects.

A given configuration provides a context for administration of the LRAD and induces or constrains the performance of the institutions responsible for implementation of the programme. It also mediates the effects of the strategies undertaken to bring about changes as envisaged in the programme. In the context of public policy administration, a given governance regime can by extension to the reference made above for institutions, induce or constrain the exercise of effective management. It is therefore important to understand the governance context as manifested by the configuration of major occurrences during crucial times since the inception of the LRAD programme and to understand the possible effect they had on the successful implementation of the programme.

The exercising of managerial functions involves integration of government policy in order to achieve the objectives set out for the programme. The management therefore performs an enabling function in the accomplishment of the programme objectives. The study also assumes the position that the exercising of managerial functions do not rest

with one individual at the top of the hierarchy, but with managers with collective managerial responsibilities. In the context of the foregoing statement it is evident that since the administrative executives change, public institutions will always continue to pursue the broader goals of society. The research does, therefore, not concern the managerial qualities of individual managers, but how the managerial functions were exercised to adapt the institution to changes in the framework for LRAD programme administration. Given the above motivation on governance and leadership, a qualitative approach is being adopted. The following section discusses the various qualitative research methods to be used for collecting data.

## **1.6 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS**

### **1.6.1 Case studies**

A case study method refers to “the in-depth examination of a single instance of some social phenomenon” (Babbie, 2005:306; Flyvbjerg, 2006:220). The term *case* can be used to refer to a number of phenomena; as such there is no universal consensus (Ragin & Becker in Babbie, 2005:306; Baker, 1994:299). The case being studied might refer to a group of people, a single organisation, an event, a decision such as a policy or programme, a period of time, a phenomenon taking place within an institution, or a combination thereof. In the context of this research, a case refers to a combination of institutions, namely the North West Provincial Government, and the LRAD programme, and the six-year period since inception in August 2001 up until the 2006/07 financial year during which the programme was administered.

A case study is useful in evaluating the effectiveness by which government institutions that receive public funding have administered public programmes (Baker, 1994:302). Case studies can be used for descriptive purposes, or can serve to yield valuable explanatory insights (Babbie, 2005:306; Flyvbjerg, 2006:223). Case studies can also take on an idiographic approach to understanding the causal factors pertaining to a specific occurrence, while in some instances they can serve as the basis for development of more general theories consistent with the nomothetic approach (Babbie, 2005:306; Flyvbjerg, 2006:223). The grounded theory method serves as an example of a nomothetic approach (Babbie, 2005:306), and will be discussed below.

## 1.6.2 Grounded theory

Grounded theory resulted from a synthesis by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (Babbie, 2005:304; Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:188) of a positivist paradigm, which emphasise a more systematic approach to research, with the interactionist paradigm. Glaser and Strauss's method focuses on the interpretive process and the meaning that people attach as they interpret the phenomena which they encounter, and the potential for the interpretive process to generate theories (Douglas, 2003:44; Suddaby, 2006: 633-634). Theories are developed through an iterative process of 'constant comparison', which requires the researcher to analyse data as it is being collected (Corbin & Strauss, 1990:6; Parry, 1998:89; Suddaby, 2006:634,). When engaging in the process of constant comparison, original propositions of the nature of relationships between phenomena (as informed by substantive theory in a particular scientific discipline) are validated against observational data, until grounded theory emerges, which outlines patterns, themes and common categories as they relate the concepts, their properties and their dimensions in a systematic way (Babbie, 2005:305; Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:188; Parry, 1998:89).

Glaser and Strauss (in Perry, 1998:788) concede that "in practice it is difficult to ignore a theory accrued in one's mind before commencing the research process", hence Perry's view (1998:789) that pure induction might deny the researcher an opportunity to benefit from existing theory which he/she can employ as evidence to corroborate the research findings through triangulation, and that pure induction might limit the possibility of generating new theories.

Grounded theorists thus often undertake a study with background information about the phenomenon which they are to study, which serves as vantage point in terms of:

- formulating initial conceptual assumptions about the phenomenon; and
- the kinds of questions to ask in relation to the research topic (Charmaz, 2006:16).

The solution is therefore to find a trade-off between pure deduction (the use of prior theory as it exists in literature), and pure induction (concepts and theory as they emerge from exploratory studies), through a process that informs the research protocol of the

main or full-blown study and does not attempt to force the data to fit a priori determined assumptions, concepts and categories derived from literature (Perry, 1998:790; Suddaby, 2006:635). Corbin and Strauss (in Babbie, 2005:305) are of the opinion that for the researcher to be both systematic and creative, the following three guidelines must be followed:

- the researcher must assume that the data do not lie, and should constantly question his/her perception of reality against actual data;
- to treat all theoretical explanations, categories, hypotheses and questions about data, as provisional and continue subjecting them against actual data until the final picture emerges; and
- the researcher must be rigorous in the collection and analysis of data.

A *concept*, which is the basic unit of analysis for describing or explaining the relatively stable and recurrent features of a phenomenon, and not *data* which is idiosyncratic to a particular investigative context and thus unstable (Haig, 1995:4), earns the right to form part of the theory by repeatedly being present in interviews, observations and official government documents in one form or another (Corbin & Strauss, 1990:7). The other concept pertaining to grounded theory development is *theoretical sampling*, whereby decisions about which data to collect next are informed by the concepts pertaining to the phenomenon under study and the theory as it is being constructed and emerging (Corbin & Strauss, 1990:8; Suddaby, 2006:634). The concept of *constant comparison* works against the positivist understanding of the separation of data collection and data analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 1990:6; Suddaby, 2006:634), whereas *theoretical sampling* goes against the ideal of hypothesis testing in that data to be collected next are not informed by an a priori determined hypothesis but by hypothesis evolved from data (Suddaby, 2006:634). When undertaking theoretical sampling, the researcher selects individuals, a group or groups, organisation/s, or a community that can best represent the phenomenon that he/she wants to study, and where predetermined concepts, their properties, dimensions and variations can be adequately studied (Corbin & Strauss, 1999:8).

In a typical government work situation, the researcher would thus be sampling the following (Corbin & Strauss, 1999:8):

- the incidents, events and happenings which denote the work that an organisation does, or that individuals within an organisation do;
- the conditions that facilitate, interrupt, or prevent the work;
- the action/interaction by which it is expressed; and
- the consequences that result.

Grounded theory use coding as the key analytic process, of which open coding, axial coding and selective coding can be distinguished (Douglas, 2003:47; Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:188; Weiss & Llyod, 2002:62; Zafeiriou, Nunes & Ford, 2001:85). Data coding begins with *open coding*, which is “the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data” (Douglas, 2003:47; Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:188; Weiss & Lloyd, 2002:62; Zafeirou *et al.*, 2001:85). The process begins by attaching conceptual labels to actions, attitudes or views as they emerge from data (Douglas, 2003:47; Weiss & Lloyd, 2002:62).

*Axial coding* is the next possibility after open coding, and involves a systematic process of making causal connections between categories (Douglas, 2003:47-48; Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:188; Weiss & Lloyd, 2002:63; Zafeiriou *et al.*, 2001:85). *Causal conditions* are defined as “events or incidents that lead to the occurrence or the development of the phenomenon” (Coyle, 1999:104; Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:189).

*Selective coding* involves the selection of the core category or central phenomenon, and linking all other categories to the core category (Douglas, 2003:48; Weiss & Lloyd, 2002: 63; Zafeiriou *et al.*, 2001:86). All the other categories must be directly or indirectly linked to the core category by way of context or setting, causal and intervening conditions, actions, interactions and consequences (Corbin & Strauss, 1990:14; Douglas, 2003:48). The core category can emerge from existing categories, in the absence of which an abstract term can be developed to describe the core category (Corbin & Strauss, 1990:14):

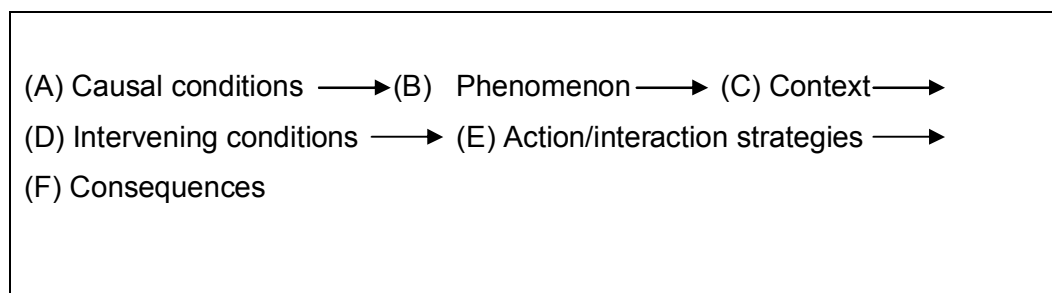
- *context* refers to the environment in which the phenomenon under study is embedded or occurs (Coyle, 1999:104; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007:25);



- the *action/interaction strategies* are the intended (formal, strategic and operational), unintended, and informal choices made within a particular context or setting in response to a phenomenon (Coyle, 1999:104);
- *intervening conditions* are defined as the “broad and general conditions bearing upon action/interaction strategies”, which may include time, space, culture, economic status, technological status, career, history and individual biography (Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:189), whereas Coyle (1999:104) defines them as the structural conditions that enhance, facilitate, or constrain the action/interaction strategies; and
- *consequences* are outcomes of the action/interaction strategies (Strauss & Corbin in Coyle, 1999:104), and they represent not so much the achievement or non-achievement of policy outputs, but the existence of specific key factors, which ultimately are critical in the achievement or non-achievement of policy outputs.

A simplified model of axial coding (Gabrielian in Miller & Whicker, 1999:189) is presented in figure 1.2.

**Figure 1.2: A simplified model of axial coding**



Source: Gabrielen (in Miller & Whicker, 1999:189)

### 1.6.3 Content analysis

Content analysis as an unobtrusive method was developed out of the assumption that the material that people produce, in the form of texts or artefacts, is embedded in ideas that people have about the social world (Bos & Tarnai, 1999:660; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006:286;). In the context of public institutions, which are the subject of this study, the people working within them routinely produce and consume written records. These records serve as a rich source of description of the role that public officials and political office-bearers have played as well as the activities carried out in the administration of government policies (Silverman, 2004:57).

Documents such as annual reports and strategic plans deal with issues of public accountability as well as the marketing of the activities of the institution, and are therefore mainly for external consumption to the legislature and the general public (Silverman, 2004:57). Some documents such as special and weekly performance reports are generated at the level of individual interactions between staff and clients, as well as among employees, and can be used in the management and validation of operational activities as well as for strategic purposes (Silverman, 2004:57). When undertaking content analysis, a researcher must decide whether to focus on manifest content (i.e. what the text says literally), or latent content (i.e. what the text talks about, alternatively, an interpretation of the underlying meaning of the text) (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004:106). Documents have inter-textual meaning; therefore their analysis must not be based on a single document alone, but on how they relate to one another (Bos & Tarnai, 1999:661; Silverman, 2004:67). In this context, documents do not only serve to mirror socially constructed reality (Bos & Tarnai, 1999:660), but they reflect and refer to other documents in a relationship based on sequence and hierarchy (Silverman, 2004:67).

In the context of an organisational setting, the inter-textual linkages can be used to identify texts dealing with particular issues, how issues have been translated into official records of the organisation, decisions taken or a lack thereof, actions taken to deal with specific issues, social systems through which documents pass, the authority relationships, events that took place at the level of those superior or subordinate to the originators, the date and time when specific actions were undertaken and documents

generated, distribution and exchange of documents; and finally the consequences of the whole process of information exchange (Silverman, 2004:69).

The method of content analysis uses “non-living forms of data”, which are non-interactive and exist independent of the researcher (Reinharz in Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006:286). Content analysis is considered to be ‘naturalistic’ in that it differs from other qualitative methods where data is influenced by the interaction of the researcher with the research object (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006:286). However, documents are, in the way that they are produced, shared and used, constructs of a social setting. Such documents may not truly represent the actual routine of organisational activities as well as decision-making processes (Silverman, 2004:58). Post-structural thought assume that a text is socially constructed, and can assume different meanings about reality depending on the approach taken by the researcher to unravel how the text assumed its current form (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006:286). Content analysis should be used with other qualitative methods in order to derive meaning from the phenomena being studied (Silverman, 2004:58).

Content analysis was originally used in the examination of written texts where quantitative methods were applied to determine the number of times a particular phenomenon under study appeared in the text (Bos & Tarnai, 1999:663; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006:286). However, the modern understanding of this method is that of a ‘hybrid technique’, which bridges statistical formalism and the qualitative taxonomic approach to data classification (Bos & Tarnai, 1999:666; Bauer in Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006:287). A quantitative approach to content analysis takes on a linear model of research design with a preconceived set of steps to follow, whereas a qualitative approach follows a spiral inductive research design where the data generated would determine the data codes and classifications, as well as the meaning they have for the researcher (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006:290-291).

*Template analysis* refers to a set of techniques used to thematically organise and analyse text data (Cassell & Symon, 2004:256). A researcher produces a list of codes or templates representing the themes that are emerging from textual data, some of which might have been developed a priori. The a priori themes will, however, be modified and adjusted as and when the text is interpreted (Cassell & Symon, 2004:256).

The technique of template analysis as used in content analysis has similarities with grounded theory as discussed above, with regard to abstraction of data to higher levels of analysis through the use of codes and categories (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004:106). Template analysis can be used in the realist qualitative approach where the emphasis is on identifying the underlying causes of human action, or it can be used in *contextual constructivist* qualitative approaches where the underlying assumption is that of multiple interpretations to a phenomenon (Cassell & Symon, 2004:256; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004:106).

## 1.7 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

The Government of the Republic of South Africa introduced various policy reform measures when it came into power in 1994, to bring about social and economic transformation. Some of the reform measures were aimed at redressing the injustices of the past, which were introduced and enforced by the previous Government. The country is now required to conform to international conventions after South Africa was accepted as a member of the supranational and international political fraternity.

One of the injustices committed by the previous Government was limiting African people's rights in land. This was done through statutory means, when the Natives Land Act (27/1913) was enacted to grant 87% of the land to White people. African people were forced to abandon their ancestral as well as leased land on which they depended for their livelihood, and were cramped in homeland areas where conditions for farming were less favourable. The results of this crowding-off effect were:

- overstocking;
- erosion of overgrazed land;
- subsistence farming;
- rural areas turning into sources for supply of migratory labour; and
- dependence of rural areas on wage income from the urban areas.

In an effort to redress these socio-economic imbalances stemming from past injustices, the post-1994 Government introduced a land redistribution programme, which serves to broaden ownership by Black people of agricultural land, as well as the restitution programme aimed at restoring ownership of land to those individuals and communities

who were dispossessed of their land through state-aided coercive means. The LRAD is a redistribution programme introduced in 2001, and it contributes towards the goal of redistributing 30% of White-owned agricultural land to Black people by 2014.

The introduction of the LRAD programme coincided with other macro policy reforms, which defined the environment which beneficiaries of the LRAD programme were to operate in. Such reforms include the deregulation of the market in line with global trends driven by the neo-liberal agenda, in which:

- the direct role of the state in the economy was to be minimised;
- countries were to liberalise their markets; and
- the size of the public service was to be reduced and some market mechanisms for public service delivery were to be introduced.

Other reforms introduced during this period were the new regulations for water usage, of which the agriculture sector is the biggest consumer. Changes were also introduced in the labour laws with minimum wages being prescribed for farm workers. The Government introduced specific support programmes to facilitate the smooth adaptation of beneficiaries of the land reform programme on the newly acquired farms, to ensure that they are able to use these farms productively. One such programme introduced by the Government is the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP). CASP funds are conditional grants issued in terms of schedule 4 of the annual Division of Revenue Act and are meant to supplement the earmarked funds allocated to provinces in terms of the equitable share of national revenue. In addition to the direct financial support given to farmers, a provincial department of agriculture is expected to provide support to land reform beneficiaries in terms of technical aspects of production, as prescribed in schedule 4 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996.

From a political point of view, previously disadvantaged people expect the Government to implement the policies speedily in terms of:

- restoring to previous owners land that was previously taken from them; and
- redressing redistributive injustices as manifested by imbalances in terms of land ownership.

The Government should at the same time not allow pressure that is brought to bear by land interest groups to result in the process of land redistribution being against the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the country, as well as other agreements and compromises reached at political level. The Government expects that those it intends to benefit through the redistribution programmes would be patient enough to allow the process to proceed in an orderly manner, while those whose land has been targeted by the redistribution policies would co-operate by making the land available for sale through a willing-seller, willing-buyer arrangement. However, the following issues emerged during the National Land Summit (2005:8-9):

- Participants confirmed that “the current approaches are not delivering land at the scale required to reach the target of 30% of White owned agricultural land redistributed by the year 2014, and is also not realising the full potential of developmental benefits associated with land reform”.
- “There is an urgent need to change the approach in order to deliver far reaching, but orderly, land and agrarian reform during the next ten years”, from 2005.
- “The overwhelming majority of participants in the summit reject the notion that the land reform process should be based solely on the notion of willing-buyer, willing-seller” (WBWS).
- “Notwithstanding the need for partnerships, the state needs to assume a stronger leading role in ensuring accelerated and sustainable land and agrarian reform”.

It was concluded that market mechanisms alone will not bring about the kind of fundamental structural change that all in the land summit agreed, is needed, and that state capacity (land summit referred to state instead of government) and resources will have to be substantially enhanced in all three spheres of government in order for the state to meet the obligation of accelerating land and agrarian reform. The enhanced capacity of the state will then be used to target beneficiaries, identify and acquire land for redistribution and support beneficiaries with a variety of support mechanisms, to enable them to become self-reliant. The land summit also concluded that enhancing the state capacity must also deal with constraints within the departments of Land Affairs and Agriculture, and must also bring about better co-ordination between government departments and spheres as a whole.

At the National Land Summit (2005:51), Moyo made a contrast between land reform in Zimbabwe and South Africa through his presentation on:

- the land arrangements and legislation of South Africa and Zimbabwe;
- how the situation pertaining to the radicalisation of land reform in Zimbabwe came about; and
- the negative consequences of international economic isolation in response to the radicalisation of land reform in that country.

The land reform developments in the neighbouring Zimbabwe put pressure on the South African government to handle land reform in an orderly manner. The United Nations, of which South Africa is a member and a co-signatory to the declaration on human rights, as well as institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), take note of progress on how the Government would manage the process of redistribution of land to the previously disadvantaged people. Both institutions have been instrumental in instituting structural adjustment programmes as well as land and agrarian reform in a number of developing countries. Simultaneously, the Government has to protect the property rights enjoyed by those who currently own agricultural land which has been acquired either through property market transactions, or through the assistance and support of the previous Government.

In the report of the National Land Summit (2005:8), it is noted that “not only is land and agrarian reform necessary to undo the injustices of history, it must also be a central component to economic transformation, and contribute towards realizing the goals of accelerated and shared growth”. The Government is thus aware of the fact that while land redistribution is a politically correct action, its implementation should not be done in a way that will destabilise national food security and the country’s competitiveness in the global market. The Government must therefore be concerned that those who have been given the opportunity to own agricultural land are able to farm the land in a productive manner, contributing to economic growth as well as national and household food security.

In the report of the National Land Summit (2005:8), it is also remarked that “international experience points to a strong association between a more equitable distribution of land and higher living standards, lower levels of rural poverty, stronger growth performance

and a more equal distribution of the national income”. The third importance of land redistribution therefore lies in the fact that land is a source of livelihood. The LRAD programme not only serves the purpose of redistributive justice, but also provides beneficiaries with an opportunity to generate their own income and increase their asset base, as well as produce their own food to support their households. These beneficiaries are also exposed to new skills and knowledge, which could positively influence their perception of life in general and their self-esteem in particular. It enables them to engage in transactions which would otherwise have been impossible to do, had they not been owners of land.

Land gives the owners and members of projects a sense of belonging and identity, and increases their social standing in their respective communities. Through the LRAD programme the Government intends to turn people who had the potential but were marginalised from participating in the mainstream economy, into productive citizens who can contribute meaningfully to economic growth while at the same time uplifting their standard of living. The LRAD programme is also intended to change the structure of the agricultural sector by increasing the number of farmers from previously disadvantaged backgrounds participating in commercial farming or the so-called first economy. The contribution of agriculture to the rural economy will be enhanced, and the dependence of rural areas on wage income will decrease. Decongestion of the already overcrowded rural areas will enable the Government to introduce more effective natural resource management programmes, as overstocked, overgrazed and eroded areas will get a chance to be rehabilitated.

Public funds were appropriated towards the LRAD programme for the purpose of improving the social and economic status of the previously disadvantaged people of this country. The success of the programme will help the Government to justify the opportunity cost of investing in this programme, as opposed to other societal priorities to which funds appropriated for the LRAD programme could have been utilised. As indicated in the report of the National Land Summit (2005:8), “all participants renewed their commitment to ensuring the redistribution of at least 30% of White owned agricultural land by the year 2014”.



The stakeholders consulted during the National Land Summit thus gave the Government a clear mandate to:

- continue with the LRAD programme;
- pursue the land redistribution targets set for 2014;
- assume a leading role pertaining to land redistribution;
- put more financial resources towards land redistribution;
- improve the capacity of the state to implement redistribution programmes;
- ensure better co-ordination between government departments and spheres of government; and
- deal with developmental issues of poverty reduction and sustainable development.

### **1.8 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The objectives of the study are:

- to create an understanding of the impact of administration on the achievement of LRAD programme objectives;
- to identify weaknesses in LRAD programme administration; and
- to suggest a model for understanding the impact of policy integration on LRAD programme administration.

### **1.9 LIMITATIONS**

The limitations of the study are as follows:

- due to limited financial resources, it was not possible to cover all areas covered by the LRAD programme;
- not all key informants could honour appointments for structured interviews; and
- not all the source documents requested for the study could be provided by the relevant parties.

## 1.10 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The LRAD programme was introduced in August 2001, as a redistribution programme replacing the Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) programme. The SLAG programme was the first attempt by the new democratic government of South Africa to redistribute White-owned agricultural land to Black people. Through the SLAG programme, beneficiary households received a grant of R16 000 per household for land acquisition.

Land redistribution carried out through the SLAG programme did not yield positive results as anticipated by the Government. The SLAG programme had up to the end of 2000 transferred close to 780 407 hectares to the intended beneficiaries, which represented only 3% of the 25 million hectares that the Government planned to have redistributed by then. Given the performance of land redistribution under the SLAG programme, the incoming Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs commissioned a study in June 1999 to review the land redistribution programme. She also imposed an immediate moratorium on the SLAG programme early in the year 2000. It was on this basis that the Government introduced the LRAD programme to bring about improved performance of the land redistribution programme in terms of agricultural land redistribution.

It emerged that the implementation of the LRAD programme does not yield positive results in terms of meeting land redistribution targets as the Government had anticipated. The Government acknowledged the fact that in spite of policy changes aimed at improving the pace of land redistribution, service delivery has not been according to expectations.

The White Paper on Land Policy (1995) recognises that certain instrumental objectives are critical for achievement of land reform goals and objectives, namely:

- integration of government policy with respect to support services to land reform beneficiaries such as property valuation, infrastructural support in respect of newly acquired farms and other developmental programmes such as provision of agricultural extension services; and

- an effective institutional framework for service-delivery, which is manifested by a strong partnership between national, provincial and local-level administrations.

The research focuses on establishing the extent to which the administration of the LRAD programme enables the Government to achieve its land redistribution policy goals and objectives.

### **1.11 RESEARCH QUESTION**

In recognising the important role of instrumental objectives in the achievement of land reform goals and objectives, the Government acknowledges the instrumentality of public administration in land reform and that without effective administration of the LRAD programme, the land redistribution target of 30% of White-owned agricultural land redistributed to Black people in 2014 will not be realised. The research question is as follows:

To what extent has there been integration of government policy pertaining to the LRAD programme administration, and to what extent has government policy integration been a factor in effective administration (i.e. in terms of achievement of policy goals and objectives) of the programme?

### **1.12 DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY**

The research is about the administration of the LRAD programme in the North West Province. The administration of the programme takes place within a context of intergovernmental relations. The framework for LRAD programme administration is mandated by a number of government policies.

In terms of institutional theory, the governance regime is considered a fixed constraint, as such, management of LRAD administering institutions would, in administering the programme, be expected to conform to the norms and expectations imposed by exogenous factors in the external environment (i.e. mainly from those who are setting the rules, namely the administrative executives at the top of the organisational hierarchies as well as political office-bearers). The continued survival and future flow of

resources to the institution are legitimised by compliance to these externally validated norms. In terms of administration of government policies, the normative expectations as described in Section 41 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, are for organs of state to ensure overall effective administration of the Government by supporting one another through:

- integrating government policy;
- developing institutional mechanisms for joint administration of government policy; and
- sharing of resources.

The resource dependence theory presents the framework for the LRAD programme as characterised by resource dependence interrelationships. Effective administration of the LRAD programme cannot be achieved unless the management of implementing institutions establishes and maintains effective intergovernmental relations. In terms of resource dependence theory, the framework for LRAD programme administration presents opportunities for implementing institutions to co-operate with one another, co-ordinate programme implementation and leverage much-needed resources. However, implementing institutions face the risk that some institutions might withhold the support and resources required by them to play their individual roles in terms of LRAD administration as well as other roles as members of a collective governance network, or might lack the internal capacity to provide the requisite resources and support. However, in terms of the resource dependence theory, the framework for LRAD administration is not viewed as a fixed constraint, thus managers of the implementing institutions are perceived as capable of taking rational decisions, interpreting the policy and the environment impacting upon the administration of the LRAD programme, and developing survival and adaptation strategies to ensure that effective administration of the programme is achieved. Public officials are capable of engaging in interpretive processes pertaining to LRAD programme administration, thus creating meaning and a new set of conditions for administration of the programme based on their own understanding of reality.

Data were collected via structured interviews (see Appendix 4 for copy of interview schedule) from key respondents responsible for LRAD programme administration in the Department of Land Affairs (DLA, now a full ministry and designated as Department of

Rural Development and Land Affairs), and the Department of Agriculture, Conservation and Environment (the DACE) in the North West Province. A list of key questions (see Appendix 4) was designed to guide and standardise the interview process for all respondents. Initially, the questions were designed to elicit from the respondents their experiences in terms of LRAD administration during two sub-periods of the study period, namely:

- period 1, which starts from inception of the programme in August 2001, and ends in the 2003/04 financial year; and
- period 2, which starts from the beginning of the 2004/05 financial year, and ends in the 2006/07 financial year.

The significance of period 1 is that the national Department of Agriculture (DOA) had not yet launched a programme for post-settlement support of land redistribution beneficiaries. CASP was launched in the 2004/05 financial year by the DOA as a conditional grant for provincial departments of agriculture (PDAs) to give post-settlement support (70% of funds meant for land reform beneficiaries) to land reform beneficiaries.

It was anticipated that because respondents have been involved with LRAD programme administration since its inception, they would provide information that was unique to each of the above-mentioned periods. The same set of questions was to be used for both periods. However, during the first interview it became clear that other than the respondents recognising these two periods as distinct, the responses were almost similar for both periods thus not allowing for the dynamics of both periods to come through. The researcher then made an adjustment by combining the two periods into one period stretching from the inception of the programme in August 2001 up until the end of the 2006/07 financial year, with the same set of questions being used but complemented by documentary evidence to comprehend what was happening, where, when and how.

The interview questions (see Appendix 4) were mainly intended to obtain the following information from the respondents:

- their understanding of what effective administration of the LRAD programme entails;
- their understanding of their roles in particular (i.e. roles other than those described in the policy documents), those of the management of their institutions and those of their institutions in LRAD programme administration;
- their understanding of the constraints and opportunities presented by the framework for LRAD programme administration;
- their understanding of the nature of the dependency relationships among the institutions responsible for LRAD programme administration and how these enabled or constrained effective administration; and
- their understanding of the survival and adaptation strategies employed by their institutions when administering the LRAD programme in an intergovernmental implementation context.

The respondents targeted for interviews were the directors responsible for the administration of agricultural extension services in the four administrative districts of the DACE, the deputy directors responsible for the administration of agricultural extension services, as well as the deputy directors and director from the Farmer Settlement Directorate of the DACE. From the North West Provincial Land Reform Office (NWPLRO) of the DLA, the target respondents were the chief director, the deputy director for Policy Implementation Support Unit (PISU) and the regional managers.

Before interviews could commence, letters were written to the chief directors of both institutions, explaining the background and purpose of the study. The letters also requested permission to conduct interviews as well as to have access to official reports and other official documents, which the researcher would identify as critical for the study. Permission was granted in writing by both institutions. Even though permission was granted by the chief directors, letters were further sent to district directors of the DACE, as well as regional managers of NWPLRO, informing them of the decision taken by their respective institutions to grant approval for the study, as well as the schedule for interviews.

The DACE gave the researcher access to:

- annual reports; and
- strategic plan documents.

The NWPLRO gave the researcher access to:

- operational plans;
- quarterly reports;
- annual reports;
- provincial database of all LRAD projects submitted for funding;
- special reports submitted to the DLA; and
- special documents such as LRAD institutional arrangements.

One standard set of guideline questions (see Appendix 4) was used for all interviewees. A tape recorder was used and responses transcribed verbatim by the researcher. The responses were analysed to distil common and recurring themes and individual issues. The responses were then coded, categorised, and given conceptual labels.

Supplementary information was sought in writing or verbally by the researcher, as a follow-up to the interviews, with a view of gaining more insight into why certain administrative occurrences happened the way they did. This additional information was sought from:

- the deputy director of PISU at the NWPLRO;
- the director of human resource management at the DACE;
- the acting director of agricultural economics at the DACE; and
- the assistant director of administration at the NWPLRO.

From the NWPLRO, three regional managers (deputy director level), the deputy director of PISU and the chief director were interviewed. From the DACE, the researcher only managed to secure interviews with two deputy directors from the District Services Chief Directorate, as well as the deputy director responsible for farmer settlement support. The respondents had sufficient institutional memory given the fact that they had on average 11 years of service in their respective institutions, an average of six years working with LRAD implementation in various capacities as managers (with five respondents having

been involved since inception in the 2001/02 financial year), while some were involved as planners and later as managers.

### **1.13 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter the following issues were presented:

- the topic;
- the rationale for the introduction of the LRAD programme; and
- the rationale for the choice of research methods.

The problem statement highlights the reason why this research is being undertaken. In the problem statement, it was highlighted that the administration of the LRAD programme is instrumental in achieving the land redistribution policy goals and objectives of the Government, hence the importance of this research.

Having outlined the methodology to be followed in terms of conducting research, the following chapter introduces the historical problem of land ownership in South Africa. The post-1994 Government introduced land reform programmes such as the LRAD, with a view of redressing the past injustices in terms of rights in property, but also as a way of building a new society based on equal opportunities for all.



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE LAND PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

The aim of this chapter is to give a brief discussion of the problem of land acquisition and dispossession in South Africa. The transformation in agrarian and land policies brought about by the new Government in 1994 should be understood in the context of the land policies introduced by the previous Governments. It is therefore important to retrace the steps in history with a view of not only trying to understand the policies themselves and their intended as well as actual effects, but also the broader governance mechanisms put in place to formulate and administer the policies. However, since the study is not about the history of South Africa, no attempt will be made in this chapter to give an in-depth discussion of the history of the country, but only as far as it relates to the current topic of land reform.

The history of the land problem predates the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The authority vested in the state during and after the era of the republics and colonies, was used as an instrument of conquest, suppression, dispossession and marginalisation with a view of creating political, economic and social benefits for White people over Black people. The Government that came into power in 1994 obtained a mandate from the electorate to create a non-racial and non-sexist society based on respect for human rights and the rule of law. The Constitution, 1996, also enjoined the Government to bring about a public administration that has a developmental outlook in its approach to meeting the needs of society. It is therefore against this background that the agrarian and land reform measures put in place since 1994 by the new Government should be understood.

## 2.2 LAND POLICY IN COLONIAL SOUTH AFRICA

### 2.2.1 The first period in the Cape Colony

The colonial history of South Africa can be traced back to the time when the Dutch East India Company (VOC) landed in the Cape in 1652 (Keegan, 1996:14; Worden, 2007:10). Christopher (1971:2) argues that in southern Africa, the Cape Dutch system and British imperial system had a profound effect on land policy and settlement patterns. According to Christopher (1971:2) the British system impacted on Natal the most in the second half of the nineteenth century and on the Cape of Good Hope for a short period, while the Cape Dutch system was dominant in the rest of southern Africa. The British imperial system has similarities with the American system adopted in 1735 after the American War, which system was based on surveys of land and disposal by public auction (Christopher, 1971:2). The Cape Dutch system was developed and evolved during the period 1652 to 1806 and was based on land grants (Christopher, 1971:3). The discussion that follows will briefly outline how events evolved with regard to land issues, up until the Union of South Africa came into being in 1910.

When the Dutch East India Company established a base at the Cape of Good Hope, it did not originally favour the establishment of settler communities, but this came about due to a need to sustain the company with food for its employees, as well as cater for the passing maritime traffic (Christopher, 1971:3; Keegan, 1996:14). It was on this basis that the company granted certain employees free-burgher status and allowed them to set up as independent farmers, establishing themselves first in the Cape Peninsula and later extending their reach as far as the Boland (Keegan, 1996:14). During the process of establishing themselves as farmers, Dutch settlers came across the indigenous population in the Cape Colony, namely the San and KhoiKhoi (Khoisan) (Lee in Lee & Colvard, 2003:4). During these battles, the indigenous population was conquered and dispossessed of their land, and laws that favoured the colonists were introduced (Lee in Lee & Colvard, 2003:4; Worden, 2007:11). The dispossession of land and cattle, coupled with the introduction of a cash economy and a cash taxation system, landed the indigenous people of the Cape Colony into debt, forcing them into slavery as well as becoming labourers (Lee in Lee & Colvard, 2003:4). With the re-capturing of the Cape Colony by the British in 1806, European settlers were able to expand further into the

interior of South Africa where fierce battles were fought against indigenous people (Lee in Lee & Colvard, 2003:4; Worden, 2007:12-13).

The capture of the Cape Colony by the British in 1806 introduced, among others, the following changes, namely:

- the abolition of the slave trade;
- the abolition of the system of quitrent grants first introduced in 1654 to Company servants, and replacing it with the new imperial policy of land sales; and
- the abolition of slavery in 1834 (Lee in Lee & Colvard, 2003:4; Worden, 2007:13).

The colonists of Dutch origin namely the Afrikaners (hereinafter referred to as 'Trekksers') could not:

- tolerate living among free slaves (Christopher, 1971:4; Muller in Worden, 2007:14);
- tolerate living under British rule (Christopher, 1971:4), not only because of the freedom granted to slaves, but also of the "failure of the colonial administration to grant them representative government" (Worden, 2007:14). Etherington (in Worden, 2007:15) is of the view that in their bid to secure independence, the 'Trekksers' saw themselves as loyal subjects of the British Crown and not as Afrikaner patriots, a depiction which was granted to them later on in the nineteenth century when Afrikaner nationalism began to emerge; and
- the third reason as speculated by Peires (in Worden, 2007:14) is that the 'trek' was convenient to some of the individual 'Trekksers' for economic reasons, due to the fact that most of them were in debt, were heavily in arrears in terms of rent payments for land and thus could not acquire legal ownership (i.e. could not exercise option to purchase), and were running away from creditors who were pursuing them.

The imperial system was maintained by the Cape government until 1860, as such, forcing many more colonists to leave for other parts of South Africa (Christopher, 1971:4).

### **2.2.2 The establishment of Boer Republics**

The period during which Boer republics came into being falls within the Victorian era, which spans the period 1837 to 1901, and during this era, the use of land as an instrument of colonisation was very manifest, with a great drive being witnessed to extend European settlement in southern Africa (Christopher, 1971:1; Worden, 2007:14). The “Trekking” established in the beginning of 1838 three republics, namely Natalia (Natal), the South African Republic (Transvaal), and the Orange Free State, which were not administratively controlled by the Cape Colony (Worden, 2007:17-19). These republics were established by the ‘Trekking’ after many battles fought with indigenous people with whom they came across along their way into the interior, in particular after the end of the Mfecane (Nguni) or Difaqane (Sotho) wars to consolidate the Zulu kingdom under King Shaka (Worden, 2007:15).

The Republic of Natalia was annexed by the British in 1843 (Worden, 2007:18), whereas the South African Republic and the Orange Free State were annexed in 1902 at the end of the three-year Anglo-Boer war (Worden, 2007:32-33). This war of conquest caused much suffering to Whites and Africans, women and children alike. Any hopes of Africans regaining major access to land were dashed when the British reneged on their pre-war rhetoric of redressing “injustices of Boer Native policy”, with the resultant entrenchment of white supremacy in the South Africa Act, 1909 (Worden, 2007:35).

### **2.2.3 The Union of South Africa - 1910**

The Union of South Africa ushered in the consolidation of power by White people in South Africa (Lee in Lee & Colvard, 2003:7; Worden, 2007:35). The period 1910 to 1948 was dubbed the segregation era, and the issues of primary concern during this period were the exercise of control over land and the exercise of control over the movement of African people (Lee in Lee & Colvard, 2003:7, Legassick, 1974:7; Worden, 2007:81). Most of the segregation measures implemented after 1910 can be traced to the recommendations of the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC), a commission appointed by the British to “establish outline policies for Africans” in the Union of South Africa (Marks & Trapido, 1979:71; Worden, 2007:81). The legislators and administrators of the time scaled up their efforts to ensure a sustained offensive against

the self-reliance and independence of the African people (Bundy, 1972: 383). Among the vicious pieces of legislation released during this period was the Natives Land Act (27/1913) and the Natives Trust and Land Act (18/1936).

The Natives Land Act (27/1913) prohibited African people from entering into any agreement or transaction to purchase, hire, or acquire from a person other than a 'native' any land except with the approval of the Governor-General. The Act had the effect of ensuring that it enforces racial segregation, dealing a blow to the practice of leasing of land by African people in white manorial estates, thus confining them to 7,8% of total land available and from which they were expected to do farming (Mbongwa, Van den Brink & Van Zyl in Van Zyl, Kirsten & Binswanger, 1996:37). The Beaumont Commission, which was appointed under the Native Land Act (27/1913) to organise the reserves, reported that scheduled land under the Act would be enough to accommodate only 50% of the 'native' population, and made a recommendation for further land to be released (Mbongwa *et al.* in Van Zyl *et al.*, 1996:37).

The Native Trust and Land Act (18/1936) came into operation on 31 August 1936. The effect of the Act was the consolidation of the total area of land under the reserves to 13,7% of the country, by releasing the recommended 6 209 858 hectares of quota land to the original 7,8% of land in scheduled areas in terms of the Natives Land Act (27/1913) (Mbongwa *et al.* in Van Zyl *et al.*, 1996:37). On page 3 of the Statement of Land Policy under the Native Trust and Land Act (18/1936), published on 23 February 1937, the following is made clear:

A corporate body known as the South African Natives Trust was to be established in terms of Section 4 of the Act, with the Governor-General as trustee. The South African Natives Trust was to be administered for the settlement, support, benefit and material and moral welfare of the African people of the Union. The Governor-General delegated this authority to the Minister of Native Affairs (acting in consultation with the Native Affairs Commission) on 8 October 1936 (Government Notice, 1566/1936). The Act not only vested in the South African Native Trust all of the established Crown and Trust 'native' locations and reserves and all Crown land in the released areas defined in the first schedule to the Act but in Section 10, in recognition of the essential fact that more land would be required for occupation by African people, empowered the Trust from time

to time to acquire additional land for settlement by African people until the land so acquired, together with that vested in the Trust by virtue of it having previously been Crown land in released areas, should reach a maximum of 6 211 075 hectares, apportioned between the various provinces as follows:

- Transvaal 4 307 488 hectares
- Natal 450 624 hectares
- Orange Free State 68 536 hectares
- Cape of Good Hope 1 384 427 hectares

The statement of the policy under the Native Trust and Land Act (18/1936) further notes that “The Trust then must make adequate arrangements for the administration, supervision and control of three different classes of land, viz:

- the old-established locations and reserves, scheduled native areas for the most part, which previously belonged to one or other of the former Trusts or were Crown locations for African people;
- land which was vested in the Trust by virtue of its having been, at the commencement of the Act, Crown land in released areas; and
- land subsequently purchased by the Trust for native settlement under section 10 of the Act”

In respect of the first type of land the following observation was made in the statement of policy under the Native Trust and Land Act (18/1936), namely that the existing locations for African people and reserves are congested, denuded, overstocked, eroded and, for the most part, in a deplorable condition. The statement of policy further notes that it would be a futile exercise to go ahead with acquiring the additional seven and a half million hectares unless remedial and redemptive measures are put for existing reserves.

With regard to the purchase of land by African people, the statement of policy under the Native Trust and Land Act (18/1936) notes that while additional trust land will from time to time be made available for the ‘settlement’ of African people, they should under exceptional cases be allowed to purchase land.

The period from 1910 not only heralds the beginning of dispossession of rights in land for African people (as owners as well as producers of agricultural produce) through the use of state resources, but also a concerted effort of state support for White farmers (Keegan, 1985:376; Kirsten, Edwards & Vink, 2007:2). According to Minaar (in Kirsten *et al.*, 2007:2), between the years 1910 and 1935, a total of 87 Acts were passed in support of White farmers, among which were the Land Bank Act (18/1912), The Land Settlement Act (12/1912), The Cooperatives Societies Act (28/1922) and The Marketing Act (37/1937) (Davies, Kaplan, Morris & O'Meara, 1976:18; Keegan, 1985:378), thus having the effect of creating structural dualism in the agriculture sector characterised by a more capital-intensive White commercial farmers and resource-poor African farmers (Kirsten *et al.*, 2007:2).

#### **2.2.4 Apartheid policy and the homelands in South Africa - 1948**

The tensions that existed during the period 1910 to 1948 between moderate and extreme white supremacists, culminated in 1948 in victory for the extremist group (Lee in Lee & Colvard, 2003:7; Worden, 2007:102-103). The National Party (NP) came into power in 1948 and this heralded the official introduction of the apartheid policy, and the maintenance of white supremacy (Lee in Lee *et al.*, 2003:7; Seidman, 1999:421). The Union government managed to establish a republic in 1961 after withdrawing from the Commonwealth (Worden, 2007:97).

The post-1948 Government entrenched the racial segregation policies of the Natives Land Act (27/1913), by introducing racial segregation among the various ethnic groups of the African population (Lee in Lee *et al.*, 2003:9; Mbongwa *et al.* in Van Zyl *et al.*, 1996:37; Seidman, 1999:421-422). Various pieces of legislation were introduced to make this objective a reality namely: The Bantu Authorities Act (68/1951), the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act (46/1959), the Bantu Laws Amendment Act (42/1964), the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act (26/1970) and the Bantu Affairs Administration Act (45/1971) (Lee in Lee *et al.*, 2003:9; Mbongwa *et al.* in Van Zyl *et al.*, 1996: 52; Worden, 2007:121).

While the concept *ethnic* or *ethnicity* as mentioned in relation to the homelands policy is a phenomenon that suffers from a lack of conceptual clarity (Szeftel, 1994:188), Maré (in Szeftel, 1994:189) is of the view that this concept represents a historical process of 'social identity formation' whereby:

- culturally-specific practices and a unique set of symbols and beliefs are invoked and given social and political relevance so that people might come to believe that they belong to a specific group;
- there was existence of a belief in the common origin, which serves to legitimate the existence of a particular group to which people can identify; and
- people ultimately developed a sense of belonging to a particular group, of which members were socialised into believing that it had unique and distinct features when compared with other groups.

The homeland policy in South Africa was not so much an exercise by African people claiming or asserting ethnic identity as Maré (in Szeftel, 1994:189) has described it above, but a process whereby those who were in power (the NP government) politicised ethnicity by naming, categorising and confining those who were powerless (Seidman, 1999:425; Szeftel, 1994:191) in order to sustain domination (Bekker in Szeftel, 1994:191) and legitimate 'separate development' (Seidman, 1999:425). The implementation of the separate development policy had the following consequences:

- promoted the creation of separate areas for each ethnic group called homelands (Seidman, 1999: 422; Lee in Lee *et al.*, 2003: 9; Mbongwa *et al.* in Van Zyl *et al.*, 1996: 52-53) and the total area of land under homelands was consolidated by the Tomlinson Commission to a total of 17 million hectares, and this was inclusive of:
  - land as scheduled in the Natives Land Act (27/1913);
  - land added in the Natives Trust and Land Act (18/1936);
  - additional land acquired by the Natives Trust as well as land owned by African people prior to 1936; and
  - what were considered then as 'black spots', i.e. isolated small pieces of land interspersed among 'white areas' and located outside areas occupied by black people (Mbongwa *et al.* in Van Zyl *et al.*, 1996:37);
- prescribed how these areas were to be administered (Lee in Lee *et al.*, 2003:9; Mbongwa *et al.* in Van Zyl *et al.*, 1996:52-53; Seidman, 1999:422);



- disenfranchised African people by forcing them to become citizens of these homelands (Lee in Lee *et al.*, 2003:9; Mbongwa *et al.* in Van Zyl *et al.*, 1996:52-53; Seidman, 1999:422);
- introduced extreme measures of forced removals (Lee in Lee *et al.*, 2003:9; Mbongwa *et al.* in Van Zyl *et al.*, 1996:52-53; Seidman, 1999:422), which also involved the removal of a sizeable number of African farmer tenants, freeholders, and squatters from what were considered ‘white’ rural areas into the homelands (Worden, 2007:123); and
- gave homeland (alternatively called Bantustan) administrators considerable wealth (Worden, 2007:125) and “power of patronage, policing and control over the African populations delivered into their jurisdiction” (Szeftel, 1994:192), as well as land allocation, which gave these administrators power to exploit African people given the limited land and other resources which homeland people had to compete for (Szeftel, 1994:192), a fact confirmed in the report of the Beaumont Commission as explained above.

According to the White Paper on Land Reform, 1991 (4), 10 422 437.0000 hectares of land was made available in terms of the Natives Land Act (27/1913), for the exclusive tenure, use, occupation and ownership by African people, while the Natives Trust and Land Act (18/1936) made available additional land of 7 186 178.0000 hectares between 1936 and March 1990. The homeland administrators and the co-opted chiefs who agreed to be willing participants in the implementation of the separate development policy (Van Kessel and Oomen, 1997:563; Worden, 2007:121) were generally perceived as collaborators or even agents of the state (perceived as the principal as in principal-agent theory), thus they were despised, and had little legitimacy (Szeftel, 1994:193). The separate development policy was, however, vigorously opposed by the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) (Welsh, 1998:451; Worden, 2007:110-111).

### 2.3 The Land Policy of the new democratic South Africa

The land policy of the new democratic South Africa will be discussed in much greater detail in Chapter 5. However, it should be noted briefly that this policy is a product of a negotiated settlement between the NP government, civil society and the liberation movements. The interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993, contains the fundamental principles emanating from this negotiated settlement. The Constitution also provides the foundation for all laws and policies in the new democratic South Africa, with effect from April 1994. Specific sections in the Constitution, 1993, (later repealed and replaced by the Constitution, 1996) dealing with land reform are the following:

1. Section 8 (3-b) provides for people who were previously dispossessed of rights in land before the commencement of the Constitution, to claim back restitution of such rights, subject to and in accordance with provisions of sections 121, 122 and 123 of the Constitution (200/1993).
2. Section 121 commits the Government to develop legislation which will give effect to procedures for the administration of restitution of rights in land.
3. Section 122 gives effect to the establishment of a commission on restitution of land rights.
4. Section 123 provides guidelines for the courts in dealing with claims for restitution of land rights lodged with them.
5. Section 28 (1) provides guarantees to acquire and hold rights in property.
6. Section 28 (3) makes provision for expropriation, subject to certain conditions being met, such as the payment of an agreed compensation.

The main features of the negotiated land redistribution policy are:

- the constitutional protection of property rights, which in respect of the agriculture sector relates to protection of rights to land ownership;
- the market-driven principle of willing-seller, willing-buyer; and
- the involvement of the state in facilitating transactions between willing-buyers (i.e. Black people who were previously discriminated from owning or leasing agricultural land as a resource from which their livelihood was derived) and willing-sellers (i.e. White commercial farmers who were assisted by previous Governments to own agricultural land).

The ANC, which won majority rule in partnership with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the SACP in the first democratic elections of 1994, was given a mandate by South Africans to redress the injustices of the past in respect of land ownership. The post-1994 Government managed to develop a land policy for South Africa, which is embedded in three programmes, namely:

- land restitution;
- land redistribution; and
- tenure reform.

Though the Government was aware of and has indeed incorporated into its policy most of the expectations from those who gave it the mandate to rule the country, it:

- was hamstrung by the agreements made during the pre-1994 negotiation period, such as protection to property rights; and
- had to tread carefully in the light of high expectations of the new Government on the issue of respect for human rights.

Radical measures could not be introduced into the land policy to swiftly reverse or correct past injustices against Black people.

## **2.4 CONCLUSION**

The dispossession of Black people of their right to own and productively utilise agricultural land in whatever form, was a process driven by the state. It was therefore fitting that these injustices had to be corrected through a politically driven process.

Though the land redistribution policy in South Africa is market driven, it has been structured in such a way making the state the main player in the policy implementation process. The extent to which the Government has been successful in implementing the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development programme will be investigated in this research, in particular the impact of governance and leadership.

The following chapter will briefly explore literature on Public Administration, which has relevance to the statement of the problem and research question. It is through research that the vast body of knowledge around Public Administration has been generated. The

research will be grounded on Public Administration theory, which theory has also informed the research structure in terms of the research problem as well as research questions. Public Administration theory will also be crucial in terms of explaining the findings emanating from this study.