



**PUBLIC OPINION ON  
LAND REFORM IN SOUTH  
AFRICA**

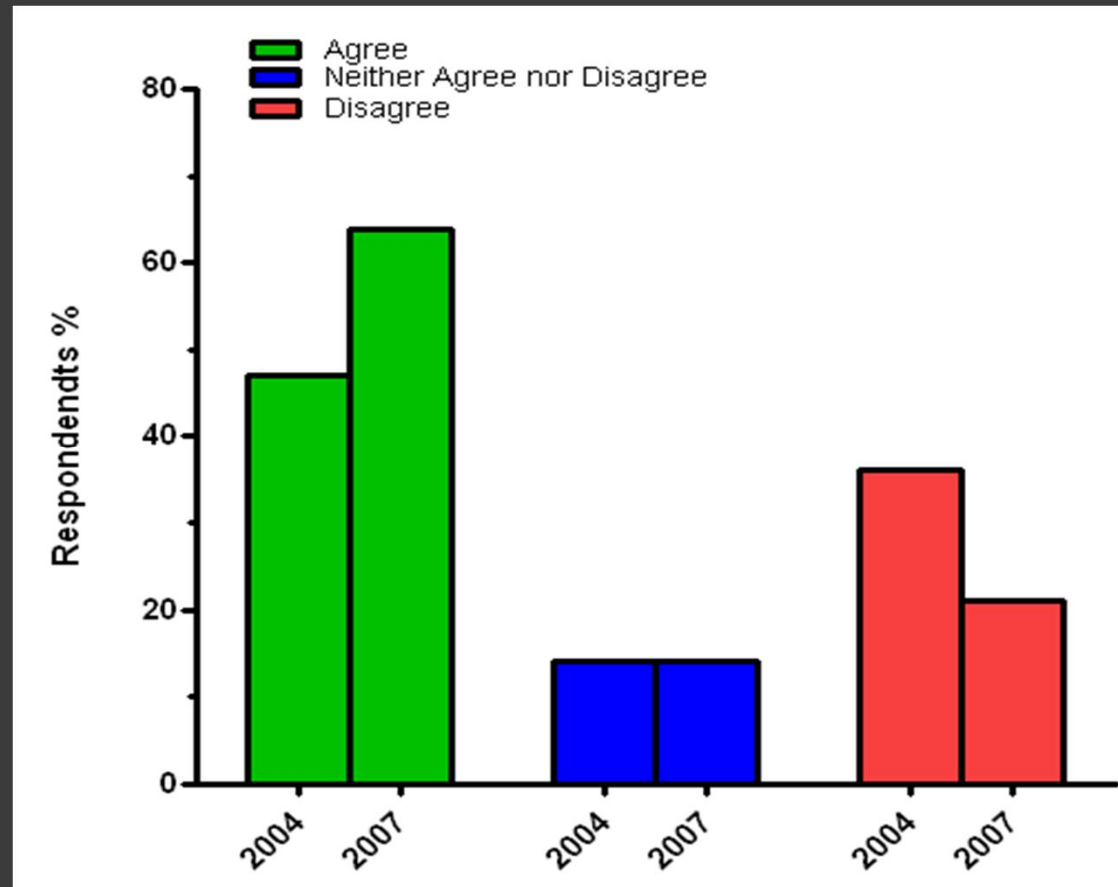
# The surveys

- 3 surveys conducted
- General population in 2004 and 2007
- Ipsos-Markinor, nationally representative, 3500 respondents
- Elite survey conducted in 2007
- Parliament (31%); civil service (19%); churches (16%); media (17%) and business (17%)

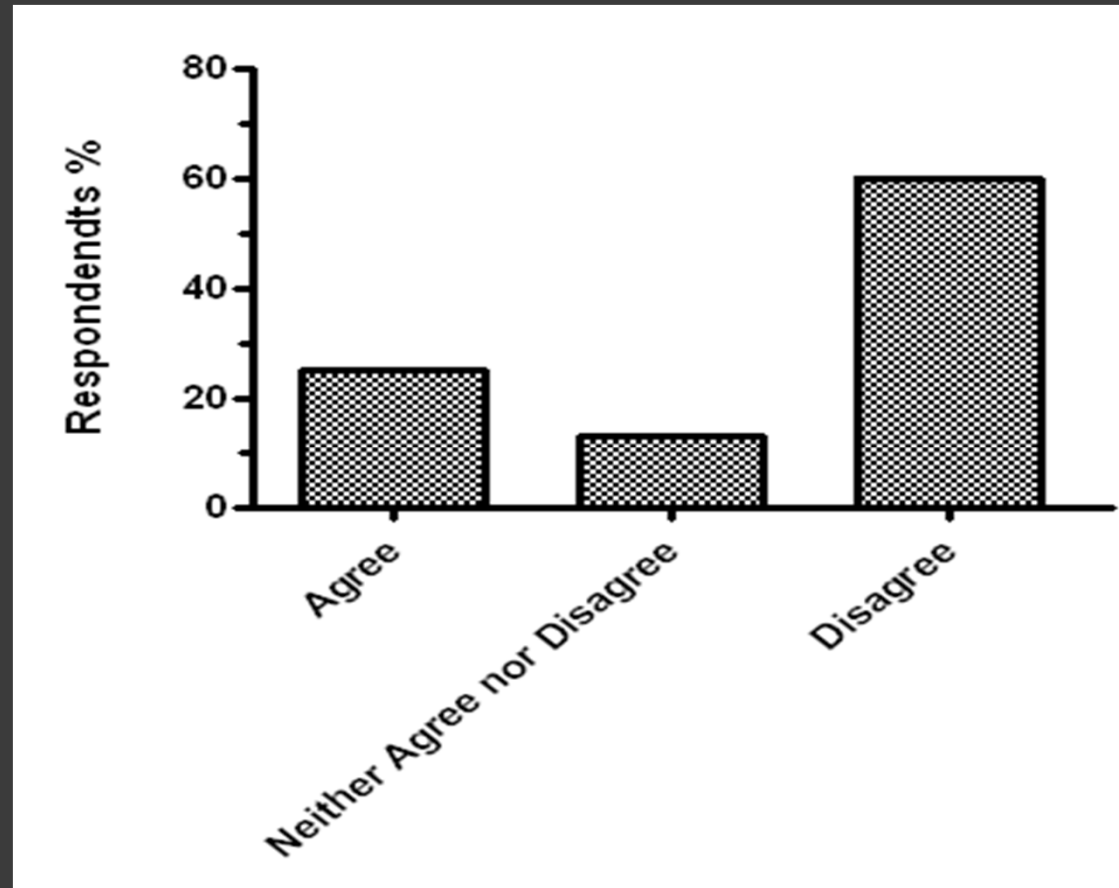
# Survey Items

- ⦿ Items framed as statements to which respondents list level of agreement on a 5-point Likert scale
- ⦿ 6 categories, recoded to 3 for ease of presentation
- ⦿ All land whites own they stole from blacks
- ⦿ Landowners who dispute land claims by going to court-
- ⦿ *are racist*
- ⦿ *are blocking transformation*
- ⦿ *are fairly using the rights awarded to them by the constitution*

# Response to “All land whites own they stole from blacks”



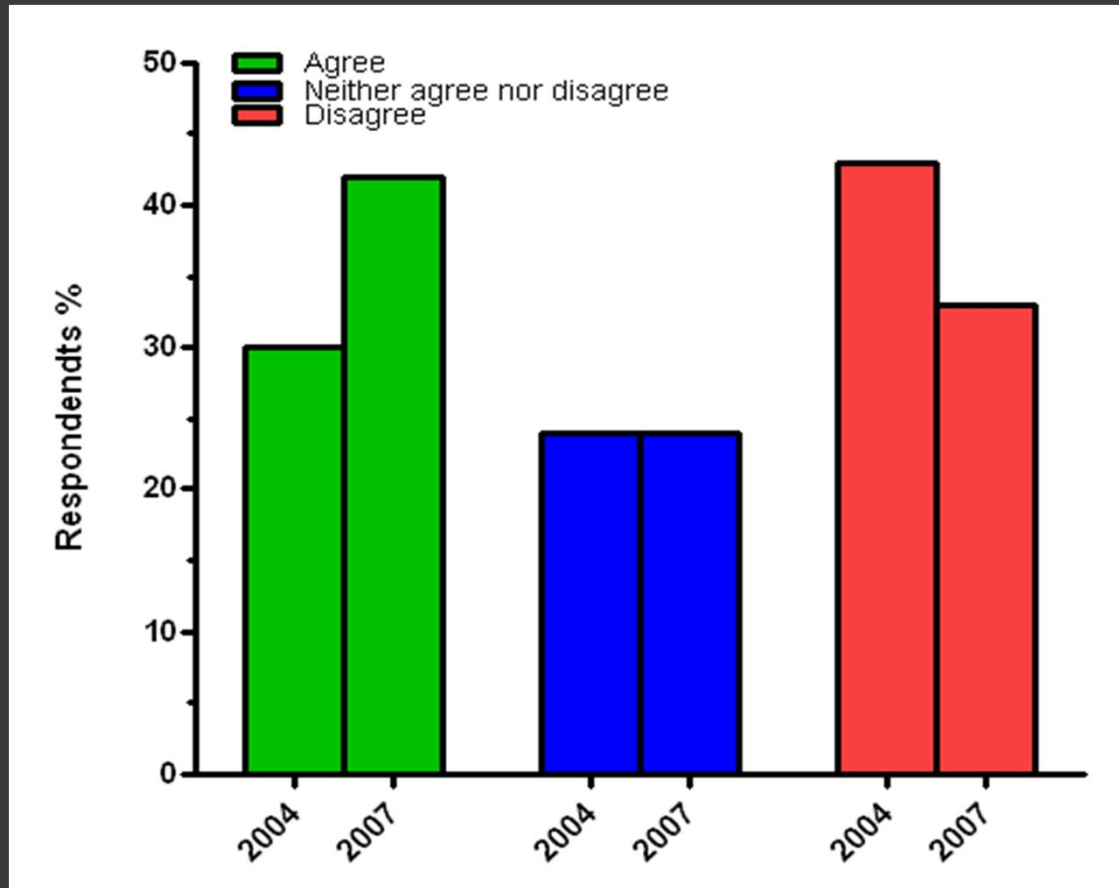
Elite response to “All land whites own they stole from blacks”



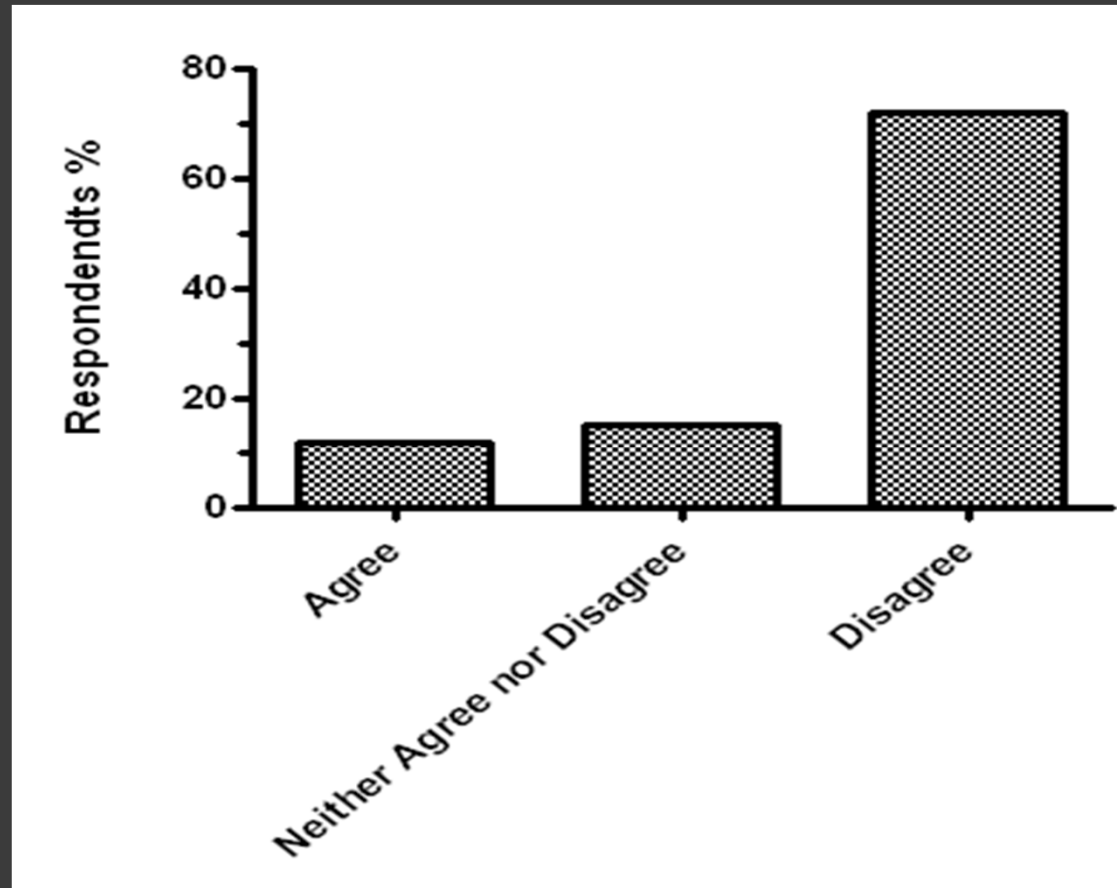
# Response to “All land whites own they stole from blacks” by race

	White		Black		Coloured		Indian	
	04	07	04	07	04	07	04	07
<b>Disagree</b>	88.8	76.6	7.7	7.7	48.7	40.8	64.7	36.3
<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	6.9	13.9	16.7	12	21.3	22.9	17.1	26.7
<b>Agree</b>	3.1	9	74.5	78	29.2	36.3	17.6	36.3
<b>Don't know</b>	1	.5	1	.4	.5	0	.6	0

# Response to ‘Landowners who dispute land claims by going to court are racist’



# Elite response to ‘Landowners who dispute land claims by going to court are racist’

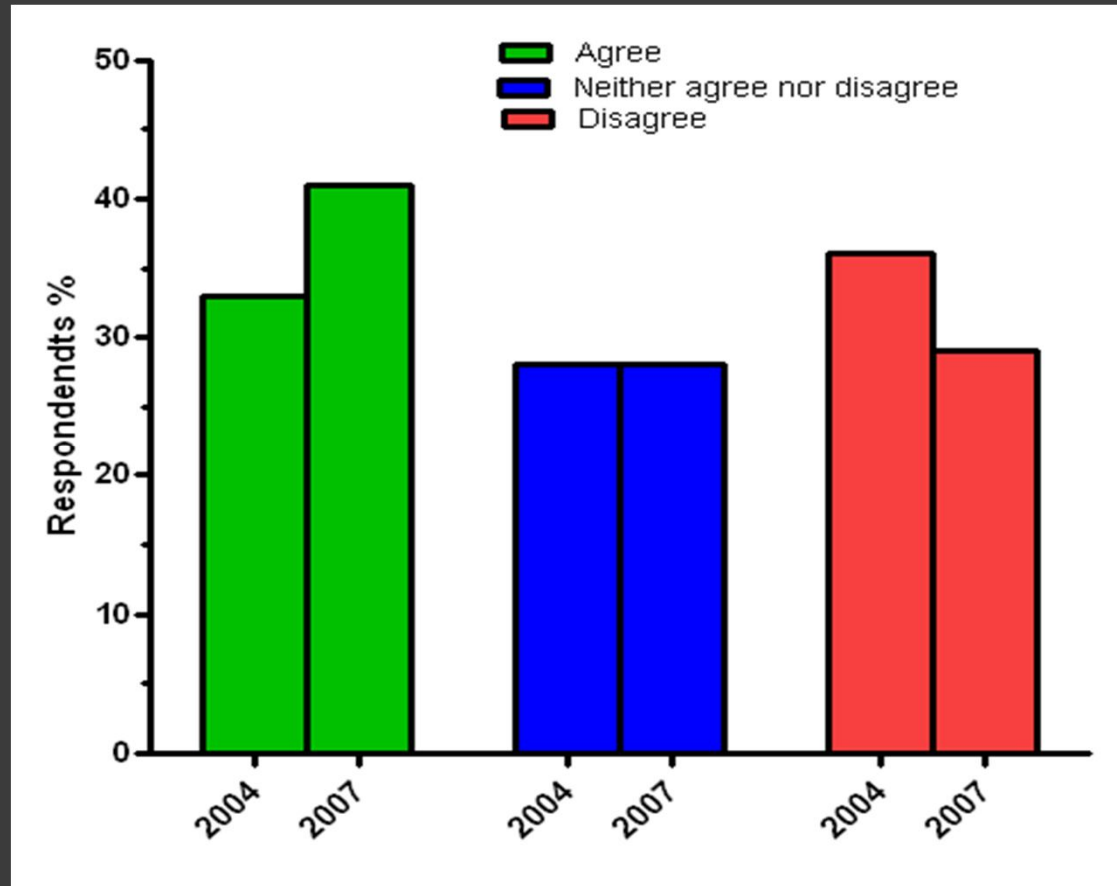




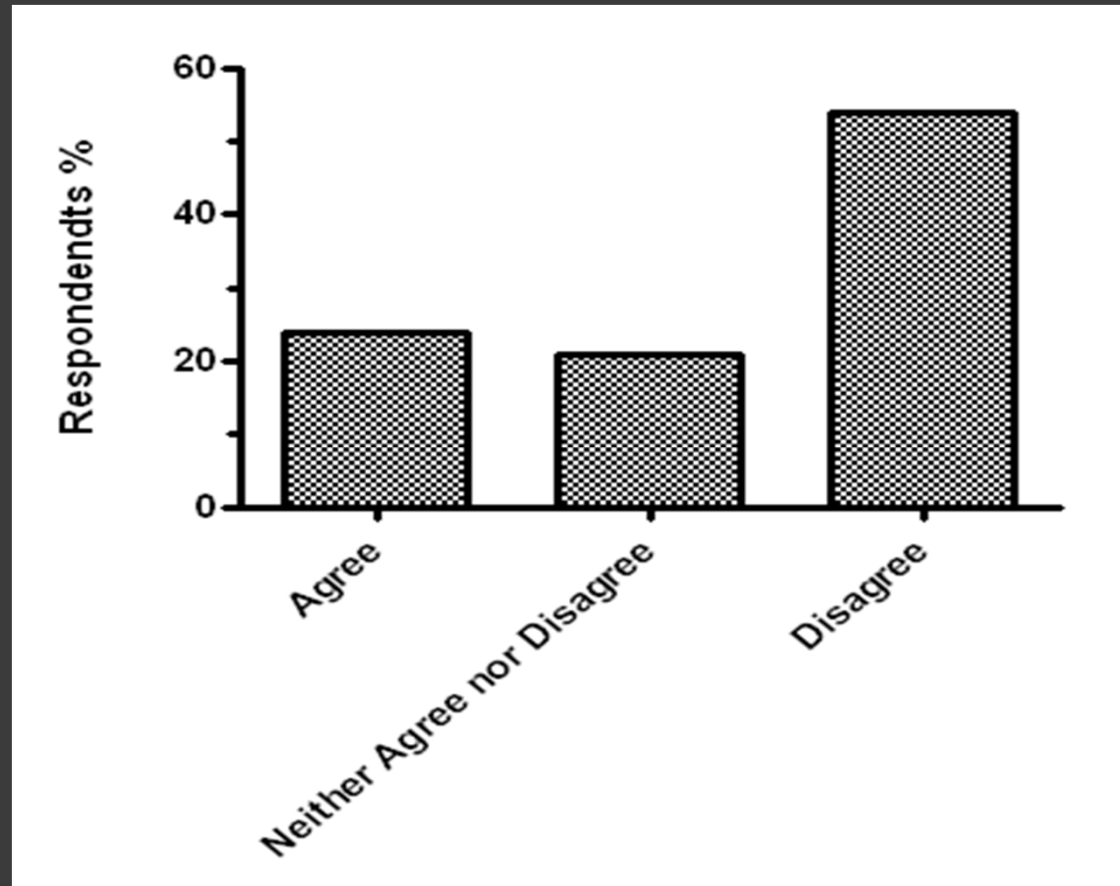
# Response to ‘Landowners who dispute land claims by going to court are racist’ by race

	White		Black		Coloured		Indian	
	04	07	04	07	04	07	04	07
<b>Disagree</b>	72	72.3	28	23.7	49.8	49.7	59.4	43.7
<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	16.9	17.8	27.1	24.6	27.9	24.3	21.8	37.6
<b>Agree</b>	8.4	9.5	44.1	51.3	19	27.3	18.8	18.8
<b>Don't know</b>	2.3	.5	.9	.4	3.1	.6	0	0

# Response to “Landowners who dispute land claims by going to court are blocking transformation”



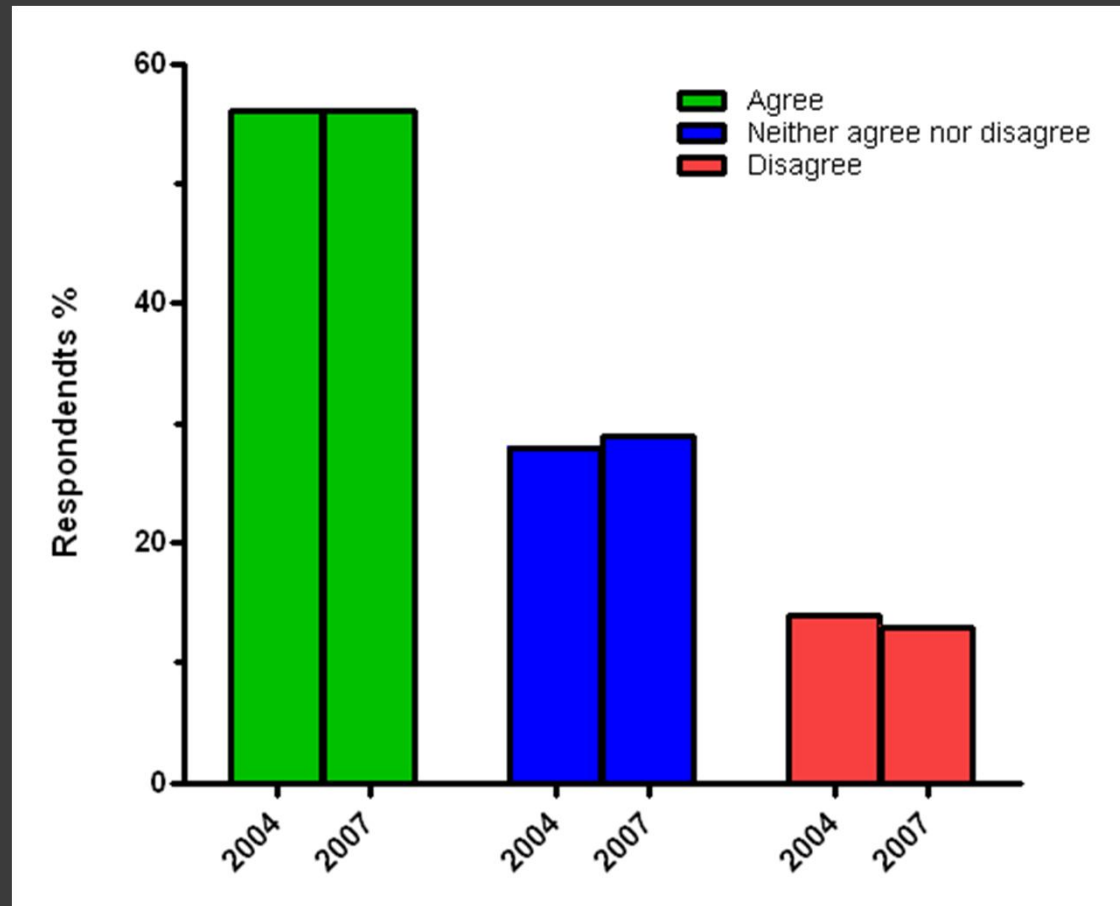
Elite response to “Landowners who dispute land claims by going to court are blocking transformation”



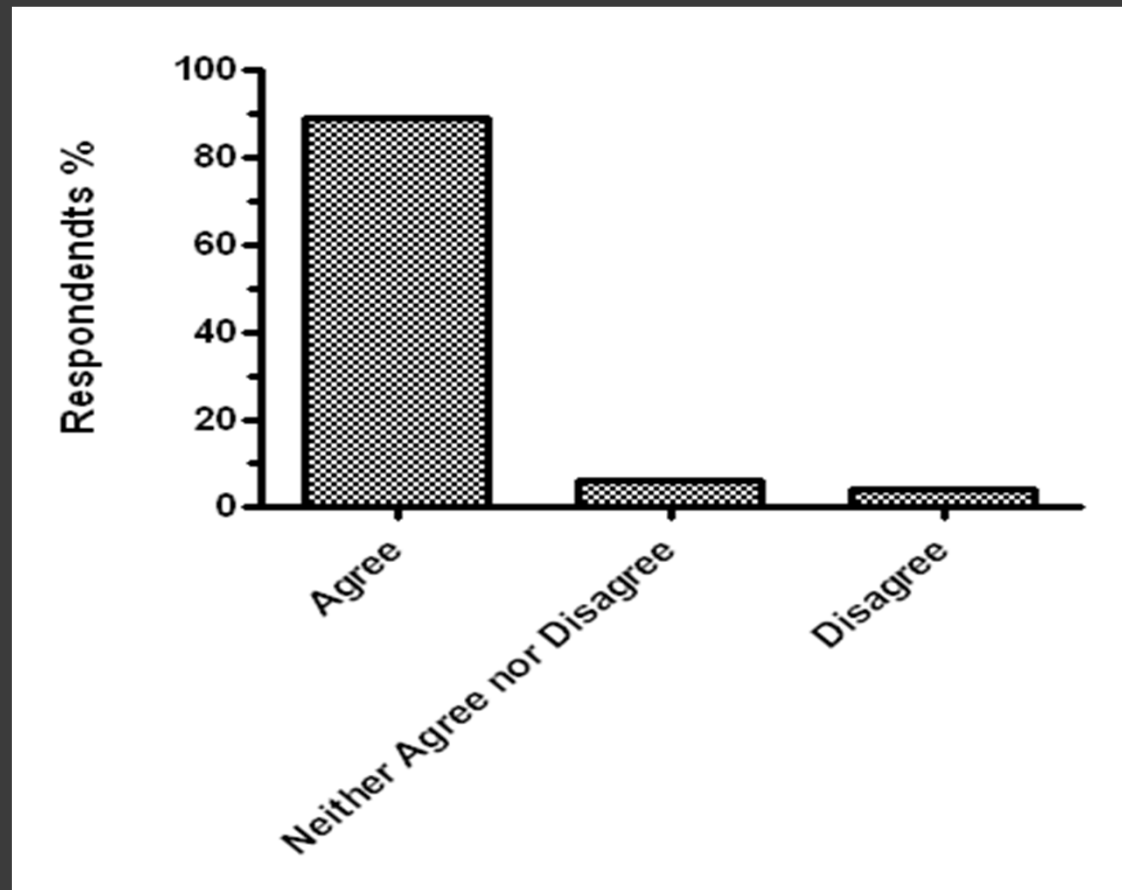
# Response to “Landowners who dispute land claims by going to court are blocking transformation” by race

	White		Black		Coloured		Indian	
	04	07	04	07	04	07	04	07
<b>Disagree</b>	64.4	65.4	21.5	21.7	39.5	42.7	40.6	33.9
<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	23.2	25.4	29.3	28	32.6	29.9	34.7	45.5
<b>Agree</b>	9.3	8.7	47.7	50	23	26	22.3	20.6
<b>Don't know</b>	2.9	.5	1.5	.3	4.6	1.4	2.4	.4

# Response to “Landowners who dispute land claims by going to court are fairly using the rights awarded to them by the Constitution”



Elite response to “Landowners who dispute land claims by going to court are fairly using the rights awarded to them by the Constitution”



# Response to “Landowners who dispute land claims by going to court are fairly using the rights awarded to them by the Constitution” by race

	White		Black		Coloured		Indian	
	04	07	04	07	04	07	04	07
<b>Disagree</b>	9.7	18.2	17.1	13.9	8	8.1	11.5	6.8
<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	19.4	20.3	31.9	31.2	29	24	32.9	36.4
<b>Agree</b>	68	61.4	49.9	54.5	59.5	65.7	53	56.4
<b>Don't know</b>	2.5	0	1.3	.4	4.4	1.1	2.4	.6

# Summary of findings

- ⦿ What is found?
- ⦿ South Africans overwhelmingly feel land was acquired in an unfair manner, i.e. theft
- ⦿ South Africans are of the opinion that it is racist to contest land claims in court
- ⦿ South Africans are of the opinion that disputing land claims in court blocks transformation
- ⦿ South Africans are of the opinion that going to court is a Constitutional right of landowners



# Impact of categories and sectors on responses

- ⦿ Responses to all statements, except the last one, polarized along racial, linguistic and party affiliation lines
- ⦿ Difference is most stark amongst responses to first statement, but are statistically significant in all of the statements except the last one
- ⦿ Variance along racial lines not unexpected, echoed in other public opinion works
- ⦿ Same is found amongst elite respondents, with variance between sectors in all the statements, except the last, being apparent

## Findings cont.

- ⦿ All statements, except the last, have a strong group affiliation to responses
- ⦿ Indications of such contradictions in another public opinion on land reform, that of Gibson
- ⦿ Found stark racial differences in respondents' opinions on land reform based on race
- ⦿ Respondents are of the opinion that land policy should be based on law - shows no racial differences

# Contrasting opinions on democracy and rule of law

- How can one account for such a divergence in views. Respondents have opposing views on all statements, except the last
- Other works also found a belief in importance of the law
- Scholars in political science have employed conceptual dichotomies to classify such varying conceptions of democracy and associated concepts
- Liberal VS liberationist; procedural VS substantive; intrinsic VS instrumental conceptions of democracy
- Due to the nature of items in the data presented, I believe it can be an illustration of contending views of the rule of law
- The findings support the argument for divergent conceptions of key components of democracy, such as the rule of law