AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF EXISTING LAND REFORM POLICY IN UPLIFTING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STANDARDS OF THE WAR VETERANS OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF NAMIBIA

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULLFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA

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DECLARATION

I, Nkrumah Mushelenga, hereby declare that this study is a true reflection of my own research, and that this work, or part thereof, has not been submitted for a degree in any other institution of higher education.

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Nkrumah Mushelenga Date
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife and Children for the maximum support, love and care demonstrated throughout the duration of my study.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to the management and staff of the Ministries of Veterans Affairs (MOVA), Ministry of Lands Resettlements (MLR) and other stakeholders for the assistance given to me, without which I would not have been able to come up with this work. I would like in particular to express appreciation to my supervisor Dr SB Lwendo and Co-supervisor Dr. Simon Akpo for their guidance, encouragement, constructive criticism and exceptional support rendered to me as I toiled to carry out this work.

I thank you and Praise you, the Almighty Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Without you, your blessings and provision, this would have been a dream.
ABSTRACT

This study evaluated the effectiveness of existing land reform policy in uplifting the socio-economic standards of the war veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia. The researcher used quantitative research methodology through questionnaires to gather information on the benefits that have accrued from the land reform policy and the extent to which the policy has been implemented. After analysing the data collected, the researcher found that the current land policy has not been as effective as expected, and concluded that there is a need to review the existing policy after widely consulting war veterans to assess their needs, and involving veterans’ representatives to participate in decisions that affect them. The research also concluded that many veterans have not accessed information on the land reform policy, partly due to lack of communication, lack of education to comprehend the policy, and advanced age. The study therefore recommends that the land reform policy be reviewed to address issues that directly affect and relate to the war veterans; that the Ministry of Veterans Affairs put in place mechanisms or policies to resettle and provide land for the veterans; that the Ministry of Veterans Affairs and Land Resettlement organise an urgent all-inclusive forum with the war veterans to brainstorm on the best mechanisms to address the land and resettlement issue of the war veterans of the liberation struggle.
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ABBREVIATIONS

ANC    African National Congress

DBC    Development Brigade Corporation

GRN    Government of the Republic of Namibia

Ha     Hectare

LRAD   Land Reform and Agricultural Development Programme

MLR    Ministry of Lands and Resettlement

MOVA   Ministry of Veterans Affairs

NNLVA  Namibia National Liberation, Veterans Association

PLAN   People’s Liberation Army of Namibia

PTTLR  Permanent Technical Team for Land Reform

SA     South Africa

SADC   Southern African Development Community

SIPE   Social Integration Programme for Ex-Combatants

SWAPO  South West Africa People's Organization

UNAM   University of Namibia
ZANU- PF   Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This chapter gives the background of the study, as well as presenting the statement of the problem, research question, research objectives, significance of the study, and limitations of the study.

The research focuses on the various policies that have influenced land redistribution in Namibia and their overarching impact on the socio-economic upliftment of the veterans of the Namibian liberation struggle. Land redistribution was a key theme of the liberation struggle. However, there are widespread perceptions that the government is not doing much for the veterans of the Namibian liberation struggle, and until land reform is geared towards meeting their aspirations, the liberation struggle is, for them, not over. Finding ways of achieving politically and socio-economically acceptable and morally balanced land ownership and sustainable utilisation of the redistributed land within an acceptable period of time is crucial to the socio-economic growth of Namibia.

This study also investigates the effectiveness of the existing land reform policy in improving the socio-economic standards of the war veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia.

The question of which land reform policy in Namibia would be best in meeting the needs and aspirations of the war veterans of the Namibian liberation struggle cannot be properly answered without a review of land resettlement experiences in other countries, especially from neighbouring economies such as Zimbabwe and South Africa. This study begins with an introduction covering recent studies and debates on various land reform options from different
parts of the world; this is then narrowed down to a review of experience from Zimbabwe and South Africa. Lastly, the study focuses on a review of literature on current situations in Namibia.

1.2 Background of the Study

This study focuses on the effectiveness of the existing land reform policies that have influenced land redistribution in Namibia, and their overarching effects on the socio-economic welfare of the veterans of the Namibia liberation struggle. Land redistribution was a key theme of the liberation struggle. The perceptions are widespread that the government is not doing much for the veterans of the Namibia liberation struggle and until land reform geared towards meeting their own aspirations, the liberation struggle is not over. Finding ways of achieving a politically and socio-economically acceptable and morally balance land ownership and sustainable utilisation of the redistributed land within an acceptable period of time is crucial to the socio-economic growth of Namibia.

Several policies and reforms have influenced land availability for past resettlement efforts targeting veterans of different socio-economic and educational strata and in different parts of Namibia. This investigation focused on the effectiveness of the existing land reform policies on veterans in different socio-economic groups, stakeholders’ views, and as well perceptions of both parties on acceptable land redistribution and resettlement schemes for all that will move Namibia forward in meeting its future development goal.

At Namibia’s Independence, the new South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) government introduced a policy of national reconciliation to overcome the racial and class divisions it had inherited. Though SWAPO has been ruling the country since independence, many people claim that the majority of the veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia did not
receive significant compensation for their efforts in waging a bitter war of independence that spanned over three decades of armed struggle against the oppression and repression of many Namibians in the country in the hands of the white South African Apartheid regime.

After independence, the government devised a number of interventions to address ways of integrating many of the returnees from exile back into the society. This was done in the form of supplying animals with which to start animal husbandry, the creation of the Development Brigade Corporation (DBC), the introduction of the Social Integration Programme for Ex-Combatants (SIPE), the enactment of the War Veterans Subvention Act in 1999, and the establishment of the War Veterans Trust Fund.

With all these good intents, the Namibian Government spent millions of dollars on ex-combatant programmes between 1990 and 2006; these efforts, however, failed to address the land issues affecting the veterans of the liberation struggle, due to poor coordination and a lack of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

Other challenges experienced in implementing the interventions mentioned above were the absence of clearly defined goals, outcomes and outputs within a set time frame, and the lack of basic data on aspects such as the total number of male and female veterans, their location, levels of education and skills, and their needs. Without such information, meaningful programmes geared towards improving the welfare of the veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia could not be designed to effectively support them.

Despite all the constraints in the resettling efforts of the Namibian Government, one can nevertheless say that some measures were indeed taken to address the plight of ex-fighters; for example, the creation of the Ministry of Veterans Affairs (MOVA) in October, 2006 by His
Excellency, Hifikepunye Pohamba, President of the Republic of Namibia and of the SWAPO Party.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The Namibian Government, through the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, has been determined to see, on the one hand, that past imbalances in supporting war veterans are a thing of the past, and on the other hand, that intervention projects designed to rehabilitate and resettle these veterans do not face the same problems that led to the demise of past resettlement schemes.

Several policies and reforms have influenced land availability in past resettlement efforts targeting veterans of different socio-economic and educational strata and in different parts of Namibia. This investigation analyses the impact of past land reform policies on veterans in different socio-economic groups, as well as stakeholders' views and the perceptions of both parties regarding acceptable land redistribution and resettlement schemes for all, which will move Namibia forward in meeting its future development goals.

It is, therefore, of special interest to examine the degree of effectiveness of past resettlement schemes with regard to the socio-economic standard-of-living households of war veterans. Given the dire need to address these past imbalances, the question is, “How effective is the existing land reform policy in addressing the socio-economic standards of the veterans of the liberation struggle?”

The findings of this research could serve as policy input for further interventions in the land resettlement reform policy and other benefits being proposed by MOVA.
1.4 **Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of the study was to investigate the effectiveness of existing land reform policies in improving the socio-economic standards of the war veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia, as well as to establish the extent to which the current resettlement reform policy has been implemented, with the aim of presenting conclusions and recommendations to contribute to the body of existing knowledge, and to enhance the process of land redistribution to the veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia. The specific objectives of the study are:

- To determine the level of awareness of land reform policy among the respondents
- To determine the effectiveness of the land resettlement programmes
- To determine the perceived factors affecting the land resettlement programmes
- To determine the nature of socio-economic assistance the Veterans expected from the government.

1.5 **Significance of the Study**

The study is significant because it will contribute to uplifting the socio-economic standards of the war veterans in Namibia in terms of the existing land reform policy. Since independence, land reform has remained one of the most provocative and emotional issues in Namibia due to the economic and political importance attached to land ownership. The study is therefore relevant, and will add to the existing body of knowledge by examining how land reform has led to improvement in poverty reduction and the livelihood of the Veterans of the Liberation Struggle in Namibia.
1.6 Limitation of the Study

The study could have covered all 14 regions of the country, but due to limitations in transport, finance, accessibility to key informants, environment (climate), accommodation, language barriers and time, the research had to be confined mostly to Windhoek and a few outlying areas that the researcher could reach. The study focused on the effectiveness of the existing land reforms policy as well factors affecting the effective implementation of the land resettlement programmes.

1.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the main objectives of the study as well shedding light on the significance of the study. Furthermore, this chapter concludes with the scope and limitation of the study. The issue of land ownership is a very sensitive one, which and requires a carefully crafted land reform policy that would address the needs of the wide spectrum of society, especially the war veterans of the liberation struggle.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The various land reform strategies adopted in Southern Africa and the emerging debates on land reform policy, including specific approaches such as community-based land transfers, visa-a-visa state-led land redistribution approaches and market mechanisms of land transfer, are reviewed in this chapter. It draws lessons from the process and aftermath of land reform in different countries of the world.

The question of which land reforms in Namibia would be best in meeting the needs and aspirations of the veterans of the Namibian liberation struggle cannot be properly answered without a review of land reform experiences in other countries, especially from neighbouring economies like Zimbabwe and South Africa. This chapter gives an overview of recent studies and debates on various land reform options from different parts of the world; this is narrowed down to a review of experience from Zimbabwe and South Africa. The last section focuses more on a review of literature of current situations in Namibia.
2.2 Definitions and Concepts

2.2.1 Land reform

Land reform has been one of the critical issues facing Namibia since independence in 1990. Werner (1997) describes the Namibian Government's land reform programme as consisting of three key pillars, namely; land restitution, redistribution, and land tenure reform.

2.2.2 Land restitution

White (1998) defines the principle of restitution as “restoration of land lost by parties dispossessed by virtue of racial legislation”, and states that “other forms of restitution such as monetary compensation and provision of alternative land are possible”. In the case of Namibia, this refers to the restitution of title to those directly dispossessed by the pre-independence apartheid government, typically in terms of its “black spot removal strategy”.

2.2.3 Land redistribution

This refers to the policy imperative of achieving a less markedly racially unequal distribution of land.

2.2.4 Land tenure reform

This refers to the need to improve land rights in the 'communal' areas of the former African 'homelands'. The aim of tenure reform, Bosman (2009) says, is addressed through the revision of land policy, administration of land and legislation regarding private property, communal ownership, and the rights of those who rent their land or homes.

The researcher found that the idea of land reform is not peculiar to Namibia but is found in all modern worlds as the aftermath of colonialism, some form of industrial revolution, war, or other social or political upheavals. It is deeply rooted in political process (Boone, 2007, pp. 557-586)
and therefore many arguments for and against it have emerged. These arguments have varied tremendously over time and place. For example, in the 20th century, many land reforms emerged from a particular political ideology such as communism or socialism, while many independent states, after emerging from colonial government, may have wanted to change the laws dictating land ownership to better consolidate political power and gains. In more recent times, electoral mobilization and the use of land as a patronage resource have been proposed as possible motivations for land reform efforts, such as the extensive redistributive land reforms of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe (Boone & Kriger, 2010, pp. 173-202).

Land reform has thus occurred in several countries around the world, from the Mexican Revolution (1917; the revolution began in 1910) to Communist China, to Bolivia (1952, 2006), to Zimbabwe and Namibia (Batty, 2005, p. 3). In Latin America, Cuba, for example, has been in the forefront and has seen one of the most complete agrarian reforms in the region. Land reform was among the chief planks of the Cuban revolutionary platform of 1959. Almost all large holdings were seized by the government and redistributed to the landless. A ceiling of 166 acres (67 hectares) was established, and tenants were given ownership rights, though these rights are constrained by government production quotas and a prohibition of real estate transactions (Kay, 1998).

2.2.5 Willing-buyer, willing-seller

Land reform was also an important step in achieving economic development in many Asian countries in the post-World War II period, especially in the East Asian Tiger and "Tiger Cubs" nations such as Taiwan, South Korea, and Malaysia. In mainland China's economic reforms, led by Deng Xiaoping, land reforms have also played a key role in the development of the People's Republic of China, with the re-emergence of rich property developers in urban areas (though as
in Hong Kong, land in China is not privately owned but leased from the state, typically on very long terms that allow substantial opportunity for private speculative gain).

In many other African countries, land reform has been especially popular as part of decolonization struggles (Boone & Kriger, 2010, pp. 173-202). The colonial legacy of capital accumulation based upon unequal landownership patterns and access to agricultural resources and infrastructure is what underlies the growing conflicts over land, especially in Southern African regions. In all of the Southern African countries, the struggle for land and property rights predates their independence. It was a key theme of the liberation struggles, especially in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. In Namibia, as in Zimbabwe, perception is widespread that until land reform succeeds, the liberation struggle continues (Adams, 2000). To redress the situation, a redistribution of land follows after both landowners and government acknowledge injustice in their past land policies. From the early 1990s, land reform in the region was characterized by this wave of state expropriation and nationalization of land, the main stakeholders or players in the process always being the government and the landowners, and the target groups usually being the landless, who may have been formerly robbed or dispossessed of their ancestral lands (Moyo, 1999). However, due to the slow pace resulting in dramatic large scale seizures of land in Zimbabwe, many people in the region, while still arguing in support of land reform, seek mechanisms that are fair and permit market forces to guide the process.

Finding equitable ways of achieving a politically acceptable racial balance of commercial land ownership and sustainable utilization of redistributed land within an acceptable period of time is essential. In response, official policies that aim to replace state-led land redistribution approaches with market approaches supported by various donors led by the World Bank (Shivji, et al., 1996) are now being promoted in the region. Many are arguing that the benefits of such market-force
approaches may include eradicating food insecurity, alleviating rural poverty and correcting past socio-economic imbalances in living standards (Meinzen, et al., 2010), without compromising or disrupting the process of resettling people who were formerly dispossessed of their land but were capable of utilizing it for gain. Keefer and Stephen (2002) argue that such methods will not only reduce inequality and empower farm workers or formerly displaced population groups, who will be given the opportunity to become farmers, but they will also increase production due to inverse farm size productivity.

2.3 Experiences from Zimbabwe

Following independence in 1980, Zimbabwe set a five-year target for the resettlement of 162,000 families on nine million hectares of land. This is about half of the area which then was occupied by white farmers. Approximately 4,500 white commercial farmers lived in Zimbabwe prior to independence, controlling 31% of the country's land under freehold tenure or about 42% of the agricultural land. By 1990, only 3.3 million hectares had been redistributed, as agreed upon, to some 52,000 families. When the Lancaster House Constitution expired at the tenth independence anniversary, in the same period, the government announced a new and ambitious proposal to resettle 100,000 families on five million hectares. This was the beginning of the failure of land policy based on the model of willing-buyer, willing-seller policy (Kinsey, 1999).

To a large extent, the Zimbabwe government was constrained from the outset by the Lancaster Agreement. Under this agreement, the new government was forced to implement reforms only on a willing-buyer, willing-seller basis, and not to carry out mass expropriation of land unless for public resettlement purposes, at market-related compensation on the terms of seller, and paid in foreign currency. These restrictions were also to last for 10 years (Lebert, 2003).
In the 1990s, not much was achieved, and the resettlement was slowed down for several reasons, but mainly because land acquisition for resettlement and redistribution purposes was essentially based on the willingness of the sellers to make land available. This constrained the quantity, quality, location and cost of land available in the market. There was not much land coming into the market from white farmers except some that was not productive and was situated in the drier and more agro-ecologically challenged fringes of the country (MLR. 2007).

As a result, a new land reform policy was set in place by the 1992 Amendment to the Constitution (No. 12:4) and the Land Acquisition Act of 1992, both aimed primarily to strengthen the government's bargaining position in acquiring large-scale farms from white farmers who were not willing to release land to the market. The Act provided for a number of 'non-market' solutions, including the designation of areas for acquisition and resettlement, and government land valuation. However, the administrative resources needed for implementation, including a reliable land information system, and the resources needed to contest legal challenges from landholders, were never made available due to lack of funds.

This goes a long way in explaining why land reform based on willing-seller, willing-buyer was discontinued and ceased to be operative in Zimbabwe after about 1993, and was replaced with the so-called "fast-track” ('jambanja') or “accelerated land reform programme” which involved expropriation of land.. This was accelerated by "popular seizures" led by machete-wielding gangs of "war veterans" associated with the ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). In terms of the newly amended Constitution and Land Acquisition Act, 2 159, commercial farms (just under half the total number) were gazetted in September 2000. Many of these farms, probably 1 000 -1 500, were subject to occupation by peasants. Other farms were being privately sold to black entrepreneurs. This accelerated programme made it
possible for government to expropriate white farms, and saw the amount of land acquired increase from five million hectares to eleven million hectares. It also saw the number of beneficiaries more than double from 160 000 to 300 000 within a year, between 2000 and 2001 (Sachikonye, 2003).

This wave of land acquisitions represented a decisive shift in the domestic balance of power between large landowners and peasants in Zimbabwe. The process is not unfamiliar in the history of land reform, with many examples of reforms won by militant peasant organisations through such direct action. The pre-2000 negotiations between the Zimbabwe government and donors about the selection of beneficiaries, about demand-led versus supply-led land redistribution and willing-buyer, willing-seller transactions can now be set aside.

The several forms of forcible change in management in Zimbabwe caused a severe drop in production and other economic disruptions. In addition, the human rights violations and bad press led Britain, the European Union, the United States, and other Western allies to impose sanctions on the Zimbabwean Government.

2.4 Experiences from South Africa

The particular history of South Africa (SA) and its extreme inequalities and injustices under apartheid had, as a consequence, the fact that the Land Reform programme was also constituted, with restitution, land tenure reform and land redistribution being given priority as well (Deininger, 2000; Moseley & Mccusker, 2008, pp. 322-228).

Prior to the elections in 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) stated in its manifesto that land reform was to redress the injustices of forced removals and the denial of access to land. Land reform was to ensure security of tenure for rural dwellers, eliminate overcrowding and
supply residential and productive land to the poorest section of the rural population. The programme was to redistribute commercial farmland from whites to blacks by 2014.

By March 1999, thousands of claims for restitution by groups and individuals dispossessed after 1913 were lodged in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994. The bulk of the claims settled as at December 2008 (about 12% of the total lodged) fall into the urban category. Because the settlement of urban claims usually involves financial compensation, they are quicker to resolve. However, as they rarely involve the transfer of land to blacks, they do not address the core land issues facing South Africa - the skewed nature of ownership and racial dispossession. As a result, this approach based on land restitution has been very unsuccessful, and the policy has now shifted to redistribution with secure land tenure.

Land tenure reform is a system of recognizing people's right to own land and therefore maintain control of the land. The 1993 Provision of Land and Assistance Act provided the legal basis for a single grant mechanism to a maximum of R16 000 per household earning less than R1 500 per month to purchase land. This approach has taken several forms (for example, group settlement with some individual production, group production, commonage schemes, on-farm settlement of farm workers and farm worker equity). Farmers with smaller plots, who live on the farm, often use family members for labour, making these farms efficient. Their transaction costs are less than larger plots with hired labour (Van den Brink, Glen & Hans, 2007). Since many of these family members were formerly unemployed or had no access to land, it allows previously unemployed people to now participate in the economy and contribute to the country's economic growth (Torstensson & Johan, 1994, pp. 231-247).

The most significant changes were made to the redistribution programme, which was to be known as the Land Reform and Agricultural Development Programme (LRAD) in April 2001.
This is the most important component of land reform in South Africa (Deininger 1999, pp. 651-672). This is also called the willing-buyer, willing-seller policy. Initially, land was bought from its owners (willing seller) by the government (willing buyer) and redistributed, in order to maintain public confidence in the land market.

Although this system has worked in various countries in the world, in South Africa, as in Zimbabwe, it has proved to be very slow and difficult to implement. This is because many owners do not actually see the land they are purchasing and are not involved in the important decisions made at the beginning of the purchase and negotiation. As recently as 2006, the ANC government announced that it would start expropriating the land, although according to the country's chief land-claims commissioner, Tozi Gwanya, unlike in Zimbabwe, there will be compensation to those whose land is expropriated, "but it must be a just amount, not inflated sums" (Irinnews.org. 2006-08-15).

The SA government has so far taken a cautious willing-seller, willing-buyer approach, in which farm land is transferred from willing white sellers to willing black buyers at prices determined by the market. It has been careful to avoid any comparison with the land acquisition made by the government of President Robert Mugabe in neighbouring Zimbabwe, where the ruling ZANU-PF party began seizing white-owned farms in 2000, sparking violent and often bloody confrontations, and triggering a dramatic economic collapse. According to the South African government, slow progress in restitution could largely be blamed on white farmers who were unwilling to negotiate a fair price for their land, while some had dug their heels in deeper and refused to negotiate at all (Moyo,1999). Despite moves towards decentralization, these improved practices and government promises are not very evident. South Africa remains hugely unequal, with black South Africans still dispossessed of land and many still homeless. The
challenge for the incumbent politicians is to improve the various bureaucratic processes and find solutions to giving more South Africans secure land tenure.

2.5 Land reform in Namibia

It is often asserted in Namibia that the war of independence was fought over land. Like Zimbabwe and South Africa, a large proportion - more than half - of the arable land in the country is occupied by some 4 200 commercial farmers, mainly white, as at independence; the rest provides a home and, in varying degrees, a source of subsistence for about 120 000 black rural households. About 44% of the country is freehold land, occupied by surveyed and fenced commercial farms. The remaining 43% is communal land, most of it surveyed and unfenced, lying mainly in the north of Namibia. About 13% of Namibia is State land, unsuitable for agriculture and designated as desert. It is mainly in the west of the country, much of it leased for diamond mining or set aside as national park (Nepru, 1991a). When Namibia became independent in 1990, the intention was to 'transfer some of the land from that majority'.

The struggle for independence was primarily a reaction to the colonial land theft upon which the structures of apartheid and labour exploitation were based. Transforming these structures into means for effective utilisation and equitable distribution of the land is a major challenge for development planning and national reconciliation. A year after independence, the government, supported by the opposition parties, conducted a national consultation on the land question which culminated in the National Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question, held in Windhoek from 25 June to 1 July 1991. The objective was to achieve the greatest possible consensus on the major issues and to make recommendations to Government on a policy of land reform and a programme of action for the implementation of the necessary changes. The role of
the conference was an advisory one; supreme decision-making power resides in the legislature, headed by the National Assembly.

The Conference, chaired by the Country's first Prime Minister, was attended by 500 participants and 150 observers from different interest groups. Specialists on land-related topics from Namibia as well as from neighbouring countries, specifically Zimbabwe, Botswana and Malawi, were engaged to inform and structure the debate. Steps were taken to facilitate the participation of unorganised and commonly excluded sections of the community. The views of rural people were elicited and expressed in a video documentary based on a national survey of opinions on land issues (Nepru, 1991h), which was shown at the Conference and on national television.

Who should lose land and who should gain it, how the land should be utilised and conserved, what this transfer would cost in terms of land prices, lost taxes and export earnings and the resettlement and servicing of small farmers, were not at that stage considered (Werner, 1997).

Adam & Devit(1992) contend that prior to 1990 and the famous historical land conference, arable land in Namibia was subdivided into the commercial farming area (approximately 36.2 million hectares.) on freehold land and the so-called communal areas on State land (approximately 33.5 million ha.).

After the National Conference, it was collectively agreed by all that foreigners should not be allowed to own commercial farms anymore, and that land of absentee landlords should be expropriated. Ownership of very large farms and/or several farms by one person were also prohibited (Adams & Devitt, 1992).

After the conference a Technical Committee was set up to make recommendations for the acquisition and redistribution of lands that met specifications agreed upon at the conference and
to assess possible forms of taxation on commercial farmland. Many of the findings of the Technical Committee were incorporated in the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, 1995. The Act provides for the acquisition by the government of large, underutilised and foreign-owned farms for resettlement, and grants the government the right of first refusal of farmland offered for sale. Compensation has to be at market prices. The Act also provides for the imposition of a tax on agricultural land. The passing of the Act accelerated the acquisition of commercial ranches, but on a piecemeal basis, which impeded the subsequent provision of services and infrastructure. These problems were anticipated in the research which went into the National Conference (Adams & Devitt, 1992).

One of the first measures to be announced following the Conference was the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme of 1995, which aimed at providing full-time black farmers with access to subsidised loans repayable over 25 years. In the first nine months, 70-80 farms were reported to have changed hands under this scheme, and some 300 black farmers have been granted loans for the purchase of commercial land. Deteriorating economic conditions in recent years mean that, coupled with the high average age of white farmers (around 55 years) and severe indebtedness, increasing numbers of freehold farms are likely to become available for redistribution in Namibia. However, the capacity of the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR) to handle a larger programme of land purchase is seriously constrained.

The majority of beneficiaries of land reform in Namibia engage in agricultural activities and their produce is small and primarily for personal consumption (Harring & Odendaal, 2002). Most beneficiaries are relatively poor and find it difficult to maintain water points and fences regularly. These beneficiaries have received farms without the required infrastructure necessary
to develop the land effectively. In some cases, these farms have broken windmills and water troughs, and are without machinery for crop production.

Beneficiaries find it very difficult to get financial assistance from the government in order to revamp their infrastructure. Farms with inadequate infrastructure or none at all are yet another contributory factor that causes the emerging farmers not to use their land productively. Due to the poor infrastructure in particular, the lack of fencing negatively affects the emerging farmers because it makes it very difficult to have control over their livestock, and therefore they are more vulnerable to theft. The few beneficiaries that are successful, especially in crop production, don't have markets to sell their products to. The white commercial farmers, in contrast, own sophisticated land holdings that often have a highly developed infrastructure. In addition white farmers are at advanced levels in their crop and animal production processes, and a large amount of their produce can be sold on the open market. Beneficiaries that take over the ownership of white commercial farms are not likely to have the technical agricultural training and expertise required to run the farm (The Namibian, 25 June 2003). Some of the interviewed emerging farmers are not provided with sufficient technical training and support, and it is unlikely that improved results will be yielded over a short period of time.

Beneficiaries also find it difficult to gain access to financial resources from the Agricultural Bank of Namibia, and as a result their farms are not developed to the full potential (The Namibian, 25 June 2003). The Agricultural Bank, which is the main source of funds for emerging farmers, puts much pressure on beneficiaries to meet the loan repayment conditions. A shortage of funds frequently forces the land reform beneficiaries to sell their assets, such as livestock, in order to fund their immediate repairs. Some of the beneficiaries are also unable to
produce enough to survive due to the lack of funds, and this force them to take outside jobs (Harirng & Odendaal, 2002).

2.6 Lessons for Namibia

The Namibian government uses the willing-buyer, willing-seller concept to transfer land ownership to previously disadvantaged black people. The landowners are not necessarily forced to sell land, but land is purchased with the consent of landowners. Land reform and resettlement is to alleviate poverty by improving the productive capacity of the poor by purchasing and allocating land to landless people. In addition, it is to improve the standards of living of previously disadvantaged people by transforming the large-scale commercial farming sector into small-scale units (Harirng & Odendaal, 2002).

In recent years, there have also been widespread disappointment and dissatisfaction with the slow pace of land reform in South Africa, while in Zimbabwe the government has supported the occupation of white commercial farms by so-called 'war veterans' after 20 years of modest government interest in land reform. The reasons for the slow pace of land reform in southern Africa are many, but in Namibia, one reason could be that from the beginning there were fears that large-scale land reform would have adverse effects on economic productivity as well as on the environment. For instance, the World Bank early on warned against such consequences (Harirng & Odendaal, 2002).

One lesson from attempts to transform land tenure in southern Africa over the last two to three decades after independence is that wide departures from existing systems are rarely immediately feasible: evolutionary approaches are slow but, as Zimbabwe demonstrated in 2000; revolutionary approaches generate high social and economic costs. Both countries are members of the SADC community and border Namibia in the south and northeast. South Africa and
Zimbabwe have the most immediately relevant experiences to Namibia's land reform process. In Zimbabwe, for instance, the willing-buyer, willing seller concept became a controversial issue and resulted in land being grabbed (Harirng & Odendaal, 2002).

2.7 Conclusion

Land policy is vital for orderly and equitable redistribution of the scarce resource so that the previously disadvantaged may also benefit. Many wars were started because of land, and if not handled prudently can be chaotic. However, land redistribution without the means to work the land will not transform the socio-economic status of the beneficiaries, hence the objective of this study to establish the effectiveness of the land policy in alleviating the socio-economic standards of veterans of the liberation struggle.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The chapter describes the design and methodology that was used for this study. It explains the research philosophy and design survey question, and the reason for using quantitative research approaches. It describes the research population and sample size, the instrument development, and the data collection method, as well as the validity and reliability of the survey results, and the ethical considerations. It further discusses the treatment of data with the aim of exploring the effectiveness of the existing land reform policy in uplifting the socio-economic standards of the war veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia and investigating the war veterans’ perceptions of the land redistribution process.
3.2 Research Design

Research design is the planning and structure in terms of which the study is carried out so as to obtain answers to research problems. Pinsonneault and Kraemer (1993) define a survey as “a means of gathering information about the characteristics, actions or opinions of large groups of people”. They maintain that surveys are data-gathering tools used for carrying out research. In line with the purpose of this study, the nature of information collected from the respondents included the characteristics of the land resettlement policy and how this policy has impacted the social well-being of the veterans of the liberation struggle.

Survey research refers to the use of structured questions to investigate the characteristics, opinions, perceptions or experiences of individuals and or the social groups to which they belong (Leedy & Omrod, 2010). According to Kerlinger and Lee (2000), survey research is useful in studying the relative incidence, distribution and interrelations of sociological and psychological variables. Using survey research as a tool for this study was appropriate because land resettlement as a concept is a relative term, and therefore various veterans of the liberation struggle have different perceptions on the subject. It is thus imperative to explore the individual perceptions of veterans of the liberation struggle with regard to the effectiveness of the Resettlement Policy.

Survey research has three unique characteristics, according to Kraemer (1991). These are as follows:

1. It quantitatively describes explicit characteristics for a given population.
2. Data is gathered from people and is therefore subjective.
3. It uses only a sample of the population from which findings are made.
It is because of this background that survey research was used in this study. A questionnaire was developed to gather the required data for the study.

**Survey Questions**

As reflected above, a survey questionnaire was developed that contained closed-ended questions; given the nature of the research, closed-ended questions were appropriate for the study. Open-ended survey questions allowed the respondents to express themselves freely, and enabled them to describe answers in their own words, while, according to McIntyre (1999), closed-ended questions required the respondents to choose from a pre-determined set of answers. It is important to emphasise that given the nature of the study, closed-ended questions formed the majority of questions that were included in the survey questionnaire for the study. Respondents selected from responses which ranged from representing knowledge and experience to mechanisms in place to monitor land reform legislations and policies land reform programmes and projects. These responses were specifically directed at the main research question. Salant and Dillman (1994) note that closed-ended questions are the simplest to answer, and easiest to analyse.

**Primary Data**

The main goal of research is to expand the current body of knowledge on a specific subject matter (Saunders, Lewis & Thombill, 2009). The present study made use of primary data, as the researcher utilised questionnaires to capture specific information which was used to address the research objectives of the study (Saunders et al, 2009).

**Empirical Research**
According to Kotze (as cited 2011) empirical research refers to all research in new data is collected by the researcher for analysis. Mouton (as cited in Botha, 2011) states that survey research can be classified as empirical as it is usually quantitative in nature. It is from this point of view that this study can be classified as empirical research, since a survey was used to collect the data.

**Qualitative & Quantitative Research**

According to Rajassekar (2006), qualitative research can be described as being non-numerical, descriptive, using words and applying reasoning. Saunders et al (2009) assert that qualitative research is commonly used to develop a theory or explore a topic. It describes the situation and gets the feeling and the meaning of the situation. In contrast to qualitative research, quantitative research focuses on showing causal relationship, testing theory and establishing facts. It is based on the measurement of quantity or amount.

Given the nature of the present study, both qualitative and quantitative approaches were found to be appropriate to capture the required data. For example, where the respondents’ personal perceptions, ideas, feelings and behaviours with regard to the effectiveness of the existing land reforms policy in uplifting the socio-economic standards of the war veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia, were explored, qualitative research was most appropriate. Quantitative research was used in assessing the relationship between the perceptions of the veterans of the liberation struggle and the existing land reform policy in comparative analysis with the current war veteran’s policy. It was important that this correlation be established; hence the use of quantitative research.
In support of the use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches for this study, Rajasekar (2006) further points out the following characteristics of both qualitative and quantitative research, which are in line with the purpose of this study.

Table 1: Comparison of Qualitative and Quantitative Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Quantitative</th>
<th>Qualitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Framework</strong></td>
<td>Seeks to confirm hypothesis about phenomena</td>
<td>Seeks to explore phenomena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instruments use more rigid style of eliciting and categorising response to questions</td>
<td>Instruments use more flexible iterative style of eliciting and categorising response to questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uses highly structured methods such as questionnaires, surveys and structured observation.</td>
<td>Uses semi-structured methods such as in-depth interviews, focus groups, and participant observations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objectives</strong></td>
<td>To quantify variations</td>
<td>To describe variations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To predict casual relationships</td>
<td>To describe and explain relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To describe characteristics of a population</td>
<td>To describe individual experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Question Format</strong></td>
<td>Closed ended</td>
<td>Open ended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Data Format</strong></td>
<td>Textual (obtained from audiotapes, videotapes and field notes)</td>
<td>Numerical (obtained by assigning numerical values)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Source Rajasekar (2006)

In light of the above description, the study is quantitative, since it seeks to explore the impact of the land reform policy on the wellbeing of the veterans of the liberation struggle. This is where the aspects of variation and relationship come into play.

Rajasekar (2006) points out that the framework of a qualitative research study is to explore a phenomenon. Clearly, this validates the purpose of this study, as it seeks to explore the widespread perceptions held by the veterans of the liberation struggle regarding the level of
effectiveness of the current land reform policy on the wellbeing of the veterans of the liberation struggle. And to tap from the policy based and practical experiences from a number of senior staff members of the Ministry of Land Resettlement and the Ministry of Veterans’ Affairs. Furthermore, the individual experiences and group norms of both the veterans and senior staff members of both ministries revealed their perceptions regarding the existing land reform policy’s socio-economic impact on the wellbeing of the veterans of the liberation struggle.

Exploratory Research

Exploratory research can be defined as “research that aims to seek new insights into phenomena, to ask questions and to assess the phenomena in a new light” (Saunders et al, 2009, p. 592). The purpose of this study was to investigate the effectiveness of the existing land reform policy in uplifting the socio-economic standards of the war veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia. In other words, the study sought to explore this phenomenon which is perceived to be prevalent within the general public, especially veterans of the liberation struggle.

3.3 Population

This study used a survey to collect data from the veterans of the liberation struggle, and the senior staff members of the two ministries of Land and Resettlement and Veterans Affairs.

3.4 Sample Size

According to Herzog and Boomsma, as cited in Cuff (2012), it is important to obtain a sample size that is large enough so that the results can be generalised to the larger population. It is pertinent to note that the study had two target groups that needed to be interviewed.

The first groups were the employees within the Division of Alien Control, Citizenship and Passports, while the second comprised members of the general public. Target group one
(ministry staff) included individuals in supervisory positions, as well as those not in supervisory positions. Those in supervisory positions included directors, deputy directors, and the chief controlling office. The non-supervisory positions included the front desk staff and clerks, especially those that deal with the general public on a daily basis.

For target group two (general public), the respondents were randomly selected. The researcher went to the Ministry of Home Affairs and randomly administered questionnaires to different people standing in the various queues while waiting to be served. In addition, the researcher also went to several government offices and administered questionnaires to those employees who were willing to participate in the study. It is important to stress that members of the public had to be interviewed in order to solicit their views and perceptions with regard to the quality of the work ethics of the staff member of target group one (Division of Alien Control, Citizenship and passports.)

The respondents of these two groups are summarised in Table 2:

Table 2: Respondent Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position level</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supervisory</td>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>Army Staff Sergeants; Commissioner of Police</td>
<td>(ii) 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(iii) 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Supervisory</td>
<td>(iv)</td>
<td>Non-Commissioned Officers</td>
<td>(v) 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(v)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(vi) 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>(vii)</td>
<td>Unemployed Veterans</td>
<td>(viii) 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(viii)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(ix) 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5 Research Instrument

This study used both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The researcher developed a survey questionnaire that included closed-ended questions. In addition, the researcher used the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act and other relevant documents.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure

It is important to point out the study had two target groups as respondents. Group one included the veterans of the liberation struggle, gender based, while group two included senior staff members of the Ministries of Veterans Affairs, and Lands and Resettlement. During this study, survey questionnaires were developed to collect the data from both target groups. For target group one, meetings were held with veterans of the liberation struggle to ensure that they all understand the purpose of the study, as well as that of the questionnaires. The questionnaires were hand-delivered to all correspondents to ensure personal contact and engagement with the researcher. This ensured increased participation and timely completion of the questionnaires. Contact details of the researcher were provided to ensure that any uncertainty that may arise during completion of the questionnaire could be clarified.

The second target group was the Permanent Secretaries of the Ministries of Veterans Affairs, Defence, Safety and Security, and Lands and Resettlement, and the executive members of the Namibia National Liberation, Veterans Association (NNLVA). It is important to emphasise that even though the two target groups were given two separate questionnaires, the questions were basically the same except for a small variation in policy issues. This arrangement was
intentionally done to maintain consistency in the information gathered from both target groups, as well as to be in line with objectives of the study.

3.7 Data Analysis

After all the questionnaires had been completed and collected from the respondents, the data was summarised in terms of figures and tables. Confidentiality in the treatment of data enjoyed highest priority.

As mentioned earlier, questionnaires were used to collect data. Two questionnaires were developed for the purpose. One was developed to collect data from the war veterans of the liberation struggle, while the other was developed to gather information from senior staff members of the Ministries of Veterans Affairs and the Lands and Resettlement and Rehabilitation. This was important to enable the researcher to establish the respondents’ perceptions regarding the effectiveness of the resettlement policy in the uplifting of the socio-economic conditions of the veterans. The questionnaires for the ministries’ staff members consisted of the two sections designed in line with the objectives of the study.

3.8 Validity

According to Healy (2000), validity refers to the degree to which the survey measures what it is supposed to measure. According to Chandler (2001), there are several approaches to constructing validity, and these are:

- Content validity
- External validity
In order to ensure validity of the survey results, the content of the survey was reviewed by the research supervisor to ensure that the survey questions were aimed at the research objectives and provided enough data for answering the research questions.

3.9 Reliability

Considering the fact that the study primarily gathered information based on the veterans’ perceptions and beliefs with regard to the effectiveness of the land reform policy in the uplifting of the socio-economic well-being of the veterans, reliability played a crucial role in ensuring that the data collected made sense, and contributed toward the achievement of the research objectives.

According to Chandler (2001), reliability is a measurement that is concerned with accuracy, consistency and precision. This study measured consistency (ensuring that there was consistency in the responses); Accuracy and precision were measured in the responses of the respondents.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Research ethics provide the moral framework within which a researcher operates when conducting research. According to Cresswell, as cited in Cuff (2012), research ethics are applicable to data collection and analysis, the interpretation of findings, and the reporting and dissemination of the research findings. The following ethical considerations were observed during the study:

3.8.1 Respondent’s consent to participation

It is important to note that respondents in any study have the right to make an informed decision as to whether or not to participate in the study. Hence, in order to fully participate in the study,
they should be fully informed on what the study entails, and any risk involved (Ruane, as cited in Cuff, 2012).

The following aspects of respondents’ consent were considered:

**Information:** Respondents in the research study received all the information necessary for them to participate.

**Voluntary Participation:** The researcher indicated to the respondents that they were free to decide whether to take part in the study or not.

**Privacy:** It is important to emphasise that the respondents’ right to privacy meant that direct consent had to be obtained from each individual.

**Measuring instrument**

As mentioned earlier, questionnaires were used to collect data. Two questionnaires were developed. One questionnaire was developed to collect data from the war veterans of the liberation struggle, while the other was developed to gather information from senior staff members of the Ministries of Veterans Affairs and Lands.

**Distribution of results**

No results were made available to the respondents; however, the respondents are at liberty to read the final report of the study.

**Confidentiality**

The information gathered during the study was to be used solely for the purpose stated by the researcher. No personal information of the respondents was discussed with any third party
without the knowledge and consent of the participants. In this research, confidentiality was explicitly guaranteed on the questionnaire.

Anonymity

No names of the respondents were asked or revealed. All the respondents remained completely anonymous.

Right to privacy

In this regard the researcher should be able to control when and under what circumstances any other party will have access to the information gathered during the study.

Ethical reporting

It is worth mentioning that there is always a possibility for a researcher to be tempted to alter the findings of the study in order to conform to his or her preconceived thoughts and ideas, instead of allowing the findings to reveal the actual situation. Influencing the findings of the study can compromise the accuracy and authenticity of the research.

This study ensured that data pertaining to statistical analysis were included in the final report for public scrutiny. In addition the researcher ensured that all references were cited in agreement with the academic requirements of the University of Namibia (UNAM).
3.9 Conclusion

The study used a qualitative approach to collect data using a questionnaire survey. The population studied involved 35 respondents purposely drawn from officials of the ministries of Veterans Affairs and Land some war veterans of the liberation struggle.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation of data and the analysis of the findings, with the objective of determining the effectiveness of existing land reform policy in uplifting the socio-economic standards of the war veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia, as well as gauging their perceptions on the existence of such policy.

For the purposes of this study, the findings are categorised into three classes, that is, personal information, awareness of the land reform policy and challenges affecting resettlement, and technical findings.
4.2 Demographic Characteristics

4.2.1 Gender

The statistics for the responses by gender are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Responses by gender

From Figure 1, it is evident the 60% of the respondents were male, compared to 40% who were female.

4.2.2 Year the veterans were enlisted into PLAN

The responses on the year the respondents were enlisted into PLAN are presented in Figure 2.
Figure 2. Number of respondents according to year they joined the liberation struggle

Of the 50 respondents, 40 (80%) joined the People’s Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) between 1960 and 1980, compared to 10(20%) who joined PLAN between 1981 and 1990.

4.2.3 Geographical region of veterans

The responses on the geographical regions of the respondents are presented in Figure 3.
Of the 50 respondents, 24 (80%) originated from the northern, north-eastern and central regions of the country.

4.2.4 Employment status of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment status of the Respondents</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Self-employed as a result of government support</th>
<th>Unemployed (depend on Ministry of Veteran Affairs Grant)</th>
<th>Employed in Ministry/Organisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage (%)</td>
<td>70.00%</td>
<td>10.00%</td>
<td>20.00%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The majority of respondents (70%) were gainfully employed in government ministries/parastatals, mostly in the Special Field Force Unit of the Namibian Police Force; 20% were unemployed and depended solely on veterans’ grants, while the remainder were self-employed.

4.2.5 Job description of respondents

The respondents were asked to indicate the nature of the jobs they were engaged in. The statistics for the job description of the respondents are presented in Figure 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleaner</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical staff</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the 40 gainfully employed respondents, 30 (60%) were either in administrative positions, or were clerical staff, compared to 10 (20%) who indicated that they were cleaners.
4.2. 6 Educational qualification of respondents

The respondents were asked to indicate their highest educational qualifications. The statistics for the educational qualifications for the respondents are presented in Figure 6.

![Highest level of education attained](image)

**Figure 6. Highest level of education attained**

From Figure 6, it is evident that half (50%) of the respondents had qualifications lower than Grade 10. Twenty percent of the respondents had either a Grade 10 qualification or a Grade 12 qualification in the International General School Certificate Examinations (IGCSE). Six percent of the respondents possessed a diploma certificate, while 4% had a bachelor’s degree or higher degree but less than a Master degree.

4.2.7 Age category of respondents

The majority of those interviewed had qualifications lower than Grade 10, which partly explains why most of the respondents were employed as general workers.
Figure 7. Responses by age category

The six youngest respondents (12%) were aged between 40-49 years compared to 33 (66%) who were aged between 50 and 59. Eleven (22%) of the respondents were aged 60 years and above.

4.3 Awareness of land Reform Policy and Challenges Affecting Resettlement

Generally, the respondents were not adequately informed on government policy relating to land reform.

4.3.1 Awareness of government policy

The respondents were asked to indicate whether they were aware of the government policy aimed at addressing their socio-economic challenges. The findings are presented in Figure 8.
Figure 8. Responses by awareness of policy (n=50)

The majority of the respondents (66%) were unaware of land resettlement programmes by government. Almost a third of the respondents indicated that they were aware of the land resettlement programmes aimed at uplifting the socio-economic wellbeing of the veterans.

4.3.2 Communication of policy from the Ministry of Veterans Affairs

The respondents were asked to indicate whether the Ministry of Veterans Affairs (MoVA) had informed them about the government policy aimed at addressing their socio-economic challenges. The responses on communication of government policy from the MoVA to veterans are presented in Figure 9 (n=50).
Figure 9. Responses on communication of government land resettlement policy from MoVA

Most respondents (68%) had had no communication with the Ministry of Veteran Affairs on issues relating to land resettlement programmes.

4.3.3 Accessibility of land resettlement application form from MOVA

The respondents were asked to indicate whether they had access to the land applications forms from MoVA. The statistics on accessibility of resettlement goo application forms are presented in Figure 10.
Figure 10. Accessibility of application

The majority of the respondents (70%) had found application for resettlement difficult, despite efforts to access information relating to the process, which means that information on resettlement was not easily available.
4.3.4 Status of land resettlement applications from MOVA/or Government

![Graph showing status of land resettlement applications from MOVA](image)

**Figure 11. Responses on status of land resettlement applications from MOVA**

Some respondents had applied for land before the establishment of MoVA, and had received no feedback at the time of this study. Others had applied after the establishment of the ministry, and were still awaiting feedback on the resettlement programme.

4.4 Perceived Effectiveness of the Land Resettlement Programme

This section focuses on the respondents’ opinions about the effectiveness of the land resettlement programmes by the government.

4.4.1 Effectiveness of accessibility of applications for resettlement

The statistics on the respondents’ opinions about the effectiveness of land resettlement programmes by the government are presented in Figure 4.12.
Figure 12. Accessibility of applications for resettlement

The respondents indicated that there were no specific mechanisms in place to address the plight of war veterans regarding the land resettlement situation.

4.5 Perceived Barriers Affecting Land Resettlement

The respondents were asked to indicate the level to which the following factors (policy directives from MLRR, political interference, financial resources, cooperation from colleagues and policy directives of other organisations) were affecting the effective resettlement of land for veterans. The level of the problem is on a three-point scale, with a score of 3 being a major problem, and a score of 1 being not a problem. The statistics for the respondents’ ratings are presented in Table 3.
Table 3: Responses on Perceived Factors Affecting the Effectiveness of Land Resettlement by Government (n=50)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Major Problem</th>
<th>Moderate Problem</th>
<th>Not a Problem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy directives from MLRR</td>
<td>10(20%)</td>
<td>25(50%)</td>
<td>5(10%)</td>
<td>50(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political interference</td>
<td>5(10%)</td>
<td>10(20%)</td>
<td>35(70%)</td>
<td>50(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial resources</td>
<td>15(30%)</td>
<td>25(50%)</td>
<td>10(20%)</td>
<td>50(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation from colleagues</td>
<td>15(30%)</td>
<td>25(50%)</td>
<td>10(20%)</td>
<td>50(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy directives of other orgs</td>
<td>10(20%)</td>
<td>25(50%)</td>
<td>10(20%)</td>
<td>50(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 3, it is evident that the respondents perceived policy directives from MLRR, political interference, financial resources, cooperation from colleagues and policy directives of other organisations as major predictors limiting the effectiveness of land resettlement programmes for veterans by the government. The ratings of perceived factors as a problem limiting the effectiveness of land resettlement programmes range between 60% and 70%.

4.6 Preferred Assistance from the Government

The respondents’ were asked to indicate what they would like to see being done to improve the socio-economic standards of the war veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia. The findings are presented in Figure 13.
The majority of respondents (76%) preferred education opportunities for their children as well as salaried work for themselves as a way forward to improve their socio-economic conditions. Less than 10% of the respondents preferred either salaried work for veterans or engaging in projects that are supported by the government.

4.7 Conclusion

From this discussion it can be concluded that most respondents were interested in their wellbeing and that of their children, since most of them were non-productive and would not have much serving at retirement as most of them were not educated and could not work anymore.
CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of the study was to investigate the effectiveness of the existing land policy in uplifting the socio-economic standards of veterans of the liberation struggle. This chapter discusses the conclusions, taking into consideration the objectives, literature study and research questions as the critical point of this study. Included are the recommendations derived from the conclusions.

5.2 Summary

The following are key findings for the study.

1. Of the 50 respondents, 40 (80%) joined PLAN between 1960 and 1980, compared to 10 (20%) who joined PLAN between 1981 and 1990.
2. The majority of respondents (70%) were gainfully employed in government ministries/parastatals mostly in the Special Field Force Unit of the Namibian Police Force; 20% were unemployed, and depended solely on veterans’ grants, while the remainder were self-employed
3. Out of the 40 gainfully employed respondents, 30 (60%) were either in administrative positions, or were clerical staff, compared to 10 (20%) who indicated that they were cleaners
4. Half (50%) of the respondents had qualifications lower than Grade 10. Twenty percent of the respondents had either a Grade 10 qualification or a Grade 12 qualification in the International General School Certificate Examinations (IGCSE). Six percent of the
respondents possessed a diploma certificate, while 4% had a bachelor’s degree or higher degree but less than a Master degree.

5. The six youngest respondents (12%) were aged between 40 - 49 years, compared to 33(66%) who were aged between 50 and 59. Eleven (22%) of the respondents were aged 60 years and above.

6. The majority of the respondents (66%) were unaware of land resettlement programmes by government. Almost a third of the respondents indicated that they were aware of the land resettlement programmes aimed at uplifting the socio-economic wellbeing of the veterans.

7. Most respondents (68%) had had no communication with the Ministry of Veteran Affairs on issues relating to land resettlement programmes.

8. The majority of the respondents (70%) had found application for resettlement difficult, despite efforts to access information relating to the process, which means that information on resettlement was not easily available.

9. The respondents perceived policy directives from MLRR, political interference, financial resources, cooperation from colleagues and policy directives of other organisations as major predictors limiting the effectiveness of land resettlement programmes for veterans by the government. The ratings of perceived factors as a problem limiting the effectiveness of land resettlement programmes range between 60% and 70%.

10. The majority of respondents (76%) preferred education opportunities for their children as well as salaried work for themselves as a way forward to improve their socio-economic conditions. Less than 10% of the respondents preferred either salaried work for veterans or engaging in projects that are supported by the government.
5.3 Conclusions

The following conclusions were drawn from the study.

a) Based on the foregoing findings and analysis, it can be concluded that most of the respondents comprehended the questionnaire.

b) The majority of the respondents stated that the existing land reform policy does not adequately address the socio-economic standards of the war veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia.

c) Many of the respondents were past employable age and were into retirement from jobs that paid very little as most of them did not go beyond the Junior Certificate level of education.

The respondents’ perceptions were as tabulated below:

5.4 Recommendations

In line with the research findings, the researcher makes the following recommendations to improve on the land delivery by harmonising the existing land reform policy with the war veterans’ policy to ensure best practices in uplifting the socio-economic standards of the war veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia. The researcher is of the considered opinion that efforts should be made to bridge the gap between the two line ministries’ resettlement policies.

Thus, the Ministry for Veterans Affairs and the Ministry of Land Resettlement should find ways through which their dual efforts can contribute optimally to the socio-economic uplifting of the war veterans. The following recommendations could assist:

- The land reform policy should be reviewed to address issues that directly affect and relate to the war veterans.
• The Ministry of Veterans Affairs should put in place mechanisms or policy to resettle and provide land for the veterans, who are its key responsibility. Currently, even though some land provision has taken place for a few veterans, the issue has not been treated as a matter of general policy that can apply universally to all war veterans in need.

• There is an urgent need to come up with an all-inclusive forum in which the two ministries and the war veterans can be represented to inclusively brainstorm on the best mechanisms to address the land and resettlement issue of the war veterans of the liberation struggle.

• The researcher noted that there is a lack of information and statistics relating to veterans resettled to date; therefore, any policy made may not address the entire problem. The Ministry for Veterans Affairs and the Ministry of Land Resettlement should therefore work together and come up with a clear database on those veterans who have been resettled, for planning purposes.

• Wide consultations involving the war veterans should be undertaken regarding time frames, needs assessments and ideal types of resettlement programmes, because most of the respondents indicated that they were not interested in a large tract of land, but rather in a plot to erect a shelter over their heads, thus ensuring permanent fixed assets for their children.

• It is also recommended that the Namibia National Liberation Veterans Association should be part of the discussion on the resettlement policy structure to represent and articulate the well-being of war veterans of the liberation struggle.
REFERENCES


April 7-10, 2005. p. 3.


Systems and their Impacts on Food Security and Sustainable Development in Africa.” 2009).

The Land (newsletter of the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement), Issue No. 1, July 2009

The Namibia Economist, Resettlement farmers receive 99-year leases, Friday 28 August 2009


APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Request to Complete Questionnaire

SUBJECT: REQUEST TO COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDY

PURPOSES

Dear Sir/Madam

You are kindly requested to take your valued precious time to complete the attached questionnaire designed for research study in fulfilment of my master degree study at the University of Namibia study.

UNDEARTAKING

Kindly be informed that all information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality and anonymity. This questionnaire will not require you to provide your name.
INSTRUCTIONS

➢ Please answer all questions (remember that there is no right or wrong answer whatever answer you are providing is important).

➢ Complete the questionnaire by placing an X in the appropriate box or by writing a sentence depending on a question.

➢ Please answer the questions as they apply to you personally, honestly, frankly and objectively as possible.

➢ You are kindly requested to return the questionnaire on/or before Saturday, 31 August 2013

-----------------------------END-----------------------------
APPENDIX 2: Questionnaire: Veterans Only

SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Gender

Please answer the following questions

1.1 Indicate the interval of years that you were enlisted with the People 'Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) (Please tick only one option)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-1965</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1970</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-1975</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-1980</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-1985</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-1990</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2 Indicate your geographical region (*Please tick only one option*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Omusati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohangwena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oshana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oshikoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavango East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavango West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otjozondjupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaheke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//Kharas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2 What is your employment status? *(Please tick only one option)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment status of Veterans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed in Ministry/ organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed (depend on Ministry of Veterans Affairs Grant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employed as a result of government support</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3 If employed, what is your position in the organisation? *(Please tick only one option)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position in the Ministry or Organisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleaner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, please specify</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4 Could you please indicate your age category? *(Please tick only one option)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40-44 Years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.5 What is your gender? *(Please tick only one option)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1.6 What is your highest qualification? *(Please tick only one option)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Less than grade 10</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s Degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION B AWARENESS OF LAND REFORM POLICY AND CHALLENGES AFFECTING THE LAND RESETTLEMENT

2.1 Are you aware of the government land reform policy? *(Please tick only one option)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Awareness of policy</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Are you aware of resettlement programmes by government? *(Please tick only one option)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Awareness of Resettlement</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Were you informed by the Ministry of Veterans Affairs (MOVA) about the land resettlement programme? *(Please tick only one option)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informed by MOVA</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4 Have you applied for resettlement programme before or after recognition as a veteran? 
(Please tick only one option)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applied to MOVA</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5 What is the status for your application for land resettlement from MOVA? (Please tick only one option)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status of Application</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not approved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awaiting approval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6 Are the applications for resettlement easily accessible? (Please tick only one option)

| Accessibility of Application |   |
2.7 What would you like to see being done to improve the socio-economic standards of the war veterans of the liberation struggle of Namibia? (Please tick only one option)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salary work for veterans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop business plan projects and fund them for veterans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further education and salary work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others please specify</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.8 Perceived Effectiveness of the land resettlement

Please indicate the level effectiveness of the land resettlement for veterans. The level of rating is on a 3-point scale: 3=very effective, 2=moderately effective, 1=not effective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Very effective</th>
<th>Moderate effective</th>
<th>Not effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility of Applications for resettlement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processing of application</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.9 Perceived barriers affecting the land resettlement

Please indicate the level to which the following factors are affecting the effective resettlement of land for Veterans. The level of problem is on a 3-point scale: 3= major problem, 2= moderate problem, 1= not a problem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Major problem</th>
<th>Moderate problem</th>
<th>Not A problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy directives from MLR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political interference</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation from colleagues (MLR)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy directives of other organizations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I thank you for your precious time taken to complete this questionnaire. God bless you abundantly.