

**POVERTY REDUCTION THROUGH LAND
REFORM IN NAMIBIA:
A CASE STUDY OF THE KHOMAS REGION**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
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**THE UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA
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Department of Political and Administrative Studies
AND
THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES (ISS)**

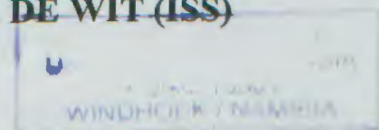
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ABSTRACT

The study intended to find out whether, particularly, the government resettlement scheme is effectively reducing poverty. The main aim of the research was to initiate policy alternatives on how land reform can contribute to social and economic development of Namibia. The other important issue is to make recommendations and suggestions on how land reform can reduce poverty. The researcher used both structured and unstructured interview questions in order to collect primary data. The data were analysed in comparisons with the policy documents and theoretical framework. It was found that the implementation process has defeated the main purpose of land reform that is to reduce poverty. The implementation process is pro-rich rather than pro-poor as the policy intends. The majority of the beneficiaries are government employees with high annual incomes. The settlers should rather have been accommodated by the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme and not by the Government Resettlement Scheme. Most of the beneficiaries do not live on their allocated plots but live in the capital city, Windhoek. Farms that are acquired for resettlement purposes are being divided into small farming units, risking further environmental degradation and low productivity. The major problem with the government resettlement scheme is that beneficiaries are not provided with necessary post-resettlement support. It was difficult for the study to establish whether beneficiaries increased their income as a result of farming because they indicated that salaries were the main source of their incomes, not farming. Stakeholders' contributions to land reform are not always reflected in the policy documents. Coordination between various actors and ministries involved in the resettlement programme is lacking.

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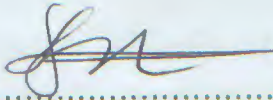
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my lovely grandparents, Theresa Tubahuba Malila and Benson Foreng Mauru-Arukubwe Simukwenga, for being a source of wisdom and inspiration throughout my life and to my beautiful lovely mother, the late Mukusana Luboni, rest in peace.

DECLARATIONS

This is a research paper submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Public Policy and Administration, the study programme of the University of Namibia (UNAM), in Windhoek and the Institute of Social Studies (ISS), in The Hague, The Netherlands. This dissertation is the original work of the author and it has not been submitted for a degree elsewhere. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the two institutions.

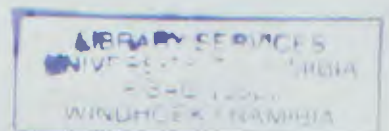
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Hopkins K. Namakando



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Date



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ACRONYMS

AALS	-	Affirmative Action Loan Scheme
BA	-	Bachelor of Arts
DFID	-	Department for International Development
MLAR	-	Market-Led Agrarian Reforms
SLAR	-	State-Led Agrarian Reforms
MDG	-	Millennium Development Goals
ICARRD	-	International Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development
MLR	-	Ministry of Lands and Resettlement
PRS	-	Poverty Reduction Strategy
RON	-	Republic of Namibia
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
MAWF	-	Ministry of Agriculture Water and Forestry
KM	-	Kilometres
LSU	-	Large Stock Unity
LRAC	-	Land Reform Advisory Commission
NPC	-	National Planning Commission
IPPR	-	Institute for Public Policy Research
NEPRU	-	Namibian Economic Research Union
NAU	-	Namibia Agricultural Union
NNFU	-	Namibia National Farmers Union
NAFWU	-	Namibia Farm Workers Union
NGO's	-	Non-Governmental Organizations
NSA's	-	Non-State Actors
PPA	-	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PTT	-	Permanent Technical Team
SADC	-	Southern Africa Development Community
SSU	-	Small Stock Unity

NLP	- National Land Policy
MTE	- Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MRLGRD	- Ministry of Regional and Local Government, Housing and Rural Development
MWTT	- Ministry of Works Transport and Telecommunications
ME	- Ministry of Education
MHSS	- Ministry of Health and Social Services
LAPC	- Long Term Agriculture Policy Commission
NNF	- Namibia Nature Foundation
RRC	- Regional Resettlement Committee
UNAM	- University of Namibia
MBA	- Master of Business Administration
RP	- Resettlement Programme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The research paper seeks to investigate whether the land resettlement programme is reducing poverty in Khomas region. After independence in 1990, the government of the Republic of Namibia enacted the Land Reform Policy as an instrument to guide the land reform process. The Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act no.6 of 1995 and the National Resettlement Policy are legal instruments that should direct the resettlement programme.

The Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act authorises government to buy and acquire commercial land and redistribute it to Namibians who have been socially, economically, and politically disadvantaged by the past discriminatory land laws and policies. Such groups of people are the San community; Ex-soldiers; Displaced, Destitute and Landless; People with disabilities; and People from overcrowded communal areas. The National Resettlement Policy focuses on the establishment of regional and national resettlement committees to advise the land reform commission in the identification and selection of resettlement beneficiaries in terms of the Agricultural (commercial) Land Reform Act (RON 2004:6).

Other important policies and legislation were passed since independence and should be mentioned in this study. The National Land Policy passed in 1998 by the National Assembly, is based upon the precepts pronounced in the constitution and on the agreements reached during the National Conference on the land question in 1991. The Communal Land Reform Act allows the formation of Communal Land Boards, which already exists in 12 of the 13 regions of Namibia, to exercise control over the allocation and cancellation of customary land rights by Chiefs or Traditional Authorities and to consider and decide on applications for a right of leasehold. The National Land Tenure Policy prescribes the rights applicable to communal land

users, tenants on state and private land, farm owners, workers as well as urban informal settlers. The policy also aims to give residential tenure rights to other groups of former farm workers on farms where they were employed (RON 2004:6).

The main focus of this study is to assess whether the land resettlement programme is alleviating poverty in Khomas region.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Namibia was formerly known as South West Africa. It covers an area of 824, 295 square kilometres (82 426 900 ha) or 317,827 square miles (RON 2004:2). Namibia's population is about 1.9 million people. There are four topographical regions in Namibia: the Namib Desert, the Central Plateau, the Kalahari Desert and the Northern Plains.

The Khomas region where the research will be carried out is situated in the Central Plateau. The area is good for cattle grazing. Its arid conditions make it unsuitable for natural water-fed cultivation and crop cultivation is practised only in the northern region and few places in the Central plateau. This qualifies Namibia to a pastoral country, as in the northern part rainfall varies between 600-700 mm, the central part between 300-600 mm and the south and west between 300-50 mm respectively.

Land dispossession involved the forced removal of black people from the fertile land into concentrated reserves where the land was infertile. This resulted in whites, who comprised 2 % of the total population, to owning 74 % of arable land while the blacks were kept in ethnic reserves (Tapscott 1994). The commercial farms cover 36 million hectares, 57 percent of the agriculturally utilizable area. Approximately 33.5 million hectares is under communal land tenure, but not all are usable agriculturally without major investments in water development (Adams and Devitt 1992:6). According to Adams and Devitt the inequality of land ownership in freehold areas is mainly caused by the number of farms (282, or 6 per cent) owned by foreigners, mainly South Africans; the number of owners with more than one registered farms

(about 1300, or 30 percent); and the number of owners living outside the district, but within Namibia (265 or 7 percent) or outside the country 6 per cent.

The current land reform policy was initiated during the liberation struggle. The SWAPO government after independence convened a National Lands Conference in consultation with the opposition parties to discuss the Land Reform and the Land Question held in Windhoek, 25 June to 1 July 1991. The main objective was to make recommendations to the government on land reform policy formulation and a programme of action for implementation. Even though there was not enough time to consider other details, the conference resolved that: a) foreigners should not be allowed to own farmland; b) under-utilised freehold land should be reallocated; c) land of absentee landlords should be expropriated; d) ownership of very large farms should not be allowed; and e) that a land tax be imposed on commercial farm land. Other resolutions related to the need to improve the conditions of farm workers and to resolve land related issues in the communal areas (Adams and Devitt 1992:8).

A consensus was also reached to distribute the land equally among those who need land for their livelihoods. Other resolutions were to compensate those who will lose their farms through expropriation. The willing buyer/willing seller approach was adopted as a mechanism through which land will be reallocated. There will be no restitution of land. The government of the Republic of Namibia has reassured the international community that it will not emulate Zimbabwe's controversial land reform programme.

The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement's (MLR) role was to carry out the implementation process of land reform policies.

In 1998 the cabinet of the Republic of Namibia approved a Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) as a road map for reducing poverty in the country. The PRS have three main objectives:

- Fostering more equitable and efficient delivery of public services in the context of Namibia's commitment to decentralisation;

- Accelerating equitable agricultural expansion, including consideration for food security and other crop development options; and
- Exploring options for non-agricultural economic empowerment, including an emphasis on informal and self-employment options. (RON, 2005:2).

These efforts were intended to relief pressure on land. Arable land is not enough and livestock farming require huge capital investment.

Namibia is one of the highest countries in a world-wide ranking of unequal distribution of income measured at 0.80 gini co-efficient (Van Donge 2005:8). According to the World Bank study (1992:5) the wealthiest 5 percent of Namibians control more than 70 percent of GDP, while the poorest 55 percent control only 3 percent.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Despite many policies that were enacted in order to redistribute the land in Namibia, land is still inequitably distributed. The justification for land reform in post-colonial Namibia is repossession and redistribution of freehold farms for equitable land ownership among all citizens. The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement Minister Jerry Ekandjo confirmed at a ministerial workshop on resettlement that the ministry has resettled a total of 5,890 families. About 1,538 families were resettled on freehold land and 4,352 families in communal areas, altogether with a total of 38,000 beneficiaries (IRIN 2005). In the light of the 243 000 of landless Namibians. This is an indication that the redistribution of land is at a very slow-pace after 16 years of independence.

Land is regarded, as a vital source of production, without it there is no proper living. The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement emphasised that farmers in the communal farming sector are mainly engaged in subsistence rain-fed cropping and extensive livestock production, characterised by extremely low levels of productivity, high variability of output from one year to the next year and a high degree of poverty,

household food insecurity and malnutrition among some communities (RON 2004:3).

Analysis of studies made so far attested to the fact that the resettlement programme is not alleviating poverty but rather sustaining poverty. According to Van Donge (2005:2) “the actual processes of implementation are far less pro-poor than the policy suggests”. Werner (2001:18) argued that while a number of freehold farms have been purchased for resettlement, government has not yet been able to meet the demands of the poor and unemployed. What is derived from farming cannot sustain the lives of the people on the farms, as they mostly depend upon incomes from outside sources such as pensions.

In August 2000, the Division of Co-operative Development in the former Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MAWARD) and the Land Reform Advisory Commission (LRAC) commissioned a detailed survey of the MLR resettlement co-operatives. The survey contains an account of nine projects in five regions.

In summary, it concludes that:

- None of the projects were economically viable; some remain welfare schemes dependent on food rations.
- The motivation and commitment of the participants were poor.
- There was little evidence of participants being involved in the planning and the actions necessary to satisfy their needs because decisions were made by officials.
- MLR staff assigned to the projects was unsuitable in terms of their qualifications and experience.
- There was a due dependence on a limited number of foreign technical assistants.
- The settlers had reasonable access to some services (health and education), and were given access to government transport (Adams 2000:9)

The study will try to analyse why the resettlement schemes have not alleviated poverty and why government as the main stakeholder has not yet adhered to the demands of the poor people in order to improve their livelihoods. According to media reports land redistribution is centrally planned or top-down and not bottom-up approach. Some of the beneficiaries have opted to leave the farms and attempt job opportunities at nearby farms or towns. Other settlers are indicating that they prefer to work individually on the small plots allocated to them than in groups (Van Donge 2005:20)

The Wage Bargaining Report of 2004 revealed that 56 percent of the Namibians live on less than N\$12 a day while 35 percent cannot even scrape together N\$6 and that the country is characterised by huge socio-economic inequalities caused mainly by the class arrangement that has taken place since independence (Katswara 2005:11). The director general of the National Planning Commission (NPC) Helmut Angula, said that at the per capita income of US\$ 2 000 (about N\$ 14 000) a year, Namibia is perceived as a fairly rich country yet the majority are wallowing in poverty (Staff Reporter 2005:5).

Even though land reform is needed for many Namibians, its economic viability is worrisome taking into consideration that Namibia is a semi-arid country which is experiencing frequent droughts. Van Donge argues that land reform in Namibia is more driven by the wish for Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) than by concerns about economic growth. The policy itself and the implementation process are ambiguous as the procedures for resettlement are more complex and the criteria are hardly followed.

It seems that there are no proper consultations with the intended beneficiaries when resettlement policies are formulated. In the rural areas where the majority of Namibians live, people are concerned about the lack of clear policy and administrative structures for land allocation and management (RON 1998: iv). The critical issue is the promise made in the National Resettlement Policy that after first five years of resettlement, beneficiaries would receive assistance in terms of fencing

and water supply only. Although the government resettlement policy states that its support for beneficiaries would be restricted after five years, the research team did not find a single resettlement project to be sustainable after five years (IRIN 2003)

The Namibian land reform programme is flawed because poor and landless people are not being empowered to become successful farmers once they have been resettled (IRIN 2003). Considering those who are the target groups with Namibia's unfavourable farming conditions it's doubtful whether beneficiaries can improve their livelihoods without government assistance on a long-term basis. Resettled persons had little or no knowledge of rotational grazing, livestock breeding system or financial planning and management skills so they simply continue with subsistence farming on the piece of land they had been allocated (IRIN 2003).

Werner (2001:14) reported that many stakeholders including communal farmers were hoping that the Communal Land Reform Bill would introduce common property rights for communities, but this did not happen. On the issue of property rights, the beneficiaries do not get loans, as they have no collateral because resettlement farms are not owned by the people but by the state and they do not hold titles to the land.

Willing buyer/willing seller, has failed in Zimbabwe and to pursue such a strategy in Namibia requires expertise in land planning and administration. Government should initiate new alternatives on how to redistribute land. According to Carter (2006:1) a social justice perspective argues that why should those who suffered or whose families suffered, uncompensated colonial or other expropriation now have to use markets to repurchase what was theirs.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

The following are the objectives of this research paper:

- a) To assess the motivation for and scope of the resettlement policy;

- b) To determine whether the land resettlement programme has increased household incomes of the beneficiaries;
- c) To find out whether the target groups are correctly being resettled;
- d) To examine whether beneficiaries are getting adequate post-resettlement support;
- e) To make suggestions and recommendations on how the resettlement programme can be improved in order to reduce poverty.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The main research question that will guide the research paper will be as follows:

Does the resettlement programme alleviate poverty in Khomas region?

SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research paper also seeks to answer the following questions:

- 1) What is the nature of the resettlement policy?
- 2) Why has the resettlement process been so slow?
- 3) What were the constraints during the process of implementation?
- 4) Were the intended beneficiaries properly selected?
- 5) Are the beneficiaries getting enough post-resettlement support?
- 6) Has the resettlement programme increased household incomes?

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

The paper will attempt to review concepts and terminologies, especially presented by other authors, for fuller understanding of the issues to be raised in the research paper.

The concepts to be defined include the following:

- a) Land reform
- b) Poverty
- c) Poverty reduction

Land reform is the acquisition of land from those who have land and redistributes it to individual families. Land reform usually involves expropriating large holding and redistributing them as individual family holdings or as worker-managed co-operatives" (Barraclough 1999:48). Resettlement is allocating people on a piece of land and utilise the land to improve their welfare. The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement articulated that the resettlement programme should enhance the social welfare of the people through improvement of productivity and to develop destination areas where they are supposed to earn a decent living (RON 2001:2).

Cramer and Pontara (1998:106) defined poverty as: "the poor live in extremely isolated and self-contained households with little access to productive inputs and little incentives to increase production". The authors added that most of the poor live on small land holdings with insecure property rights, in spite of some evidence of differentiation and apart from regional differences, it is possible to characterise the poor as members of fairly homogeneous peasantry. According to Wilson and Ramphela (1989:14) poverty is defined as not knowing where your next meal will come from and always wondering when the council is going to put your furniture out and always praying that your husband must not lose his job.

Though it is difficult to measure poverty it can still be noticed in either relative or absolute terms such as:

- a. **Relative poverty;** describes an individual's or group's level of wealth in relation in relation to other individuals or groups. Thus relative poverty is closely related to levels of inequalities, both among and between societies (Devereux 1995:2)
- b. **Absolute poverty;** defines a cut-off point for, poverty (based on income, consumption, expenditure or some other proxy) below which people are considered to be absolutely poor and above which they are classified as not poor (Devereux 1995:2).

Poverty reduction is when the people's livelihoods improve in terms of food security, increased incomes and more employment opportunities. IRIN (2003) notes that "the

land reform is not merely about asset redistribution; ideally it should form part of a policy of poverty reduction within a frame work of rural development". The authors emphasise the point that land resettlement should therefore involve the provision of clinics, roads, schools; access to agricultural inputs and markets.

The livelihoods framework articulates that thinking in terms of strengths or assets is vital as an antidote to the view of poor people as passive or deprived (Rakodi 2002:10). The author emphasise that central to the approach is the need to recognize that those who are poor may not have cash or other savings, but that they do have other materials or non-material assets such as their health, their labour, their knowledge and skills, their friends and families, and the natural resources around them.

The non-proponents of the livelihoods framework argue that the approach does not take into cognisance the poorest who are asset-less. This study finds the approach appropriate for Namibia's land reform that is aimed at reducing poverty.

Land in Namibia is regarded as a source of life, without it you are regarded as poor. This is the context within which the research paper will attempt to examine the land resettlement programme, by analysing whether the livelihoods of the resettled people have improved. But what is important is to understand and take into consideration are the desires and needs of the beneficiaries.

There are successful cases of land reform in many parts of the developing world. For example, Vietnam completed their land reform programme within a short period of time, between 1970 and 1973. Within three years 1,000,000 families benefited and land allocated was 3,285,000 million ha. Following the land reform programme agricultural production increased by 30 percent (RDI 2002-2004). The study included Vietnam's land reform as a learning example for Namibia, simply because Vietnam being a developing country has managed to tremendously reduce poverty of its citizens through land reform (see Annex F).

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study⁴ undertook qualitative research. As the study was ethnographic it involved focused groups and representatives from various organisations. An ethnographic study allows the researcher access to primary sources of information and its flexibility helped the researcher to quickly redirect the discussions in order to be in line with the objectives of the study. Meeting beneficiaries on their farms was an opportunity for the researcher to observe and familiarize with the real situation on the ground. English as a national language was used; for those who could not express themselves in the language an interpreter was required. Interviewees were assured that the study is intended to uplift their livelihoods.

The following research instruments were used to collect data:

1. **Interviews:** Data collection using interviews enabled the researcher direct contact with primary informants. The interviewer rephrased the questions to redirect the discussions in order to gain the right information.

There are two types of interviews that the study utilised such as:

- Structured interviews; this is an oral presentation of a written questionnaire and the interviewer read out the questions and the persons being interviewed gave their responses.
 - Unstructured interviews; interviewer prepared a number of themes or issues which he aimed to explore. The questions asked were open-ended and participants gave answers according to their feelings.
2. **Literature review:** These are views of other authors as part of secondary data. This helps the study focus on relevant issues raised in various literatures on land reform in Namibia and internationally.

The following sources were important for the study:

- Published sources; are academic debates published frequently like journals, drafts, pamphlets, and academic presentations consisting of new ideas and suggestions.

- Official documents; the researcher reviewed appropriate documents containing information about land reform policy formulation and implementation. The researcher analysed documents such as policy documents, ministerial minutes and presentations, and published research findings by other researchers focusing on this topic.

Respondents included:

- Beneficiaries: these are resettled people on acquired freehold farms and it was important to find out whether their livelihoods have improved.
- Bureaucrats/officials, these are government officials whose responsibility is policy formulation and implementation. They revealed institutional capacities and incapacities of national resettlement policy implementation.
- Farmers' unions, these are representatives of various farming groups and their role is to engage the government and other stakeholders on issues which are affecting farmers. Their insight enriched this study on how productive farming can be achieved in Namibia.

Data collected was compared with what was observed on the farms. The data was analysed whether it approves or disapproves the research problem.

1.7 DELIMITATION OF STUDY

The study was conducted between July and end of November 2006 in the Khomas region. Due to lack of funding the researcher was not able to incorporate other regions where there are beneficiaries of the resettlement programme. The time factor limited the study to one aspect of the resettlement programme; that's whether government resettlement scheme has increased the incomes or improved the livelihoods of the beneficiaries. The study only focused on resettlements in commercial areas and not in communal areas because in these areas some of the infrastructures were developed.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter provides a conceptual and theoretical framework as tools for analysing land reform and poverty reduction in Namibia. It discusses a wide range of literature with contrasting views on how land policy could provide a solution to rural underdevelopment and poverty alleviation. The chapter compares trends, approaches, perspectives and challenges involved in the implementation of land reform policies.

The chapter explicitly explains the Market-Led Agrarian Reforms (MLAR) and State-Led Agrarian Reforms (SLRAR) and on how the approaches attempt to provide solutions to historical trends and problems of land reform and poverty reduction. It assesses property rights in relation to land reform and poverty reduction with reference to the Namibian situation. The chapter then introduces a livelihoods framework and how the model could be applied in order to improve the living conditions of the majority rural poor, especially in Khomas region.

2.2 LAND REFORM

For the past decades land reform policy was dormant on international and national agendas, especially in developing economies. Currently, the land question has been resurrected in attempting to resolve some of the problems of rural poverty and underdevelopment in Namibia.

According to Von Blanckenburg (1994:6) land reforms are motivated by three main dimensions:

- First, the political dimension: many authors emphasise the fact that land reform is aimed to change the power structure in the society in order to deprive a land-based elite of its power basis. Many liberation struggles in

developing countries were waged in order to claim back the land that was forcefully taken away from the indigenous people. Namibia is no exception. To avoid political unrest governments should acquire land from the landlords and give to the marginalised groups (Moyo 1994:1; Borras, Kay, Akram-Lodhi 2005:3). No viable agricultural system can operate where there is political instability in the country. Recent examples from both East and West Africa illustrate that failure to attend to such conflicts early on, especially if land issues overlap with ethnicity and race issues. Failure easily leads to broader social strife, including possible state failure, with devastating consequences for household welfare and economic growth (Deininger 2003:3).

Authors acknowledge the existence of the perception that if Namibians do not own the land, the soil itself, and the country does not belong to them (Breytenbach 2004:46, Werner 1997:8, Horsthemke 2004:88, and Mudge 2004:100). They argue that the political opportunity of land reform lay and still lies with the chance to allow the disparate views on and interests in land, its distribution and use to converge, which may ultimately bring peace and stability. Politics, land and powers co-exist and they have been inseparable since time immemorial. For example, the former Minister of information and Broadcasting, Ben Amadthila stated during the debate of the Agricultural (commercial) Land Reform Act (Werner 1997:8) that:

“As long as land remains with the white people no independence. This is a sentiment throughout this country as long as you are black. You can see it in this house, from the time that this debate started the unanimity on this issue, not only in principle, but also in anticipated reality”.

- Second, the social dimension: land reform concerns abolition of inequalities in land distribution and income generation. According to Von Blanckenburg (1994:7) the equity case for land redistribution rests on three considerations:
 - (i) The landless and small land owners are poorer than large land owners;

- (ii) In general, but with important exceptions, total employment and production per hectare increases as farm size decreases; and
- (iii) Inequality in the distribution of land conditions the poverty effects of agricultural growth not only because of the resulting unequal distribution of the income attributed to land but also because it breeds social stratification patterns inimical to the poor in many other areas.

Garcia (2004:6) stressed the need for a social dimension in the land reform of Namibia by pointing out that:

Paradoxically, it is the 10 percent of Namibians with European origins who control all aspects of the economy, from both productive and consumptive perspectives. This minority has a living standard comparable with those of most developed societies, while the rest of the population has to confront recurrent situations of deprivation and underdevelopment.

- Third is the economic dimension; that focuses on the efficiency use of land reform. Agricultural production should be increased and labour productivity improved. The leading doctrine, which is based on observations in Asia, has been that small farms are more efficient than large farms. The underlying main theoretical explanation is that, when households are allocated on small plots, they use family members for labour, which is not only cheap but also motivated. Large farm owners, on the other hand, are at a disadvantage because their hired labour is less motivated to do the work (Von Blanckenburg 1994:10; Byres 2004:25).

In Namibia, absentee landlord farms (amounting to 2.9 million ha) outside Otavi, Tsumeb and Grootfontein are currently being targeted for land transfers (Breytenbach 2004:56). Foreign landlords cannot use the land productively as they cannot supervise the managers of their land. Large farm owners could be more productive because of mechanization and especially when they are able to process their own products into finished goods.

A long-term and broader economic perspective suggests that land reform (as happened in South Korea, Japan and Taiwan) can lead to an income distribution structure and rural employment benefits conducive to a growing industrial sector (Moyo 1994:17). Without access to land in developing nations where there is limited economic alternatives to reduce poverty will be very difficult. Land reform can be justified on efficiency and equity grounds as one strategy for providing access to productive assets (Deininger 2003:151).

2.2.1 Market-Led Agrarian Reform (MLAR)

Proponents of Market-Led Agrarian Reform argue that irregularities in the land markets are caused by a situation where by inefficient producers continue to own and control land while efficient producers do not have access to land. This is the cause of low production and productivity level in the rural economies. Those who support markets to redistribute land have indicated key features of MLAR such as: voluntary not coercive; demand-driven not supply-driven; private not state land transactions; decentralised not centralised; and top-down/ centralised versus bottom-up/decentralised, (Borras, Kay and Akram Lodhi 2006:22; Deininger 2003:143; Van Zyl, Kirsten and Binswanger 1996: 414). The authors' states that MLAR requires 100 percent spot-cash payment for 100 percent market-value of the land to the landlords and the buyer should shoulder all land transfer costs.

In the context of Namibia's market-assisted land reform based on a "willing buyer/willing seller" principle, only 30,720 people out of an estimated 243,000 landless Namibians were resettled by 2003. Critics have said the land reform had moved far too slowly since independence in 1990, and delivered far too few tangible benefits to its land hungry citizens (IRIN 2004). According to Sachikonye (2004:79) former president Sam Nujoma, at the summit of the UN world summit on Sustainable Development 2002, warned that "the landless majority of our citizens are growing impatient by the day while the willing buyer/willing seller is too slow, cumbersome and very costly". In South Africa, agriculture minister, Thoko Didiza, also expressed frustration with the slow pace of market-based land reform based on

the “willing seller/willing buyer” principle. Sherbourne (2004:10) proposed several reasons why commercial farmland in Namibia is expensive as it is:

- There are subsidies available which boost profitability beyond what the market would yield if left to itself
- Other activities make farms more productive than the profitability from livestock farming, justifying the present price of land in economic terms.
- The tax system encourages the purchase of farms, and
- People may buy farms for reasons other than their production potential.

Market-assisted land reform in Namibia is hampered by the lack of enough arable land and harsh environmental conditions. Another reason for failure of MLAR is the costs involved. Poor people cannot afford to buy land on their own without state assistance.

2.2.2 State-led Agrarian Reform (SLAR)

In every Latin American case where significant land redistribution benefiting the rural poor took place, the state played a decisive role (Barraclough 1999:33). Even though SLAR have several theoretical-ideological conceptions, policy designs and actual practices, widely categorised in its ideal types, namely, revolutionary, conservative and liberal or socialist or capitalist-oriented it is the responsibility of states to implement the land reform policies (Borras 2003:127). The government assured the international community that the recent Zimbabwe land-grabbing is not going to be emulated. In Zimbabwe market reforms were attempted from 1992 onwards but were inadequate (Breytenbach 2004:46).

Risto Kapanda, ex-president of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) asserted that (2004:112) that:

“Land reform should be a process of restoring people’s dignity, their integrity and their sense of belonging. We are not saying that the Germans and the Afrikaners should not have any land at all; what we are saying is that the settlers have too much land. If it was up to me, every “adopted”

Namibian should have only one farm and the rest they must give to the government for resettlement purposes. Before it is too late, the settlers should act legally, procedurally and proactively. They should not wait until things get out of hand".

It is the responsibilities of states to regulate market failure for peace and stability. Many developing countries that succeeded in land redistribution encountered greater opposition from powerful landlords. It is ignorance to expect that those powerful landlords will move aside and deprive themselves of their riches and social position. The implications of this then are that expropriation and coercion tended to result in a greater degree of success in land redistribution and not failure as dared by the pro-market critique (Borras 2003:117). The landless poor cannot bargain with the well-educated and resourceful landlords who have access to information and the courts of law. Table 1 shows the statistics of commercial and communal land in Namibia.

Table 1 Basic Statistics on Namibia's Land Reform

Amount of land owned by commercial farmers	36.2 million ha
Amount of land owned by communal farmers	33.5 million ha
Number of households resettled since 1990	6,661
Number of emergent farmers since 1990	300

Source: Sachikonye (2004:72)

2.2.3 Property Rights

There are two competing perspectives about land policies, (Borras, Kay and Akram-Lodhi, 2005:13). The first perspective views land reform as a policy that facilitates the provision of privatised and individualised property rights to as many people in as much space as possible, through market-led and market-oriented mechanisms of transferring property rights and of governing land markets. The perspective does not rule out the role of the state, which is modified to a facilitative role and provides the legal frameworks for the market mechanisms.

The second perspective follows the conventional framework which views land reform as a policy that should provide secure access to and control over land resources to the landless and rural poor, through a state-led coercive mechanism to expropriate land from landlords and for redistribution. It also places the question of land reform in the context of social justice, explicitly calling for the reform of inefficient, unjust and exploitative pre-existing agrarian structure.

The proponents of State-Led Agrarian Reform logically argue that in a situation where land is not equally redistributed, the State should be allowed to redistribute property rights to all social classes; later the market can now operate without irregularities. Those who cannot farm productively or profitably can either rent or sale their land to efficient producers. Perfect land markets, the heart of the MLAR theoretical model, supposedly toward achieving land reform, cannot emerge and function without prior real redistribution that effects a more egalitarian distribution of property rights over land resources (Borras 2003:122).

The key to rural poverty reduction is to instigate economic activities and growth in the rural economy; and crucial to this is to transform land into active capital of the people by way of privatised and individualised landed property rights. (Borras, Kay, Akram-Lodhi 2005: 9).

In an official communication the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR) stated that lease agreements would encourage beneficiaries to increase the productivity of their respective plots and add value to the resettlement programme (IRIN 2004). IRIN again said that the research conducted by Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) indicated that lending institutions, inherently conservative in nature, are not likely to lend money based on collateral of uncertain legal title, although (in theory) a loan might be given on a property registered 99-year lessee, which had some marketable value.

Box 1 shows article 16 of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, which indicates property rights.

Box 1 Property rights**Article 16 of the constitution of Namibia**

- (1) All persons shall have the right in any part of Namibia to acquire, own and dispose of all forms of immovable and movable property individually or in association with others and to bequeath their property to their heirs or legates: provided that parliament may by legislation prohibit or regulate as it deems expedient the right to acquire property by persons who are not Namibian citizen.
- (2) The state or a competent body or organ authorised by law may expropriate property in the public interest subject to the payment of just compensation in accordance with requirements and procedures to be determined by Act of parliament.

Source: Constitution of the Republic of Namibia

The land law was supposed to resolve the past injustice of land ownership before redistribution. That's why property rights as enshrined in the constitution seem only to make sense to political scientists, but not to the poor and landless.

Box 2 illustrates land rights that will enhance access to financial institutions by those who claim land ownership.

Box 2 Land Rights

Land rights may include:

- Rights to occupy a homestead, to use land for annual and perennial crops, to make permanent improvements, to bury the dead, and to have access for gathering fuel, wild fruit, poles, thatching grass, and minerals;
- Rights to transact, give, mortgage, lease, rent and bequeath areas of land;
- Rights to exclude others from the above-listed rights at community and/or individual level; and
- Linked to the above, rights to enforcement of legal and administrative provisions in order to protect the right holders.

Source: Adam, Sibanda and Turner (2000:135)

2.2.4 Poverty Reduction

Contemporary scholars and researchers have noted that the lack of access to land is strongly related to poverty and inequality. It is therefore not altogether surprising that the World Bank 2006 World Development Report that focuses on the question of equity has underscored the importance of land access (Akram-Lodhi, Borras, Kay, 2006:1). Policy discussions around the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) should include the issue of wealth and power redistribution in the rural areas, especially about agrarian reform, because the majority of the world's poor are rural poor. The need for land reform in the context of the global campaign against poverty has also been one of the key conclusions of the International Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ICARRD) held on 6-10 march 2006 in Porto Alegre, Brazil, sponsored by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations and the Brazilian government (Akram-Lodhi, Borras, and Kay 2006:2).

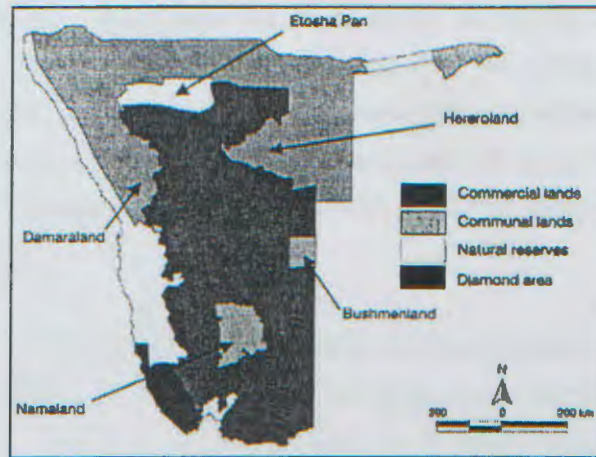
Seeing how important this natural resource called land is to developing countries where there is a critical shortage of off-farm jobs, El-Ghonemy (1990:60) asserted that:

"In developing countries, land represents a high proportion of total wealth, in- egalitarian patterns of land ownership are a major source of income inequalities, the owners of land poses political and economic power which can be exercised in ways that harm the interests of the bulk of the rural people, agricultural development cannot do all it might to improve rural life if the distribution of land ownership is highly skewed".

Map 1 shows the geographical distribution of communal areas in Namibia. Commercial agriculture is practised on some 4000 very large, mostly white-owned farm enterprises in the southern and central part of Namibia where a system of freehold land tenure prevails and production is for the market. In the north of Namibia and the former reserves of central and southern Namibia, the tenure system is communal. It is here that 70 percent of the black Namibian population live. The

majority derive their livelihood from small-scale farming using traditional methods of cultivation and producing almost extensively for self-consumption (Amutenya, Andima, Elkan, Van der Linden & Sherbourne 1992:2)

Map 1 Land ownership in Namibia



Source: Garcia (2005)

As highlighted above, land reform is not an end in itself but a means to an end. It needs among other things committed stakeholders and political will. Akram-Lodhi, Borras, & Kay (2005:5) claim that:

“In South Korea and Cuba where large quantities of land were redistributed to a large number of households rural poverty was dramatically reduced. Other countries like Japan, Taiwan, China, and Kerala who supported their land reform beneficiaries by providing assistance in terms of inputs and output markets and in pro-poor social policies (e.g. health and education) managed to reduce rural poverty. But Bolivia and Mexico whose governments failed to provide support their land reform were unable to reduce poverty in rural areas”.

Land reform is broadly accepted as indispensable for poverty reduction in the rural poor areas. In Namibia the same sentiments are profound to the land reform process.

According to Werner (2001:1) the very cabinet that approved the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) in 1998 decided at the first Cabinet Retreat in December 2000 that, “without achieving a breakthrough in the land reform programme, the fight against poverty would not succeed”.

As articulated earlier, the hunger for land cannot be equally matched with the people’s desire to engage in farming; therefore it is the political dimension that dominates the land issue in Namibia. It is unsustainable for all people to depend on land for their livelihoods; there should be adequate off-farm jobs. This view is augmented by the research conducted by UNDP (1995:15) on the causes of poverty in Namibia.

Table 2 shows the different perceptions people have on why they are poor and land scored the lowest as a cause of poverty because people prefer to work in modern economies rather than in traditional economies or either they are aware of the difficulties involved in farming without capital.

Table 2 Causes of poverty in Namibia

Rank	Causes of poverty	Score
1	Lack of jobs	47
2	Inadequate education or skills	37
3	Not enough livestock	21
4	Laziness	15
5	Too many children	13
6	Alcohol abuse	12
7	Bad luck	10
8	Illness or disability	7
9	Drought	5
10	Not enough land	3

Source: UNDP (1995: 8)

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: A LIVELIHOODS APPROACH

The livelihoods framework is an approach that can be used to understand people's livelihoods in their rural environments. According to Long (2004:14) the livelihoods approach aims to address the following questions:

1. What do people have as assets (natural, physical, human, social and financial)?
2. What do people do to meet their needs (material, social, financial)? This and related questions are concerned with people's livelihood strategies and outcomes.
3. What internal and external factors (local and wider political, institutional and administrative structures) shape livelihood?
4. What makes people vulnerable (natural factors and policy and institutions)?
5. What opportunities do people have?

Long (2004:14) stresses that addressing these questions provide a basis on which to analyse people's livelihoods and identify entry points for project planning, intervention and applied research.

The livelihoods Approach helps to understand how individuals are living within their environment and how they cope with natural shocks, in order to initiate policies that can improve their livelihoods. What is important is to comprehend the relationship that exists between the poor and their assets and how they use them to shape their livelihoods. De Haan and Zoomers (2005:35) emphasise that:

“Land, as an asset is not only a means of living but is a prestige to those who have it. Assets are not only resources to sustain livelihoods but should empower and impress others. The people who have assets have the ability to act and influence the rules on how to use the resources productively”.

Box 3 shows household livelihood assets that are available and constitute a stock of capital at household, community and societal levels; they augment incomes.

Box 3: Household Livelihood Assets

Human capital

The labour resources available to households, which have both quantitative and qualitative dimensions e.g. time available to engage in income-earning activities and levels of education, skills and the health status of household members.

Social and Political Capital

The social resources e.g. network, membership of groups, relationships of trust and reciprocity, access to wider institutions of society on which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods.

Physical Capital

Physical capital is the basic infrastructure e.g. transport, shelter, water, energy, and communications which enable people to pursue their livelihoods.

Financial Capital

The financial resources are savings, credit, remittances and pensions that provide them with different livelihood options.

Natural Capital

The natural resources e.g. land and water, from which resource flows useful to livelihoods.

Source: Rakodi (2002:11)

Putting into practice a livelihood approach (Rakodi 2002:19) needs the following prerequisites:

- Direct support to assets by providing poor people with better access to the assets and resources that act as a foundation to their livelihoods and may also be valued for other reasons; and
- Support to the more effective functioning of the organisations, policies and process that influence access to assets and the livelihood strategies open to poor people.

This involves three types of activity (Ibid: 19):

- Enabling actions that support policies and improve the context for poverty reduction.
- Inclusive actions that are broad-based and improve opportunities and services generally, addressing issues of equity and barriers to the participation of poor people.
- Focused actions that are targeted directly at the needs of poor people.

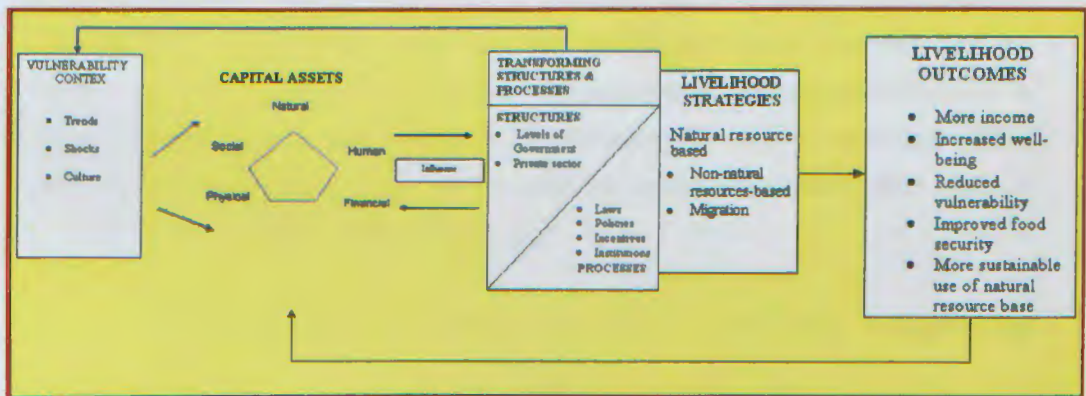
The livelihood approach is relevant to Namibia's land reform process, which is experiencing difficulties in reducing rural poverty since its implementation after ten years. It is claimed that beneficiaries of the resettlement project lack necessary assistance, for them to explore their abilities for more returns from government. The concept of sustainable livelihoods is increasingly being accepted as providing both a basis for understanding the nature of poverty and for identifying the types of strategies that can reduce poverty in an effective and sustainable manner (Reddy, Galab, Soussan and Springate-Baginski 2004: 299).

The sustainable livelihoods framework used by the different authors note (De Haan and Zoomer 2005:31, Korf 2004:277) that:

"A Livelihoods framework does not mean to present the truth about certain situations but should be used as an instrument to examine such environments in order to understand the complexity of livelihoods, understand poverty causes and identifying where interventions can be made. People pursue a variety of livelihoods outcomes by using many assets through different activities. The activities that they make should be determined by their own needs and desire. What determines people's access to assets and manage to escape from poverty are their living conditions in which they find themselves".

Figure 1 shows the key components of a livelihood framework capital or assets, the vulnerability context, the policies, institutions and processes (or external factors) that affect (positively and negatively) people's livelihoods strategies and finally their livelihoods outcomes.

Figure 1 Livelihoods framework



Source: Long (2004)

Chapter one noted that some beneficiaries have deserted the farms they were allocated and lack motivation for farming. This indicates that a livelihood approach was not used in the resettlement programme in order to identify the needs and desires of the beneficiaries. The adoption of a livelihoods approach has several implications for policy formulation and implementation. The Department for International Development (DFID) states these as normative principles (Rakodi 2002:18):

- It is a people-centred approach which views the world from the point of view of the individuals, households and social groups who are pursuing livelihood strategies in volatile and insecure conditions and with limited assets.
- It implies (Rakodi, 2002:19) that: *Sustainable poverty elimination will be achieved only if external support focuses on what matters to people, understands the differences between groups of people and works with them in a way that is congruent with their current livelihood strategies, social environment and ability to adapt.*
- It must therefore be responsive and participatory, poor people themselves must be key actors in identifying and addressing livelihood priorities.

- Policy-making and implementation therefore implies a continued process of negotiation, as meanings and objectives are defined and redefined, linkages and trade-offs analysed, options and choices identified, and decisions reached.

Table 3 shows the livelihood assets and income sources in Etomba village in northern Namibia. This is an attempt to illustrate the practicality of a livelihood approach that it easily works when the poor directly participate in identifying their urgent needs. This should be taken into consideration whenever policies aimed at reducing rural poverty are formulated. Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) participants were asked to apportion each income source with stones, from one to a fifth stone, to indicate its relative importance.

Table 3 ranking of livelihood sources of different well-being categories in Etomba village

Income sources	Better off	Poor	Very poor	Total
Agricultural labour	1	2	2	5
Pension	0	2	3	5
Skills/Employment	3	1	1	5
Livestock	3	2		5
Selling fruits		2	3	5
Crop cultivation	4	1		5
Charity/handout	1	2	2	5

Source: National Planning Commission (2004:91)

Even though the livelihood framework provides parameters for understanding the situation of the poor people and how to help them in terms of policy formulation, what about those without assets like the San community in Namibia?

2.4 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

In attempting⁴ to look for viable strategies to reduce poverty through land reform in Namibia, it is important to acquaint with the happenings of other land reforms internationally. In this regard, Vietnam's land reform policy has important features from where Namibia can benefit. Land reform policy in Vietnam consists of two features from which Namibia could emulate, in terms of trying to come up with effective land reform policy. First instance the commitment of the Vietnamese in the implementation of the land policy; the other hand was the dramatic change from collectivization to family household agricultural production and distribution the land reform experienced. Not only that, Vietnam is also embarking upon major reforms such as the transformation from State-Led Agrarian Reforms (SLAR) to Market-Led Agrarian Reforms (MLAR) despite being a communist self- principled country.

2.2.1 The Case of Vietnam

The study of Vietnam's land reform only focuses on key fundamental policy issues that led to the success of its land reform. It is important to note that French rule ended in Vietnam in 1954. The war for independence was bitter because people hoped that, once they have access to land and use it with full entitlement, their living conditions would improve.

In 1975 North and South Vietnam reunited and a Socialist Republic of Vietnam came into existence. Inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideals the government insisted that villagers should pool their resources such as land labour, collectively farm together and share the produce. While collectivisation was already implemented in the communist north, in the South collective farming was opposed. But after reunification the Communist Party government's socialist approach imposed collective farming beginning with hamlet-sized, villages and cluster villages after eliminating tenancy and large private land holdings (Kerkvliet 2006:6). State farms were created while private land ownership together with land markets in the north was eliminated.

Kerkvliet found that Vietnam has at least four schools of thought about land use, distribution, and regulation. First, the free market school which says those individuals, companies, and other organisations should have the right to buy and sell land, use it as they think best and own much as they can afford. Secondly, the socialist school, who emphasises public, not private, ownership of land and an equitable distribution of land among those wanting to farm. The third school emphasises that land should be held and farmed by individual households. The fourth school is community centred, emphasising the importance of communal or local ownership and decisions over how land is used and by whom.

Since the early 1980's the Vietnam government endorsed and encouraged individual households with small amounts of land to produce rice, corn, vegetables, livestock and coffee mostly by law all the land belongs to the people of Vietnam and the state manages it. Whoever is allocated land has only use rights, not ownership right to that land.

Kerkvliet emphasises that landholders may lend use rights to someone else, mortgage it, exchange it and bequeath it to heirs (Kerkvliet 2006:8). Land-use rights are also transferable and landholders are required to pay tax to the state. The use rights also have limits; land growing annual crops expires after every twenty years but for land with perennial crops the limit is longer, fifty years. The use right is renewable if the owner used the land according to the law. Foreigners are not allowed to own land.

The resurgence of family farming was because collectivisation had several problems. For instance, it was found that collective farm members did not trust each other. Collective farming resulted after a few years in declining incomes, less food and other worsening conditions. And officials were involved in corrupt activities by allocating land to friends and families (Kerkvliet 2006:15).

But land reform, decollectivization and the opening of the agricultural sector to market forces converted Vietnam from a country facing chronic food shortages in the early 1980s to the second largest rice exporter in the world (Vietnam 2006:6). The other important lesson for Namibia is what, Marsh and MacAulay pointed out:

“households can make their land use rights available for lease if the family is in poverty, if they have taken up other occupations or if they lack capacity to work the land” (2006:3). Another important point is that Vietnam is beginning to diversify its economy, as land cannot absorb all who is thirst for land. The World Bank in Vietnam considers (Marsh and MacAulay 2006:2) that:

“With some of the easy gains from the transition to a market economy now exhausted, Vietnam must focus on improving both the productivity of its existing cropland and providing opportunities for rural economies to diversify into other sectors (such as livestock and non-farm enterprises).”

Despite being successful, Vietnam land reform still faces problems. Small plots hinder mechanisation and, because of the high population, there are still many who lack access to land.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESETTLEMENT POLICY IN NAMIBIA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter outlines the background and the motive behind the formulation of the National Resettlement Policy (NRP) and how it attempts to achieve its long and short-term objectives with regard to redistributive land reform.

The chapter further describes the guidelines and the criteria to be used for the implementation of the resettlement policy. The chapter analyses the profiles of the various types of beneficiaries and target groups for whom the resettlement policy is intending to socially and economically improve their livelihoods.

Finally, various directorates were created within the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR) with the purpose of implementing the aims and objectives of the resettlement policy. The chapter discusses the extent to which different stakeholders are involved in the implementation of the resettlement programme.

3.2 THE POLICY BACKGROUND

The Resettlement Policy is the result of a consultative process between the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Trade Unions and Community Representatives. The endorsement of the National Land Policy by Cabinet and Parliament was a significant step to begin with the implementation of the land reform programme. The policy legally empowers the MLR Resettlement "to redress the effects of the past apartheid system to the marginalized segments of the Namibian community by implementing the land reform, through providing opportunities towards sustainable means of livelihoods and the enhancement of dignity, well-being and economic empowerment of the previously disadvantaged groups and communities" (RON 2001-2002: viii).

The former head of state Dr Sam Nujoma at the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) Minister's Land Conference in September 2001, asserted that (RON 2001-2002:vii):

"The struggle to gain political freedom and independence was characterised by the determination of our people to liberate themselves and to determine their own destiny. The aim and objective was to take full control of our natural resources and means of production".

In Namibia, land was the source of wealth and could able to sustain the majority of the people and provide them food security. If used sustainably, land can generate economic development especially in rural areas. The National Resettlement Policy attempts to ensure full utilization of land through effective redistribution of land in order to contribute magnificently to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Namibia. There are still large hectares of land owned by absentee landlords and the landless poor feel that this land is under-utilised. The former Minister of Lands and Resettlement stressed the fact that:

"As a ministry responsible it cannot be ignorant of the rights of the landless masses for land. If the ministry cannot do anything to address the hunger for land it might come across bad situations from poor citizens. The poor people believe that it is difficult to live and escape poverty without land and income. In implementing a land reform programme, the National Land Policy commits government to secure and promote the interest of the poor and to ensure equity in access to land and security of land tenure (RON, 2004-2005:3)".

The motive behind the formulation of the National Resettlement Policy was to correct the unequal land ownership inherited after the attainment of independence. In terms of the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, no.6 of 1995, the State is given certain authority to implement its land reform programme. The Act:

- Lays down a preferential right for the State to purchase commercial farm land;
- Provides for market-related compensation;
- Establishes a Land Reform Advisory Commission consisting of stakeholders to advise the Minister of Lands;
- Prescribes the way in which commercial farmland was to be planned and allocated;
- Provides for the subdivision and survey of holdings for small scale farming;
- Restricts the acquisition of commercial farm land by foreigners; and
- Establishes a Lands Tribunal to solve possible disputes over prices between sellers and the government (RON 2005:38).

It should be emphasised that National Land Policy (NLP) instruments identified land reform as an important strategy to facilitate poverty reduction, employment creation, income distribution and, most importantly, correct skewed land ownership from a political, social and economic perspective (RON 2005: ix)

3.3 NATURE OF POLICY

The Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act No. 6 of 1995 is where the National Resettlement Policy was established together with the National Land Policy (NLP) as instruments to be used in carrying out the redistributive process. The immediate aim of the resettlement policy is to make settlers self-reliant in terms of food production and self-employment. Beneficiaries should engage in various income-generating activities in order to achieve an improvement in their living standards and enhance regional development throughout the country through the beneficial and wise use of natural and human resources (RON 2001: 2).

The main objective of the National Resettlement Policy is to resettle suitable beneficiaries who should be able to acquire an acceptable level of social and economic development. There are broad objectives of the National Resettlement Policy. The following are the objectives (RON 2002:3):

- To redress past imbalances in the distribution of natural resources, particularly land.
- To give an opportunity to the target groups to produce their own food with a view towards self-sufficiency.
- To bring smallholder farmers into the mainstream of the Namibian economy by producing for the open market and to contribute to the country's Gross Domestic Product.
- To create employment through farming and other income generating activities.
- To alleviate human and livestock pressure in communal areas.
- To offer an opportunity to citizens to reintegrate into society after many years of displacement by war of liberation and other diverse circumstances.

The policy indicates that, due to limited resources, resettlement can only be provided on priority basis and proportional to the needs of potential beneficiaries. By analysing the applications for resettlement and judging the applications on the basis of their economic status, the government classified the categories of settlers as follows (RON 2001:3):

- People who do not have land, income nor livestock (identified as 0.0.0).
- People who have neither land nor income but few livestock (0.0.1).
- People, who have no land but have income or are livestock owners, but need land to be resettled on with their families and to graze their livestock (0.1.1 or 0.1.0).

Those who are not eligible for resettlement are urged to apply for the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS). The process of applying for resettlement is cumbersome. It has to go via several committees before the Minister of Lands and Resettlement finally signs it. According to the ministry magazine, *The Land* (2006:3), "Although this process is necessary for checks and balances, the minister find it to be very lengthy, too slow and very frustrating, especially to prospective

beneficiaries". Those who want to render services to beneficiaries cannot well prepare themselves with the necessary support packages according to the specific needs of the beneficiaries.

Box 1 Main target groups for resettlement

➤ **The San Community**

The San community have endured exploitation and discrimination at the hands of their fellow citizens throughout history.

➤ **Ex-Soldiers**

The government believes that it is responsible to integrate members of the former opposing forces into society through Resettlement and Rehabilitation programmes.

➤ **Displaced, Destitute and landless Namibians**

Namibia has a history of colonial oppressive activities that forced many Namibians to flee the country of their birth.

➤ **People with disabilities**

The humanity of a Nation is measured by the way it gives help to the most vulnerable groups in its society e.g. people with disabilities, women and the elderly.

➤ **People from overcrowded communal areas**

In communal areas the destruction of the environment is eminent due to overgrazing and over utilization of the natural resources.

Source: RON (2001: 3)

There are other groups who are potential target groups such as poor people who are currently landless or have little land to support themselves and their dependents; the unemployed and those without any income; and the female heads of households.

Since the target groups are wide-ranging the policy developed criteria for streamlining the resettlement programme in order to resettle those who are really in need of farming. The following criteria should be followed (RON 2001: 5):

- Beneficiaries should have a background or interest in agriculture or other related activities on which the resettlement is based.
- Beneficiaries should be prepared to hold land under a leasehold tenure arrangement and to relinquish any agricultural land rights elsewhere.
- Any applicant intending to engage in animal husbandry should not own more than the number of livestock determined by the carrying capacity of the farming unit he/she has applied for.
- Settlers should be prepared to support cost recovery measures, such as, lease and water fees whenever they are introduced.
- Applicants should be at least 18 years old
- Applicants should adhere to the stipulations of the leased resettlement and utilize the land allocated to them productively. Failure in this regard can disqualify the incumbent beneficiaries.

The criteria stipulated might not favour the San community who do not have the background or interest in farming as they still prefer their usual life of game hunting and nomadic. San people should be accorded a special resettlement programme void of cumbersome requirements and guidelines as farming had never been within their spheres of life. The criteria seem to perpetuate the hold on land by the landlords and other emerging black elites who thirst for land as they can simply allocate land among their 18 years old children or relatives and continue to farm successfully.

3.4 STAKEHOLDERS

Land reform involves complex and multidimensional activities that require the involvement of other ministries for the successful implementation of the Resettlement Programme (RP). Such responsibilities do not necessarily fall within the mandates of line ministries, but land reform impacts on social, agricultural and environmental issues. According to the Permanent Technical Team (PTT) on land reform studies (RON 2005:77), "careful coordination is necessary in order to draw appropriate expertise from these institutions". The study emphasises that, despite the statements in the National Resettlement Policy recognising the need for coordination

between line ministries, the MLR has primary responsibility for consulting and coordinating with line institutions and service providers, designing and reviewing land reform strategies and to some extent, implementing these strategies (RON 2005:78).

Table 4 Land Reform responsibilities of ministries

<p>Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR) MLR is to eradicate inequitable access to land resources through efficient and participatory land reform, land management, administration, resettlement, rehabilitation as well as the integration of disadvantaged citizens.</p>
<p>Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry (MAWF) MAWF is tasked with providing the following: (i) Veterinary services, (ii) assistance with the valuation of farms offered for purchase as well as on-going monitoring and evaluation of existing resettlement farms, (iii) agricultural extension services and training, (iv) support to co-operative schemes, (v) identification of markets, (vi) water installation and maintenance; and servicing of water points.</p>
<p>Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) Assist with planning of wildlife based-resettlement schemes and environmental soundness.</p>
<p>Ministry of Regional and Local Government, Housing and Rural Development (MRLGRD) The MRGRD is to ensure that resettlement areas are proclaimed as settlements.</p>
<p>Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's)/Non-State Actors (NSA's) The NGO's will be invited to assist with the provision of planning, training, extension services, material inputs and outsourcing of projects.</p>
<p>Ministry of works, Transport and Telecommunications (MWTT) MWTT should ensure the availability of safe, effective and efficiency communication services for the different transport modes in the resettlement areas.</p>
<p>Ministry of Education (ME) ME should ensure the provision of educational facilities, teachers and relevant materials for the resettled people.</p>
<p>Ministry of Health and Social Services (MHSS) MHSS should improve health and quality of living through the promotion of environmental health within the resettlement areas.</p>
<p>National Planning Commission (NPC) The NPC should advise on project planning issues, provide funding, and ensure that the programme progresses in the National interest.</p>

Sources: Resettlement Programme (2001:6)

Since the resettlement programme does not fall within the jurisdiction of other ministries this creates loopholes when it comes to implementation unless there is proper co-ordination and monitoring. Other ministries have their own long and short-term programmes within their spheres of operation and it is difficult for land reform to be on their priority. The PTT studies confirmed that (RON, 2005:78):

“Even though other ministries are assigned certain tasks there is little coordination among them towards land reform. Despite that such responsibilities are stipulated in the National Resettlement Policy and Resettlement Programme the activities are not well planned. The NGO/NSA’s activities are not spelled out. Workers from line ministries deny any knowledge about land reform tasks being assigned to them and argue that they were not consulted when land reform policy was formulated”.

3.5 IMPLEMENTATION STRUCTURES

For effective implementation of the resettlement policy the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement created different directorates each with its own land reform objectives to achieve except that all the objectives should be in line with the overall mission of the MLR. The resettlement policy outlined the strategies or functions as important tools for the policy’s implementation. The line ministries are required to support the strategies by implementing programmes and projects that will bring to the realization of the land reform’s broad objectives. The broad objectives of the Namibian land reform programme are (RON 2005: 37):

- To bring about a more equitable distribution of and access to land;
- To promote sustainable economic growth;
- To lower income inequalities; and
- To reduce poverty.

The overall responsibilities of the directorates of the MLR are explained in table 5 as underlined in the policy document.

Table 5 functions of divisions and directorates of the MLR

Organisation	Function
Division of General Services	Is responsible for support services such e.g. financial management and control, human resources development.
Directorate of Land Reform	Activities include land acquisition, evaluation of natural resources and planning of proposed resettlement areas and development of planning guidelines for different land use practices.
Directorate of Evaluation and Estate Management.	The land acquired by government should be valued and that the state should pay fair and reasonable market value for land which is acquired for resettlement and other purposes.
Directorate of Survey and Mapping	To facilitate land allocation and utilisation by providing land survey and mapping services e.g. aerial photography at appropriate scales.
Directorate of Resettlement and Regional Offices	The activities include planning and coordination of the resettlement programme, implementation of the projects, supervision of resettlement projects and monitoring and evaluation of projects.
Directorate of Deeds Registry	To establish property assurance through registration of lease agreements and the safekeeping documents.
Directorate of Planning, Research, Training and Information Services	The identification, assessment and appraising of new projects, drafting project proposals and evaluation.

Sources: RON (2001: 8) & RON (2005: 81)

The implementation structures are well planned and developed although they are serious problems faced by these directorates that require immediate attention for effective service delivery. Some of these problems include the insufficient qualified and motivated staff, and the lack of enough resources, for the achievement of resettlement policy objectives. According to the PTT studies the chronic situation of unfilled positions in the directorate of Valuation and Estate Management means that 16 other activities must be on hold until the land has been valued to determine the possible purchase price (RON 2005: 81).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter presents the research findings and analysis of the data collected with regard to poverty reduction through land reform in the Khomas region of Namibia. It presents evidence of the history of the resettlement programme that took place during the colonial era, followed by the views of policy makers and discussions of the national resettlement policy by various stakeholders. These views and discussions will be presented under the following headings: clarity of the objectives of the national resettlement policy; policy formulation actors; policy implementation; the selection of beneficiaries; factors positively influencing implementation; policy implementation obstacles; post-resettlement support; willing buyer/willing seller principle; and expropriation.

The chapter concludes with a presentation and discussion of the views of the policy makers and interest groups on whether the resettlement programme has or is improving the livelihoods of the beneficiaries and what they consider necessary to remedy the situation. The national resettlement programme is analysed in accordance to the productivity of the farming units and settlers' eligibility for government resettlement programme. The general living conditions on the farms are also examined.

4.2 HISTORY OF RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME

In order to present the findings of the study in a fair and impartial way, it is important to review briefly the historical context and the legacy of the resettlement programme in Namibia. The main objective of land reform is to reduce poverty and

afford settlers a decent living, which can only be achieved through a closer understanding of the history and structure of land tenure during the colonial era.

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4.2.1 German settlement (1890-1917)

Recent studies (Harring and Odendaal 2002:19) pointed out that Germany's seizure of the rich grazing lands of central Namibia is still probably the most powerful historical image underlying the demand for land reform in Namibia. Because of this, Germany is playing a significant role in land redistribution in Namibia in terms of technical and financial support.

The first settlement scheme that Germany launched was to give land to companies that were thought to have great potential to develop the land, as they were resourceful. The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR 2005:59) reported that by 1902, these companies held 29.2 million hectares. Germans acquired land from indigenous people through the exchange of large tracts of land with goods and weapons. When the indigenous people offered little land to the Germans, they started a disastrous war that killed 80% of the Herero people.

After the colonial administration realised that companies did not develop the land allocated to them, it embarked on a second resettlement scheme that focused on resettling individual white farmers. The defeat of the Hereros in 1907 allowed the Germans to acquire more land. By 1913 there were 1331 German settler farms totalling 13.4 million hectares. The German colonial administration created seven Native Reserves totalling 2.7 million hectares.

As Botha (2005:174) points out that the German community living in Namibia today is of the impression that, though the German administration did some injustices to the indigenous Namibian populations, their main objective of making Namibia self-sufficient in food production and preserving its fragile water supplies is not being acknowledged. Botha (2005:173) reported that cartographers produced maps of

Namibia that continued to be in use even in the 1960s. There were extensive experiments with water conservation, crop cultivation, forestry and dairy farming.

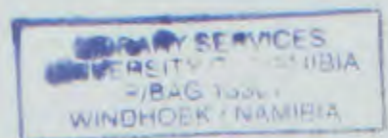
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4.2.2 The South African Settlement (1919-1989)

The main aim of South Africa's land settlement programme in Namibia was to try to solve the problem of poor white people in South Africa (MLR 2005:60). Settlers were given money in order to buy farms. The beneficiaries of the land resettlement programme were not only given land also credits in the form of cash and wire for fences. Government boreholes were also made available to them. LAU (1996) reports that repayment clauses for loans were not enforced because, when it turned out that these new settlers were not able to repay any advances or pay off loans or develop their farms, they did not lose their land. Instead their debts were cancelled as stipulated by proclamation 205 of 1932. In addition she emphasised that under one particularly generous scheme, that of the Angola Boers, about 200 families were not only given land, cattle, clothing, building materials seeds, milk cows but also six schools were built for their children.

The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement describes that between 1920 and 1932 a total of \$1 123 993 was granted to the farmers and an additional amount of \$450 000 in grants by the irrigation department and \$300 by the Department of Agriculture. In total the amount of \$1 873 933 over the first 12 years of the programme was given to white settlers in the form of grants and investments in infrastructure. In 1926 it was found that 880 farms with 1 106 settlers covering about 7.5 million hectares was in existence. By the end of 1932 the farms had increased to 1 261. Each farm was given on average, \$1 486. If these figures could be converted to today's value, they would amount to \$60 212 or N\$662 339. The Anglo Boers also received 150 farms. In addition each family received an average grants of \$1 500 worth \$60 780 or N\$668 580 today (MLR 2005:60).

According to reports (MLR 2005:60) South African government's land resettlement scheme was one of the most successful and generous programmes in the world. It is



reported that in 1905 white settlers received more assistance through soft loans. The number of bore holes increased from 16 000 in 1950 to 34 015 in 1960. Haring and Odendaal[†] (2002:25) reported that the process of allocating farms to poor whites was completed in 1960. They argue that at that date, 5 214 farming units existed while the number of farmers is given as 5 216. The total commercial area in 1960 was about 39 million hectares, averaging about 7 500 hectares per farm. Because some farmers owned more than one farming unit at the end of 1965, 8 803 farms were recorded.

Though the colonial administration did its best to support poor white farmers, little assistance was given to indigenous black farmers living in native reserves. Lau (1996) notes that after World War II white soldiers who served in the war were given land as reward while black soldiers who had served in the same war were given nothing.

Table 6 Summary of past settlement schemes

Scheme	Beneficiaries	Farms/companies	Hectares	Year
German settlement scheme 1890-1917	German settlers	Concession/companies	29 million	1902
		1331 (individual)	13.4 million	1913
	Indigenous communities	Seven Native reserves	2.7 million	
Afrikaner Settlement Scheme 1919-1989	South African poor whites/poor Afrikaners	880	7.5 million	1926
		1261		1932
		5214		1960
		8803		1965
	Indigenous communities	Native Reserves (11740 people)	2.8 million	1925
Angola Boers/Dorsland Trekker settlement project -1940s	War displaced South African farmers from Angola	150		1940s

Source: MLR (2005:59)

Apart from concentrating on land settlement programmes for white settlers the colonial administrators, lands department officials and a small number of technical experts engaged extensively in the search for appropriate farming practices. Botha (2005:175) reports that to extract maximum value from the farming sector without destroying the resource base was the guiding principle that structured thinking in four significant official reports in the first thirty years of South Africa administration: the Drought Investigation Commission of 1924; the Farm Industry Commission of 1927; and the influential Long Term Agricultural Policy Commission of 1948.

4.2.2.1 The Drought Investigation Commission of 1924

The commission advocated sound farm management practices, such as fencing of camps, distribution of water points across farming units, rotational grazing, better market conditions, and inflated cattle prices. Expert technical advice was strongly recommended. It rejected mixed farming and plantations.

4.2.2.2 The Farming Industry Commission and Land Settlement Commission of 1927

The possession of certain assets rather than knowledge of farming were recommended as the criterion for allocating farms. Despite the territory's dry land conditions the report argued in favour of efficient control mechanisms. It recommended more research on suitable farming practices and provided financial support to existing farmers to prevent initial investment losses.

4.2.2.3 The Long Term Agricultural Policy Commission (LAPC) of 1948

The report of the commission emphasised soil degradation to be prevented and possible irreversible environmental damage. The commission recommended ceasing the land settlement programme and beginning with remedial measures to stop overgrazing and soil degradation. Scientific farming should be promoted through policies of environmental intervention and conservation together with coherent game

management. It recommended the selection of better quality stock and better stocking rates. Even though these were good recommendations, politics still controlled scientific advice and further land resettlement continued.

According to Botha (2005:178) soil conservation was never part of the Afrikaners' culture. Opening up the wild, taming the fields and trekking towards better grazing were their stock-farming practices. They failed to adapt to frequent drought and refused to understand that persistent aridity was normal (2005:178).

4.3 VIEWS OF POLICY MAKERS AND INTEREST GROUPS

Looking at the pre-independence land settlement schemes successes and failures, it is important to reflect at the post-independence resettlement programme. As indicated above, that the previous administrations' resettlement programmes were pro-poor, even though racially biased. The post-independence resettlement is "pro rich" as the study will reveal, especially in Khomas region.

The responses of nine stakeholders from different organisations plus five senior government officials, who have directly influenced land reform policy formulation and implementation, are summarised below. The list of interviewees is attached as (Annex A) and the two questionnaires for policy makers and interest groups and for beneficiaries are attached as (Annex B and Annex C). Presentation will follow the sequence of issues as indicated on the questionnaire.

4.3.1 Clarity of Objectives of the National Resettlement Policy

There were mixed feelings from senior government officials and from interest groups involved in the study about the clarity and appropriateness of the objectives of the resettlement policy. From a total of 13 respondents 62% indicated that the policy objectives are ambiguous and unclear; only 38% reported that the objectives are unambiguous.

The deputy director of resettlement in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement was embarrassed that while the policy clearly stipulates that settlers should be productive, some beneficiaries still depend on government handouts. He added that the process for resettlement is cumbersome because it takes 30 days before the applicants get their replies. The secretary general of the Namibia Farm Workers Union (NFWU) was also perplexed and indicated that the policy is good but the mechanism is not clear because he expected the farm workers to be given special preference.

Another private consultant argued that the policy is generally good but the problem is implementation. He could not understand how settlers would be trained before they are allocated land in order to improve productivity. The marketing manager of Agribank and the executive director of the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) shared the same sentiment: though the policy is good implementation and post settlement support are not done properly. The Chief Development Planner in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement thought that the policy objectives are not comprehensive and need to be reviewed.

The research development manager of the Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU) stated that the policy should balance both the political and economic aspects in order to avoid failure. And the Namibia National Farmers Union (NNFU) president described the policy objectives as unrealistic and unachievable because no feasibility study was initially done. The notion of the acting director of the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unity (NEPRU) was that most settlers lack knowledge of how to manage their farms productively.

The deputy director in the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry emphasised that what is constraining the full implementation of the resettlement policy is the lack of financial and human resources. During the conversation, the director of planning, research, training and information services in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement was asked to identify what practically shows that the policy was good. He mentioned that many people are still applying and the MLR has not encountered protests against the national resettlement programme, which means people are satisfied. University of

Namibia's multi-disciplinary research centre researcher thought that the policy is driven by political ambitions as Germans and Afrikaners settlement programmes had also political motives. But in general all interviewees seemed to agree that the objectives should be very clear without loopholes and need to be revised.

4.3.2 Policy formulation actors

This part of the thesis focuses on the policy formulation and especially involves the internal and external actors who influenced land reform policies in Namibia. Schneider (1999: 5) observes that participatory, accountable and efficient governance harnesses the activities of the state and its citizens to the objectives of sustainable social and economic development. He emphasises that people outside government and bureaucracy may be more knowledgeable than those in government and may hold relevant information.

The policy makers, interest groups and a private consultant interviewed all agreed that the National Resettlement Policy is the product of the 1991 National Land Conference that was held in Windhoek and organised by the office of the prime minister. Interviewees acknowledged that the conference was well-represented and key stakeholders, interest groups and political parties attended. And 92% of the interviewees reported that they are still actively involved and are often consulted. For example the manager for research and development of the Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU) and the acting director of the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU) indicated that they were part of the recently published findings of the Permanent Technical Team (PTT) studies on land reform.

When key interviewees were asked questions like the extent to which external actors influenced policy outcomes, the president of NNFU noted that there is exclusivity of other major stakeholders and a tendency of reluctance to accept their views. The researcher from UNAM's Multi-Disciplinary Research Centre also did not hesitate to point out that their role is more diplomatic as they seem less interested in land acquisition than in training land boards and funding research studies.

The secretary general of NAFWU reported that, at the initial stages of the national resettlement policy formulation, they did not participate though now they are actively involved. The secretary general complained that because they did not participate earlier the farm workers, whom they represent, they are not mentioned in the policy as a target group.

The executive director of the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) said that policy formulation was a top-down approach, as beneficiaries were not extensively consulted. The president of the Namibia National Farmers Union (NNFU) said that though they were consulted and made genuine contributions their contributions were not reflected in the policy document. The Union went to an extent of writing a petition dated 7 September 1999 to the then president of the republic of Namibia, Dr. Sam Nujoma, to complain why their views were not in the policy documents. Some of the issues raised in the petition were as follows:

- NNFU proposals on the resettlement and communal land administration were deliberately ignored and sidelined by the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement.
- While NNFU was in possession of the land reform policy and land reform legislation plus the legislation on communal land administration documents, they failed to reflect their proposals, especially on people-centred and environmentally sound land management.

4.3.3 Policy Implementation

From the responses of various stakeholders such as government senior officials and interest groups, it was evident that though the policy is good, the implementation process was failing the policy. When the interviewees were asked whether the correct target groups were being considered for resettlement, the NAU research and development manager vehemently denied by indicating that 70% of the beneficiaries are government officials and the process lacks transparency.

One of the main concerns was that the resettlement programme is being implemented randomly without following clear criteria mentioned in the policy. This is confusing to other actors who want to help the beneficiaries. The acting director of NEPRU had the sentiment that though the policy is good, the impact needs to be monitored whether it is achieving the goals.

Another concern raised by the Chief Development Planner in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement was that, though the tasks of other ministries are clearly indicated in the policy, mechanisms to enforce their participation is lacking. The private consultant emphasised that there should be proper coordination and communication between all actors and ministries involved in the implementation process. The deputy director of DEES in the Ministry of Agriculture; Water and Forestry complained that there are no financial provisions made for them to carry out their tasks.

4.3.4 The Selection of Beneficiaries

When the interviewees were asked whether those who are eligible for government resettlement schemes are being correctly selected for resettlement, they came up with different responses. The private consultant argued that the ministry of lands and resettlement has changed the idea or the policy of resettlement because the Namibian population want to live in the cities and the poor people are leaving the farms. The Director of Planning, Research, Training and Information Services (PRTIS) in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement said that all who are resettled is according to the categories and the first category of people without income, land and livestock they are chosen they don't apply.

The president of NNFU thought that people implement what they want rather than according to the policy, and that implementation is driven by political ambitions. This inconsistency in the selection of beneficiaries is creating room for manipulation and corruption. The secretary general of NFWU also said that the policy is not clear with a lot of loopholes and that landless people should be well defined. The researcher at UNAM Multi-Disciplinary Research Centre reported that the criteria

should be revised, as they are too open ended, thus defeating the policy purpose. Settlers should be classified between those who need land for shelter and those who need land for farming.

The acting director of NEPRU pointed out that it is difficult to resettle people who do not have skills to manage commercial farms. The Chief Development Planner in the Ministry of Land and Resettlement argued that resettlement applied indiscriminately by targeting all groups without a designated mechanism to indicate who should be resettled and where.

4.3.5 Factors Positively Influencing Implementation

On the aspect of factors that are positively influencing the implementation process of land reform, the president of NNFU emphasised that there is sufficient legal framework to back up the policy. He maintained that land is available for resettlement because farm owners are cooperating in offering farms for sale, though they are not good farms in terms of productivity. Another issue stressed by the Director of Planning, Research, Training and Information Services (PRTIS) in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement was that the MLR initiated the introduction of land management and land use planning courses offered by the Polytechnic of Namibia and supported by the Dutch government in order to improve the skills of the officials tasked with the implementation process. The private consultant who was interviewed said that the reason why there is no demonstrations to demand land is an indication that land is enough. This creates room for a negotiated process. The deputy director of resettlement in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement acknowledged that the German government has come forward to assist the land reform in terms of finance.

4.3.6 Policy Implementation Obstacles

The interviewees identified factors that hamper the implementation process. For instance the deputy director of resettlement in the Ministry of Lands Resettlement (MLR) mentioned three critical issues such as the reluctance of farm owners to offer more land, prices for land are too high while the budget is too small, and the demand for land is too high. And the president of Namibia National Farmers Union (NNFU) pointed out several issues that are hampering the implementation process: the process is cumbersome and takes six months or a year before people are resettled if the farm is bought; no clear distinction of roles between committees responsible for resettlement; lack of coordination between the ministries and other actors involved; and favouritism because even governors are being resettled.

The deputy director of DEES in the MAWF expressed her views that the shortage of finances and human resources is hampering the implementation process. She felt that acquiring land for resettlement without developing the infrastructures would hinder the productivity of settlers. The NEPRU acting director stressed his facts that farms offered for sale are always over-valued, inadequate number of livestock is given, and there is lack of productive farms on offer. The private consultant reported that the lack of coordination between the ministries and other actors and the weak capacities of land planners are contributing to policy failure.

4.3.7 Post-Resettlement Support

When policy makers, interest groups and private consultants were asked whether there is sufficient support being provided to settlers, their responses consisted of mixed feelings. The NAU manager of research and development responded that so far they have trained about 700 people from various groups such as farm workers, settlers from the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) and government resettlement beneficiaries through their emerging farmers support programme. The chief development planner in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement reported that settlers have received minimum support in land management, which was provided by

Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF). The two deputy directors of the MAWF and MLR shared the same view that settlers without income, livestock and land they are always initially provided five cattle and ten goats; veterinary services are also provided. The external actors are providing donations in the form of funds and training to the beneficiaries were the views of the NEPRU acting director and the general secretary of Namibia Farm Workers Union (NAFWU).

The president of NNFU indicated that money is still solicited from donor countries for the land resettlement support programme, which is drafted on paper. Once they manage to acquire funds, they will implement their programme, targeting AALS settlers and government resettlement scheme beneficiaries. He said they designed a mentorship approach programme aimed at teaming up together the new and old farmers in order to learn from each other.

4.3.8 Willing Buyer/Willing Seller Principle

The positive aspects of the willing buyer/willing seller principle according to the Chief Development Planner and the director of PRTIS in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement are that it is a constitutional matter, it is maintaining peace and stability because all stakeholders are hoping that land is forthcoming, and the policy is neutral because it is based on market forces. The director of land reform in the MLR positively indicated that willing buyer/willing seller principle is supported by other strategies like affirmative action. The private consultant and NAU manager for research and development thought that willing buyer/willing seller approach provides a negotiated land reform platform since it provided a conducive policy environment and it seems there is no real hunger for land as they are no demonstrations. He added that it also provides room for landowners to continue with their investments on their land.

The NEPRU acting director, the chief development planner in the MLR and the director of PRTIS in the same ministry believe that willing buyer/willing seller model contains shortcomings. Under this model only few productive farms are being

offered and the principle has not yet yielded the expected results. The director for PRTIS further argued that it seems black and white have not yet fully reconciled for willing buyer/ willing seller to work efficiently.

4.3.9 Expropriation

Although expropriation is a legal process as enshrined in the constitution, most of the interviewees could not understand well how it operates so they gave mixed results. For example, the researcher at UNAM Multi-Disciplinary Research Centre, the president of NNFU and the executive director of IPPR all described expropriation criteria as unclear and lacking transparency. The interviewees further argued that expropriation reduces investment horizons, it is expensive compared to willing buyer/willing seller principle and it creates uncertainty. The chief development planner in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement was thought that though expropriation yields tangible results and is guided by a legal framework; it would give a negative impression in the eyes of the international community. He added that expropriation is transparent because farm owners are compensated and only abandoned, excessive and under-utilised farms will be targeted.

The director of PRTIS in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement said that no criteria are followed; it depends on the discretion of the minister to decide which farms are to be expropriated. Again he went on saying that expropriation will yield results because it is fast and people are resettled while the court is on for those who are not satisfied. The private consultant said that a legal framework guides expropriation; therefore it is clear. Those who are not happy with the model can challenge it in terms of the price, not process. Nobody is proving that the process is bad. The NEPRU director was also discontented that expropriation criterion should be clear for farmers to know whether they are victims because it can cause decline of investment. The NAU research and development manager explained that expropriation lacks transparency because there are no scorecards or criteria on how expropriation will follow, the policy environment is not clear and they're no incentives for old farmers to offer the farms. The Agribank of Namibia's marketing

manager argued that expropriation is not a problem but where the land is going after expropriation is a problem.

4.4 SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM POLICY MAKERS AND INTEREST GROUPS

The policy makers and different interest groups were asked to give recommendations and suggestions on how the national resettlement programme can improve the livelihoods of beneficiaries.

The secretary general of the Namibia; Farm Workers Union and the director of planning, research, training and information services in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement suggested that beneficiaries should be trained about land management by focusing on managing carrying capacities of their farming units in order to be able to farm sustainably. They added that human resources development and provision of loans at preferential rates would help settlers to buy supplementary feeds for their livestock. The private consultant recommended that if beneficiaries are to live a decent life, they should be assisted in creating markets for their products and provided with government agricultural extension services. He emphasised that even white settlers were massively supported during the colonial administration.

The Namibia National Farmers Union (NNFU) president suggested that the selection of eligible beneficiaries and target groups should be revisited for the achievement of the objectives of the government resettlement scheme. And post resettlement support must be an integral part of the whole resettlement programme if productivity is to be maintained.

The chief development planner in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement made several recommendations: 1) print media should not be used to sensitise those who need land but a different approach should be devised; 2) all stakeholders should be actively involved at all stages of the resettlement programme; 3) Regional Resettlement Committee (RRC) tasks are not clearly indicated in the act so their

roles must be explicitly stipulated; and the criteria for selecting beneficiaries to be reviewed in order to differentiate properly those who need land for retirement or shelter and for livelihoods.

According to the agribank marketing manager, the national resettlement policy is not fully implemented. He suggested that overall policy implementation is important for proper policy evaluation. The same manager also suggested that the 99 years leasehold agreement should be reviewed in order to allow settlers access to financial credits and that cooperation between white experienced farmers and black emerging farmers should be strengthened.

Finally and perhaps most importantly, the NEPRU acting director suggested that the land resettlement programme is no panacea to poverty reduction. Agriculture cannot provide enough jobs for everyone so other sectors such as manufacturing industries should be developed.

CHAPTER FIVE

VIEWS OF THE BENEFICIARIES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Schneider (1999:8) what matters most for poverty reduction from the perspective of participatory governance is to identify and follow the ways in which the poor themselves could contribute to move out of poverty, and to enable them to do so. In many cases this will mean to empower the poor. The researcher visited beneficiaries who are resettled on four farms bought by government from commercial farmers. The first visit was on the 7 October 2006 and the main purpose was to familiarise the researcher with the area and arrange possible meetings with the settlers. Unfortunately only one farm owner was met at his farm while he was arriving from Windhoek. But the telephone numbers of farm owners were collected from the caretakers of their farms and family members who actually live on the farms, as it was established that the majority of settlers live in Windhoek.

My last visit was on the 14 October 2006 to interview those who live on the farms, as the owners were interviewed in Windhoek between 7-14 October 2006 and to take photographs. The results are presented according to individual settler in order to give full account of what is currently happening at each farming unit. Statistics of livestock possessed before and after resettlement are provided.

5.2 PROFILES OF THE DIFFERENT BENEFICIARIES

The profiles of the beneficiaries are presented for analysis and to find out whether their livelihoods have improved and also to show duration between the time of application and settlement. The names of the beneficiaries are given according to the farm they share.

5.2.1 Philip

Philip and Alma applied for a farm on 02 August 2001 to the MLR when they saw an advertisement in the newspaper. According to Phillip in early 2003 they were allocated unit A, a plot of about 1 534 hectares the other part of Nautabis farm No: 268. They have three children at school in Windhoek. He works for Provalco Company in Windhoek. His wife is working in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement. He is 46 years old and his last school grade past is grade 12. According to the observations (pictures taken) he has adequate accommodation because there are seven houses, which belonged to the previous farm owner. While at the farm, the electricity generator stopped working for about two weeks.

Philip claimed that when he applied he was allocated a plot in the Omaheke region but later it was given to someone else. He reported that his main activity on the farm is livestock farming. He plans to start with gardening despite water problems. The engine which pumps water gets broken often and he struggles on his own to repair it. When asked whether government or other stakeholders are helping him, he said he feels that he was dumped in a desert as; since he was resettled he has received no help. The borehole-repair training courses offered by government this he attended some time ago are not helping as he does not live at the farm.

When asked whether his income has increased since he was resettled, he said that when he will receive his pension from his previous job he will improve his livestock and will then be able to make profit. He said his current sources of income are his salary and the investments he made when he was employed previously. He added that he did not get any loan from financial institutions. Philip employed a man and his wife to look after their farm. The workers reported that they arrived on the farm three months ago. According to them Phillip visits the farm only once a month. He does not sleep at the farm despite the good accommodation at the farm. He only sees his livestock if he wants to kill one of them.

Interestingly it was observed that there was no telephone and they complained that when they are in a serious problem like when their baby is sick, they go to the

neighbouring farms and phone the police to come to help them. There is no transport for them if they want to go to the near-by clinic 35 km away from the farm.

The two workers complained that government is not resettling the right people on the farms. They said that, if they were the beneficiaries, the farm could be productive. They said that Phillip is not serious about the farm. They said if they produce Hereros traditional butter and Philip finds them doing that, he become angry and warns them not to do that again. They claim that N\$ 400 that they receive per month is not enough to sustain their lives and their baby is always sick.

They claimed that since they arrived on the farm they haven't met Phillip's wife to share ideas with her about their plans. They added that nobody even from the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement has visited them. They said even their baby was not vaccinated against polio the second time due to lack of transport fee. When the statistics of the livestock on the farm before resettlement and after resettlement were collected and compared it shows that Phillip's livestock is decreasing.

Table 7 Number of livestock owned by Phillip before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	59	60
Sheep	112	80
Goats	132	49
Horses	1	-
Donkeys	2	-
Others	10	-
Total	316	189

The carrying capacity of the farm unit is 96 large stock unit and 511 for small stock unit (SSU). During his interview in Windhoek, Phillip complained that his farm unit is too small and he is planning to introduce a fish farm.

When asked whether he is planning to live on his farm, he said that he could be living on his farm if he could be assisted when he moved on his farm. But he was forced to leave the farm and look for a job in order to sustain his farm. He indicated that when his engine which pumps water was broken, he paid N\$ 7 500 to repair it, which he can't raise from his farm at the moment.

5.2.2 Salomon

Salomon occupies Unit C on the same farm, Nautabis. He is disabled and lives in Windhoek. He applied for the farm on 02 August 2001 but he was resettled early 2003. He is aged 55 and has three children, all attending school in Windhoek. His last school grade is 12. The interviewee claimed that when he moved on the farm there was nothing in terms of accommodation; he constructed his own houses and for his workers. He said water is reliable because two boreholes are both functioning well. When asked about his economic activities on his farm, he said livestock and gardening for him own consumption.

When asked whether his income increased since he was resettled, Salomon vehemently denied saying his inputs on the farm are more than what he is getting from the farm. He claimed that he depend on his pension to develop his farm. He said that though the resettlement policy indicated that beneficiaries are entitled to assistance but he received nothing from government or Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs). It is only on paper, not practical. He revealed that settlers are warned that they got the land free; the equipment they should buy for themselves.

When asked whether he was being visited by the MLR, he agreed. But though extension officers visit them and distribute papers, they are not active as he expected. Generally he is happy because he has the land and his workers are caring for his farm well. The question was again posed to him when is he planning to stay at his farm; he replied that he is not thinking of staying at his farm because he is sick and disabled so he should be closer to the hospital. Efforts to visit his farm could not materialise since his farm gate was locked.

Table 8 Number of livestock owned by Salomon before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Sheep	50	38
Cattle	84	130
Goats	1	88
Horses	0	0
Donkeys	0	0
Others	0	0
Total	135	256

According to statistics from the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, Salomon had an annual income ranging between N\$ 48 000 and N\$ 73 020 when applied for the farm. The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement indicated that the carrying capacity of Salomon's farming unit of about 1 827 hectares is 114 LSU or 609 SSU.

5.2.3 Fillimon

This beneficiary was allocated Unit A on the farm Anias Nord No: 84. He is 55 years old. He managed to reach grade 12 and he has four children, all staying in Windhoek with him. Others are working. He applied for a farm on 15 August 2001 and moved on the farm at the end of 2002. His unit has 1 335 hectares. Fillimon was an employee of Afrox Company LTD serving as operational supervisor with an annual income of N\$ 89 211. He drives an old truck in which he travels from Windhoek to his farm. At his farm he is using a solar panel phone and he constructed the houses himself. He indicated that water was enough even though when a pump is broken he repairs it himself. The clinic he said was 100 kilometres away.

The main activities on his farm are livestock farming. He complained that he is not making enough money out of farming compared to the time when he was still working. He pointed out that he left his job when he got a plot. He said that he was determined to make profit but the problem is his piece of land is too small. There are no other sources of income.

Fillimon complained that he received no help since he was allocated the farm. The loan he used to build his small house was secured by using his fixed assets in Windhoek as collateral. He said he was generally happy with 99 years leasehold agreement because, when he dies, his family will take over.

Table 9 Number of livestock owned by Fillimon before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current Stock
Cattle	33	50
Sheep	154	327
Goats	27	164
Horses	0	0
Donkeys	2	0
Others	0	0
Total	216	541

The carrying capacity of Fillimon's farming unit is 88 LSU or 445 SSU. Photographs of his farm will be attached at the end.

5.2.4 Vitalis

Farming Unit B of Anias Nord No 84 belongs to Vitalis, the permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, with a gross salary of N\$ 407 059 per annum. He applied the farm on 23 August 2001 but he was resettled early 2003. The plot consist of 1 208 hectares. He holds a Bsc degree and is a technician by profession.

A 20-year old girl works and manages the farm on behalf of Vitalis. She revealed that the permanent secretary only visits the farm at the end of the month and when there are in problems. She said that she earns a salary of N\$ 500 per month plus food and there is good accommodation because the previous owner of the farm built the houses. Interestingly, the enclosure where turkeys used to be kept was empty; the manager confirmed that all birds died except one ostrich remaining out of eight ostriches.

In an interview conducted later in Windhoek Vitalis confirmed that he is not making any income on the farm. His main sources of income are his salary and the business investments he is pursuing. He did not receive any help from government and fixed his farm fences on his own with some neighbours who are always helping. There is a telephone at his farm where his managers phone him if they have a problem and a small shop to assist other neighbours.

Vitalis was adamant that, when he retires, he will permanently live on his farm. He is 59 years old now. Photographs of his camp were taken and will be attached at the end. He accepted that officials from the MLR are visiting those areas and install the broken boreholes. Generally he said he is happy with the plot, though he needed a big area.

Table 10 Number of livestock owned by Vitalis before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	71	0
Sheep	118	21
Goat	267	231
Horses	3	0
Donkeys	3	0
Others	8 Ostriches	1
Total	470	253

The carrying capacity of Vitalis' farming unit is 76 LSU or 403 small stock units. The nearest clinic is about 60 kilometres away.

5.2.5 Agatha

Anias Nord No: 84 Unit C is allocated to Agatha and her husband. They applied for the plot on 10 August 2001 and on 5 March 2002 they were resettled. The husband is 38 years old. According to documentation from the MLR their plot is 1 269 hectares.

The wife is employed as A merchandiser with an annual income of N\$ 22 308. The husband, a grade 10 school leaver, said that when he was resettled he quit his employment in order to stay at their farming unit. The claimed that he was too young to be able to stay at the farm. Another reason why he left the farm was because he wanted a job to pay for his medical aid and because he was not doing well with farming, no profit. Now he is employed as a mechanic inspector in the government. They have two children at school in Windhoek. At the time his farm was visited he was found repairing his generator for electricity. He has three houses with permanent structure but could soon be in a dilapidating condition because of lack of care. He employs one person who is taking care of the farm, who is paid N\$ 470 per month. Water is reliable. When his borehole is broken he repairs it himself.

The main activity at their farm is livestock farming though there is a small vegetable garden for home-consumption. The couple claimed that their income never increased since they were resettled. They said that farming is for subsistence but not for profit. Between what they are investing on their farm and what they gets out, there is no difference. Their main source of income is their salaries and not farming.

When asked whether they received support from government and NGOs, they only mentioned Uhlenhorst farmers association who are teaching farming skills. but seldom. They claimed that government officials from the MLR did not visit them.

They were also asked how their lives have generally changed as they now have a plot. They said the farm unit is too small; with a carrying capacity of 81 LSU and 433 SSU on 1 300 ha it can't reduce poverty. They also claimed to be happy with the 99 years leasehold agreement though they complained that others are sitting on the farm doing nothing.

The husband of Agatha argued that staying in Windhoek is not a choice but that is where they can generate money in order to maintain their farm. But they hope to stay on the farm depending on the productivity of the farm.

Table 11 Number of livestock owned by Agatha before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	72	50
Sheep	0	0
Goats	20	200
Horses	0	2
Donkeys	1	0
Others	0	0
Total	93	252

5.2.6 Willem

Willem occupies Unit D of Anias Nord No: 84 farm. He is 41 years old. He applied for the plot on 29 August 2001 and was resettled mid-2002. He is in possession of a grade 12 certificate and education development certificate. When he applied he was employed as a clerk in the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry with an annual income of N\$ 25 905. He constructed accommodation after coming at the farm and he was busy constructing another one for his workers. His farming unit is 60 kilometres away from the nearest clinic and school. He managed to employ four people at his farm. His main activities were livestock farming. His income increased. Willem owns a butchery in Windhoek as his main source of income.

He was asked whether he is receiving any help from government or Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs). He said that he depends on himself. He added that only veterinary officials from the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry came to ask whether they have vaccinated their livestock. Again he complained that land was too small; he needs a big area for farming to be successful. Willem also believes that the 99-year leasehold agreement is good for him though he can't get a loan with it.

Table 12 Number of livestock owned by Willem before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	10	450
Sheep	100	0
Goat	250	150
Horses	0	0
Donkeys	0	0
Others	0	0
Total	450	600

The figures that Willem gave seem unrealistic as it was observed that the carrying capacity of his plot couldn't accommodate a big number of livestock. The carrying capacity of his farm unit, which is 1 133 ha, is 71 LSU and SSU is 378.

5.2.7 Heinrich

All attempts to get hold of Heinrich and interview him proved futile but later his plot which is Unit E on Anias Nord No: 84. Farm, was visited. According to information collected from the MLR, he applied on 31 August 2001 and his application was processed on 5 March 2002. The farm unit consists of 1 275 ha and, when he applied, he had 56 Cattle, 140 goats and 19 Donkeys only. He was employed as district literacy organiser in the Ministry of Education at the time when he applied for the plot. He does not live at his farm but in Windhoek. According to the observations by the researcher during the field visit the condition of his cattle was not good; some of the cattle were sick. And accommodation is not really adequate. Photographs of Heinrich's farming unit were taken and will be attached at the end. The carrying capacity of his farm is 80 LSU and 425 SSU.

Table 13 Number of livestock owned by Heinrich before and after settlement

Livestock	Before settlement	Current stock
Cattle	56	N/a
Sheep	0	N/a
Goats	140	N/a
Horses	0	N/a
Donkeys	19	N/a
Others	0	N/a
Total	215	0

5.2.8 Jacky

With her mother Jacky is resettled on farm Corsica No: 89, Unit A which consist of 1 235 ha. She is 28 years old; her mother is 49 years old. They claim that they were resettled during 2001 but information from the MLR states that they applied on 16 July 2002 and their application was processed on 7 November 2002.

Jacky passed grade 12 and is currently employed as a secretary for the NCI church. Her mother is a cleaner in the Ministry of Health and Social Services (MHSSR). When she applied she was self-employed and earned an annual income of N\$ 72 000.

Their main activities on the farm are livestock farming and gardening for self-consumption. They claimed that their income has increased since when they were resettled. But again they revealed that their work and other family members like Jacky's brothers are other sources of income to sustain the farm. She said she managed to acquire a loan from Agri-bank with which she bought livestock on their farm; she has received no assistance from government nor NGOs. According to her the officials from the MLR visit them only twice a year to monitor whether their stocks is vaccinated and have proper brand marks. She claimed that their life in general have improved as they can sell their livestock and sustain themselves.

On the visit to the farm one old man and two old women were quarrelling with each other. A man and his wife then asked for transport to visit friends on another farm. They threatened to vacate the farm if the owner who was in Windhoek is not coming to the farm to solve the problem.

Jacky and her mother reported that when they were allocated the plot they had no livestock. They managed to buy 59 goats, 19 cattle, 1 horse and 4 donkeys. The carrying capacity of their farm is 77 LSU or 462 SSU.

Table 14 Number of livestock owned by Jacky before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	0	19
Sheep	0	0
Goats	0	59
Horses	0	1
Donkeys	0	4
Others	0	N/a
Total	0	83

5.2.9 Michael

Several attempts were made to talk to Michael, telephonically and by visiting his farm, but he was nowhere to be found. Michael inherited Unit B of Corsica No: 89 farm from his late father who was a former member of parliament. His father applied for a plot on 4 July 2002 and his application was processed on 12 November 2002. The farming unit consists of 1 285 ha with a carrying capacity of 80 LSU and 480 SSU.

On the visit to the farm only David, Michael's worker, was found staying alone at the farm. He looked young, in his early twenties, living alone on the farm; he arrived January this year (2006). This farm is situated 200 kilometres away from Windhoek where his boss is living. The clinic is located 100km. David does not have transport,

telephone nor electricity. David claimed that Michael visits him regularly. This year (2006) his boss managed to sell only two cattle. David is paid a living wage of N\$ 300 plus food but he complained that he is living alone and he is scared for his life. There are good houses on the farm because it is where the former owner of the farm Corsica used to live.

Table 15 Number of livestock owned by Michael before and after settlement

Livestock	Before settlement	Current stock
Cattle	50	11
Sheep	40	0
Goats	70	73
Horses	2	0
Donkeys	0	0
Others	7 chickens	2
Total	169	86

5.2.10 Sitwala

Unfortunately Unit C of farm Corsica No: 89 that belongs to Sitwala was not visited but efforts to meet him in Windhoek where he lives were successful. He reported that his father, who is currently living in Angola and working for the Namibian embassy, applied for the farm on 19 July 2002 and his application was processed on 7 November 2002. The farm unit consists of 1 411 hectares with a carrying capacity of 88 LSU or 528 SSU.

When Sitwala's father initially applied for the plot, he was employed as a chief foreign relations officer with an annual income of N\$ 103 620 dollars. He holds an M.B.A., B.A., Hons, two diplomas and seven certificates. The young Sitwala, who is currently studying at the University of Namibia (UNAM), is responsible to supervise the farm on behalf of his father. He complained that no adequate accommodation and no transport are available for the workers at the farm. There is enough water and officials from the MLR do repair generators. Sitwala is engaged in livestock farming

and gardening for self-consumption. He claimed that the government bought generators and tanks for them and they are generally happy with the land they got.

Table 16 Number of livestock owned by Sitwala before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	80	64
Sheep	4	250
Goats	25	250
Horses	0	2
Donkeys	0	0
Others	0	N/a
Total	109	566

5.2.11 Hilaria

Hilaria was given plot or Unit D at farm Corsica No: 89 which is 1 433 ha with a carrying capacity of 89 LSU and 534 SSU. He applied for the plot on 18 July 2002 and his application was processed on 7 November 2002 according to the information provided by the MLR. When Hilaria applied for the plot she was self-employed but she was able to garner an income of around N\$ 18 000. She is in possession of a grade 12 certificate and a diploma in office administration. All efforts employed to meet her could not work but her plot was visited. While at her plot the structure of her houses, built by her, can be likened to a shantytown settlement. An old man with his wife and their two grand-children claimed to have arrived at the farm three weeks ago. They are Hilaria's farm workers.

According to observations made during the field visit there was no electricity and telephone at the farm but water seemed to be enough. The old man and his wife said that Hilaria promised to pay them N\$ 450 at the end of each month. They said Hilaria lives in Windhoek and she promised them again that on top of their salary she would be buying them food. They managed to give the number of the current stock as Hilaria told them.

Table 17 Number of livestock owned by Hilaria before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	18	10
Sheep	6	19
Goat	150	144
Horses	4	0
Donkeys	0	0
Others	12 chicken	0
Total	190	173

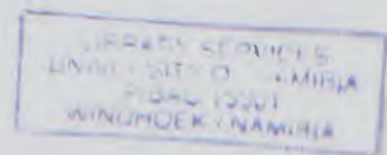
5.2.12 George

George is the third occupant of farm Nautabis No: 268 Unit B. He applied for the plot on 13 August 2001 and his application for the farm was processed on 5 March 2002. When he applied for the farm he had an annual income of N\$ 80 000. According to the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement Unit B is 1 578 ha with a carrying capacity of 99 LSU and 526 SSU.

Several attempts to meet George were made through telephone and by visiting his farm but in vain. During a visit at his farm only his farm worker was found who managed to provide George's current number of livestock. George is the only settler who lives at his farm. He built the semi-permanent houses himself. The farm worker said he receives N\$ 400 a month. The nearest clinic and school is 30 km away. All his children live in Windhoek.

Table 18 Number of livestock owned by George before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	115	140
Sheep	0	25
Goats	258	700
Horses	0	0
Donkeys	4	10
Others	35 (chickens)	0
Total	377	875



According to field observations the goats are far beyond the carrying capacity of the farm. Some of his livestock were sick and the employee claimed that wild animals killed some of the animals.

5.2.13 Helao

Anias Sud No: 85 farm was divided into four units and Helao is farming on Unit A. He applied for the farm on 7 January 2003 and his application was processed on the 25 April 2003. The farm consists of 2 311 ha with the carrying capacity of 101 LSU and 606 SSU. When he moved on the farm he had no Livestock. Helao applied for the plot while he was employed as a research consultancy in labour relation and labour conciliations, with an annual income of N\$192 000. He was categorised as a returnee, ex-soldier and landless. He holds a diploma in development and administration.

When his farm was visited it was discovered that Helao resettled Otto on his plot for reasons that Otto could not reveal. Efforts to meet Helao did not materialise. Otto, who is 46 years old, is the new owner. He passed grade 12 and he is studying for a diploma in commerce at the Polytechnic of Namibia. He arrived on the farm on the 1 March 2005. According to Otto 10 people are under his care, including his children and two pensioners. One is attending school at Been-breek 25 kilometres away from his farm. He is satisfied with his accommodation; for him it is better though it is built with corrugated irons. The clinic is 65 kilometres away. He is driving an old Toyota bukkie and a donkey cart as the mean of transport at the farm. Otto classified himself as displaced and landless. He said he is farming for subsistence, not for commercial purposes. The source of income apart of from farming is the salary of his working wife, and he received no assistance from government or NGOs. Only veterinary officials from the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry are visiting them and the Ministry of Health during polio campaigns.

According to Otto's observation, beneficiaries do not have the interest of farming at heart. He said as long as settlers will continue living in Windhoek and not on their farms, they will not make more money out of farming. He pointed out that the land

that the settlers got is for status and not with the aim of becoming successful commercial farmers. He is planning to get his own plot and live there permanently. Otto managed to raise a reasonable number of livestock while he was renting Heinrich's plot but, when they quarrelled, he decided to look for another plot to rent. He is currently stocking 24 cattle and 130 sheep. His main problem is that he cannot get his own plot.

Table 19 Number of livestock owned by Otto before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	0	24
Sheep	0	130
Goats	0	0
Horses	0	0
Donkeys	0	0
Others	0	0
Total	0	154

5.2.14 Bertha

Anias Sud No: 85 Unit B belongs to Bertha and her husband George. The wife is employed by Namibia Wildlife Resort as a customer care manager with an annual income of N\$147 000. The husband is working for Legal Shield Namibia as legal consultant. The wife holds an advanced diploma in business administration and management; George holds a Masters of laws degree. They applied for their plot on 7 January 2003 and their application was processed on the 25 April 2003 saying that they were returnees and landless. Fortunately they were resettled on a farm unit of 1 777 ha with the carrying capacity of 78 LSU and 468 for SSU. When they moved on their farm they had no livestock; now they have 144 goats, 69 sheep, and 28 chickens.

When George was telephonically interviewed he indicated that they never received any help from government nor from NGOs. He complained that when they stepped

on their plot the borehole was not working. He repaired it himself and claimed that he is not making any profit from farming. He informed us that only Uhlenhorst farmers' union⁴ tries to teach farmers how to take care of their animals but, as he lives in Windhoek, it is difficult to attend such courses.

While visiting his plot two young men aged 20 and 24 respectively identified themselves as George's workers. They have their own bicycles, which they use as means of transport to visit friends at other farms. They complained that they are not happy to live alone at the farm without the owner. They receive a living wage of N\$429 a month plus food. They are without electricity and a telephone. According to them, the farm is not productive because everything they live on comes from Windhoek when George visits them at the end of the month. When asked whether his life have generally improved since he was resettled and when is he planning to live on his farm, he said he is happy with the plot as a starting point that he never had. He responded that at the moment he couldn't live at his farm unless he has to resign. He is in his 40s and the income that they derive from farming cannot able to sustain his family. When his farm will be fully productive is when he will live on his farm.

Table 20 Number of livestock owned by Bertha before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	0	0
Sheep	0	69
Goats	0	144
Horses	0	0
Donkeys	0	0
Others	0	28 (Chickens)
Total	0	241

5.2.15 Lazarus

Les, as he is commonly known, is resettled on Anias Sud No: 85 farm Unit C and his unit consists of 2 176 ha with the carrying capacity of 136 LSU and 725 SSU. He is

54 years old and disabled; he only managed to pass grade 9. His application is dated 06 January 2003 and it was approved on 25 April 2003 but he claims that only after two years did he manage to acquire a plot. He has three children, one is working in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and his wife is working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Their salaries with his pension help to sustain their farm. He only sold two bulls this year since he was resettled.

Les is claiming that, since he was resettled, no government assistance has occurred. Though they promised them to repair old facilities on their farms, they did not do that. When his borehole got broken they repaired it themselves. Even the accommodation he constructed himself for his workers. He said that government officials told him that he got free land so he must do other things for himself. The officials from the MLR only visit once in a year and do not remember any meeting, which they organised in order to discuss some of the problems settlers are facing.

Two young men in their twenties care for Les's farm unit. They are paid N\$400 each per month plus food, which Les used to buy for them at the end of every month. They complained that the only problem is there is no telephone. They depend on the neighbours and no transport for them. When they were asked why they kept the cattle in the Kraal till noon they said because they are stubborn so they are punishing them; they walk too much. When the dam was full, the windmill could not stop pumping water; they said it was broken.

Table 21 Number of livestock owned by Lazarus before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	60	91
Sheep	0	14
Goats	15	76
Horses	1	0
Donkeys	0	0
Others	0	0
Total	76	181

5.2.16 Gowases

Gowases is the owner of Unit D at Anias Sud No: 85 with 1 226 ha and a carrying capacity of 77 LSU and 324 SSU. She applied for the plot on 26 December 2002 and it was approved on 25 April 2003. When she applied for a plot she indicated that she was a returnee and landless. She holds a Masters degree in english language teaching. At that time she was employed as a regional councillor for Khomas region with an annual income of N\$138, 639. When she was interviewed telephonically she said she was 55 years old and she lived with her sister's children only. She complained that she does not have proper accommodation for her workers at the farm but water is enough.

She revealed that there is no help from government or other institutions received since she was resettled. She is not making any income from her farm. Gowases was appointed as ambassador to Botswana and she is currently waiting for an official letter in order to move to Botswana. If she happens to get enough income, she will be able to live on the farm.

When she was allocated a plot she had no livestock. Now there are 4 cattle and 22 goats and she is planning to make gardens. Currently she lives in Windhoek and she employs people who are taking care of her farm.

Table 22 Number of livestock owned by Gowases before and after resettlement

Livestock	Before resettlement	Current stock
Cattle	0	4
Sheep	0	0
Goats	0	22
Horses	0	0
Donkeys	0	0
Others	0	0
Total	0	26

5.3 BENEFICIARY SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

All beneficiaries in Khomas region said that they need bigger farming units. The average 1 000 hectares is too small. They recommend that, to farm successfully in a dry environment such as Namibia, 3000 hectares and above should be allocated to each settler. For example, Bertha recommended that starting up capital should be provided to all beneficiaries and, when their boreholes are broken, they should be repaired as soon as possible. Jacky suggested that more boreholes should be drilled because they want to use water for gardening. At other plots the water is salty and not suitable for human consumption.

Sitwala thought that they should be provided with animal feeds at affordable prices in order to keep their animals fat. Salomon recommended that they should hold regular meetings with the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement in order to hear their problems and views on how they can farm successfully, but this is not happening since they were resettled. He added that if an organisation could be formed which represents settlers or beneficiaries; maybe some of their problems could be attended.

Gowases indicated that the reason why they don't live at their farms is because there is no adequate accommodation. The government should build proper houses as they were promised. Interviewees thought that resettlement was aimed at empowering the disadvantaged groups in order to have access to land but many who were given land are sitting on it without doing anything. Fillimon suggested that the criteria for allocating land should be revised and land be allocated to those who need land for their livelihoods. He added that the applications for resettlement should be verified whether the applicants possess the assets they claim to have.

Agatha thought that it would be good for the whole nation if resettlement should target all those who need land and not be politicked. Fillimon again recommended that farm workers, who were pushed out from the farms they are resettled on, should also be resettled. Otherwise the resettlement programme is creating poverty.

Finally, Vitalis recommended that consultations with settlers are important for a programme aimed at reducing poverty. Constant monitoring of settlers' farming activities will easily identify those who are sitting on the land doing nothing. Philip suggested that others who want to engage in other activities such as ploughing need tractors and other necessary facilities. Otto felt that beneficiaries should live at their farms if they want to farm effectively. Because they are losing, they are not paying their workers well. Vaccination services should be provided free for effective prevention of diseases.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

From the interview responses and relevant literature reviewed, it is clear that the National Resettlement Policy implementation had mixed results. One of the success of the resettlement programme had been the access to the natural resource stock, which is the land. Sixteen (16) individuals and families were resettled in the central plateau south east of Windhoek in the Dordabis area (Khomas region). The area is good for livestock farming and not good for crop production.

However, despite these successes, it is believed that the eligibility of some beneficiaries for the government resettlement scheme is questionable. Top government officials in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement officially announced it repeatedly that government resettlement scheme is earmarked for the poor people who cannot afford to buy land on their own.

For the purpose of identifying misunderstandings and contradictions involved in the land reform implementation process, the national resettlement programme will be analysed from the perspective of the livelihoods framework described in chapter two and land reform policy documents.

6.2 POLICY AMBIGUITY

According to Schneider (1999: 23) the role of participatory governance in poverty reduction is:

- ❖ To base policies on better information;
- ❖ To ensure that policy makers and their administrations are more committed;
- ❖ To make the implementation of policies more effective and efficient.

The impetus for sustainable livelihoods approach is social and economic therefore a need to insert poor people's real circumstances into technological development, which offers a way forward from the impasse created by low uptake of improved technologies, is significant (Mortimore and others 2000:18).

Why the policy is not clear is because all Namibians are eligible for resettlement. There should be a narrow and clear definition of the poor people who should be eligible for resettlement. When the resettlement farms are advertised in the newspapers, all Namibians apply whether rich, poor, employed or unemployed. The selection for resettlement will be determined not according to the social status of the applicant but according to the decision of the selection committees.

On the application forms for resettlement there are four reasons among which applicants should choose why they think they are suitable for resettlement. These reasons are as follows:

- i. If the area is drought stricken
- ii. If the land too small.
- iii. If you were expelled from the land you have been living on.
- iv. If you never owned/occupied land anywhere.

The above reasons contradict with the National Resettlement policy. Reason number three alludes to farm workers who are always evicted but are not prioritised in the policy. Odendaal and Tjiramba (2006:6) pointed out that the government lacks a clear and comprehensive support policy on strengthening farm workers' rights of tenure. Out of the 16 beneficiaries in Khomas region not even a single settler was found to be a farm worker.

Other target groups are not indicated on the application forms, but they are indicated in the policy document. The target groups that are not indicated on the application forms but in the policy are the San community, people with disabilities, and people from overcrowded communal areas. Returnee is not in the policy but it is on the forms. Such inconveniences discourage these groups from applying because they think that they are not eligible.

The point is if we cannot define and identify the poor people among our communities it gives the impression that poverty in Namibia is not an issue. But the researcher thinks that the poor can be found in shantytowns, in rural areas and among the unemployed masses. It is difficult for the rural poor and even urban poor to have access to print media where farms are always advertised.

6.2 BENEFICIARY SELECTION

Mr Katali, the Deputy Minister of Lands and Resettlement, made it categorically clear during parliamentary debates and over the national radio that government resettlement programmes is for the most disadvantaged groups who cannot afford to buy farms on their own. But he contradicted himself on many occasions by giving an example that; it does not make sense to give a five-bed room house to a person who is not working because he will not be able to maintain the house, thereby referring to resettling the poor because they will not be able to make a living on the farms.

The change of the idea from resettling the poor to resettling the resourceful beneficiaries (as table 25-26 indicates), will also not work without giving support to beneficiaries. It is defeating the purpose of land reform in Namibia. The core fundamentals of the resettlement programme are to narrow the skewed or income disparities between the Namibian people and contribute to the economic development of the country.

Though others were eligible for resettlement, the majority of beneficiaries were not supposed to be resettled through government resettlement scheme as shown by the table below. No poor people were resettled in Khomas region. All who were resettled had well paid jobs and reliable livelihood sources.

Table 23 Financial status of beneficiaries in Khomas region before resettlement

Beneficiary	Employment/Position	Annual Incomes (N\$)
Philip/Alma	Ministry of lands and resettlement	N/Available
Salomon	Pensioner/disabled	73, 020
George	N/A	80, 000
Fillimon	Afrox Company LTD	89, 211
Vitalis	Permanent secretary	407, 059
Agatha	Merchandiser	22, 308
Willem	Ministry of Agriculture, water and forestry	25, 905
Heinrich	Ministry of education	N/Available
Jacky	Self employed	72, 000
Meroro	Former member of parliament	N/Available
Sitwala	Ministry of foreign affairs	103, 620
Hilaria	Self employed	18, 000
Helao	Labour relations/conciliations	192, 000
Bertha	Namibia wildlife resort	147, 000
Lazarus	Disabled	N/Available
Gowases	Khomas regional councillor	138, 639

There are poor people in Khomas region without an income, livestock or land who are eligible for government resettlement scheme, especially those who live in the squatter settlements surrounding Windhoek. Instead those who were resettled are eligible for the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) because they can afford to buy land on their own.

It is the desire of all pro land reform programmes in Namibia that the people without income, land and livestock to be considered first for resettlement. Bush and Szeftel (2000:177) claimed that much of the land that was redistributed went not to the rural poor but to African commercial farmers and to people with political connections. It is evident from the applications of the beneficiaries that they acquired their plots through political connections because the majority indicated that they were returnees.

Matundu-Tjiparuro (2006:9) reported in the government owned news paper, *New Era*, that the resettlement process has been the subject of various and myriad accusations, wrongly or rightful, and a source of frustrations and despair to many land-hungry citizens.

Table 24 Resettlement categories and number of beneficiaries (Khomas region)

Categories	Beneficiaries
No livestock, no income and no land	2
Some livestock, no income and no land	3
Some livestock, has income and no land	11
Total	16

It is clear evidence that the poor have fallen out of favour for the government resettlement scheme; although the officials argue that those who are resettled should create jobs for others. But the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme should definitely create jobs for others, as the majority of the beneficiaries are workers. The government resettlement programme should only focus on improving the livelihoods of the rural poor.

The other problem is that those who are hungry for land wait too long before they are resettled, six months to one year. This causes corruption and bribery. Henceforth, the Minister of Lands and Resettlement has promised that the ministry will look at the piled applications and at the same time speed up the processing of the application to at least two months (Gaomas 2006:5). As mentioned above, the use of print media in order to sensitise applicants is totally unfair to the poor people because they cannot buy newspapers and in other rural areas the newspapers are in short supply if they are unavailable at all.

6.3 POVERTY REDUCTION

According to Mortimore and others, (2000:18) the poverty approach is a threefold typology of actions designed to intervene in poor people's livelihoods:

- 1) An enabling action that focuses on policy and institutional issues, and can reduce poverty and lead to social, environmental or economic benefits for the poor, for example land tenure legislature.
- 2) An inclusive action that aims to improve poor people's access to services, infrastructure on the basis of public sector programmes, such as education or extension services.
- 3) A focused action that targets a specific social group or issue through a specific agency e.g., poor people's advocacy.

The approach by government to alleviate poverty through land reform is too general without a concrete plan of action for the poor. Most resettled farmers denied government assistance as paper story and not real. Yet it is indicated that, after resettlement, beneficiaries are entitled to be assisted for five years. Melber warned that concentrating all political and economic power in the hands of narrow elite was the greatest cause of poverty (Grobler 2006:18). Weidlich (2006:1) reported that workers resettled on a farm Ongombo west expropriated by government last year (2005) have neither the funds nor the implements to start farming.

The study could not establish any increase in the incomes of settlers from farming as the majority of settlers indicated that the sources of their livelihoods were their salaries and the little money they receive from their family members. They indicated that they are part-time farmers and the motive is not profit but land ownership. For government resettlement schemes, settlers complained that the land allocated to them is too small and cannot be sustainable if settlers want to become successful commercial farmers.

This study confirmed that the resettlement scheme is creating poverty rather than alleviating poverty. The workers and family members who live on the farms often

lack adequate accommodation, transport, health facilities and schools and they are paid low living wages of N\$ 400 per month. It is everybody's expectations that settlers should live on their farms in order to manage the day-to-day activities of their farms, but it was a surprise to see that all of the settlers live and work in Windhoek some 200 kilometres away from their farms. How they manage their farms without proper communications with those who live and work on their farms is another issue.

6.5 INSTITUTIONS

Francis (2002:531) points out that policy intervention to promote poverty reduction must combine support for the generation of livelihoods with institutional reform to reduce vulnerability to risk. She further articulates that institutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interactions. According to her these institutions are the people and the patterns of regular, repetitive interactions among them that transform inputs into outputs. According to Chimhowu (2002:551) in the absence of adequate institutional support from the state, however, resettled households were unable to secure key socio-economic services and infrastructure.

The MLR tasked by the government to implement and formulate land reform policies is not pro active beyond land transfers. The ministry limits itself to land access. After that it claims that it is the responsibility of other ministries, forgetting that its custodianship goes till poverty is reduced or the livelihoods sources of the beneficiaries are well developed. Coordination between ministries and other stakeholders is lacking. Each operates on its own, thus creating vulnerability to risks.

Lack of credit and markets, together with insecure land tenure, remain some of the hurdles that the small and emerging producers of agricultural products face, which president Hifikepunye Pohamba articulated are beyond their control (Tjaronda 2006:1). The beneficiaries face critical shortage of funds to improve their breeds and buy supplementary feeds as they cannot use their plots as collateral because the plot are too small and it is state land.

Diversification of livelihood sources is a good option in order to prepare for possible eventualities but not in the case whereby settlers desert their farms because they have realised that they are not making any living on the farms. The shortage and incapacities of formal and informal institutions to work in closer cooperation with settlers after land transfer are dragging the land reform policy implementation. The significance of such institutions is to create platforms where settlers can share ideas, solve problems and influence policy decisions. The reason why the policy did not change since its inception is because these were limited consultations with the beneficiaries.

Informal institutions or social networks such as kinships, farm labourers and other various forms through which settlers help each other cannot be trusted as they lack a legal framework within which some of their operations can be reinforced. For example, the caretakers of Jacky's farming unit had conflicts among themselves and threatened to leave the farm because nothing abides them to stay on the farm. Traditional institutions are not reliable. If they are only embedded with a formal institution is when they can function trustfully.

Finally, dialogue between different stakeholders and beneficiaries can only be fostered at institutional levels. The scarcity of such institutions and access to them by beneficiaries will create an enabling environment for improving the livelihoods of settlers and generate vulnerability to risk.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

7.1 CONCLUSION

It is evident from the literature and research findings that land reform is aimed to reduce poverty and improve food security. Namibia is at peace following its land reform programme. Though land redistribution process is believed to be slow, the policy environment is open and conducive to all stakeholders involved. According to views of the beneficiaries land reform is not reducing poverty due to lack of post-resettlement support and farming units' carrying capacity can't accommodate large stocks. Even though the majority of the beneficiaries had income and livestock before resettlement their current stock are dwindling a clear signal of policy ambiguity.

What distorts the central focus of land reform to reduce poverty is that the majority of the beneficiaries do not live on the farms. The study discovered that those who were fortunate to be allocated the farming units had become weekend farmers a phenomena they blame to the loss of their livestock. The paper provides clear information that the poor were not considered for resettlement in Khomas region and the criteria used for selecting beneficiaries are not justifiable by the National Resettlement Policy documents.

The President of the Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU) has urged his fellow commercial farmers to relinquish excessive and under-utilised land to the government. This is encouraging as it paves a way to achieving the land reform objectives. Despite obstacles and drawbacks, government has managed to buy 197 commercial farms since the start of the land reform programme ten years ago, consisting of 1.2 million hectares through the willing buyer/willing seller principle.

A combination of market-led agrarian reforms and state led agrarian reforms seem to work better for Namibia's land reform programme even though strong sentiments are in favour of MLAR (willing buyer/willing seller principle) against SLAR (expropriation). Farms that were acquired through willing buyer/willing seller were less costly compared to farms acquired through expropriation. It is imperative for policy makers to clearly distinguish those who need land for shelter and those who need it for livelihoods. If the activities of the beneficiaries are not closely monitored by policy implementers then the whole purpose of land reform to reduce poverty will be defeated. Economic fundamentals need to be profoundly embraced and become paramount upon political ambitions if poverty reduction is significant to Namibia's land reform.

Von Blanckenburg (1994:7) indicated that large farms were less productive than small farming unit but it is not known whether he took environmental conditions into considerations. In Namibia, large farms could be more productive, especially in the central and southern parts, because of the harsh environmental conditions.

A comparison of the policy intent with the eventual outcomes indicates that land reform is no panacea for poverty reduction. There are limited opportunities for settlers to have access to livelihood assets, especially capital assets. The government has failed to provide necessary support to the beneficiaries in order to transform their inputs into outputs. The paper revealed that the role of other stakeholders and external actors was limited to consultation at some levels of policy formulations but not involved at all stages of policy formulation and implementation.

But generally settlers have shown great happiness for plots, which they intend to use effectively when they retire. The majority of beneficiaries in Khomas region were found to be eligible for Affirmative Action Loan Schemes and not for the government resettlement scheme, which is meant for the disadvantaged poor people who cannot afford to buy farms of their own.

7.2 RECOMMENDATION

Despite ⁴noticeable land reform accomplishments, there is increasing public discussion in order to compel government to redistribute land while maintaining its productivity. The government needs to find other policy alternatives through which land can be fairly allocated and contribute to economic development of the country, not only focussing on the political aspects of land reform. The political dimension of the land reform is almost half-way achieved compared to social and economic dimensions that are the key dimensions to poverty reduction.

It's not possible for land reform to reduce poverty if the international community and local actors do not play significant roles in the implementation process of the National resettlement programme. External actors and other stakeholders can only come in if there are clear policy directions and if there is transparency in the whole process. Transparency can only occur when all role players in the land reform process are involved at all stages of policy formulation and implementation. It will not save any purpose to engage external and internal actors as consultants when the damage is already done. And there is no guarantee that consultants' views will be automatically accepted. The government needs to deal successfully with policy implementation constraints prevalent within the Namibian land reform. To this extent, this exploration into poverty reduction through land reform in Namibia has indicated seven key recommendations that are a prerequisite to achieve success in future policy implementation, which are discussed in detail below.

- Before embarking on a hasty land reform programme with the intention to reduce poverty, the root cause of poverty must be clearly identified and understood. Do not simply assume that land reform will solve the problem of poverty in Namibia. As the study has revealed, the majority of the poor people did not say that lack of access to land can cause poverty. One can sit on the land but still be poor. Land can only indirectly reduce poverty by creating other industries that can manufacture primary products into finished products and employ people on a large scale.

- National resettlement programme strategy is to reduce poverty as stipulated in the policy document and should be implemented as such. Monitoring of farming activities must be regularly conducted to determine whether beneficiaries are on the right track of becoming self-sufficient in food production. In all countries where land reform has been successful in reducing poverty, massive support to beneficiaries by government was noticeable.
- The poor must be clearly defined for proper selection. The current screening and selection procedure need to be improved by government to determine whether the criteria are socially, economically and politically appropriate. Urgent consideration should be given to the groups who urgently need land for resettlement.
- Public policy making in Namibia should be subjected to a consultative process whereby all actors have the chance to provide their input and concerns regarding new policy direction. Since the 1991 land question conference no other conference of a similar magnitude has been held to solicit views from other actors.
- Land reform and poverty reduction is broad and the involvement and commitment of other ministries and NGO's are greatly needed. Human capacity building to enable efficient and effective implementation of the land reform process at both national and regional level should be supported.
- Land tenure rights should allow beneficiaries to mortgage and sell their land if they feel they cannot continue to farm and want to pursue other business ventures. This strategy will be able to encourage those who cannot farm productively to give land to those who can farm productively.

- Environmental sustainability is a prerequisite of sustainable development. It is therefore not economically advisable to divide exhausted farms into small farming units because this will further degrade the farms.

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Annex A

List of Interviewees

Senior government officials

Mr E Ndala	Director: Ministry of Lands and Resettlement
Mr H Tjipueja	Director: Ministry of Lands and Resettlement
Mrs S Kasheeta	Deputy Director: Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry
Mr J Nujoma	Deputy Director: Ministry of Lands and Resettlement
Mr K Imbuwa	Chief Development Planner: Ministry of Lands and Resettlement

Interest groups

Mr R Mwazi	Marketing Manager: Agribank of Namibia
Mr M Rukoro	President: Namibia National Farmers Union
Mr S Amupanda	Acting Secretary General: Namibia Farm Workers Union
Mr G Eiseb	Unam Researcher: Multi-disciplinary Research Centre
Mr C Hager	Manager: Namibia Agricultural Union
Dr B Fuller	Private Consultant
Mr D Motinga	Executive Director: Institute for Public Policy Research
Mr K Schade	Acting Director: The Namibian Economic Policy Research Unity

Annex B

Questionnaire for identifying the adequacy of the Land Resettlement Programme in reducing poverty as effected by the Agricultural (commercial) Land Reform Act no.6 of 1995 and the National Resettlement Policy of 2001

Policy makers and interest groups

Personal Details

Institution: -----

Name of Interviewee: -----

Current Position: -----

Unstructured Interview Questions

General

1. Have you been involved in the formulation and/or implementation of the objectives of the National Resettlement Policy of 2001? If yes, briefly explain your role.

Objectives of the National Resettlement Policy of 2001

2. What was your understanding of the overall objectives of the National Resettlement Policy of 2001?

3. According to the official documents the main objectives of the National Resettlement Policy is to "*enhance the welfare of the people through improvement of productivity and to develop destination areas where they are supposed to earn a decent living*" (MLRR, 2001:2). Are you in agreement with these main objectives? Please, motivate your answer.

4

Actors: Policy Formulation

4. Who in your opinion were driving the formulation of the National Resettlement Policy of 2001?

5. Were there any external actors involved in the formulation process? If yes, to what extent did they influence the eventual outcomes?

6. Which stakeholders were involved in the formulation stages of the National Resettlement Policy?

Policy Implementation

7. How did your ministry approach the implementation process?

8. Who was responsible for implementation in your ministry? Were they the most appropriate persons to perform this task?

9. What structures are put in place to ensure full implementation?

10. Is it clear what needed to be implemented? Please motivate your answer.

11. To what extent did other stakeholders within or outside participate in the implementation process?

12. Did you encounter any pressure within or outside the ministry not to implement? Please, explain.

13. Was the policy changed during the implementation? Please, explain.

14. Were there any factors that positively influenced the implementation process of the National Resettlement Policy?

15. What obstacles are hampering the implementation process? Please, elaborate more.

Police outcomes

16. For those who are not willing to farm any longer, what provision is there for them? Briefly explain.

17. What effective role are other state agencies playing in post-resettlement development?

Other Agencies

18. How successful has the National Resettlement Policy in Namibia so far?

19. Willing buyer/willing seller principle, in your opinion, is it sustainable?

20. Can commercial land reform reduce poverty? Please motivate your answer.

21. How do you think the National Resettlement Programme can at best be able to improve the livelihoods of the beneficiaries? Explain your answer.

22. Expropriation, do you think that it is the only alternative so far to equally distribute land in Namibia?

Way forward

23. Do you believe that when the majority poor people are resettled poverty will dramatically be reduced?

24. Any suggestions or recommendations on how the National Resettlement Programme can improve the livelihoods of beneficiaries?

Annex C

Questionnaire for identifying the adequacy of the land resettlement programme in reducing poverty as effected by the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act no.6 of 1995 and the National Resettlement Policy of 2001.

Structured Interview Questions

Beneficiaries

1. Name of Interviewee: -----
2. Plot Name or Number: -----
3. Age: -----
4. Sex: Male Female

Qualification or Grade passed

5. Number of Dependents (Children)

6. How many of your children attend school?

7. Do you have adequate accommodation?

8. What is your method of transport?

9. How far is the school from here?

10. How far is the clinic?

11. How far do you get your water?

12. How many times do you eat per day?

13. When were you allocated this plot?

14. Are you the only owner or you are sharing it with other people?

15. You came from which target group?

- San Community
- Ex-soldiers
- Displaced and landless
- Disabilities
- Overcrowded Communal areas

16. How did you manage to acquire this plot?

17. Did you apply through the government's official procedures? Explain.

18. What are your main activities on this farm? Explain.

19. Did your income increase since you were resettled on this farm?

20. What are your other sources of income apart from farming?

21. How are you being helped since you were resettled by government or other stakeholder? Briefly explain.

22. Are officials of the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation visiting you regularly?

23. How have your life changed in general since you were resettled on this farm? Explain more.

Way forward

24. Do you believe that resettlement programme will able to improve the well being of the beneficiaries?

25. What in your opinion should be done in order to enhance the efficiency of the resettlement programme?

Annex D

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the methods and procedures the researcher applied in the study. Aspects discussed here involve the population, sampling, and instruments for data collection, data collection methods and procedures, pilot study, and data analysis. The aim of my methodology was to obtain reliable data and validate it by providing explanations of the findings based from the responses of the respondents.

POPULATION

The population of the study consisted of a selected sample of resettled beneficiaries as well as a selected sample of stakeholders and other key players in the resettlement programme in Khomas region. Khomas is one of the regions in Namibia where the resettlement programme implementation began since 2001. It is situated in the central part of Namibia. The targeted respondents were senior officials from the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, as they are the custodians of the resettlement programme, trade unions, farmers unions, beneficiaries and private consultants, who have done extensive research on land reform in Namibia such as, the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), the Namibian Economic Research Unit (NEPRU) and the Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU). The concept of beneficiaries refers to the groups of families and individuals benefiting from the resettlement schemes. The researcher is satisfied that the selection gave a good representation of institutions and beneficiaries involved in land reform policy formulation and implementation in Namibia.

SAMPLE

A list of resettled farms, which were acquired from freehold areas, or commercial farmers in Khomas region, was obtained from the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR). The four commercial farms were divided into sixteen (16) small farming units representing 16 resettled families. Despite the fact that the resettled farms were scattered throughout the area, some located 200 km away from the capital city of Namibia Windhoek, the researcher visited as many farms as possible in order to acquire relevant information and sufficient data. Since some farms were divided into three farming units it was appropriate to visit all of them. For example, at Nautabis all three units were visited, at Corsica only three, at Anias Nord four and at Anias Sud three units were visited.

Out of a total of 16 beneficiaries in the Khomas region's (four farms) the researcher managed to interview eleven (11) families representing a response rate of 69% and a total of 13 farming units were physically visited which covers around 81% of the resettled farming units.

Also a total of 13 respondents were selected according to the role they or their organisations have played in the land reform process as indicated in the policy documents. From the MLR four individuals from senior management were selected and one from the MAWF. These officials are responsible for policy formulation and implementation. The other selected respondents are from non-governmental organisations (NGO) and parastatals who are involved in Namibia's land reform policy formulation and implementation processes.

Resettlement farms in Khomas region

Name	Ha	Year	Number of farming units
Anias Nord 84	6, 220	2001	5
Corsica 89	5,364	2001	4
Nautabis 268	4,939	2001	3
Anias sud 85	7,491	2002	4
Total	24,014		16

Number of respondents from various institutions

Institutions	Number of respondents
Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR)	4
Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR)	1
Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU)	1
Namibia National Farmers Union (NNFU)	1
Namibia Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU)	1
Namibia Farm Workers Union (NAFWU)	1
Agribank of Namibia	1
Ministry of Agriculture Water and Forestry (MAWF)	1
Private consultant	1
Multi disciplinary research centre (UNAM)	1
Total	13

INSTRUMENTS FOR DATA COLLECTION

Structured and unstructured interviews were the key instruments to collect data. The reason for using such research instruments was because these interviews offered the researcher the best opportunity of obtaining primary data.

The interviews were addressed to two main population groups, one to the beneficiaries and another to policy makers and interest groups. The first questionnaire consisted with unstructured questions with a number of themes or issues, which were explored. These themes were:

Objectives of the National Resettlement Policy: respondents were expected to express their opinion whether policy objectives are achievable or whether they are loopholes⁴ in the policy that could be changed.

Policy formulation: questions under this theme were aimed at identifying key actors, which were involved in the formulation of the national resettlement policy.

Policy implementation: questions were phrased in order to find out the extent to which other stakeholders are actively involved in the implementation process of the national resettlement programme and which factors are hampering the implementation process.

Policy outcomes: To find out whether there are incentives given to old farmers and beneficiaries who no longer want to continue farming and if sufficient support is provided to settlers.

Other agencies/ stakeholders: This theme was aimed at drawing opinions from respondents on whether the willing buyer/ willing seller principle can be sustainable in Namibia and whether expropriation is the best option for the government to acquire land and equally distribute it.

Another questionnaire consisted of structured interview questions targeting only beneficiaries of the resettlement program. This enabled the researcher to assess the respondents' eligibility for government resettlement scheme. The structured interviews were guided by a questionnaire based on the issues raised in the previous chapters and theoretical framework.

The first set of interviews aimed to find out the role of different stakeholders in policy formulation and implementation. The second set of interviews sought to establish whether the beneficiaries are able to make a decent living on their resettled farming units or whether they are using their land productively.

DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The interview questions were designed in October 2006. A letter was written to the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement requesting him permission to interview the beneficiaries of the land reform programme. In the letter the main focus of the study was explained.

When the permission was granted the researcher made appointments with the selected respondents from various stakeholders as highlighted in the tables. After the appointments the meeting dates with respondents were fixed. The interviewees cooperated with the interviewer.

The majority of the beneficiaries understood English. Only in the cases where farm workers were involved in the study were indigenous language (Otjiherero) and Afrikaans used. When interviews were held at the farms, focus group discussions with more than four participants were conducted differently at each farming unit. The policy makers and beneficiaries were interviewed individually.

When the interviewer could not meet face to face with the interviewee, interviews were conducted telephonically. For beneficiaries currently not living in Namibia, their farming units' caretakers or family members were asked to provide the necessary information.

Other methods and procedures employed in this research involved analysis of land policy documents, strategies and annual reports. Other materials that were searched composed of minutes and agendas of the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement about the National Resettlement Programme and views from different authors. This includes reports, journals, newspapers, and information from conferences held on land reform. The study benefited from the literature listed in the reference section, which was reviewed and analysed.

The MLR staff and other respondents indicated above provided relevant documents on request for analysis. The researcher was granted permission by the beneficiaries to take photographs of building structures and animals of their farms.

PILOT STUDY

A pilot study to test the structured questionnaire was conducted with two respondents. The interview questions were pilot-tested by the researcher at Nautabis resettlement farm that is close to Windhoek. The main aim of the pilot survey was to find out whether there would be complications when the main study will be carried out. The study was done to test the clarity and appropriateness of the questionnaire.

These interviews were conducted at one farming unit. The respondents understood the instruments for data collection and answered the questions accordingly. Then adjustments were made to the structured interview questions, when it was discovered in this case that only farm workers stay full time on the farms. The changes were aimed at incorporating their views in order to enrich the study. The researcher noted that the time allocated for the interviews was enough. The discussions took half an hour.

DATA ANALYSIS

The researcher systematically analysed the respondent's answers and compiled the evaluation report. The information was presented in tables and qualitatively through description of the responses from structured and unstructured questions.

The data were analysed through recording the responses of all the respondents. Individual responses were compared with other respondents to determine the reliability or validity of the data collected. The responses were justified or analysed by comparing the information of the researcher's observation and with that of the interviewee. The collected data were also analysed in accordance with the

stipulations or provisions made in the ministerial policy documents and annual reports.

Due to the fact that the study was conducted in one region (Khomas), the outcome of the research is exploratory. The results are based on the perceptions of the sample population interviewed.

Annex E Photographs of Beneficiaries

Photograph 1 Fillimon's farm unit



Photograph 2 Michael's farm unit

Photograph 3 & 4 Vitalis' farm unit and the heard girl



Photograph 5 & 6 Jacky's farm house and Michael's heard boy (below)



Photograph 7 & 8 Willem's farmhouse and heard boys (below)



Photograph 9 Philip's farmhouse



Photograph 10 George's livestock

Photograph 11 George's farmhouse



Photograph 12 Hilaria's farm unit and caretakers