

RESETTLEMENT & NAMIBIAN SAN COMMUNITIES

PROSPECTIVES FOR SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THROUGH EMPOWERMENT



BERNICE MCLEAN

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of a
Masters of Philosophy Degree
in Environmental Science

JULY 1998

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

ABSTRACT

Namibia's Resettlement Programme aims to uplift all Namibians through the redistribution of land. This land reform programme seeks to assist the destitute and landless to become self-sufficient within five years. Policy provisions commit to providing special attention to San people as the most marginalised Namibian community. A critical evaluation of the resettlement process, however, reveals that this is simply rhetoric. Project planning and design is centralised and is undertaken on an *ad hoc* basis.

Resettlement is enabled by rigid, prescriptive and exclusive legislation which has informed the technocratic manner in which the resettlement process is implemented. The authoritative approach adopted to resettlement is goal oriented. It focuses on the short-term product of poverty alleviation, rather than the process of self-sufficiency through empowerment for settlers. This provision of assistance fulfils only the immediate basic needs of settlers as are determined by authorities. The ability of San settlers to achieve autonomy through resettlement is restricted by the incapacity of the process to adapt to diverse social dynamics and locally conceived priorities.

Community-level implementation of resettlement remains in the hands of authorities entrenching the continued dependency of San settlers on government provisions. Forced integration of settlers of different social groups whilst disregarding diverse local priorities, fuels social tensions and reduces community cohesion on the projects. The subordination and impoverishment of San settlers is magnified through resettlement. Negative preconceptions compound communication problems on the resettlement projects. Assistance empowering San settlers to improve their well-being, relate to a more community-based approach, identifying and acting on local needs and aspirations. San settlers continue to diversify their livelihood strategies to overcome the challenges posed by their circumstances. The inability of the resettlement process to accommodate these strategies results in a socially, economically and environmentally unsustainable land reform process.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Table of Contents	ii
List of Figures	vi
List of Maps	vi
List of Tables	vi
List of Photographs	vi
List of Appendices	vii
List of Abbreviations	vii
Guide to Consonants	viii
Definitions	vx
Acknowledgements	x

Part One

CHAPTER 1	Introduction	1
1.1	Background to this Dissertation	1
1.2	Rationale for this study	4
1.3	Aims and Objectives of the Research	5
1.4	Scope of Research	6
1.5	Conceptual Context	8
	1.5.1 Background to Hunter-Gathering People	8
	1.5.2 People and their Environment	9
1.6	Description of Study Area	12
1.7	Structure of the Dissertation	13
CHAPTER 2	Research Methodology	18
2.1	Introduction	18
2.2	Type of Research and Study Approach	18
	2.2.1 Field Research	18
	2.2.2 Literature Review	19
	2.2.3 Case Study	19
	2.2.4 Formal interviews with Key stakeholders	20
	2.2.5 Informal interviews with Interested and Affected Parties	20
	2.2.6 Observations	21
2.3	Assumptions and Limitations	23

CHAPTER 3	Trends in the Development Paradigm	24
3.1	Introduction	24
3.2	Trends in Development	25
3.2.1	Modernisation and the “Trickle-Down” Theory	25
3.2.2	Imperialism, Dependency and Underdevelopment	26
3.2.3	Sustainable Development	28
3.2.4	Rhetoric on Sustainability	29
3.2.4	Development Today	30
CHAPTER 4	Environment and Development Planning in Southern Africa	34
4.1	Introduction	34
4.2	Integrated Environmental Management	35
4.3	IEM and Namibian Resettlement	35
4.4	Integrated Environmental Management, Environmental Impact Assessments and Social Impact Assessments	38
4.4.1	Environmental Impact Assessments	38
4.4.2	Social Impact Assessments	39
4.5	Environmental Assessment for Marginalised People	40
4.5.1	Politics, Community and Assessment: lessons for development	41
CHAPTER 5	Community Development Processes	44
5.1	Introduction	44
5.2	Empowerment for Sustainable Community Development	44
5.3	Community-based Development	45
5.4	Participation and Empowerment discourse	48
5.5	Empowerment, Indigenous groups and Local Sustainable Development	49
5.6	Empowerment for Sustainable Poverty Alleviation	51
CHAPTER 6	Conditions for Sustainable Community Development	53
6.1	Introduction	53
6.2	Principles for Planning and Design of Resettlement	53
6.2	Principles for Implementation of Resettlement	54

Part Two

CHAPTER 7	Land Reform in Namibia	59
7.1	Introduction	59
7.2	Pre-Independence and the Odendaal Commission	59
7.3	Land Reform and Namibian San Populations.....	62
7.4	Land Reform in Post-Independent Namibia	65
7.5	Activities since Independence.....	65
7.5.1	Institutional Issues	66
CHAPTER 8	Institutional, Policy and Legislation Formulation Process for Land Reform in Namibia	68
8.1	Introduction	68
8.2	Land Reform Conferences, Institutions and Policy and Legislation Formulation in Namibia	69
8.2.1	National Land Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question	69
8.2.2	Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act	70
8.2.3	Regional Conference on Development Programmes for Africa's San Populations	71
8.2.4	People's Land Conference and Communal Land Bill	72
8.2.5	Traditional Authorities Act and the Land Reform Policy	73
8.2.6	National Traditional Authority Conference	73
8.2.7	Consultative Conference on Communal Land Administration	73
8.2.8	National Development Plan 1	74
8.2.9	National Resettlement Policy	75
8.2.10	Land Use and Environmental Board	76
8.3	San Communities and the Policy Formulation Process	76
CHAPTER 9	Evaluation of Policy Pertaining to Resettlement in Namibia	79
9.1	Introduction	79
9.2	Official Documents Guiding the Namibian Resettlement Programme.	80
9.3	The Namibian Constitution and Resettlement Policy: Perspectives for Equitable Land Reform.	81
9.3.1	The Constitution	81
9.3.2	The National Resettlement Policy	85
9.4	Concluding Evaluation of Policy Provisions for Resettlement	90

CHAPTER 10	Evaluation of the Community-level Implementation of Namibia's Resettlement Process: a Case Study of Skoonheid Resettlement Project	92
10.1	Introduction	92
10.2	Background: Local and Regional Context of the Study Area	94
10.3	Skoonheid: Description of Study Site	96
10.3.1.	Location and Description	96
10.3.2.	Climate and Ecology	97
10.3.3.	Settler Community	97
10.3.4.	Institutions and Authorities	98
10.3.5.	Project Layout	99
10.3.6.	Project Infrastructure	100
10.3.7.	Project Management and Activities	100
10.3.8.	Facilities and Services	101
10.4	Sustainable Community Development for a Ju/'hoan Settler Community: Evaluation of Skoonheid Resettlement Project	102
10.5	Sustainability Conditions for Community Development	104
10.5.1	Local Independence	104
10.5.2	Space for Social and Cultural Assertion and Spiritual Welfare	107
10.5.3	Financial independence	110
10.5.4	Natural Resources for Sustainable Livelihood	112
10.5.5	Do settlers have access to appropriate services	115
10.5.6	Food and Self-sufficiency	117
10.5.7	Knowledge and skills for sustainable, autonomous livelihood	118
10.5.8	Skills training	121
10.6	Conclusion	122

Part Three

CHAPTER 11	Conclusion and Suggestions	127
11.1	Introduction	127
11.2	Resettlement and the San: Prospectives for Sustainable Community Development through Empowerment	127
11.3	Suggestions	128
11.4	Towards Sustainability?	130
REFERENCES		131

List of Figures

Figure 1	Modernisation Approach	26
Figure 2	Web of Responsible Well-being	32
Figure 3	South African Integrated Environmental Management Procedure and Namibian Environmental Assessment Procedure	37
Figure 4	Model of Empowerment for Sustainable Community Development	55
Figure 5	National and Local Institutional, Policy and Legislation Context for Resettlement in Namibia	79
Figure 6	Model of Empowerment for Sustainable Community Development	103

List of Maps

Map 1	Location of Namibia in Southern Africa	15
Map 2	Location of Case Study Areas in Namibia for the RAEIR	16
Map 3	Distribution of People in Namibia prior to Western Colonisation	17
Map 4	Tenure in Namibia following the Odendaal Commission	61
Map 5	Areas of Namibia occupied by San Communities	63
Map 6	Location of Skoonheid Resettlement Project in the Omaheke Region of Namibia	93

List of Tables

Table 1	Policy and Legislation Informing Land Reform Since 1990	68
Table 2	Summary of Findings from the Evaluation of Skoonheid Resettlement Project	124

List of Photographs

Skoonheid Resettlement Project		
Photograph 1	Entrance to Skoonheid	96
Photograph 2	Distribution of governmental food provisions	98
Photograph 3	Collecting water from the central water pump	100

List of Appendices

Appendix 1	List Of Organisations And Libraries Visited	1
Appendix 2	List of Interviewees	2
Appendix 3	List of Skoonheid Settlers Interviewed	3
Appendix 4	Research Observations of Skoonheid	4
Appendix 5	List of Institutions and their Roles in the Resettlement Procedure	5
Appendix 6	Layout of Skoonheid, Resettlement Farm	6
Appendix 7	Model of Empowerment for Sustainable Community Development	7

List of Abbreviations

ALRA	Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act (6 of 1995)
CASS	Centre for Applied Social Sciences
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCN	Council of Churches in Namibia
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DEA	Directorate of Environmental Affairs
DRFN	Desert Research Foundation
DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
I&AP	Interested and Affected Party
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LA 21	Local Agenda 21
LAMPC	Local Agenda Model Communities Programme
LRAC	Land Reform Advisory Commission
LUEB	Land Use and Environment Board
MAWRD	Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MLRR	Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation
MRLGH	Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing
NAPCOD	Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification
NDP 1	National Development Plan 1
NEPA	National Environmental Policy Act
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NPC	National Planning Commission
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RAEIR	Retrospective Assessment of Environmental Implications of Resettlement
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SSD	Social Science Division
SSP	Strategic Services Planning
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation Liberation Movement

TB	Tuberculosis
UCT	University of Cape Town
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa

Guide to Consonants, (Biesele, 1993)

Ju/'hoan Click	International Phonetic Alphabet Equivalent
/	Dental, (similar to 'tsk' sound in English)
=	Alveolar, (no English equivalent)
!	Alveo-palatal, (similar to sound of a popping cork)
	Lateral, (similar to sound used to urge on a horse)

List of Definitions

Commercial land	Land held under freehold title. As opposed to communal land which is owned by the state.
Environment	The broad physical, biological, social, economic, cultural, historical and political circumstances of an individuals reality
Food-for-work	A governmental food distribution programme originally designed as a temporary drought relief mechanism.
Hunter-gatherers	People practising a nomadic livelihood, dependent on the direct exploitation of natural resources for well-being, (also known as foragers).
Kinship network	A system of social relations within and between San communities guiding access to natural resources through sharing thereby increasing livelihood security and well-being.
N!óré	Ju/'hoan term for a demarcated unit of space which contains enough food and water resources to sustain a user group on a continuous basis. The concept on which Ju/'hoan land ownership is based.
Resettlement	The voluntary movement of people from an area with insufficient resources to the subsequent settling same in another area which is more likely to provide a satisfactory standard of living.
Sustainability	The ability to maintain or improve a level of living and quality of life, including managing stress and shocks without damaging loss
Veldkos	Bush Food. The name given by San people to food collected or hunted from the natural environment, including edible vegetation and wildlife.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my appreciation to my supervisor Ailsa Holloway for her invaluable comments and suggestions.

I acknowledge Professor David Lewis-Williams of the San Heritage Centre for his kind permission to reproduce the San Rock Art figures illustrating this dissertation.

A sincere thank-you to all members of the Engeo Department and the EEU for their assistance and the highly stimulating and fulfilling M Phil. course.

Further gratitude is due to my classmates and friends who provided much appreciated insight, cheer and empathy, (and occasional insanity), throughout the course and particularly during the final stretches of this dissertation.

Thanks to Patrick for continued support and understanding.

As always my special thanks go to my parents and brother for their unfailing encouragement, support and love no matter what.

Part One

CHAPTER 1	Introduction
CHAPTER 2	Research Methodology
CHAPTER 3	Trends in the Development Paradigm
CHAPTER 4	Environment and Development Planning in Southern Africa
CHAPTER 5	Community Development Processes
CHAPTER 6	Conditions for Sustainable Community Development

PART ONE

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to this Dissertation

March, 1990, signalled the dawn of Namibian Independence from South African colonial rule. With this new found political freedom Namibia inherited a vast legacy of financial, social and environmental debt. Central to the struggle for Namibian national liberation, access to land remains one of the most politically sensitive issues. Namibia, lies between the latitudes 17,5° and 29° South and comprises approximately 824 000km² of land, (Map, 1). Compared to its vast size, Namibia has a relatively small population of approximately 1,6 million people. This masks the fact that Namibia is an arid region and the majority of the population derives its livelihood from a limited amount of available productive land, (Ashley 1995). With only eight percent of the country receiving over 500mm of annual rainfall, Namibia is said to be the driest country south of the Sahel, (Seely & Jacobson, 1996). In addition to climatic constraints, historical policies of separate development in Namibia, have resulted in a highly skewed distribution of access to productive land, and roughly 63% of the population have access to only 41% of land in Namibia, (Report of the Technical Committee on Commercial Farmland, 1992). The majority of Namibians live in the northern rural areas of the country.

The Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, (MLRR), was established in September 1990 to address the issue of land redistribution after Independence. The brief accepted by the MLRR involves the purchase and allocation of land, and the provision of support services to the destitute and landless. The Resettlement Process has been characteristically *ad hoc* since 1990 and the MLRR has achieved limited progress in satisfying its objectives, (Werner, pers. comm.). The rationale for research into resettlement in Namibia arose through concerns that the environmental impacts of resettlement had not been adequately addressed.

Recommendations for an assessment emerged from a number of quarters: The Namibian Environmental Assessment Policy, the National Resettlement Policy, the National Development Plan and a Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification, (NAPCOD) report, "*Policy factors and Desertification*," (Dewdney, 1996), were unanimous in suggesting further research into environmental costs and benefits of different tenure systems and land use options.

Following these recommendations, a Retrospective Assessment of Environmental Implications of Resettlement, (RAEIR), was undertaken by a team of six University of Cape Town, (UCT), postgraduate students.¹ The author of this dissertation was a member of the research team. The study was initiated and overseen by representatives of NAPCOD through Namibia's Directorate of Environmental Affairs, (DEA). The baseline report produced from the research is entitled "*A Retrospective Assessment of Environmental Implications of Resettlement in the Oshikoto and Omaheke Regions of Namibia*" (hereafter referred to as M Phil., 1998).

The "*Retrospective Assessment of Environmental Implications of Resettlement*," serves as the point of departure for this dissertation.

Research for the RAEIR was conducted between November 1997 and April 1998. During this time, the research team spent a little longer than a month undertaking fieldwork in Namibia. This included interviews with interested and affected parties,² (I&AP's) in both Windhoek and the Oshikoto and Omaheke regions, (Map. 2). Five resettlement projects were visited and are represented in the baseline report as case studies. Key findings from the assessment, relate to a general mismatch between the objectives and implementation of the National Resettlement Policy and the individual needs of settlers to meet local changing requirements and individual aspirations. The following points of conflict were identified from the research:

- A lack of access to alternative income generating strategies which compounds the inability of settlers to meet individual requirements;

¹ Department of Environmental and Geographical Sciences

² These include employees of governmental institutions, non-governmental organisations, (NGO's), community based organisations, (CBO's), private institutions and individuals and residents on the resettlement projects

- A high level of ‘absenteeism’ of settlers on the resettlement projects, an activity which conflicts with communal activities model of resettlement which is based on group labour for group gain;
- A lack of ownership security results in general dissatisfaction with and disuse or abuse of governmental provisions and services; and,
- Environmental degradation due to chronic and excessive exploitation of natural resources such as wood, pasturage and water to meet basic requirements, (M Phil., 1998).

The baseline report further revealed that characteristics of the implementation of the resettlement process contribute to the dependency of settlers on government provisions. The top-down³ approach adopted by officials, both discouraged community development and inhibited the autonomy of the settlers. Institutional weaknesses which compounded the situation included:

- a lack of co-operation and co-ordination of institutions;
- weak communication links between and within ministries and between settlers and authorities and settler communities;
- minimal consultation or participation of settlers in decision-making processes;
- limited planning in the resettlement process; and,
- a lack of capacity within the Ministry of Lands Resettlement and Rehabilitation to implement the resettlement policy successfully, (M Phil., 1998).

Given the legacy of inequitable land distribution in Namibia and the highly politicised nature of the land issue, resettlement has been undertaken largely on an ad hoc basis since Namibian Independence in 1990. The RAEIR revealed that settlers and officials show increasing signs of disillusionment and frustration at their inability to realise their separate and often opposing objectives. Due largely to the lack of governmental planning, organisation and consultation with settlers, the sustainability of the resettlement process remains questionable, (M Phil., 1998).

³ The top-down, (blueprint), development paradigm, focusing on things, measurement and standardisation, is usually described by contrasting it with the opposite, bottom-up, (learning process), approach which focuses on people, judgement and diversity, respectively, (Chambers, 1997). ‘Top-down’ usually refers to a process of development imposed on subjects by a dominant authority such as the government.

1.2 Rationale for this study

It is the expressed aim of the Namibian Resettlement Policy to “*uplift the living standard of all Namibians*” (Republic of Namibia 1996:1). Namibia’s resettlement process is, developmentally speaking, still fairly young. Approximately 20 000 applicants are still waiting to be resettled, (Vergotine pers. comm.). Despite the resettlement objective of enabling settler self-sufficiency within five years, research revealed limited progress towards these aims, even on the more established projects, (M Phil., 1998).

Outlined in the Resettlement Policy, is a list of “*beneficiaries*” targeted by the MLRR, for its resettlement programme. The main target groups in order of priority are, “*the San, returnees, ex-soldiers, disabled, displaced and landless people*” (Republic of Namibia 1996:2). A further, substantial reference is made in the policy to assisting people of San origin in that, “*special care must be given to [the] most disadvantage[d] community, especially the San (Bushmen....)*” (Republic of Namibia 1996:3).

San⁴ communities are therefore singled out as the group most in need of assistance for the resettlement programme.⁵ Despite this special attention, research suggested that the resettlement process appears rather, to worsen the marginalised status this social minority group. San people are settled on three of the most established resettlement projects visited by the research team. Tsintsabis, Drimiopsis and Skoonheid resettlement projects, have all functioned for longer than four years. Although the resettlement communities on these projects are socially diverse, the most impoverished and dominated individuals and families are San, (M Phil., 1998).

⁴ Debate continues between the acceptability of the use of the generic term “San” or “Bushman,” in academic and political circles. According to Wilmsen, (1989), “San” has become the academically acceptable terms for referring to southern African peoples who are known as hunter-gatherers or foragers. Conversely, Biesele, (1993), states that the word “San” is pejorative in the Nama language. Recognising that members within the generically termed “San Community” differ considerably, wherever possible I refer to the linguistic subdivisions, Ju/’hoan, Hai || om, !Kung or Kxoe. I justify my reference to “San” people rather than “Bushmen” based on the expressed preference for the term by representatives of the San community attending the 1997 Consultative Conference on Communal Land Administration, (Brörmann, 1997).

⁵ Resettlement is defined by the MLRR as the movement of people from one area with insufficient resources, to another area which is more likely to provide a satisfactory standard of living, (Republic of Namibia 1996).

Community-based and common property resource management are gaining popularity in Namibia as means to achieve greater sustainability in rural development, (Jones, 1996, Ashley & LaFranchi, 1997, Ministry of Environment and Tourism undated). Preliminary findings of the RAEIR hinted at the positive potential of community management of resettlement projects. Strong community links between settlers⁶ were shown to facilitate the process of self-sufficiency through common aspirations, close communication and co-operation, (M Phil., 1998). Negative preconceptions however, between San settlers and other settlers and authorities emerged as a major drawback to these ideals. Expressed primarily as ethnic differences, these were manifest as mutual mistrust. The preconceptions compounded communication problems, increased the apathy of settlers and reduced the sense of community on the resettlement projects. The inability of the resettlement programme to accommodate the variable and dynamic needs of settlers further entrenched social differences and dependency of San settlers on government provisions.

Drawing from the above considerations, a need was identified for further research into why the current resettlement programme is failing to provide San settlers with equal assistance in terms of poverty alleviation and self-sufficiency on a sustainable basis. Completion of this dissertation is required in partial fulfilment of the 1998 M Phil. Environmental Science degree.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Research

The principle aim of the dissertation is to identify aspects of the Namibian Resettlement Process which hinder the Resettlement Policy objective, to uplift Namibia's most impoverished population. Based on the assumption that increasing impoverishment implies a decrease in life opportunities and choices, the dissertation focuses on members of the most marginalised⁷ social group in Namibia, the San.

⁶ At Vasdraai, the most recently established project visited, community links were strong. Most settlers on the project came from a pre-established community with an existing representative, community committee. Problems arising on the project, which could not be solved at a local level, were effectively voiced to authorities through this committee.

⁷ This is a generic term including in this instance groups of rural people who are either impoverished, minorities, (ethnic, gender, age, language), indigenous or in any way disadvantaged or dominated by others.

The aim of the dissertation is to pinpoint elements of Namibia's resettlement procedure which restrict San settlers to exercise choice and autonomy over their livelihood and well-being on a continuous basis. Thus, the sustainability of the current resettlement process in Namibia is assessed in a qualitative manner as it applies to San settlers. The dissertation seeks to assess a case study on which Ju/'hoansi people are settled, based on a conceptual framework of Integrated Environmental Management, (IEM), sustainable development and community-based development principles.

To achieve these aims, a number of objectives are set to:

- review development theory and the current theoretical paradigm foci with reference to sustainable and community-based development assistance processes pertaining to minority, marginalised and indigenous groups;⁸
- provide a conceptual context within the realm of IEM, sustainability and community development for the study;
- establish a model based on selected discussion points for sustainable community development;
- review Namibia's Institutional, policy and legislative framework within the realm of empowerment for sustainable community development;
- evaluate the community level implementation of the resettlement process as it applies to the resettlement of San settlers at a particular case study. The objective is to base the evaluation on selected sustainable community development principles which promote empowerment; and,
- introduce broad suggestions for improvement of resettlement for San people, based on the results of the evaluation.

1.4 Scope of Research

Any investigation dealing with the intricacies of social dynamics and the relationship between people and their environments is necessarily, extremely complex and results are seldom conclusive. A multitude of diverse research avenues may be touched on.

⁸ Despite their differing connotations, each of these terms apply to San people and are therefore used interchangeably in ensuing discussions.

The approach developed in this dissertation is based on current paradigmatic notions in environment and development theory. The underlying premise is based on equity. It holds that for development assistance such as resettlement to be sustainable, it should adapt to local needs and priorities. The premise rejects the notion of engineering social relations and livelihoods to benefit a pre-determined nationalistic goal.

This dissertation attempts to identify problem areas of the current resettlement of San settlers. It draws on theoretical principles of empowerment and sustainable community-development. The study involves a critical evaluation of the resettlement procedure at different sectoral levels, ranging from the national to the community level. Evaluation of the planning and design of the resettlement procedure is followed by reference to the case study of Skoonheid Resettlement Project. The case study illustrates the implementation of resettlement within a specific community context. Skoonheid was subject to a previous evaluation for the RAEIR. The scope of this case study evaluation refers therefore, to only selected circumstances pertaining to the aims and objectives of the dissertation.

Extensive literature exists referring to anthropological research of San people in southern Africa. The aim of this dissertation is not to contribute to these vast ethnographic studies. Nor is the intention to comment on the complexities of sociological and anthropological academic debate⁹ surrounding San groups. Rather, through a critical approach, the dissertation comments on elements of Namibia's current Resettlement programme. Focusing on San settlers, the study incorporates existing anthropological information, research results and selected principles of sustainable community development.

Namibia is one of the foremost initiators of community-based natural resource management, (CBNRM), and has recently amended existing legislation¹⁰ to facilitate the formation of conservancies.¹¹ Concepts underlying common-property resource management, (CPRM), and CBNRM are integral to the topic of this discussion of sustainable community-based development. Central here is the constant and reliable access associated with community control of basic resources for livelihood security.

⁹ For instance the so-called Kalahari Revisionist Debate, (Wilmsen, 1989a, Solway and Lee 1990)

¹⁰ The Nature Conservation Ordinance Amendment Act, 1995.

¹¹ A group of neighbouring farms on which normal farming is undertaken in combination with the sustainable utilisation and conservation of wildlife in a co-operative manner, (Ministry of Environment and Tourism undated).

CBNRM, is seen as an ideal mechanism to promote self-sufficiency of settlers through empowerment. It is however, felt that this topic warrants a separate study of its own. The dissertation deals rather with the current implementation of the resettlement process in Namibia, identifying existing problems rather than examining alternative management mechanisms.

1.5 Conceptual Context

1.5.1 Background to Hunter-Gathering People

Foragers or hunter-gathering¹² societies throughout the world are distinguished from other more sedentary societies. The principle difference is that they change their environments very little to achieve their livelihoods. People leading such nomadic lifestyles, largely utilise the naturally occurring resources of their environments for survival. Generic descriptions of the lifestyle of these societies cite common factors such as the small groups in which they live, their regulation of internal relations by kinship, custom, consensus and clear rules of reciprocity, rather than inherited or acquired authority, (Biesele, 1993). The relationship of foragers with their physical and social environments is described as flexible and dynamic. Groups disperse to resolve tensions generated by living with scarcity and aggregate when necessary to pool work and share localised resources, (ibid.).

The above characteristics apply equally to the traditional lives of San people in southern Africa. Early anthropological studies of Ju/'hoansi people describe their lives and culture as intimately connected to activities of subsistence and survival. Flexible cultural mechanisms are adopted by San people to overcome constraints imposed by their environment, (Biesele, 1993). These strategies revolve around co-operative and harmonious social relations, extensive knowledge of the natural environment and strongly institutionalised patterns of sharing, (ibid.). Traditional group structure is described as egalitarian and flexible. Opportunistic exploitation of the most favourable resources at any time, forms the basis of habitation and governance which is characteristically dynamic, (ibid.).

¹² These two terms are used interchangeably throughout this study.

Finally, due to high mobility of the group, only the most essential possessions are maintained and information and techniques form the basis of the society's technology, (Biesele, 1993).

The current modified situation of most San groups is not as favourable and less than five per cent of San people are able to rely on hunting and gathering for their sole subsistence, (Biesele, 1993). Further, as a result of appropriation of their land, the loss of economic autonomy and cultural integrity of San communities to more aggressive peoples has induced their widespread impoverishment, subservience and dependence on others. The resettlement process is viewed by the Namibian government as a means to help San communities to "*create a new living platform by developing skills and by acquiring new ones to be able to secure their sustenance*" (Republic of Namibia:2).

This dissertation argues that rural development or land reform processes, should identify and adapt to dynamic, locally conceived priorities and facilitate empowerment for self-sufficiency. This is particularly pertinent to the situation faced by foraging peoples whose traditional livelihoods are directly and intricately associated with local, natural resource exploitation. As a national land reform initiative to alleviate poverty, the Namibian Resettlement Process therefore, needs to recognise, accommodate and facilitate settler livelihood strategies. In so doing, flexibility to adapt to local changing circumstances is essential. An awareness of how local people relate to their diverse, dynamic environments involves both strategies adopted by settlers to exploit their natural resources and social and political structures underpinning this utilisation.

1.5.2 People and their Environment

The rise of the ideology of sustainability and development is associated with a modification of various practices. It has introduced ideas of assessing development projects and obtaining knowledge at the local level, (Escobar, 1995). Views on the manner in which local people, interact with the environment have therefore changed markedly over the years. Two main preconceptions are revealed by this shift in thought.

One belief is that people are either ignorant or negligent of their actions on their resource base. The other approach sees local communities as helpless victims of circumstances beyond their command, forced to adopt environmentally damaging practices (Ghai & Vivian, 1992).

Both these views are potentially damaging to the social and political integrity of marginalised populations such as Namibia San communities. Invariably the assumption is made that stimuli bring about societal change external to and beyond the control of local communities. In the context development projects, the above views serve only to justify the imposition of nefarious development objectives on 'helpless' communities.

The approach in this study further rejects romanticised ideals adopted by selected media and anthropological literature which, in describing the hunter-gatherer lifestyle of San groups, conjure up notions of primitive tribes, isolated and vulnerable to change brought on by contact with the 'outside' world¹³. Such perspectives invariably engender patronising and preservationist ideals of conserving the 'real culture' of minority groups such as the San. Inherent generalisations serve to further and justify their domination by politically and economically more aggressive individuals.

Ghai and Vivian, (1992), propose an alternative view of the interaction between local communities and their environments. People are seen here as vigorous participants in the determination of their future. They are concerned and actively regard their options of resource management. Central to processes of community development, this view is particularly relevant to the current situation of San people in southern Africa. The concept has four main components:

- ⇒ Environmental resource utilisation as livelihood security goes beyond the satisfaction of basic needs. It has both cultural and spiritual significance for many communities;
- ⇒ As a result, physical and social systems of resource management are developed. These involve complex and ingenious institutional systems and rules governing ownership and use of natural resources;
- ⇒ Historical process of "modernising forces" jeopardise livelihoods of local communities by depriving them of control over their environment; and,

¹³ An example of this view is expounded in the popular South African movie "*The Gods Must Be Crazy*"

⇒ To resist or overcome these processes and to safeguard their livelihood, coping mechanisms are adopted, (Ghai and Vivian, 1992). As evident from the RAEIR, these include campaigning for land restitution, diversifying livelihood strategies, neglect of provisions or disuse of services.

This revised focus provides a particularly appropriate conceptual basis for analysing the circumstances surrounding Namibian San settlers. This approach emphasises an identification with members of the resettlement community, an element pivotal to community development processes.

It should be stressed that by focusing research on members of the generic San community, with particular reference to Ju/'hoansi and occasionally Hai ||om people, this study does not aim to advance segregationist notions nor to foster ethnic division. Despite rapid changes to the traditional lives of these nomadic hunter-gatherers, the livelihood and well-being of most San people remains intimately connected with access to and use of natural resources. This is particularly true of access to land, which is, as Wilmsen suggests, "*part of that social universe negotiated by San persons in their day-to-day interrelations with each other*" (1989:43).

Change is a process inherent in any society, including those of San communities. Despite this certainty, socio-political processes, have compounded the marginalised status of many indigenous minority groups.¹⁴ This dissertation argues that instances of state intervention seeking to redress such inequalities, often fail to recognise the complex and dynamic nature of the subjects' livelihood and well-being. Attempting to achieve nationalist ideals based on market-oriented economies, these initiatives do not accord with the resource-based livelihoods of marginalised communities. The distinction made in this study between San people and other groups in Namibia, is based on a diverse array of social, cultural, political and historical factors rather than simple ethnic identity. It is stressed, therefore, that assistance provided to any group or community, should consider the particular socio-political context of the action.

¹⁴ This is true of indigenous minority groups throughout the world including amongst others, Australian Aboriginal, Inuit and Native American people.

1.6 Description of Study Area

Omaheke, is situated in eastern part of Namibia, bordering the regions of Otjozondjupa, Khomas and Hardap in the North, West and South respectively, and Botswana in the East, (Map 2).

Until the eighteenth century, !Xo and Khoi¹⁵ speakers, were the only permanent residents of the area now comprising the Omaheke Region. Ju/'hoansi hunter-gatherers, were first to inhabit the region prior to the migration of numerous pastoralist groups, (Suzman, 1995). Map 3 represents the distribution of People in Namibia prior to Western Colonisation. Subsequent to the 1920's, small groups of people with no central authority constituted an underclass of the organised political economy of Herero and Tswana speaking pastoralists. The result was that many Ju/'hoansi either limited their residential area to Eiseb and Rietfontein, moved or were employed by groups practising a more powerful pastoralist economy, (Suzman, 1995).

Extensive transformations followed the influx of white settlers the Omaheke area, under both German or South African rule. In 1923 the Native Reserves of Aminuis and Epukiro¹⁶ were proclaimed and designated to Herero and Tswana speaking groups respectively under the Union Policy, (Suzman, 1995). These regions comprised an area of no more than 514 000 ha, (ibid.). Other smaller populations living in the area, including San communities, failed to receive land on the basis of the size of their groups and the lack of centralised political organisation. The two reserves were subsequently incorporated into "Hereroland East" and designated to Herero farmers. After failing to receive the designated area known as Corridor bordering Botswana, from the Odendaal Commission, the Ben-Hur/Shaka complex was purchased in the 1980's by the smaller second-tier Tswana Administration, (Suzman, 1995).

The 87 700 km² area now demarcated as Gobabis was established by the First Delimitation Commission of Namibia after Independence. The region comprises the magisterial district of Gobabis, the former Hereroland East Reserve, Aminuis and the Corridor between Aminuis and Botswana, (Werner & Kanguuehi, 1996).

¹⁵ Labels given to the two major linguistic San groups. Nama/Damara falls within Khoi languages.

¹⁶ This area was later extended due to the large influx of Herero pastoralists.

This so called communal¹⁷ land, contributes to approximately 45% of the area of Omaheke, (ibid.). This represents land currently owned by the state which is available for common use. The specific area focused on in this dissertation, Skoonheid Resettlement project, is situated north of Gobabis in a commercial farming area of Omaheke and was previously held under freehold title.

1.7 Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is set out in 3 Parts:

Part 1 comprises 6 chapters and serves as an introduction to the study. The background and conceptual approach to the study are outlined here. Chapters of this part include:

1. an introduction to the study;
2. the methodological approach to the study;
3. an outline of trends and current approaches in the development paradigm;
4. an approach to environmental development planning in southern Africa;
5. a discussion of principles of community-based development processes; and,
6. the establishment of discussion points based on selected principles and a model of empowerment for sustainable community development, to be used in the following part to assess the case study.

Part 2 comprises 4 chapters. The section represents a critical, qualitative review of Namibian resettlement with specific reference to the case study. The chapters in this section:

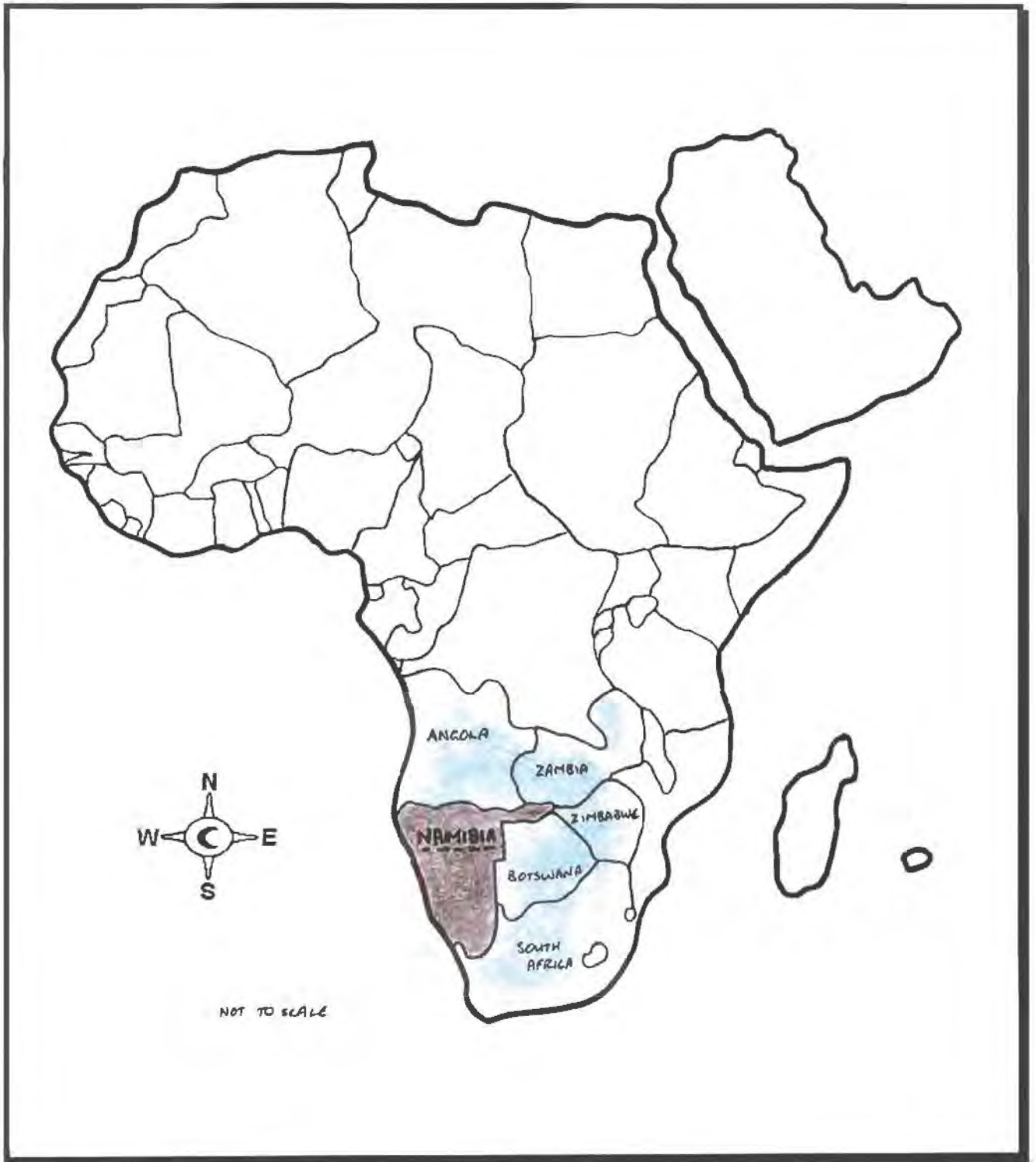
7. introduce Namibian land reform and the circumstances surrounding San populations and review the progress of resettlement and institutional issues;
8. outlining the institutional, policy and legislation formulation process;
9. evaluating policy provisions informing resettlement; and,

¹⁷ The distinction between communal and commercial land is an institutional feature left-over from the colonial eras when the respective distinction between homelands and privately owned farms was legislated. Negative socio-political perceptions of the two terms still exist and communal areas are seen as traditional and backward in contrast to advanced and efficient commercial farming areas, (Shanyengana pers. comm.).

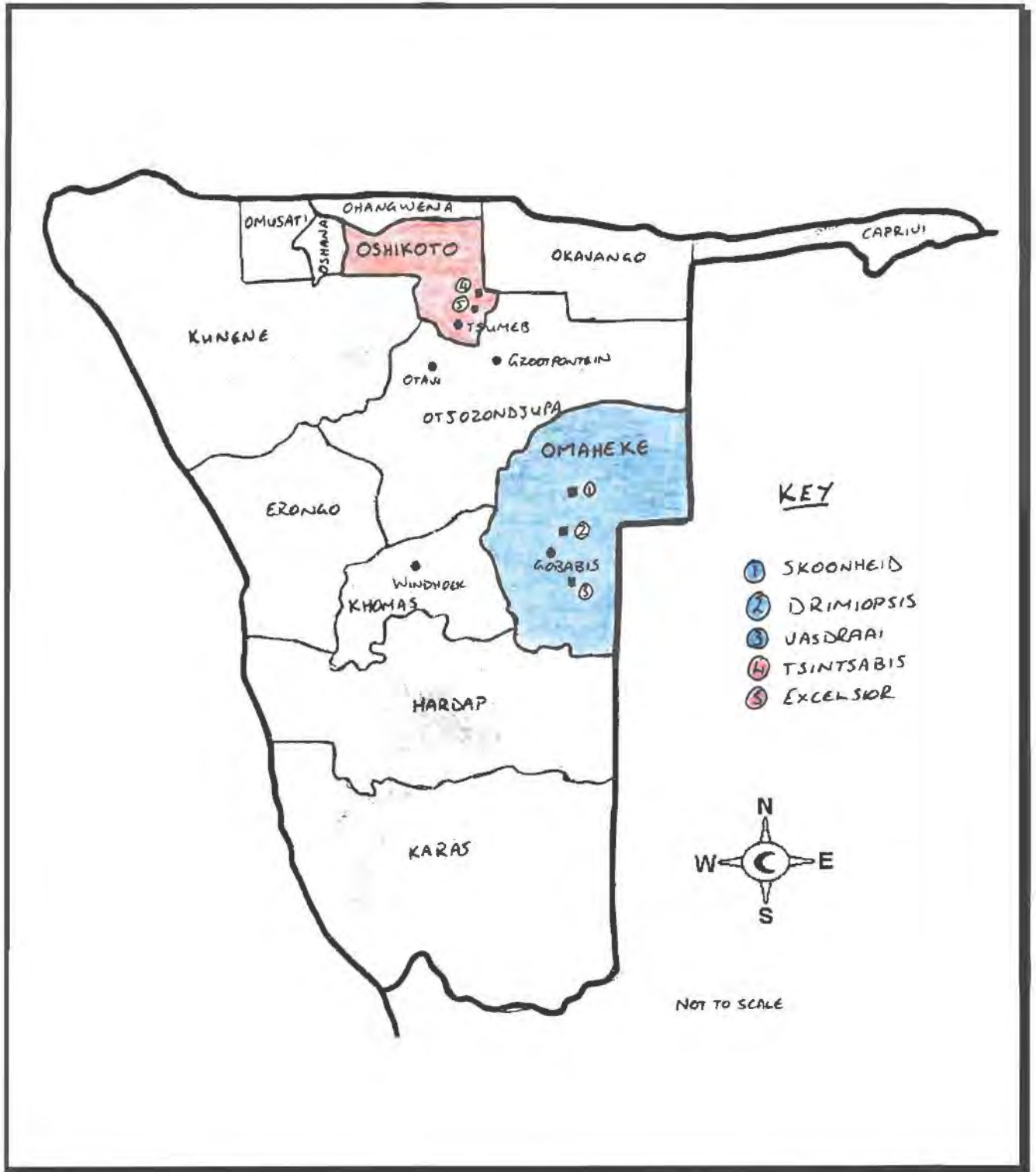
10. evaluating the community-level implementation of the resettlement process focusing on a case study.

Part 3 concludes the dissertation with a chapter presenting:

11. conclusion and suggestions.

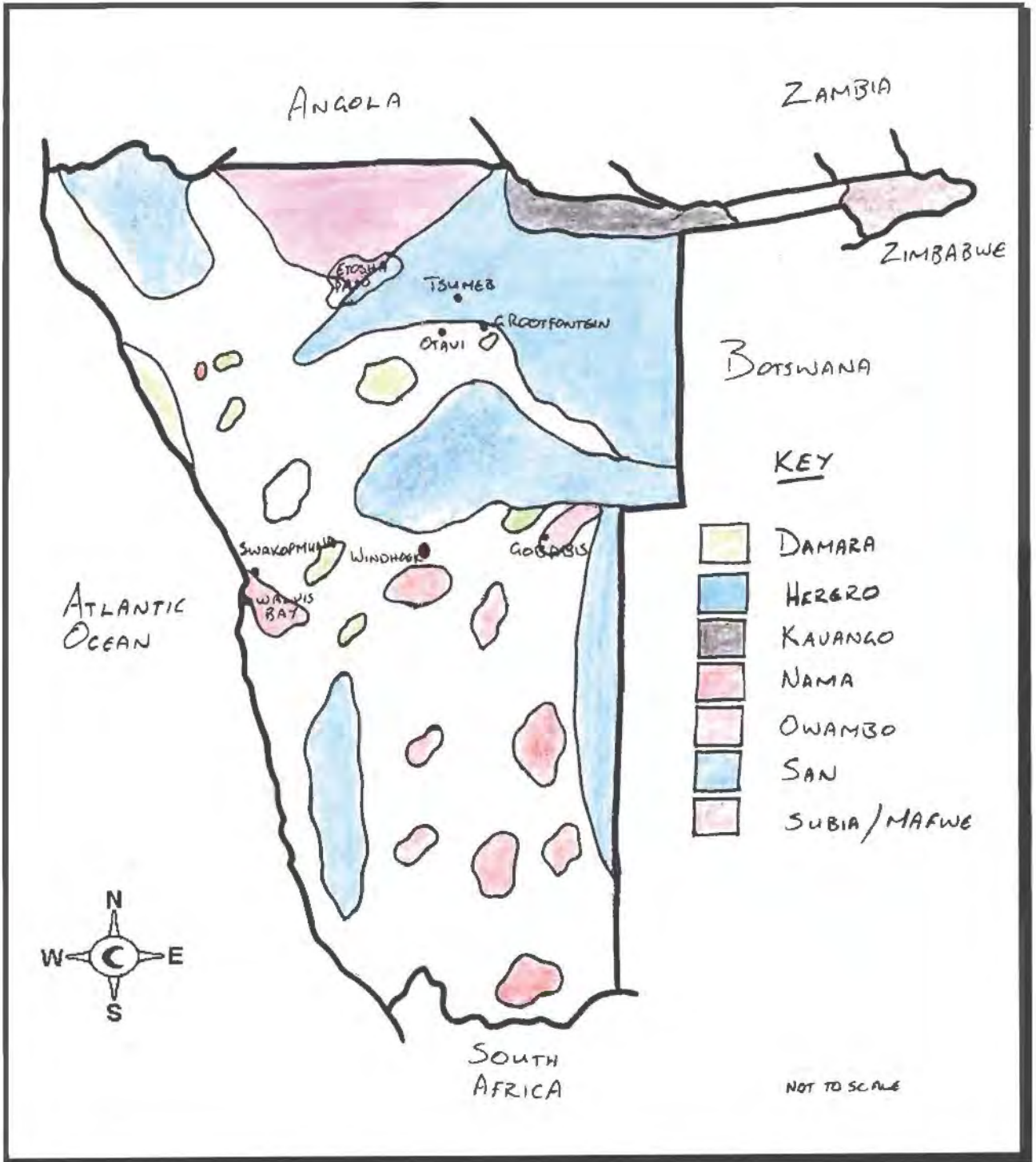


Map 1 Location of Namibia in Southern Africa



Map 2

Location of Case Study Areas in Namibia for the RAEIR



Map 3

Distribution of People in Namibia prior to Western Colonisation

CHAPTER 2

Research Methodology



Chapter 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

A distinction is made below between the type of research introducing techniques employed to gather the information, and the study approach. The latter refers to a description of the application of the research techniques. In the following section, an outline of each research technique is followed by a description of the study approach.

2.2 Type of Research and Study Approach

The methodological paradigm¹⁸ adopted for this dissertation is essentially qualitative in nature, the main characteristic of which is the integration of data collection and the analysis thereof, (M Phil., 1998). This research strategy was chosen based on the objectives of the study in which an attempt is made to obtain the 'insiders view.' An iterative, flexible research method was followed to accommodate available information and opportunities arising during the research within the aims and objectives of the study.

2.2.1 Field Research

This dissertation has grown largely out of research undertaken for the RAEIR. As a result, much of the information gathered for this dissertation was collected during field research for the RAEIR.

Two separate excursions were undertaken by the research team to Namibia. An initial ten day fact-finding visit to Windhoek in November 1997 was followed up by approximately one month of field research between January and February 1998. During this time the case studies were explored and the majority of interviews held with key stakeholders and

¹⁸ The term paradigm refers to a coherent and mutually supporting pattern of concepts, values, methods and behaviour, amenable to wide application, (Chambers, 1997).

I&AP's both in Windhoek and in the case study areas. As outlined below, a variety of different methods were employed to gather information for this study.

2.2.2 Literature Review

In researching for the RAEIR, a comprehensive literature review was undertaken to provide a foundation for the study. Much of this information while providing a basis for this dissertation, was augmented by a more substantial, in-depth literature review undertaken by the author. This provided a greater theoretical grounding from secondary data, more relevant to the chosen topic of the dissertation.

Various forms of literature were consulted for this study including legislation and policy and other governmental documents, statistical abstracts, research reports, media reports and academic literature. A list of institutions sourced for literature pertinent to this study is included in Appendix 1.

2.2.3 Case Study

By focusing on a particular case study for this dissertation, an attempt is made to augment the theoretical research with diverse and detailed information within a specific context. Skoonheid Resettlement Project is used as the principle case study for this dissertation. The choice of case study for this dissertation is based on the research period at this project. More time was spent researching Skoonheid than Tsintsabis and Drimiopsis. An attempt is made in this dissertation to identify inherent shortcomings in the Namibian resettlement process as they apply to San settlers. Despite the focus on Skoonheid, therefore, consideration is given throughout the study to relevant experiences from the other two "San" case studies of the RAEIR.

The visit to Skoonheid, took place from the third to the fifth of February 1998. During this time the research team stayed on the farm. Prior permission to visit the scheme was obtained from the MLRR at a national level. Although an attempt was made to contact the MLRR administrator of the project prior to the visit, the lack of infrastructure on the farm and her prolonged absence mitigated against this. None of the residents had prior knowledge of the visit.

Permission to stay on the farm was granted by the Ju/'hoan¹⁹ traditional authority on the farm. Interviews were conducted with farm residents before and after the subsequent arrival of the MLRR clerk. The interview conducted with the clerk, included an accompanied walk, around the area of the main farmstead and a visit to a solar powered pump and the communal garden.

2.2.4 Formal interviews with Key stakeholders

Formal interviews were used to obtain as much current and primary information as possible in the restricted time available for the study. Interviewees were chosen on the basis of their representivity/ position within an institution, and their knowledge of an issue. Key stakeholders interviewed included ministerial officials, NGO's, researchers and aid agencies.

Formal interviews were held in Windhoek, the regions visited and South Africa, (Appendix 2)²⁰. Although formal, in the sense that the meetings were prearranged largely by appointment, the interviews were unstructured in nature. Thus, apart from a basic outline of key questions, a conscious attempt was made to promote discussion.

2.2.5 Informal interviews with Interested and Affected Parties (I&AP's)

Informal interviews were used to communicate with settlers, traditional authorities, officials, NGO's and aid agencies throughout the research. An unstructured interview technique, was employed to encourage discussion and reveal specific circumstances surrounding the resettlement project. These interviews were invariably unplanned, and interviewees, particularly settlers were approached at random rather than being specifically chosen.

¹⁹ Singular for Ju/'hoansi

²⁰ The list of Interviewees contains only those interviewed who are cited in the dissertation or who supplied information directly relevant to the topic of this research. For a comprehensive list of all interviews undertaken for the baseline report, see M Phil., 1998.

To minimise perceptions of the alliance of researcher with authority bodies, interviews with settlers, visitors or other farm residents such as grazers²¹ were instigated in the absence of formal introduction by governmental or other officials. The aim of the interview and research and the autonomy of the research team was explicitly stated to all interviewees upon introduction to pre-empt false impressions or expectations. The medium of communication of the interviews was Afrikaans, and direct interviews were conducted in the absence of an interpreter.

Discussions were held at Skoonheid with individuals, households and informal groups, rather than committees or formal group meetings. The intention was to facilitate dialogue and encourage discussion and participation of all settlers. Interviewees of various linguistic, age, gender, and economic categories were engaged, (Appendix 3). The number of researchers conducting each interview was limited to encourage open exchange and reduce potential intimidation. To minimise research constraints associated with gender differences, whenever possible female researchers were used to interview women residents on the projects. At all times, interviewees were encouraged to introduce, discuss and query locally conceived notions including their needs, perceptions, experiences and aspirations.

2.2.6 Observations

Observations were used to gather data by visual and auditory means, and by enquiring and recording information. Although necessarily subjective, these primary information sources were integral to the research, providing an impression of the overall context or 'environment' of the study.

Observations were continuously recorded throughout researching and were often based on individual perceptions of the research team of implicit circumstances and unstated issues such as social relations and behaviour. Topics of discussion with interviewees were often introduced from observations by members of the research team. Observations of the author at the time of research from the selected case study, are included in Appendix 4.

²¹ "Grazers" is a term used to connote livestock owners who are not registered as beneficiaries of the resettlement programme with the MLRR, but are utilising pasturage of the projects.

2.3 Assumptions and Limitations

This dissertation considers the potential of the current implementation of Namibia's resettlement process as a land reform initiative to achieve the policy objectives of poverty alleviation through land redistribution and settler self-sufficiency. The issue of land reform in Namibia is highly complex. Based on the assumption that resettlement will continue to be central to land reform in the country, alternatives to the choice of resettlement as a means to redress past injustices are not addressed in this dissertation.

As previously discussed this dissertation draws from research findings of the RAEIR. Use of this information is based on the assumption that all information contained in the M Phil., 1998 report, is correct and valid.

This dissertation is researched from a particular perspective grounded in a paradigm of sustainable community development. The discussion is limited to the resettlement process with respect to San settlers. Although many of the considerations of the study have a potential application to other development initiatives and social groups, the case study is primarily concerned with resettlement as it pertains to Ju/'hoansi settlers in the Omaheke region. This type of research has potentially limited application and may not be seen as representative of the entire Namibian resettlement programme. Consideration is taken of related circumstances at other case studies researched for the RAEIR to mitigate this problem.

A number of practical limitations specific to this dissertation are discussed below.

The lack of time was of great significance to determining the scope of this study. Given that this study is based on research undertaken for the RAEIR, the period of field research was dedicated largely to the collection of information for the RAEIR. Time allocated during the RAEIR for research for the dissertation served to lessen this constraint.

Lack of organisation, communication and transparency of various institutions and interviewees provided a potential limitation to information received from key stakeholders and decision-makers.

To mitigate this collected data was cross-referenced with other information sources. Any inability to verify or clarify information during researching, is acknowledged in the dissertation.

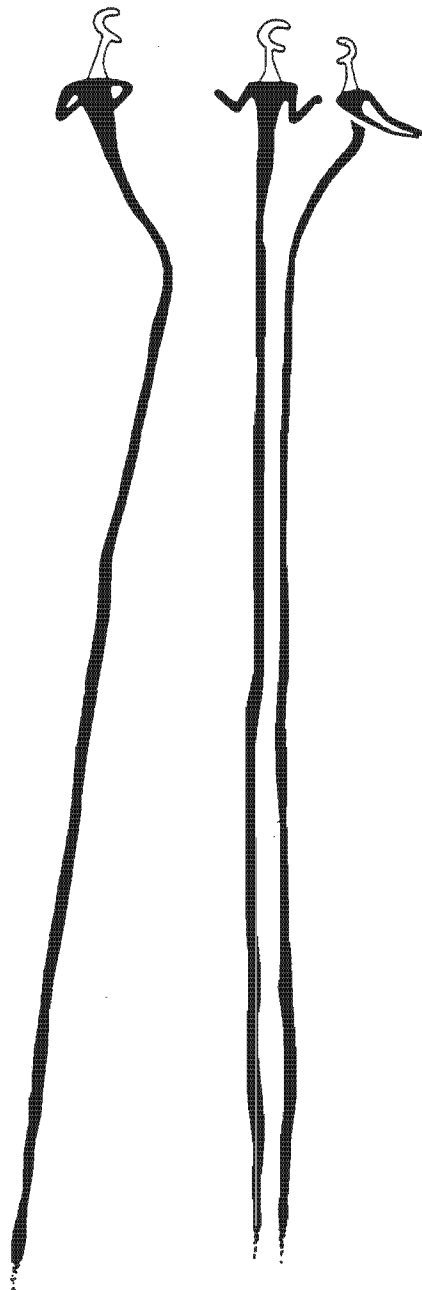
Interviewer bias unavoidably influenced the direction and content of interviews. To avoid the possibility of researcher bias during interviews, whenever possible at least two researchers were present. The likelihood of respondent bias could not be discounted during the interviews and an attempt was made to account for this by validating information by means mentioned in the previous paragraph.

As an outsider, unfamiliarity of the researcher with the political, social, economic and environmental circumstances and institutions in a foreign country, posed a potential hindrance to obtaining a comprehensive perspective of the study context. Familiarisation with the circumstances during the initial fact-finding trip and thorough research on the topic served to reduce this limitation.

Finally, the limited amount of time spent researching at the case-study, undoubtedly affected information received. This includes import given by settlers to seasonally related issues. Topics such as health, energy usage, water, food, clothing and employment availability have definite seasonal variation. This variability is taken into account in the analysis of the research results.

CHAPTER 3

Trends in the Development Paradigm



Chapter 3

TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

3.1 Introduction

Current thinking in the development arena is characterised by a state of tremendous flux. As the process of accelerating change gripping global society introduces new challenges and opportunities, a reconceptualisation of the field of development is occurring. This is characterised by a wholesale paradigm shift, (Singh and Titi 1995). Transformations²² of a similar scale have occurred previously in general development theory. The more salient of these include Modernisation and the Trickle-Down approach, and Imperialism and theories of Dependency and Underdevelopment. A more recent variation involves consideration of environmental concerns within the development arena and is referred to as Sustainable Development. The present shift in thought and reasoning, brought on by dissatisfaction with previous foci, is guiding ideas and priorities in development from “things” and “infrastructure” to “people” and “capabilities” (Chambers, 1997:9). This new emphasis introduces issues concerned with equity, livelihood security, sustainability and well-being, (ibid.).

Due largely to the unsuccessful implementation of development objectives, methodological approaches to development have been subject to intense scrutiny and debate. New-found insights of development professionals, based on critical self-awareness have led to a realisation of the importance of facilitating, rather than controlling the development process. Increasing co-operation with local populations is sought by development professionals and officials. Responsibility for the process is therefore passed to the intended subjects who can direct the action towards satisfying their needs and aspirations. This reversal of roles amongst development players seeks a more appropriate, sustainable approach. Thus, the emphasis on solutions is shifted to elements such as the development purpose, process and context.

²² Transformations in development approaches are often spoken of in terms of an evolution in thought. The assumption being that each approach develops as a successive entity from another, improving on it's predecessor. The fluctuation in development paradigms is not, however, necessarily linear or progressive. The term “trends” is therefore used generically to indicate broad paradigmatic changes.

In so doing, factors impeding or enhancing the development process within a specific context are made explicit. These elements are central to equity-driven development processes and provide a useful backdrop against which to view resettlement of Namibian San people.

The following discussion outlines some of the more prominent trends informing the contemporary development arena.

3.2 Trends in Development

The origin and meaning of development has been subject to long-standing debate by a wide range of individuals, groups, movements and professions. These range from economists, agriculturists and politicians, to human-rights activists, feminists and environmentalists. With such a variety of participants, consensus on a single definition of development is neither likely nor beneficial. All too often however, development is proposed as a panacea for global injustices and dilemmas. Viewed as such, the current paradigmatic renaissance, which is seen by some development practitioners as a crisis, (Tandon, 1995; Sachs in Chambers, 1997), is understandable if not anticipated.

The development era is generally assumed to span the period of imperial and post-colonial history beginning in 1945, (Cowen and Shenton, 1995). The journey leading to the present theoretical paradigm has been informed by a variety of different philosophical approaches including, but not limited to, Positivism, Neoliberalism, Neopopularism, Critical theory, Marxism and Post-modernism. These have contributed in various ways to a dynamic, non-linear modification of development approaches. While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide an in-depth discussion of these philosophies, some of the more prominent trends in development theory are outlined below.

3.2.1 Modernisation and the “Trickle-Down” Theory

The zenith of Modernisation in development theory spans the period subsequent to World War II and the 1950's, (Coetzee 1989). This interpretation of development as progress, grew largely from development history of Europe and North America.

Development aid provided for Soviet expansionism allowed the so-called superpowers to extend their ideological power bases, (Coetzee, 1989). Central to modernisation, were assumptions that existence was organised in terms of dichotomous relations. This led to an historical and evolutionary interpretation of a transitional continuum. Modernisation held that a state of traditionality or underdevelopment is replaced by a state of modernity or development represented by western economic values, (Coetzee, 1989). Figure 1 represents a graphic illustration of the modernisation approach.

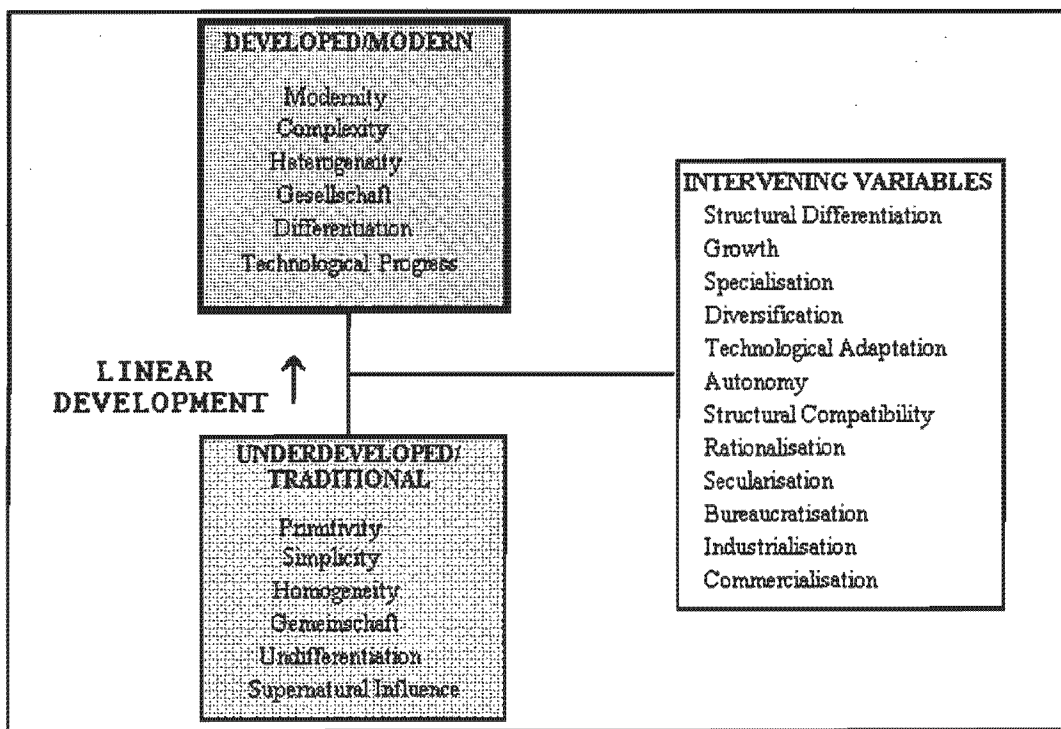


Figure 1 The Modernisation Approach to Development, (after Coetzee, 1989).

A global polarisation of wealth and power, was seen as a means for achieving or facilitating modernisation, (Coetzee 1989). The mechanism, upheld by the dichotomous relationship between rich northern, and poor southern hemispheric countries,²³ was termed the "*Trickle-Down*" approach.

²³ This dichotomy is still prevalent in development discourse and is integral to informing the power relations between those who Chambers, (1997), refers to as "uppers" (dominant people), and "lowers" (subordinate people), in development decision-making processes.

This view held that a continuous expansion of markets and consumption of the South's natural resources, appropriated by the rich North, was essential to allow for a "*trickling down*" of profits to the poor South, (Goodland & Daly 1993).

The dichotomous pattern of thought characterising modernism has been implicated in justifications proposed for colonial action in Africa. More specifically the promotion of separate development in southern Africa by the apartheid regime, was based on the associated contrast between the rhetoric of black/white and uncivilised/civilised and the need for modernising mechanisms, (Manzo, 1995). The institution of the Odendaal Farms in Namibia, as is discussed in a subsequent chapter, is an example of the South African administration's attempt of racial segregation based on Modernist ideals.

Increasing consumption by the rich at the expense of in poorer countries who, due to a complete disregard for limits to growth, experienced rising environmental degradation and foreign debt, resulted in dissatisfaction with the Modernisation approach. The current emphasis of Sustainable Development on environmental and social limits to growth are rooted in the effects of fallacious Modernist assumptions.

3.2.2 Imperialism, Dependency and Underdevelopment

Imperialism, like Modernism, maintains centralist notions of development in which change is seen as a response to external stimuli. Power dichotomies between nations which went unchallenged in the strive for modernity, are integral to the Imperialist approach. Imperialism focuses on the economic and political domination of nations by other nations, (Muthien, 1989). Informed to a great extent by Marxist ideologies, the approach maintains the thought dichotomies characteristic of Modernist beliefs. Imperialism is seen as a stage of capitalism in which capital flows from underdeveloped to advanced countries, (Muthien, 1989). Imperialism is described as the ambition of nations to build economic empires by maintaining a privileged market position, protecting resources and extending opportunities for the profitable exploitation of labour, (ibid.).

Concepts of Dependency and Underdevelopment grew from criticism of a lack of development in Latin America due to its dependence on the export of primary products. Underdeveloped nations were characterised by pervasive poverty and social inequalities coupled with a lack of social services. The cause of underdevelopment was interpreted as an impoverished capitalist system in which a disproportionately small dependent elite sector enjoyed most of the nations' economic and political control, (Muthien 1989).

In the above theoretical trends in development, the concept of growth through economic gain remains a central premise. Persistent economic recession, national debt, rampant poverty and environmental degradation, from continual neglect of environmental and social limits to growth, forced a reconceptualisation of development strategy. The emergent ideology promoting long-term planning for people and the global environment is known as sustainable development.

3.2.3 Sustainable Development

As new avenues were investigated to relieve economic recession and environmental crises, the interpretation of "development" took on new significance. According to Adams, (1995), environmental concepts in development, are rooted in Northern Environmentalism and Western economic development theory and practice. From these influences, two distinct ideologies emerged, namely technocentrist environmentalism and ecocentrist environmentalism. Technocentrist environmentalism, involves technocratic management, regulation and rational utilisation of the environment and adopts a conservationist position of sustainable growth, (Adams, 1995).

Alternatively, the preservationist ecocentric approach supports decentralisation and macro-environmental constraints to growth, (ibid.). Despite these tensions in thought the ideology underpinning sustainable development has led to significant changes in perceptions of decision-makers. This view highlights and challenges power relations between those involved in development practice. Certain key events beginning in the early 1970's have guided current views on sustainable development.

The prioritisation of meeting peoples basic needs, led to the establishment of two bodies, the United Nations Environmental Programme, (UNEP) and the International Foundation for Development of Alternatives, (Singh & Titi, 1995). From these grew interest in the relationship between people and their environments.

The World Commission on Environment and Development, (WCED), was appointed in 1984 by the United Nations General Assembly. Work of the WCED, resulted in the Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future* which set the agenda for discourse surrounding sustainable development, (Redclift, 1992). Sustainable development is described in the report as “*a process in which the exploitation of natural resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development and institutional change are all in harmony, and enhance both current and future potential to meet human needs and aspirations*”, (WCED in Redclift, 1992). This broad claim, reveals a distinct shift in focus from the previous approaches of development ‘of’ people to a more anthropocentric, development ‘for’ people.

The focus on equity and sustainability together with recommendations of the Brundtland Report, led to the 1992 United Nations Rio Conference on Environment and Development, (UNCED). From this emerged an action programme for sustainable development reflecting a global consensus and political commitment at the highest level of development and environmental co-operation, (Adams, 1995). This programme, known as Earth Summit *Agenda 21* stresses poverty alleviation by enabling the poor to achieve sustainable livelihood development, (Singh & Titi, 1995). Since the UNCED, attention has focused on enabling mechanisms to facilitate this objective and rhetoric of some of the central tenets of sustainable development have come under scrutiny.

3.2.4 Rhetoric on Sustainability

A major weakness is inherent in the sustainable development slogan defined by the Brundtland Report. Diverse and sometimes divergent ideas are linked and blended, often uncritically, into an apparent synthesis, (Adams, 1995). Many of the problematic assumptions inherent in preceding development approaches are incorporated under this sustainability banner.

By avoiding the two extreme positions of no economic growth and unlimited economic growth, the broad concept of sustainable development masks inherent assumptions based on values and interests, (VanderZwaag, 1995). Simply incorporating the objective of sustainability, the approach fails to address the social, political and economic context of the development process, (Audouin, 1996, Raphaely, 1997). In this light, sustainable development has little chance to succeed beyond the point at which previous approaches failed. To overcome these pitfalls then, pursuit of a more holistic, context-oriented approach is essential to cater more effectively to the needs of the subject community.

Such an approach is suggested by Raphaely who describes environmentally sustainable development as “*a dynamic, locally conceived, participatory, flexible, iterative, and cyclical process involving planning, implementing, monitoring and reviewing aimed at increasing potentials (development), to ensure the persistence of desired physical, biophysical, social, economic, historical, cultural and political systems (sustainability)*” (Raphaely 1997:35).

Thus, the term “sustainable development” encompasses an extensive, multifaceted practice. As the emphasis now shifts to accommodate development ‘for’ people, ‘by’ people, clarity on why, what, who, and most importantly, how the process will proceed, is essential. In other words, for such an equity-driven process, to be useful and sustainable, it needs to be contextualised and the concepts underlying it elucidated.

3.2.5 Development Today

In the introductory paragraph to this chapter, mention was made of a sweeping transformation in development reasoning. Chambers, (1997), describes this theoretical paradigm as the “*New High Ground,*” in which democracy, diversity and decentralisation are valued. A reversal of all previous trends of authoritarianism, homogenisation and centralisation has occurred and “*Reductionism, linear thinking, and standard solutions give way to an inclusive holism, open-systems thinking, and diverse options and actions*” (Chambers, 1997:189). Emerging from this radical shift, are five over-riding and inter-related ideals.

The elements of the new development paradigm consensus, include:

◆ Responsible Well-being for all²⁴

Responsible Well-being is the primary objective and represents the experience of a good quality of life, as is defined by each individual for her/himself. Included are elements such as living standards, access to basic services, security and health on an extrinsic level, as well as intrinsic factors such as good relations, peace of mind, choice, creativity and fulfilment. Well-being both enhances the other elements, and is enhanced by them. The word 'responsible' refers largely to those in positions of higher wealth or power who are morally obliged to act self-critically as their in/actions have a potentially greater impact;

◆ Livelihood Security

This is a basic means to well-being and refers to secure rights and reliable access to natural resources, food, income, basic services and assets to offset risk, confront predicament and mitigate impacts;

◆ Capabilities

These are means to better livelihood and well-being and refer to the right of people to meet their full potential. They are increased by learning, practice, education and training;

◆ Equity

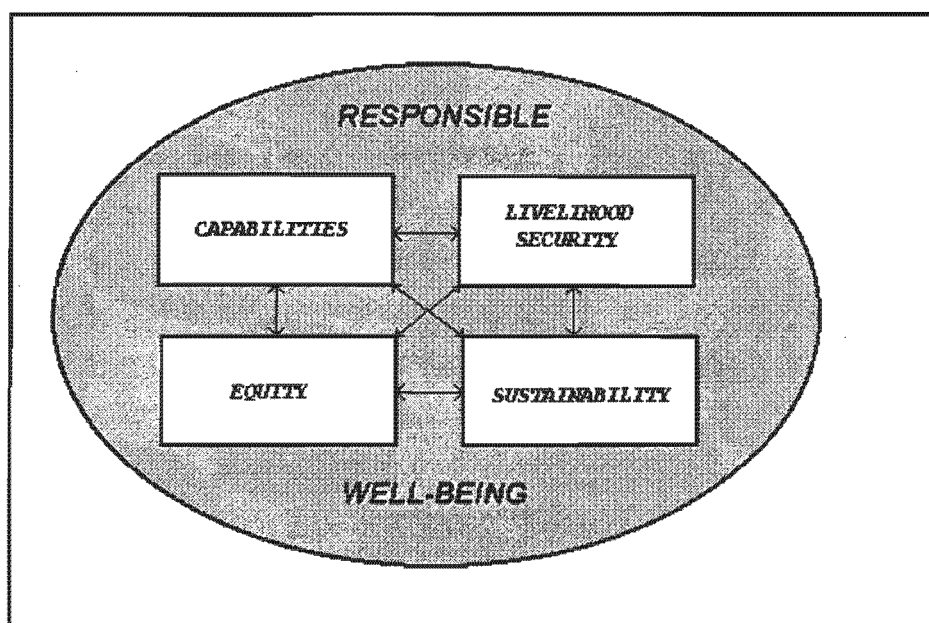
This is a principle which qualifies all development actions and refers to human rights, intergenerational and gender equity and the reversal of all power hierarchies as a levelling mechanism. Equitable livelihood sustains or enhances livelihood and well-being for others. Equitable capabilities refer to the use of traditional knowledge and appropriate training or education based on needs and aspirations as voiced by the people themselves.

²⁴ Wealth is not included in this objective as a reinforcing element. Although reducing poverty decreases ill-being, increasing wealth does not necessarily improve well-being, (Chambers, 1997).

◆ Sustainability²⁵

This holds that a long-term view should be applied to all political, economic, social and environmental policies and initiatives. Sustainable livelihoods maintain or enhance resource productivity and well-being for present and future generations, Chambers, (1997).

Figure 2 is a diagrammatic representation of the interconnectedness of the new paradigm consensus, the “*Web of Responsible Well-being*”. The development objective of well-being is guided by the principles of equity and sustainability through means of livelihood security and capabilities.



**Figure 2: Web of Responsible Well-being,
(after Chambers 1997).**

Given the potentially diverse application of the new development paradigm, much debate surrounds practical ways of achieving responsible well-being for all. From the above model, it is evident that a more anthropocentric locus is arising in development thought. This emphasis is not however, entirely centred on the subjects of development. Rather than focusing on the obligation of the subjects to adapt to the development process, a

²⁵ This refers to the ability to maintain or improve a level of living and quality of life, including managing stress and shocks without damaging loss, (Chambers, 1997).

reconceptualisation of the roles and power relations of all those involved is emphasised. The shift calls for increased self-reflection and devolution of power on behalf of development practitioners, and greater responsibility and empowerment for the subjects. A similar trend is evident in the sustainable development debate, particularly in circumstances involving rural development and marginalised people. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, notions of community development processes endeavouring to strengthen the autonomy of impoverished rural societies, are continuously reworked within the development domain.

Chapter 4

ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

The following two chapters serve to contextualise the theoretical approach of the dissertation in a conceptual framework used to analyse the resettlement process. Central to the approach is to the manner in which development processes recognise social factors influencing peoples interaction with their environment. The premise here is that the success of any land reform programme rests on the way in which these social factors are addressed.

This is particularly pertinent to programmes concerned with the socio-economic transformation of impoverished communities whose basic livelihood depends on a secure access to natural resources. All too often, the imposition of development assistance focuses solely on meeting basic needs through the provision of goods and services. These technocratic approaches neglect the underlying power structures governing the distribution and use of these provisions within a specific context.

Changes in the field of development assistance have been triggered by unsustainable development programmes and projects. A general recognition of the importance of considering the broader implications of development initiatives, is evident amongst practitioners, (Chambers, 1997). This entails consideration, of biophysical factors in addition to social, economic, political, historical and cultural, factors. It is here that the application of the underlying principles of Integrated Environmental Management, (IEM) has proved beneficial to improving development processes.

The integration of diverse considerations into assistance provision has also been subject to recent debate within development agencies. Inherent difficulties are associated with problem forecasting by external agencies. As 'bottom-up' or local control of development processes and resource management emerge, principles of community development become increasingly important in the sustainability arena.

The following sections highlight selected points gleaned from experience in IEM and Community Development assistance in southern Africa. This chapter introduces IEM and outlines some of the guiding principles.

4.2 Integrated Environmental Management

The approach adopted in this study of is in keeping with the principles of Integrated Environmental Management, (IEM). IEM is a procedural approach to development initiatives. It serves to reconcile conflicting interests and concerns and improve proposals by minimising negative impacts and enhancing positive aspects of development proposals, (Sowman et al 1995). The procedure has been improved and adapted to the southern African developing context based on experiences of environmental evaluation research developed in western industrialised countries.²⁶ Proposed by South Africa's Council for the Environment, the IEM procedure, (Fig., 3) is "*designed to ensure that the environmental consequences of development proposals are understood and adequately considered in the planning process*" (Department of Environmental Affairs, 1992).

IEM emphasises greater reflexivity in an approach intended to guide rather than impede the development process. The proactive and interactive means of IEM, encourage participation and compromise as opposed to the strictly stop/go approach of industrialised countries, (Preston, et al 1996). IEM is most effective at a strategic level, where it contributes to decision-making processes throughout all stages of proposed development policies, programmes, plans or projects. These stages include the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation stages of development initiatives.

4.3 Integrated Environmental Management and Namibian Resettlement

Awareness of the importance of integrating environmental concerns into development initiatives is increasing in Namibia. Evidence of this includes Namibia's evolving environmental assessment policy and legislation. The Namibian Environmental Policy, was instituted in 1995.

²⁶ The United States led the way in developing and instituting environmental evaluation procedures by legislating the National Environmental Policy Act, (NEPA) in 1969.

The Policy outlines an Environmental assessment procedure similar to that of South Africa,²⁷ (Fig., 3). This procedure is based on the same principles as IEM. The Policy states that all listed policies, programmes and projects, should be subject to the established Environmental Assessment Procedures, this includes, "*Human Resettlement*" as is included in the list of activities requiring environmental assessments, (EA's), in the policy, (Ministry of Environment and Tourism, 1995:15). Significantly, the Act intended to enable the implementation of the policy, which is currently in the draft stage, does not include resettlement as an activity requiring an environmental impact assessment, (Figuera, pers. comm.).

Resettlement in Namibia began soon after independence in 1990. As a result, many of the earlier schemes were initiated prior to the institutionalised awareness of environmental implications of development exposed by EA's. The RAEIR revealed that environmental considerations were conspicuously absent from the planning and implementation of the resettlement programme, (M Phil., 1998).

There are several possible reasons for the lack of political will to introduce environmental assessments into the Namibian government's resettlement programme. Hill and Fuggle, (1988), propose that in developing contexts, satisfaction of basic needs such as land, food, shelter and security carries greater political urgency than planning for the future or directing attention towards long-term inter-generational ecological concerns. An alternative explanation may pertain to the modified ecological status of the land purchased by the government for resettlement. The majority of schemes are based in commercial farmland areas and have previously been utilised either as farms, or for military purposes.

Evaluations done prior to the purchase of properties for resettlement are currently undertaken by the Land Use Planning Unit of the MLRR. An assessment²⁸ of the case study was undertaken both to determine the status of the vegetation, and the agricultural potential and carrying capacity of the farm. The results from these studies are however, not utilised for any long-term planning or management of the projects, (M Phil., 1998).

²⁷ A distinct difference between the two procedures is the lack of the requirement of an initial assessment in the Namibian Environmental Assessment Procedure, (Fig. 3).

²⁸ An Agricultural Potential Assessment, was carried out at Skoonheid subsequent to the resettlement of people on the farms, (Huesken et al, 1994).

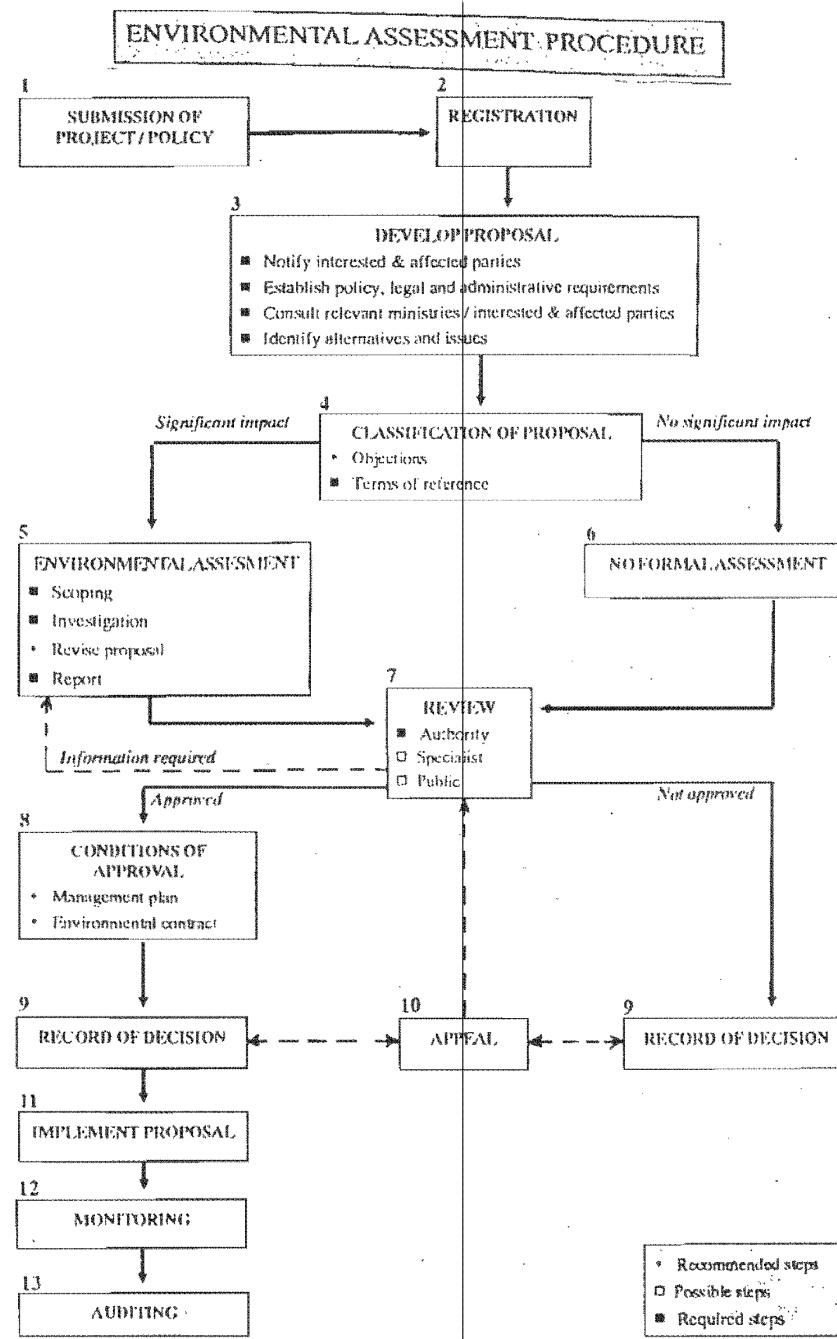
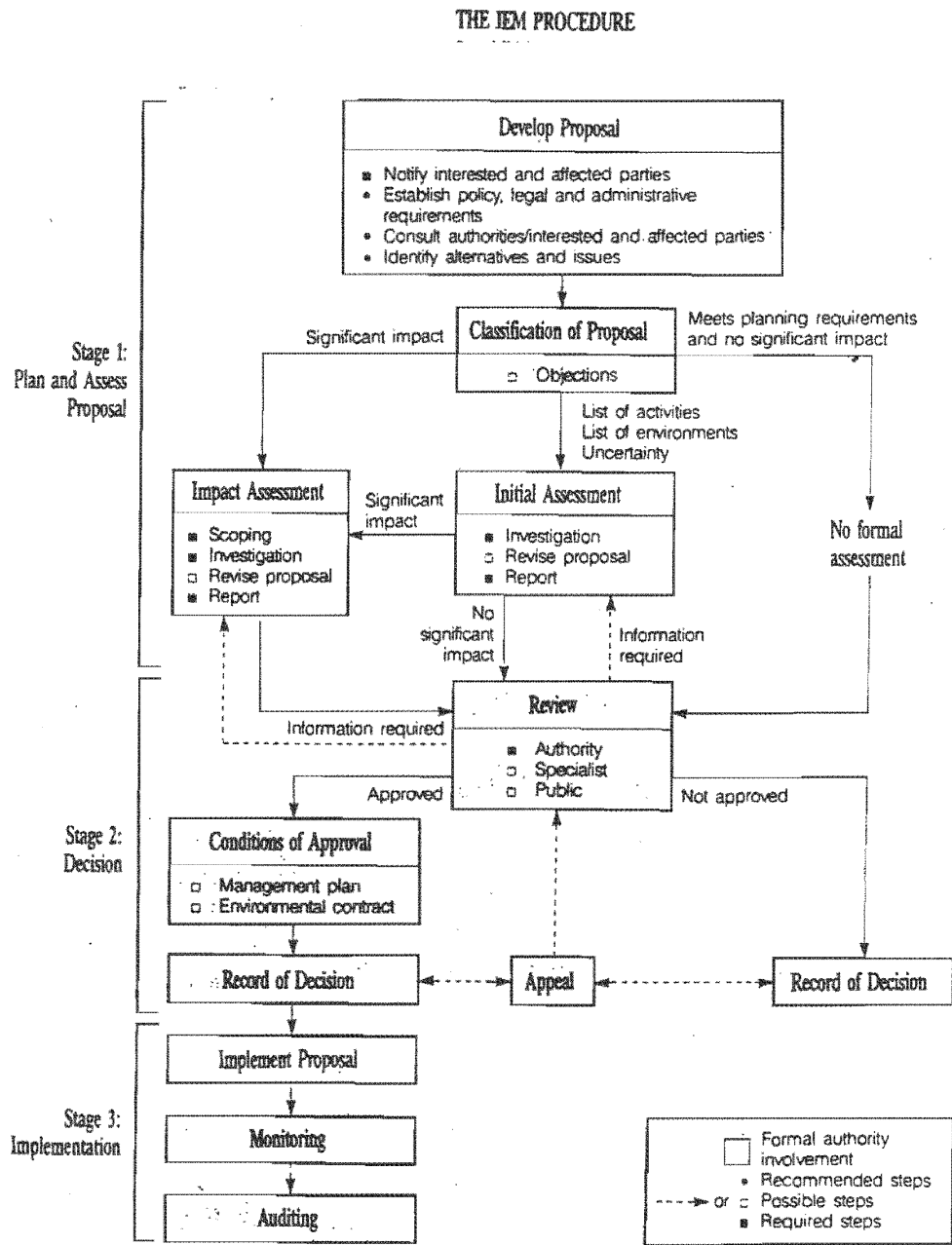


Figure 1 South African Integrated Environmental Management Procedure and Namibian Environmental Assessment Procedure

4.4 Integrated Environmental Management, Environmental Impact Assessments and Social Impact Assessments

Several principles underpinning IEM serve to direct the planning of development proposals. For the purposes of this study, these principles are seen as more important than the IEM procedure itself. The principles allow for greater flexibility in the analysis of the degree to which Namibia's resettlement process succeeds in fulfilling its' objectives with respect to San settlers. They provide a useful basis for this discussion and include:

- * a broad understanding of the term *environment* which includes physical, biological, social, economic, cultural, historical and political components;
- * an open participatory approach in the planning of proposals;
- * democratic regard for individual rights and obligations;
- * informed decision-making;
- * accountability for decisions and for the information on which they are based; and,
- * pro-active and positive planning, (Department of Environmental Affairs, 1992, Preston et al 1996).

The last of the above-mentioned principles is particularly relevant to the current practice of resettlement in Namibia which is undertaken at a national level on a somewhat ad hoc basis, (M Phil., 1998).

4.4.1 Environmental Impact Assessments

The all-encompassing aim of IEM is to integrate environmental considerations into development initiatives. The success of this procedure, like any management tool, lies in the manner in which it is wielded by the human actor. Environmental Impact Assessments, (EIA's), are integral to IEM and facilitate the identification and evaluation of alternatives in development initiatives.

EIA's are increasingly incorporated into the research, evaluation and monitoring of development initiatives providing assistance to impoverished populations, (Kennet & Perl, 1995). This has stimulated greater critical self-awareness by EIA practitioners and decision-makers of current practices.

A major criticism of EIA concerns its inflexibility and inability to account for complex social dynamics associated with development initiatives, (Day 1995). This is particularly relevant to long-term programmes such as the resettlement of San people which involve extensive social transformation and direct access to natural resources.

4.4.2 Social Impact Assessments

Most of the earlier literature on the environment focused on physical, ecological and economic aspects, (Ghai, 1994). Responding to criticisms of limited flexibility, modifications of EIA's propose a more anthropocentric assessment technique to accommodate social concerns of development. This technique has become known as Social Impact Assessment, (SIA).²⁹ Early descriptions define SIA as "*an attempt to predict the future effects of policy decisions (including the initiation of specific projects) upon people, their physical and psychological health, well-being and welfare, their traditions, lifestyles, institutions, and interpersonal relationships*" (D' Amore 1978, in Craig, 1990:38). A similar position is adopted by the United Nations Environmental Programme, (UNEP) which views the purpose of SIA's as ensuring that development projects:

- alleviate poverty and meet basic needs as determined by the people who comprise the focus of the development initiative;
- increase local participation in decision-making;
- protect basic human rights;
- maintain rural and cultural values;
- improve conditions of discriminated social categories;
- reduce incidence of disease;
- provide equity in host community;
- provide equal job opportunities; and,
- increase options for employment, (Raphaely 1997).

²⁹ SIA's were first mandated as a social science component of EIA's in the United States as a result of a series of court decisions arising from NEPA. SIA has since developed as an associated but independent discipline, (Day, 1995).

The westernised approach to separating social and physical environmental assessments³⁰ are however, problematic in developing contexts such as southern Africa. Distinctions between social welfare and environmental issues are often too vague to be socially or politically separable and the application of SIA as a separate entity remains somewhat limited, (Rickson & Rickson 1990, Day 1995).

An approach is needed then which addresses the social circumstances of peoples' interaction with their environments. This is particularly true of development involving rural disadvantaged groups, minority groups and indigenous people. Integral to this is the accommodation of subjective factors such as quality of life and culturally sensitive approaches, (Craig 1990). Such an approach is pivotal to the resettlement process and its impacts on San settlers in Namibia who's dynamic, risk-prone livelihood is intimately connected with access to, and use of natural resources. No form of prior environmental or social assessment was evident of the projects visited for the RAEIR, (M Phil., 1998).

4.5 Environmental Assessment for Marginalised People

Numerous unsustainable projects have attempted to improve the quality of life of marginalised populations. These failures have highlighted the necessity of accommodating the interests of local people affected by the initiatives. Increasing amounts of literature deal with the importance of involving indigenous people in environmental assessment procedures to facilitate identification and management of potential impacts, (Chase, 1990; Craig, 1990, Ross, 1990; Centre for Traditional Knowledge, 1995; and Treseder, 1995). What follows is a deliberation of factors emerging from SIA's applied to development assistance processes. These are deemed appropriate to improving planning in the resettlement process in Namibia.

Land redistribution in Namibia is, above all, a political issue. Land is purchased by the state for the purpose of redistribution to poverty stricken and landless individuals and families in a process controlled at the ministerial level.

³⁰ In addition to EIA's and SIA's, other assessment procedures which have been applied, depending on the type, purpose and context of development, include Cumulative Impact Assessments and Equity or Economic Impact Assessments.

The order of priority of beneficiaries listed in the Resettlement pertain to those who were most marginalised by apartheid policies. Heading this list are the San who are viewed as the most historically disadvantaged, discriminated against and poverty stricken people in Namibia, (National Resettlement Policy, 1996). The approach to this national development initiative should, as a result, be necessarily politically circumspect. Craig, (1990), advocates greater political sensitivity in SIA to highlight the development of individual and communal environmental values.

4.5.1 Politics, Community and Assessment: lessons for development

Applied to development initiatives, IEM has highlighted the processual nature of development and its location within a particular social and political context. This focus enables identification of impacts on community social structures and the dynamics of power relations between different social groups and institutions. A contextual interpretation of social change, further facilitates the management of impacts or change. Questions addressing the underlying motives of development initiatives and the control of ultimate decision-making powers, are made explicit and can be openly debated or contested. Early contextual interpretation and management of change can become a powerful tool in transforming relations of inequality, by mediating opposing definitions of 'development' at national, regional and local levels, (Barendse and Huggins, 1995).

Politically sensitive assessments have emphasised a multitude of potential impacts early in development processes regarding the interactions between people and their environments. Included are the effects of institutional power relations on local people's access to and use of natural resources. An overriding lesson is the need to render explicit the underlying assumptions or preconceptions of development professionals and officials which usually go unchallenged.

To understand and manage impacts of development more effectively, a political approach to SIA emphasises that:

- * development should be perceived as a process not an end point;
- * broad, dynamic, political, social and economic context of the process as well as the links/tensions between them be considered to inform planning, including:
 - differing perceptions of 'development';
 - motives for development;

-
- underlying power relations on and between all sectoral levels and social structures;
 - control of ultimate decision-making powers;
 - * assumptions and possible impacts of process be considered early in planning of the process; and,
 - * mechanisms for change management and ability to exercise them be considered.

The above list is by no means comprehensive. The purpose here is to raise attention early in the planning of the process to broad assumptions, power relations and structures which may impede or improve a development process for those who are ultimately supposed to benefit and to emphasise the importance of context to development.

As with many indigenous people in Australia and North America, San people in southern Africa often experience rapid environmental changes due to imposed development processes. Invariably associated with transformation is the lack of opportunity for local input or control over these processes. Drawing on experience gained in environmental assessment in North America and Australia, Ross, (1990), promotes the use of “*Community SIA*” principles. These stress the involvement of indigenous people in development process to better serve and represent their interests, (Ross, 1990).

Community SIA or CIA, falls under the ambit of a political approach. It is essential for situating the development process within a specific community context rather than imposing development on the community. Development professionals are beginning to realise that many poor peoples realities are local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable, (Chambers, 1997). Inherent difficulties are associated with problem forecasting by professionals or officials unfamiliar with the intricacies of specific community dynamics. Resorting to a ‘quick fix’ solution, a technocentric approach is often proposed. This, together with the lack of participation of the intended beneficiaries, leads to unsustainable development processes.

Expanding the flexibility of development processes, reduces problems associated with the lack of insight into specific community dynamics. Such flexibility tailors the process to fit local values, perceptions, needs and aspirations by means of participation and community control.

A community oriented SIA therefore stresses that a development process should:

- * be flexible, dynamic and iterative to accommodate changing circumstances and learning experiences;
- * be tailored to a specific community context;
- * encourage participation and involvement of local people; and,
- * facilitate empowerment for community control of the process.

Both political and community approaches to SIA therefore, stress the consideration of citizen participation, and community development in the earliest stages of development and social planning.

The overriding principles of IEM, located in a particular context by political and community SIA approaches, guide a development policy, plan or programme such as resettlement. A political and community approach to resettlement therefore, has greater potential to achieve its objectives and move towards sustainability. The above discussion of political and community-based EIA perspectives, highlights selected strategic level ideals of development planning and design for marginalised people. Applied to Namibia's current nationally driven resettlement process, satisfaction of the ideals depends on the will and flexibility of the authorities. More in-depth community development elements are investigated in the following chapter to highlight practical issues of resettlement in Namibia as it affects the well-being of San people.

CHAPTER 5

Community Development Processes



First, empowerment is central to pursuing the current equity-driven ideals of development assistance. Couched in perspectives of sustainable development and responsible well-being, empowerment concerns the ability of individuals to access and utilise resources for maintaining or enhancing their diverse livelihoods. Empowerment, therefore, engages both those receiving assistance, and those controlling or facilitating development actions.

The second justification for focusing on empowerment is based on findings of the RAEIR. Namibian resettlement emerged during the course of research as a centralised, top-down initiative. Resultant negative impacts on the livelihood and well-being of settlers, revealed an inappropriate process imposed on settlers in such a way as to increase dependency on government provisions and limit escape from impoverishment, (M Phil., 1998). As Vivian states, "*Environmental degradation in rural areas of the third world is not due to the poverty of rural communities; rather, poverty is a symptom of one of the primary underlying causes of local-level environmental decline in the third world today: the disempowerment of these communities*" (Vivian, 1992:72).

The following section introduces elements of community development. Particular attention is given to empowerment as a means to alleviate poverty and achieve self-sufficiency on a sustainable basis. The discussion begins with a brief review of community-based development. This is followed by consideration of notions of empowerment, sustainability and poverty alleviation. Discussion points, drawn-up from this section serve as an outline for the evaluation in Part 2.

5.3 Community-based Development

Community-based development is situated within the dynamic theoretical field of development action. For the purposes of this discussion, it concerns development assistance initiatives undertaken in rural contexts, involving a defined group of people. Definition of the term "community," like other development rhetoric, can mask inherent assumptions, and preconceptions of power relations affecting a "community". This label is characteristic of the discourse of domination as well as of the dominated, (Thornton and Ramphela, 1988).

Assumptions that all members of a “community”, hold homogenous beliefs, priorities and aspirations, has been used to justify both nefarious policies and actions, (apartheid and separate development), and failures of development initiatives which are based on opinions unrepresentative of the community.

Within the realm of Namibian resettlement, the term “community,” delineates the group of settlers registered with a project in a defined geographical area. The settler community on the case study consists of a diverse group of people of different language, economic, ethnic, gender and age and cultural groups placed together by authorities³¹. The inability of the resettlement process to cater for the diverse needs and aspirations of settlers comprising the project community, is a crucial point to this dissertation. Circumspect use of the term “community” is therefore essential in any development circumstances and should be explicitly qualified throughout.

The original concept of ‘community development,’ couched in the modernist paradigm, was proposed by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs in 1963, (Groenewald, 1989). Community development was defined as the process, “*by which the efforts of people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social, and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress*” (Groenewald, 1989:258). Evident in this definition are intrinsic assumptions of an advance from a state of underdevelopment towards development through economic growth. The description further hints at the transformation of communities through social engineering, rather than equitable development assistance.

This approach is still prevalent regarding the imposition of development initiatives on subject communities. Referring to the involuntary resettlement of people displaced by projects,³² a World Bank Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy objective states that “*Resettlers should be integrated socially and economically into host communities so that adverse impacts on host communities are minimized. The best way of achieving this integration is for resettlement to be planned in areas benefiting from the project and*

³¹ Although settlers apply to be resettled in certain locations, the ultimate decision is taken by the authorities as to the location and community arrangement of the projects, (Thoma, pers. comm.). Social tensions result as is discussed in Part 2.

³² Development refers here, largely to engineering projects rather than to development assistance.

through consultation with the future hosts" (World Bank, 1990). Assumptions of dominance are clear and it is the resettlement subjects are obliged to adapt to imposed circumstances.

The original concept of community development has since been modified within the ambit of development assistance. New approaches include topics such as basic needs and learning processes, integrated rural development and participatory development, (Groenewald, 1989). Despite a multitude of possible definitions and descriptions, the common basic element of the concept of community development is the self-effort of people to improve their living conditions, (Ferrinho, cited in Groenewald, 1989). Notions of participation and empowerment of marginalised groups are crucial to the promotion of sustainable community-based development processes. The ability of a community to exercise autonomy over their strategies of survival is crucial for promotion of self-sufficiency.

Empowerment and participation are concepts arising from the reactionary era succeeding modernism and are steeped in allusions to power relations. Appropriated by those in power, "development" presupposes dissatisfaction with the current state and the need for change, while "empowerment" and "participation" inevitably imply control by a dominant party. Manifestations of such power differentiation is particularly evident in top-down social-engineering strategies manipulated by centralised national bodies for the betterment of the nation.³³

A shallow interpretation of these concepts, used within the context of sustainable rural development involving minority groups, serves to further preconceptions of powerlessness and ignorance.³⁴ A self-critical awareness on behalf of the user is therefore, essential when referring to such value-ridden terms.

³³ Examples of such strategies aimed, but invariably failing at poverty alleviation, include: the growth pole strategy, (used to attract 'surplus' rural populations to poles of employment or industries located in chosen cities); international resettlement strategies, (Malaysia's Peneng Tenggara, Canadian Inuit, and Tanzania's Ujamaa) and the integrated rural development strategy, (multisectoral, multifunctional and integrationist provision of goods and services), (Singh & Titi 1995).

³⁴ The same is true of other developmental catch phrases such as 'third world', 'capacity building', 'marginalised and minority people', and 'traditional knowledge' to name but a few.

5.4 Participation and Empowerment discourse

The concept of participation of local communities in the design and implementation of development initiatives received much attention in the 1980's, (Tandon, 1995). The decade culminated in the Conference on Participatory Development held in Tanzania in 1990, (ibid.). During this time, Neoliberalism, an ideology concerning free-market, anti-welfare-state, anti-planning notions, supported a certain type of participation. Individuals were able to pursue their own interests within certain legally codified rules of the state, (Stiefel & Wolfe, 1994). International programmes designed to integrate research concerned with livelihood struggles of uprooted peasants with issues of development policy included the Popular Participation Programme of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, (UNRISD), (ibid.).

Arising from this era, the concept of empowerment has since transcended that of participation. This is due to criticisms that individuals were not necessarily endowed with assertive powers of autonomy through participation in development processes, (Tandon, 1995). Participation, particularly in state initiated projects, seldom incorporated the perceptions and priorities of the intended beneficiaries in project planning, design, implementation or monitoring. As a result, the concept was extended to that of the process of empowerment through which people gain the ability to direct their own lives.

The ideological basis of empowerment draws from a modification of the previous neoliberal approach. The state is attributed with the responsibility of instituting appropriate legislation which supports attempts by the informal sector to improve their well-being, (Stiefel & Wolfe, 1994). The notion of participation however, remains integral to the process of empowerment. Participation raises concerns such effective communication between development players and appropriate training and education tailored to individual beneficiary needs and aspirations. For the purposes of this discussion therefore, a more generic reference is made to empowerment. It incorporates participation as a facilitating tool and is guided by principles similar to those of IEM.

These principles promote:

- * inclusiveness to engage relevant stakeholders;
- * transparency or candour; and,
- * accountability to legitimate or justify decision-making and actions, (Singh and Titi, 1995b).

Thus, while including elements of participation, democracy and human rights, empowerment may be seen as an enabling mechanism. Empowerment helps people to understand and take steps to effect changes, and to improve their complex and dynamic social, political, economic, ecological and cultural realities, (Singh and Titi, 1995a). Within the field of development assistance, empowerment is a two-way process in which increasing autonomy of the disempowered necessarily involves a devolution of power from the dominant party. As such, it is based on mutual trust, understanding and compromise. Clear communication is therefore essential for empowerment, and mechanisms or channels of communication need to be appropriate for specific circumstances.

5.5 Empowerment, Indigenous groups and Local Sustainable Development

Increasing recognition is given to the rights of minority, indigenous and tribal people to manage their well-being. The Rio declaration on environment and development recognises community-based development and management, which includes notions of public participation and indigenous peoples management, claims and rights, as an overarching principle, (VanderZwaag, 1995). Although criticised for its vague rhetoric and ambiguity, Principle 22 of the declaration provides that *“Indigenous people and their communities, and other local communities, have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge and traditional practices. States should recognise and duly support their identity, culture and interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development”*, (VanderZwaag, 1995:76).

Subsequent to the Rio Earth Summit, the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, (ICLEI), was instituted to promote the implementation of Agenda 21, the sustainable development action plan. The subsequent local level action plan for sustainable development became known as Local Agenda 21, (LA 21), (Raphaely, 1997). Striving for greater sustainability, the LA 21 Model Communities Programme, (LAMPC), focuses on the need to ensure that community priorities shape local development by supporting community initiatives, (Urquhart, in Raphaely, 1997).

A mechanism used by the LAMPC to these ends, known as the Strategic Services Planning, (SSP), emphasises a democratic, participative process of decision-making for community development, (ibid.). The high status accorded to the role of empowerment in the revised paradigm of local sustainable development, is embodied in a statement by Martin Holdgate. From the position of Director General of the IUCN, Holdgate promoted the right of local communities to manage their own environment, by defining participation as empowerment and development for the people, by the people, (Holdgate, 1991, as described in Raphaely 1997).

Growing recognition is further accorded to human rights issues and the way in which indigenous people and minority groups interact with the environment. The ability to practice traditional lifestyles is fundamental to the well-being of such communities. Prevention thereof becomes an infringement of basic human rights, (Vivian, 1992:62). International consensus is increasingly concerned with the rights of minority groups. Article 4 of the Indigenous and Tribals Peoples in Independent Countries Convention, (No. 169), of the International Labour Organization, (ILO), states that measures shall be adopted for safeguarding the people, institutions, labour, property, cultures and environment of indigenous people, (Bloch, 1995). Article 7, further recognises, "*the right of indigenous people to decide on their own development priorities and to exercise control over their economic, social and cultural development*" (VanderZwaag, 1995:76).

Article 26 of the 1993, United Nations Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, states that indigenous people have the right to own, develop, control and use the total environment which they have traditionally owned, including the right to the full recognition of their laws, traditions, customs, land-tenure systems and institutions for the development and management of resources, (ibid.).

Although the rights accorded in these documents theoretically assist minority groups to maintain or improve their self-determination, the justiciability of these provisions at the national, regional or local level is questionable given the lack of enabling legislation. It remains to be seen, therefore, whether the above international agreements have any bearing on the autonomy of minority groups in southern Africa to manage their own environments.

5.6 Empowerment for Sustainable Poverty Alleviation

The alleviation of poverty through self-sufficiency is primary to the assistance of Namibian San people through resettlement who, *“have..., to be helped to create a new living platform by developing skills and by acquiring new ones to be able to secure their sustenance.”*, (Republic of Namibia, 1996:2). For purposes of measuring the progress of a country, early indicators of poverty referred to economic wealth. Alternatively, the health of an individual, based on a measure of their minimum daily required nutritional intake is still used as an indicator.

Recent deliberation, recognises the link between poverty and a lack of access to options and entitlements which are social, political economic, cultural and environmental, (Singh & Titi 1995a). By extension, impoverishment, the active process of worsening poverty, is intimately connected with processes of disempowerment, (ibid.). Viewed as such, the technocratic top-down manner in which Namibia's current resettlement process is undertaken, has little hope of achieving its objective of poverty alleviation on a long-term basis.

Livelihood strategies of poor people are maintained by improvisation based on individual capabilities, and access to assets and resources. Impoverished communities face a lack of certainty and irregular access to sufficient appropriate resources. Strategies are expanded and diversified to adapt to local changing circumstances, minimise risk and enhance livelihood security, (Chambers 1997). The nature and diversity of these strategies are determined and affected by a number of interconnecting factors.

These livelihood strategies include: the ecological context of seasonality and availability of resources; historical and cultural social exchange relations; and institutional economic and sectoral relations, (Gupta et al, 1995); and individual capability and aspirations. Empowerment has a direct bearing on the degree to which these strategies are realised, encouraged, or prevented and varies according to differing contexts.

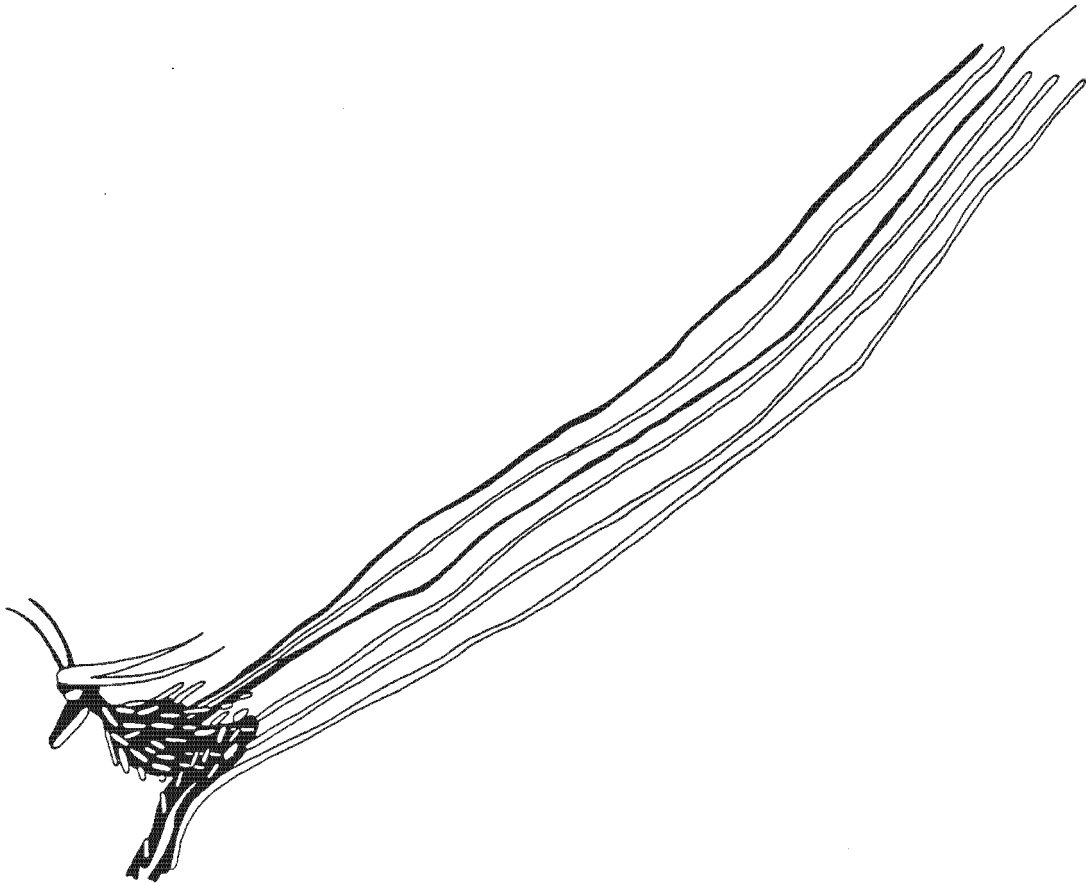
In nature-dependant communities living in ecologically vulnerable regions, empowerment has been shown to be knowledge and culture-based rather than material or resource-based as in market driven low-risk environments, (Gupta et al, 1995). This is significant for the drought prone region of Namibia and the manner of assistance currently provided to settlers on the case study. Technocratic attempts at empowering individuals through provision of certain basic material needs, have failed to accord with the knowledge and culture-based livelihood strategies of San settlers which 'foil' the objectives of the resettlement process, (M Phil., 1998).

Attempting to allow for all eventualities, "*Empowerment for Sustainability*," has been described as the capacity to access and utilise options such as cultural and spiritual space, recognition and validation of endogenous knowledge, entitlements to land and other resources, income, credit, information, training and participation in decision-making to meet today's needs without foreclosing future options, (Singh & Titi 1995a). Incorporating elements of responsible well-being suggested by Chambers, these options provide a useful basis for developing a model for sustainable development through empowerment.

Chapter 6 following, provides a theoretical approach which is used in the evaluation in Part 2. Elements highlighted in preceding chapters are incorporated into a model of Empowerment for Sustainable Community Development. These elements will serve as criteria in the critical analysis of the local implementation of resettlement in Namibia with reference to San settlers on the case study.

CHAPTER 6

Conditions for Sustainable Community Development



Chapter 6

CONDITIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

6.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have established the importance of addressing the overall well-being of settlers to achieve the objectives of the resettlement programme. Consideration of the manner in which the autonomy of the settlers is facilitated or impeded through resettlement, is essential. By viewing empowerment as a reciprocal process, attention shifts to the ability of authorities to encourage autonomy and incorporate accompanying power reversals into the process. This is in opposition to the current focus on the capabilities of intended San settlers to cope with “development.”

6.2 Principles for Planning and Design of Resettlement

The following list recapitulates some of the salient conditions necessary for improving sustainable community development in the planning and design stages of any initiative. These provide a basis for evaluating the circumstances surrounding Namibia's resettlement process, undertaken in Part 2. Guided by principles of IEM promoting **inclusivity, transparency and accountability**, the resettlement process, should:

- ◆ perceive development as a process not an end point;
be flexible, dynamic and iterative to accommodate changing circumstances, power relations and learning experiences. The should explicitly consider and disclose:
 - ⇒ motivations for development;
 - ⇒ existing and projected roles of those involved, and mechanisms to achieve them including power relations on and between all sectoral levels and social structures;
 - ⇒ mechanisms for change management;
 - ⇒ control of ultimate decision-making powers;
 - ⇒ channels of communication;

-
- ◆ be tailored to a specific community context which involves considering and incorporating the broad, dynamic and diverse, political, social and economic cultural, historical and ecological context of the initiative into the process as well as the links/tensions between them;
 - ◆ encourage and facilitate the participation and involvement of local people from the inception of the process on a continuous basis; and,
 - ◆ facilitate empowerment for community control of the process.

The final three factors listed above are central to improving the current implementation of Namibia's resettlement process at the community-level. They promote the objectives of poverty alleviation and self-sufficiency through empowerment and community development. These three factors provide the link between the national-level planning and design and local or community-level implementation of Namibia's resettlement process.

6.3 Principles for Implementation of Resettlement

Empowerment, the central enabling mechanism of community development, is integral to enhancing well-being of the settlers. This is particularly true of San settlers. Figure 4 represents a modified version of the original model of Responsible Well-being, (Fig. 2). Incorporating sustainability principles of empowerment, as discussed below, Figure 4 serves as a framework for the ensuing evaluation of the community-level implementation of the resettlement process at the chosen case study.

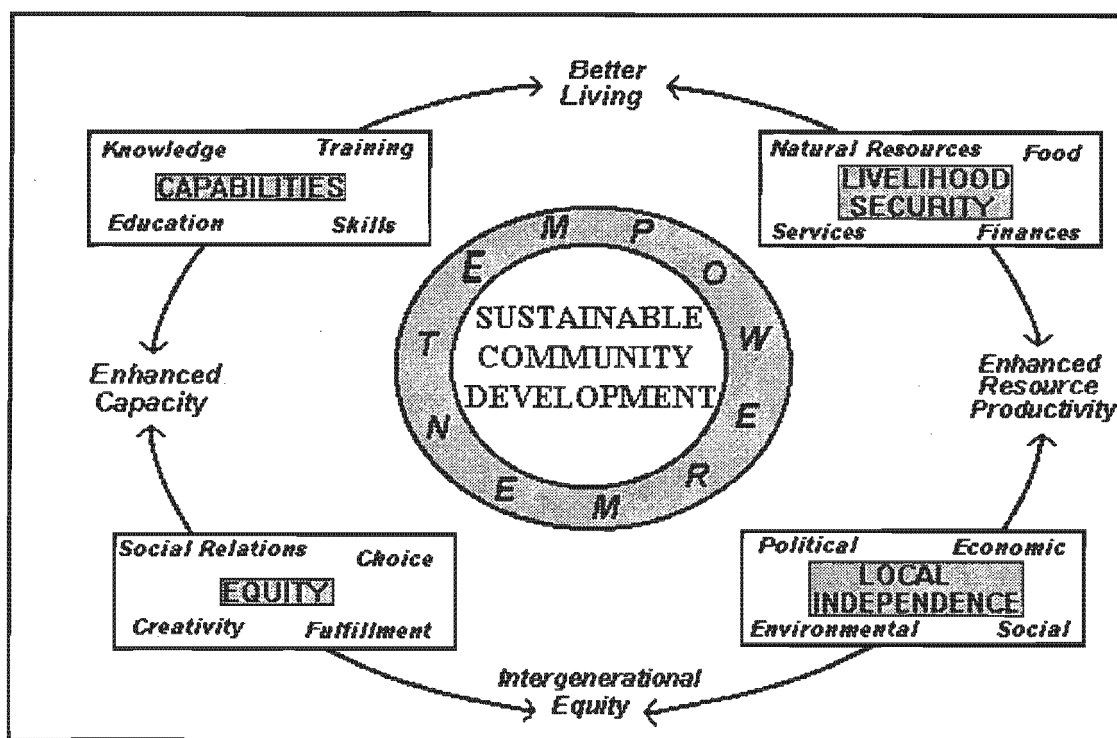


Figure 4 Model of Empowerment for Sustainable Community Development

The following discussion examines elements which promote empowerment for sustainable development assistance. With reference to Figure 4, the elements include:

1. Local independence

Local independence promotes *sustainability* and encompasses a number of factors influencing individual well-being. It involves the ability to effect and manage continuous change for individual and community improvement in a sustainable manner, based on locally conceived and agreed upon priorities and aspirations. Empowerment can be weak and short-lived unless it is embodied in institutions, (Chambers, 1997). Local independence, therefore implies the ability of all individuals to create, participate in and direct representative and accountable institutions and democratic decision-making processes on an ongoing basis. To have local independence, the ability and option to interact in regional and national governance is necessary, (Singh & Titi 1995a). Integral to this then, is access to appropriate and effective communication channels;

2. Provision of space for social and cultural assertion and spiritual welfare

This condition promotes *equity*. It serves as a basis for the other conditions and is informed by them. In this way, individuals are continually free to define, express and change their well-being through such factors as social relations including gender and age, living standards, choice, creativity and fulfilment, (Singh & Titi 1995a). Thus, human rights, and intergenerational equity are implicated;

3. Ability to exercise financial independence

A factor of *livelihood security*, financial independence comprises access to employment, income, assets and credit facilities and markets, as well as the ability to create, manage and utilise them in such a way as to maintain and improve livelihood and increase choice and opportunities on a continuous basis. Financial independence should include but not be limited to market-related economic efficiency and includes freedom to practice a multitude of alternative strategies of livelihood;

4. Access to natural resources for sustainable livelihood

Further serving *livelihood security*, access to natural resources pertains to the ability to own, utilise, maintain and improve these resources on a continuous sustainable basis, according to diverse local priorities and dynamic social and ecological circumstances. Some of the essential resources include land, water and vegetation;

5. Access to appropriate services

Access to appropriate services for *livelihood security* includes access to health and safety services which meet local needs and seek to enhance impoverished circumstances. These can be improved through education. Further services also include access to appropriate shelter in terms of the ability to choose both the type and location of shelter or housing. The command of an individual over the management of their own space is central to this factor and is linked to empowerment for equity;

6. Ability to achieve and enhance food and self-sufficiency

Central to *livelihood security*, the autonomy to determine and manage the way in which food and self-sufficiency is achieved is important here;

7. Access and ability to exercise knowledge and skills for sustainable, autonomous livelihood

Utilising and enhancing *capabilities*, this refers to the ability to exercise local knowledge and skills for maintaining or enhancing livelihood, as well as to enrich existing knowledge. This includes all forms of wisdom and skills including, technical, economic, social, cultural and ecological information underlying existing practices such as decision-making systems. Education should be tailored to meet local needs and aspirations and be sensitive to social and cultural and economic diversities. Access to education for change is further essential for marginalised groups and communities;³⁵ and,

8. Access to skills training

This includes problem-solving techniques and best available appropriate technologies and information to enhance existing knowledge and skills³⁶. In addition, training should be grounded in local aspirations and priorities and be flexible to dynamic circumstances should not only be according to market.

Although the above elements have been separated for ease of analysis and clarity, the essence of empowerment lies in the dynamic linkages and iterations between the elements. Factor 7, “*Access and ability to exercise knowledge and skills for sustainable, autonomous livelihood*” provides a useful illustration for possible linkages. Referring to Figure 5, empowerment to improve livelihood security through achieving or enhancing food may entail:

Recognition of possible restrictions to achieving appropriate food, on the basis of existing knowledge; Exercising choice and expression of individual needs and aspirations to improve the quality or regularity of food achievement through training; The ability to exercise wisdom from appropriate training to effect changes and realise ambitions.

³⁵ This is not to say that minority, indigenous or traditional groups exist within a static, closed community system in which change or knowledge acquisition is only effected from external causes. Rather, the marginal status of such people ordinarily results from their disempowerment. Education for change infers the ability to recognise risk, meet problems, mitigate impacts and enhance equity.

³⁶ The term skills is used in a generic sense and comprises training for: technical skills for livelihood activities; economic skills for financial management and marketing and social skills such as conflict resolution, committee formation and decision-making.

Through this empowerment, enhanced capabilities improve livelihood security. Additionally, use of this knowledge by future generations would reinforce inter-generational equity thereby extending sustainability, improving living conditions and promoting well-being on a continuous basis.

The above indicates the dynamic, iterative, flexible and reciprocal qualities which ensure a continuous process of empowerment. Changes in power relations and behaviour, are therefore, essential for the assertion of local self-autonomy on a continuous basis to suit local changing circumstances.

This chapter has outlined the salient points of empowerment for sustainable community development. These provide a basis for the ensuing critical evaluation of whether Namibia's resettlement process encourages or restricts poverty alleviation through the autonomy of San settlers. Part 2 follows with a synopsis of land reform through resettlement in Namibia. Chapter 7 contextualises the review of Namibia's Institutional, Policy and legislative framework guiding resettlement. Critical attention is paid in Chapter 8 and 9 to provisions which may enhance or inhibit the autonomy of minority groups in the country. Thereafter, Chapter 10 evaluates the community-level implementation of resettlement with respect to empowerment of San settlers.

Part Two

CHAPTER 7	Land Reform in Namibia
CHAPTER 8	Institutional, Policy and Legislation Formulation Process for Land Reform in Namibia
CHAPTER 9	Evaluation of Policy Pertaining to Resettlement in Namibia
CHAPTER 10	Evaluation of the Community-level Implementation of Namibia's Resettlement Process: a Case Study of Skoonheid Resettlement Project

CHAPTER 7

Land Reform in Namibia



PART TWO

Chapter 7

LAND REFORM IN NAMIBIA

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a background to land reform in Namibia. The discussion aims to situate the subsequent evaluation of the policy, legislation and institutional bases for resettlement in Namibia, in a particular socio-political context. The chapter begins with a review of land reform in Namibia prior to Independence, in 1990. Particular consideration is given to Namibian San land tenure. Following this is an outline of the broad progress by Namibia's Land Reform Programme from 1990 to 1997.

7.2 Pre-Independence and the Odendaal Commission

It is one of the inescapable problems created by the extension of Colonial rule that it tends to stereotype inter-tribal relations which were previously fluid, or were at all events liable to readjustment by the methods employed in more primitive communities.

Lord Hailey, Native Administration in the British African Territories, 1953, (Wilmsen, 1989b).

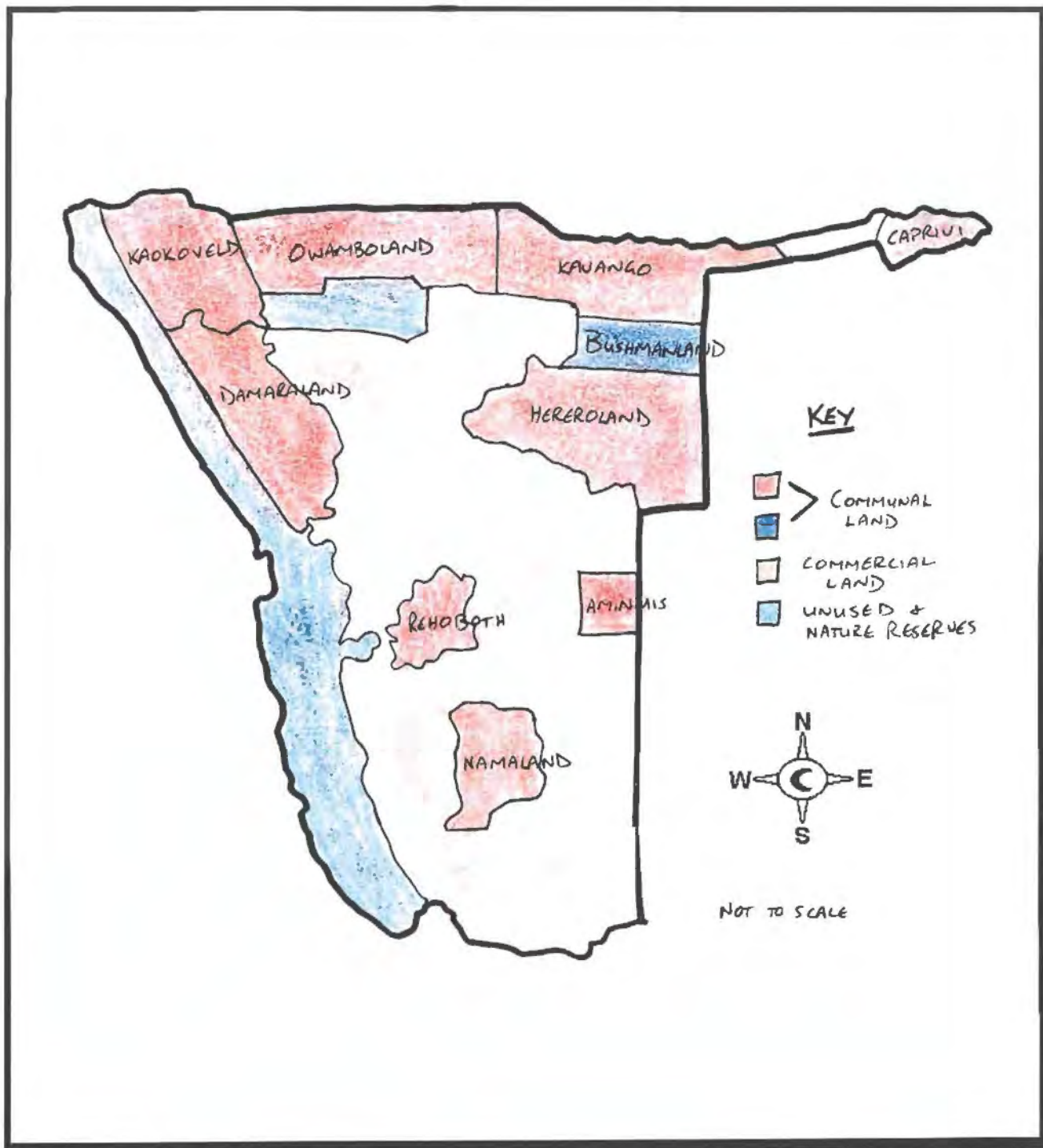
Resettlement is a familiar concept in Namibia. Administered by South Africa after the First World War, under a League of Nations Mandate, Namibia saw the establishment of 'Native Reserves.' Land expropriation was carried out to enable white farmers to settle, on favourable terms, in the central and southern parts of the country, (Adams and Werner, 1990).

A proclamation by the Native Reserves Commission in 1923 instituted the resettlement of African Namibians on confined Native Reserve areas scattered throughout Namibia, (ibid.). In conjunction with this land allocation, South Africa administered a national Land Settlement Programme. Enabled by the Land Settlement Act of 1912, this resulted in extensive land allocation to white farmers³⁷ by the government, (Sullivan, 1996). Between 1913 and 1962, Namibia's white population rose from 14 830 to 72 000. Similarly, the encompassing farming areas which grew from 11 490 000 ha. to 39 812 000 ha., (ibid.).

The Odendaal Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, was established in 1962, (Sullivan, 1996). The aim of the Commission was, "*to enquire thoroughly into further promoting the material and moral welfare and the social progress of the inhabitants of South West Africa, and more particularly its non-white inhabitants... while taking fully into consideration the background of, traditions and habits of the Native inhabitants*" (Odendaal Report, 1964:3). Recommendations of the Odendaal Report legitimated the National Party's ideology of separate development in Namibia. Eleven black authorities were proposed, corresponding with the eleven separate ethnic groups. Through this, Africans were separated from each other and from whites, (Sullivan, 1996).

For black groups excluding Coloureds and Rehobothers, separate states were established by the Odendaal Commission, with individual legislative councils, (Bantustans). These included existing African reserves and additional land, (Katjavivi in Rhode, 1993), (Map 4). These states were administered separately along racial lines by 'second tier' authorities, comprising both recognised and traditional leaders, until Namibian Independence in 1990, (Sullivan, 1996). Apart from resulting in the large scale removal of Namibians from their existing homes, actions undertaken in response to recommendations by the Odendaal Commission in the name of economic development, served to entrench a dualistic economy and promote what is referred to as a "*bizarre parody of statehood*" - a system of self governance and citizenship based entirely on ethnicity, (Rhode, 1993:18).

³⁷ These farmers were largely former landless white Afrikaners who according to Sullivan, (1996), represented an increasing political threat to the South African government. These farmers were financially encouraged by the Administration to ensure the settlement of the Police Zone by a white farming population.



Map 4 Land Tenure in Namibia following the Odendaal Commission, (after Nandjaa, 1997).

7.3 Land Reform and Namibian San Populations

“A great advance for these Bushmen [will be] in their recognition of personal property. This is the basis of all civilization.”

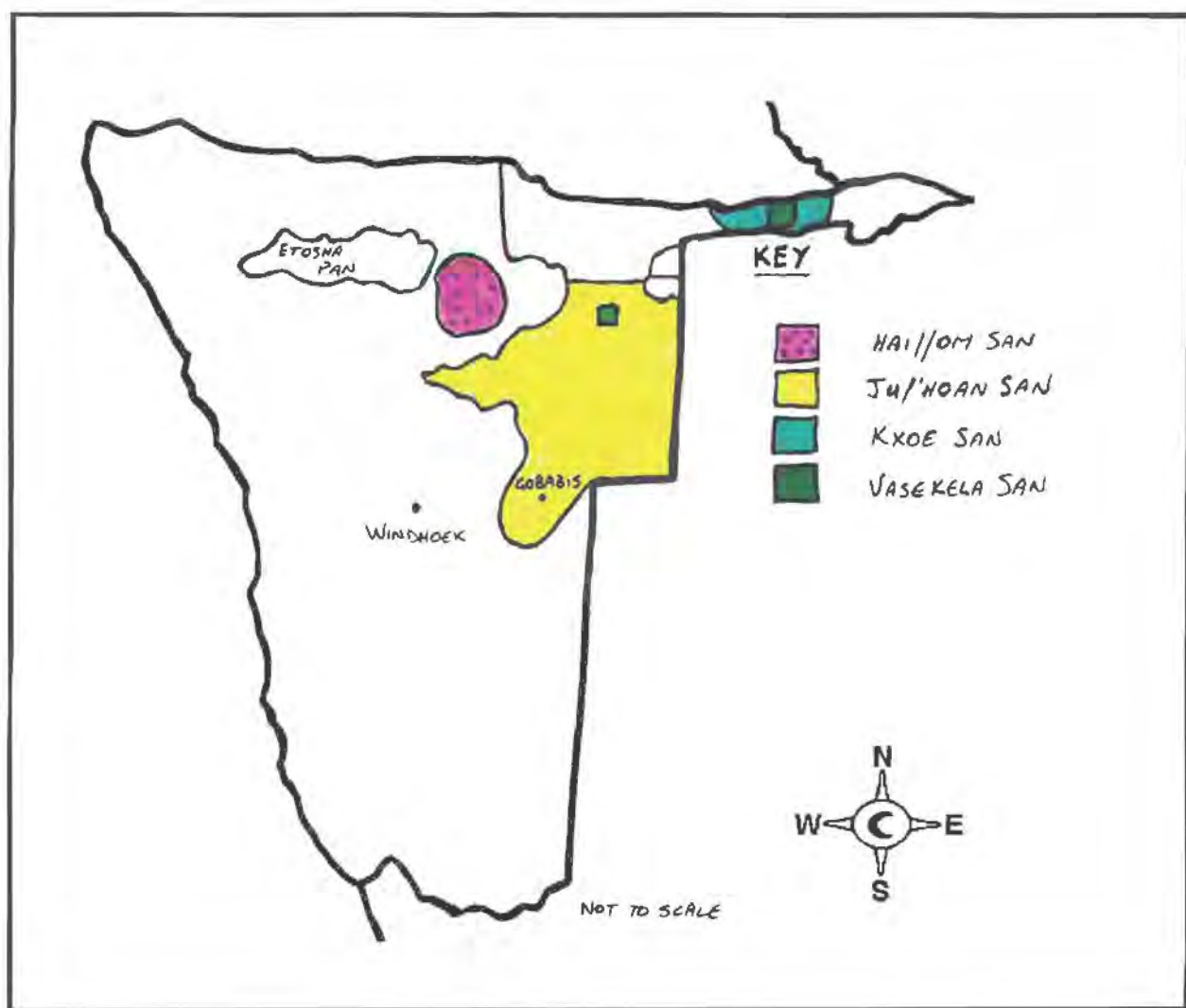
Claude McIntyre, First Bushman Affairs
Commissioner at Tsumkwe, 1968, (Gordon,
1989).

“We Ju!’hoansi are people who have lived in our n!órési for a long time. We didn’t know the thing called a horse, and we made fires and did all our work without burning the tortoises and other tiny things. There were no white people’s trucks driving around in our n!óré, here on our land. When these things came, their people saw us as nothing-things. So they shut off the land with fences and the eland died against the fences so that today our children are dying of hunger.”

/Kaece Kxao, N//haru=’han, Eastern
Bushmanland, (Biesele & Weinberg, 1990).

Africa’s first inhabitants were descendants of present day San people. Namibia has been occupied by San hunter-gatherers for over 11 000 years, (Martin, 1994). As some of the last hunter-gatherers in Africa, Namibian San people have always been dispossessed of their land by both black and white settlers, (Biesele & Weinberg, 1990). An estimated 33 600 San Namibian’s live primarily in restricted areas in the northern and eastern regions of the country, (Map, 5).

The land tenure system of the majority of San groups refers to the concept of the right of access to natural resources, rather than the ownership of land, (Thoma, 1997). This concept has been the central justification for San land appropriation based on the preconception that due to their mobility, San owned no private or fixed property, (Gordon, 1989).



Map 5 Areas of Namibia occupied by San, (after Biesele & Weinberg, 1990).

The history of formal dispossession of land owned by San began in the late nineteenth century. After the second World War, the policy of apartheid strengthened neglect of San land claims. A double-pronged barb of discrimination was experienced by San people during the apportioning of land by the Odendaal Commission. The Commission not only appropriated vast tracts of land, but further failed to recognise differences between social groups.

As a result, ninety eight percent of all people classified as "*Bushman*" found themselves living in areas that were designated either for other ethnic groups, for nature conservation, or for commercial farmers, (Widlok, 1994).

Subsequent to 1950, both the Hai || om and Kxoe people were deprived of their land for the establishment of two conservation areas, the Etosha Game Reserve³⁸ and a nature reserve on the Kavango River respectively, (Biesele & Weinberg, 1990). Further dispossessions occurred in 1968 and approximately 6000 Ju/'hoansi people were evicted from the West Caprivi by the Department of Nature Conservation, (ibid.). In the mid-1960's, the institution of Bushman homelands were recommended by the Odendaal Commission to include the West Caprivi and Bushmanland. These entailed the dispossession of large areas of land traditionally used by San people. This recommendation was brought into effect in 1970, when Bushmanland was established, (Biesele & Weinberg, 1990).

Although not as flagrant, the ideology of San as traditionally landless is still present today. Their largely limited ownership of cattle, the overriding symbol of wealth in Namibia, contributes to negative preconceptions and San continue to be seen as poor and primitive, (Suzman, 1995). Increasingly mobilised, San groups are explicitly identifying and voicing their priorities. This has resulted in growing recognition amongst decision-makers that San ownership is not necessarily based on defined absolute assets such as property or reference to space or the use of objects in space, (Wilmsen, 1989b).

The dynamic conception of property is created by San people in reference to their personal relations with each other, (Wilmsen, 1989b). Despite recognition however, the social mechanisms of kinship and membership in a group forming the basis of tenure rights in the social system of San communities, have yet to be formally acknowledged in land reform policy and legislation.

³⁸ Members of the Hai || om community are currently embroiled in an application process for land restitution of Etosha Game Reserve. The matter has yet to be resolved.

7.4 Land Reform in Post-Independent Namibia

After an extensive struggle for land and political freedom, Namibia gained Independence from South African rule on the 21 March 1990. The South West Africa People's Organisation, (SWAPO), became the central administrator of Namibia through the first democratic elections held in the country. After Independence, 13 new regions were proclaimed, (Map. 2). Namibia saw its first Regional and Local Government election in 1992. A three tier government was established, operating in the newly demarcated regions, (National Planning Commission, 1994). As a result of previous separate development policies, the distribution of land in Namibia at the time of Independence remained extremely skewed.

This uneven distribution of land is widely regarded as a root cause of the impoverishment and destitution of many communities residing in rural or communal areas, (Werner, 1997). The situation was little improved by 1996 when an estimated 4200 commercial farmers were supported on freehold farms totalling the size of 44% of Namibia's total land area. At the same time approximately 120 000 rural black households lived within the 43% designated communal land areas, (Sullivan, 1996).

To address poverty and the landlessness of many rural Namibians, a consensus on land reform through redistribution was reached by authorities. The Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation was instituted in September 1990 to take on this task through a national resettlement programme.

7.5 Activities since Independence

“Resettlement should not only be seen to be a mere placement of individuals on a piece of land so allocated, but it should be looked at in its totality, namely, as a community development effort.”

Richard Kabajani, Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, 1994, (Kaure, 1994).

The most significant community focused programmes, undertaken in Namibia before and after Independence, were organised and implemented largely through non-governmental institutions, such as member groups of the Council of Churches of Namibia, (CCN), (Vigne & Oates, 1992). Focusing on health, education and social development, the success of these initiatives in promoting self-reliance of beneficiaries is questionable. Testimony to this is the central location of their facilities and continuing dependence of the schemes on external funding and expatriate manpower, (ibid.).

Part 1 established that for any form of community development initiative to be effective, a 'bottom-up' approach focusing on identifying community needs and priorities is crucial. The involvement of community members in both the planning and implementation of initiatives is essential. This is not to deny the fundamental role of external co-operation. Assistance in mobilising or empowering communities to acquire self confidence in their own abilities and to realise their objectives is fundamental to community development assistance.

The following discussion gives an indication of issues arising from the research which relate to the role adopted by the MLRR in directing Namibia's national programme of community development through land reform.

7.5.1 Institutional Issues

The brief of redistributing land and uplifting living standards of Namibians through resettlement, falls primarily in the domain of the MLRR and its Directorates of Lands³⁹ and Resettlement and Rehabilitation.⁴⁰ Due to the political and social urgency of land ownership and poverty alleviation in Namibia, initial measures to fulfil the socio-economic national development objectives were undertaken in the absence of specific enabling policy or legislation. During this time, the ministry adopted a characteristically patronising approach to resettlement.

³⁹ One of 3 divisions within the Directorate of Lands, the Division of Land Reform is responsible for land acquisition and project planning for resettlement. This includes land use planning, land administration and land data management, (M Phil., 1998).

⁴⁰ One of 2 divisions within the Directorate of Resettlement and Rehabilitation, the Division of Resettlement is generally responsible for planning, co-ordination, implementation, supervision, monitoring and evaluation of projects, (M Phil., 1998).

The role of the government was described by the Director of Resettlement as “*a father in the house [who] takes care of the young and weak ones so that they can have a better tomorrow*”, (Shanyengana cited in Kaure, 1994:11). Traces of this perspective are present in the top-down, centralised manner in which resettlement is currently undertaken. The RAEIR revealed three major institutional shortcomings which compounded the lack of progress of the resettlement process, including:

- Lack of Capacity within the MLRR:

This includes both understaffing and the lack relevant of skills to plan and implement; the resettlement process effectively;

Lack of forward planning:

Resettlement currently occurs on an *ad hoc* basis, and land use planning has yet to be integrated into the planning of resettlement,

- Interministerial tensions:

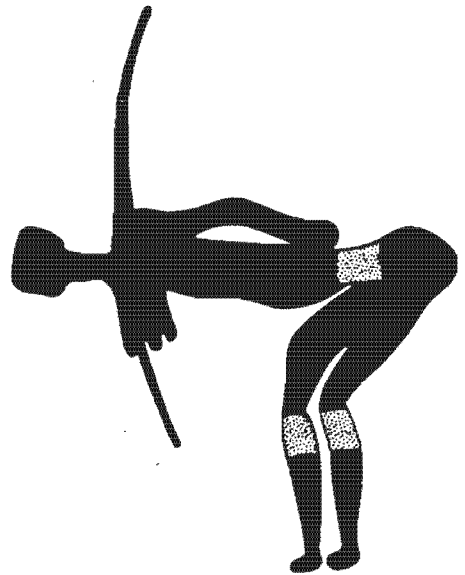
Political tensions between the MLRR and other ministries were manifest in a variety of ways. These included a lack of transparency and communication, poor co-ordination and co-operation and lack of opportunity for the participation of I&AP's and stakeholders, (M Phil., 1998).

The above weaknesses have resulted in delayed progress on behalf of the MLRR to implement the national land reform process, particularly in the five years following independence, (Werner, 1997). Subsequent to 1995, the resettlement activities of the MLRR are said to have accelerated,⁴¹ (ibid.). Realisation of a lack of governmental capacity has led to recent attempts to rectify the problem. In addition to training of government employees, this includes the institution of guiding policy and legislation and increased rhetoric of inter- ministerial co-operation, (M Phil., 1998). If equitably managed, these improvements measures bode well for the sustainability of Namibia's resettlement programme. Chapter 8 following, provides a review of the circumstances surrounding the planning and design of Namibia's resettlement programme.

⁴¹ For a more comprehensive review of activities of the MLRR since 1990, see M Phil., 1998.

CHAPTER 8

Institutional, Policy and Legislation Formulation Process for Land Reform in Namibia



Chapter 8

INSTITUTIONAL, POLICY AND LEGISLATION FORMULATION PROCESS FOR LAND REFORM IN NAMIBIA

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of the following overview is to examine planning and design issues and trends surrounding Namibia's resettlement process in relation to community development for San people. The section provides a useful introduction to Chapter 9's examination of policy provisions for resettlement in Namibia. A more or less chronological review is given of selected events and issues pertaining to land reform and resettlement subsequent to Namibian Independence. Table 1 represents the principle documents introduced in the following discussion, guiding land reform in Namibia.

Policy and Legislation pertaining to Resettlement
Constitution of the Republic of Namibia (1991)
Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act (6 of 1995)
Communal Land Bill (Draft)
Traditional Authorities Act (17 of 1995)
National Development Plan, 1 (1995/1996-1999/2000)
National Resettlement Policy (1996)
National Land Policy White Paper (1997)

**Table 1 Policy and Legislation Informing
Land Reform since 1990**

8.2 Land Reform Conferences, Institutions and Policy and Legislation Formulation in Namibia

The evolution of an institutional, policy and legal basis for land reform in Namibia has been influenced by a period of debate and consultation among stakeholders, including representatives of San communities. This debate is marked by a series of conferences addressing the land issue. The gatherings have served as a forum for discussion both prior and subsequent to the acceptance of new institutional bodies and policy and legislation documents guiding land reform in Namibia.

8.2.1 National Land Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question

The first meeting to debate the issue of land reform in Namibia was held in 1991. The National Land Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question, was initiated by the government, completing a process of national consultation regarding the land issue, (Sullivan, 1996). The purposes of the conference were to present research findings and relevant experiences from other African countries and to provide a forum for I&AP's to discuss Namibian land reform issues. As members of the Namibian nation, San people were invited to participate in the National Land Conference and to discuss Namibia's future land policy, (Widlok, 1994). The most significant recommendation to emerge from the conference with respect to San property, is the rejection of land restitution claims. This has severe repercussions for the ability of San communities to regain land lost through apartheid land reform initiatives.

The Technical Committee on Commercial Farmland, (TCCF) was subsequently instituted to make recommendations on the enactment of the conference resolutions, some of which are now enshrined in the Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act (6 of 1995). The report of the TCCF, recognised that special attention has to be given to San people who are placed on top of the list for intended 'beneficiaries' of land reform, (Widlok, 1994).

8.2.2 Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act

Provisions of the 1995, Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act, (ALRA), currently enables the acquisition and redistribution of land for resettlement purposes. The role of the Land Reform Advisory Commission, (LRAC), established by Section 2 of the ALRA, is, together with other instruments⁴² of the Act, to make recommendations on land rights and use, and to identify future beneficiaries for the land reform process, (Werner, 1997). This commission, consisting of 12 members of both governmental officials and NGO employees, provides a potentially beneficial mechanism for governmental decentralisation. The LRAC maintains however, simply an advisory role, thereby limiting the accountability of the MLRR to stakeholders, (M Phil., 1998).

The Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act was formulated in the absence of specific guiding land reform policy documents as both the Resettlement and Land Reform Policies were not yet accepted. The following is a short description of specific provisions in the ALRA which enable the procedure of land reform in Namibia:

- Section 14(1), of the ALRA stipulates that land is to be allocated to Namibian citizens who do not own or otherwise have the use of adequate agricultural land. Priority is given to citizens who have been socially, economically, or educationally disadvantaged by past discriminatory laws or practices;
- Acquisition of land is largely enabled by Section 14(2)(a), of the Act which provides for the purchase of land on a *willing seller, willing buyer* basis.⁴³ Sections 14(1)(b), and 14(3)(b), provide for acquisition of land which is under-utilised or excessive in size, respectively, (M Phil., 1998);
- Section 39, describes the procedure to be undertaken by the MLRR subsequent to land acquisition which includes preparation of allotment plans for farming units and statements for advertising in the Gazette and a newspaper in the chosen area;

⁴² The Land Tribunal and the Rules Board were also set up by the Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act, (Nandjaa, 1997).

⁴³ The *ad hoc* nature characterising the resettlement process is partly attributed to this provision.

-
- Section 41(4), stipulates the application procedure for potential settlers. They are required to fill in application forms at regional offices which are then considered by the LRAC who make recommendations for acceptance or rejection of the applicant to the Minister;
 - A 99 year lease is granted to successful applicants by section 42(1), of the ALRA; and,
 - Determining the activities on the resettlement plots, Section 44, states that within 3 months of occupation, plots should be used beneficially for agricultural purposes, and within 3 years, should be achieving annual cultivation of the land allocation, (Republic of Namibia, 1995).

The ALRA has determined, to a large degree, the manner in which resettlement has been undertaken in Namibia since the Act's inception. As is evident from the above, the procedure is highly prescriptive and inflexible, and places control of the development process primarily in the hands of the centralised authority. No provision is made for participation of or consultation with settlers to determine specific needs, other than the choice of area in which they would like to be settled. Further, no mention is made in the ALRA of mechanisms for alleviating poverty or satisfying basic needs. As this document represents the single enabling mechanism for resettlement, its provisions remain authoritative and rigid, further disempowering the destitute by top-down control.

8.2.3 Regional Conference on Development Programmes for Africa's San Populations

A non-governmental regional conference held in Windhoek in 1992, focused specifically on the needs of San populations in Africa. One of the outcomes of the "*Regional Conference on Development Programmes for Africa's San Populations*," was the expressed wish by San representatives to form committees to represent themselves at local, regional and international levels, (Brörmann, 1997).

8.2.4 People's Land Conference and Communal Land Bill

In September 1994, a conference was held by the Namibian Non-Governmental Forum, (NANGOF). The *'People's Land Conference'* was called in response to the slow progress of the government's land reform process. Community representatives from the various regions of Namibia were brought in to debate the land issue. The MLRR declined an invitation to attend the conference, (M Phil., 1998). The resolutions of the conference address mainly communal land reform issues and do not have any official legal status.

Despite these drawbacks, many of the issues raised are pertinent to community and individual empowerment through resettlement. The emergent recommendations embody values of sustainability and equity and support a devolution of power from the centralised government authority. Some of the issues raised at the conference are manifest in the subsequent Communal Land Bill and propose:

- equal rights for women in all aspects of development, including natural resource management and land reform;
- decentralisation of land administration to regional land boards consisting of regional government, traditional leadership, farmers unions and special interest groups;
- legislation for natural resource ownership and control by communities;
- sustainable land-use planning procedures to guide decisions regarding land; and,
- acceleration of land reform through the establishment of a national commission consisting of regional government, traditional leaders, community organisations and NGO's, (Corbett & Daniels 1996).

The stated aim of the Communal Land Bill, is *"To provide for the allocation of rights in respect of communal land; to establish Communal land Boards; to provide for the powers of Chiefs and Traditional Authorities and boards in relation to communal land; and to make provision for incidental matters"* (Republic of Namibia, 1995b). Drafted by the government to address the issues raised in the conference, the Bill was shelved in 1997 pending the adoption of the Council of Traditional Authorities Bill, (Nandjaa, 1997).

8.2.5 Traditional Authorities Act and the Land Reform Policy

Through the establishment of second tier authorities, the Odendaal Commission legitimated a hierarchy of traditional authority. This was repealed at Independence when the land set aside in the communal areas for indigenous populations, was vested in the state, (Rhode, 1994). The Traditional Authorities Act, (17 of 1995), established a legal basis for land management and allocation rights of traditional leaders in communal areas. The relationship between traditional and governmental authorities over land tenure issues remains unclear and problematic, particularly in communal farming areas, (Werner, pers. comm.; Karuombe, pers. comm.).

8.2.6 National Traditional Authority Conference

Two conferences were held in 1996 to debate the rights of Traditional Authorities. Both conferences were attended by representatives of the Namibian San community. The first, the National Traditional Authority Conference, organised by the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing, (MRLGH), was held in April 1996. The agenda focused on the implementation of this Act on the role of traditional authorities in Namibia. This included their functions and duties, natural resources and environmental protection and the relationship between traditional authorities and the government, (Brörmann, 1997).

8.2.7 Consultative Conference on Communal Land Administration

The second gathering, the Consultative Conference on Communal Land Administration, was organised by the MLRR. Held in September 1996, the aim of the meeting was to gather comments on the draft Outline of a National Land Policy, released four months before, (NANGOF, 1996). The National Land Policy, currently in the White Paper stage, aims to regulate access to land, its administration and use. Recommendations of the policy include the appointment of Regional Land Boards comprising four representatives of a region, to which the authority and rights of Traditional Leaders will be transferred, (Nandjaa, 1997). Although traditional authorities may be elected onto the land boards, this provision has met with controversy as numerous traditional leaders feel their local authority is being usurped, (ibid.).

San representatives at the consultative conference urged the government to recognise and allow their communities to establish land boards under traditional leadership based on a two-thirds vote from the community. Addressing decision-makers, a plea was made by representatives for autonomy to protect San resources from livestock and "*other people with their cattle*" and for recognition of different cultural land administration systems in Namibia, (Nandjaa, 1997:4). In response to this, the Minister of the MLRR, Pendukana livula-Ithana stated that, "*If land means authority, the Bushman are indeed facing a special situation*" (Brörmann, 1997:33).

8.2.8 National Development Plan 1, (NDP 1)

A member of the Southern Africa Development Community, (SADC), since 1990, Namibia is committed to integrating its economy with the other member states. The common goal is to provide a new basis and more opportunity "*to better manage their multiple transitions and together move towards sustainable development both nationally and regionally*" (SADC cited in Raphaely, 1997). The NDP 1, instituted in 1995, commits Namibia to regional economic co-operation and integration with other member countries by stating that "*Namibia will therefore implement its development strategy within a framework of co-operation within... [the]SADC*" (NDP 1, 1995:56). The NDP 1 therefore, represents a national strategy responsible for defining and implementing equitable sustainable development in Namibia. The period covered by the NDP 1 terminates in the year 2000.

Acknowledging the importance of engaging communities in the development process, as well as the lack of ministerial capacity in encouraging community development, the NDP 1 promotes participation of communities in needs identification, assessment, planning, monitoring and decision-making, (NDP 1 1995). A stated priority for the Plan is "*the institution of fully fledged development planning systems and the creation of links between regional development planning and national development planning authorities and the communities they serve*" (National Planning Commission, 1994).

A long-term commitment to decentralisation is made in the NDP 1. The plan foresees that *“improving the regional distribution of resources central government will necessitate the progressive decentralisation of central government”* (National Planning Commission, 1994:58).

A commitment to a participatory, equitable and empowering sustainable development basis is set for Namibia in the NDP 1. The degree to which this can be attained in the allotted time period is however, questionable. The plan clearly prioritises the economic interests of the state. Addressing land reform enabled by the ALRA, the NDP 1 states that *“The aim of the legislation is to provide land to poor and landless families without jeopardising productivity”* (National Planning Commission, 1994:54).

8.2.9 National Resettlement Policy

The National Resettlement Policy, embodies the previously unexpressed aims and objectives of Namibia’s Resettlement Programme. The Policy is intended to provide a clearer guide for the resettlement process and was approved in 1996. Specifically acknowledging San people the Policy recognises that *“Members of the San community have endured exploitation and discrimination at the hands of their fellow men throughout history”* (Republic of Namibia, 1996:2). San are prioritised in the list of target groups identified by the policy, following which are returnees, ex-soldiers, disabled, displaced and landless people, (Republic of Namibia, 1996).

Implementation of the National Resettlement Policy is guided largely by centralised development targets set out by the NDP 1, and expressed governmental commitment, (M Phil., 1998):

- Targets for land redistribution were set for the first time in 1995 by the NDP 1 which stated that:
 - ⇒ 150 000 ha. of land would be acquired by the year 2000 for the purposes of resettlement; and,
 - ⇒ 14 000 people are to be resettled by this time, (NDP 1, 1995).

- Expressed governmental commitment to providing for poverty stricken and landless Namibians is abundant. The majority of these are political promises relating to governmental expenditure. At his most recent annual presidential address in January 1998, Sam Nujomo, dedicated the government to acquiring 20% of required land by the end of 1998, and 80% (if not 100%) by the year 2000, (New Era, 30 Jan. 1998).

Under direction of the MLRR, specific enabling legislation for resettlement in the form of a Resettlement Bill is currently being drafted, (MLRR, 1997a). Until this time, the ALRA remains the primary enabling mechanism.

8.2.10 Land Use and Environmental Board

The Land Use and Environmental Board, (LUEB), was launched by the MLRR in April 1996, (MLRR, 1997b). This represented an effort to establish a common planning and co-ordination platform for all stakeholders concerned with the management of Namibia's natural resources, specifically that of land. The role of this proposed statutory body is to ensure the co-ordination of urban and rural land use planning and land development through effective institutional connections, (ibid.). This body has yet to become established. Given the governmental commitment to decentralisation the LUEB could signal vast improvements to the current problems encountered in land reform in Namibia, particularly at a local level.

8.3 San Communities and the Policy Formulation Process

Increasing pressure from I&AP's for involvement in the Namibian land reform process is evident. This has been accommodated in recent years by national and NGO directed consultative gatherings, which promote a transparent and accountable process. Positive commitment to a decentralisation of administration has been proposed in abovementioned events and documentation. As early as 1991, at the National Land Conference, the Prime Minister asserted that "*many of the solutions to these highly specific land issues can be generated at the local level*" (in Sullivan, 1996:10).

Further commitments have been expressed by the government in documents and fora mentioned above, to the vague provision of 'special attention' to members of 'the San community.' In the absence of specific strategies for action these vague promises remain simply rhetoric, and fail to enhance community development and settler autonomy.

The relationship between traditional and governmental authorities over rights and powers of land ownership determined by the Regional Land Boards, has yet to be clearly established and potential for conflict is high, (National Planning Commission, 1994). The desire for autonomy has been repeatedly expressed by San representatives. Given that representatives are designated as traditional authorities, the potential autonomy of natural resource ownership and management remains questionable.

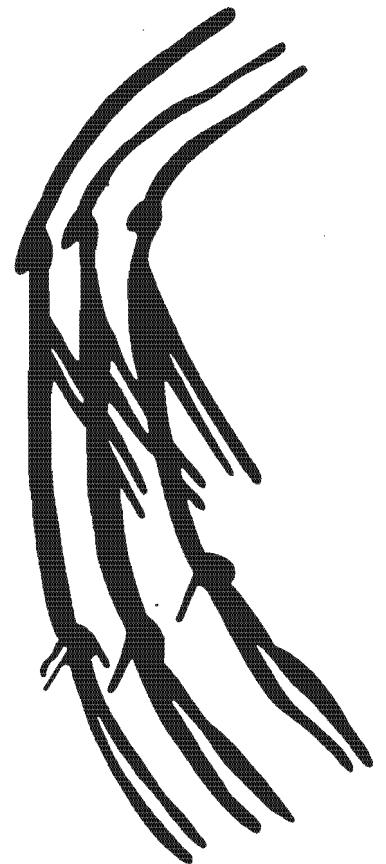
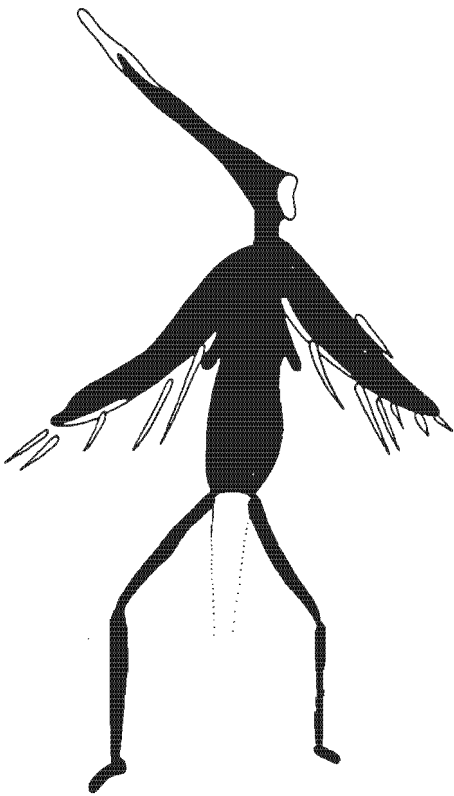
As the chosen mechanism to redistribute land, resettlement is central to the land reform debate in Namibia. The development of a policy and legislative basis for the resettlement process has occurred on an erratic basis. The acceptance of enabling legislation prior to policy has resulted in numerous criticisms. An expressed concern is that the Resettlement Policy erroneously attempts to conform to legislation rather than inform it, (Karuuombe, pers. comm.). Similarly, the National Land Policy, informing all land reform processes, has yet to come into effect. Commitment by the government to fulfil the Resettlement Policy objective of uplifting all Namibian's, have been denounced as unrealistic given the absence of coherent policy indicating governmental financial resource allocation, (Werner, 1997).

Ministerial rhetoric continues to commit the government to improving the living standards of all Namibians. The manner in which this is done, however, fails to provide a positive basis for settlers to become autonomous and self-sufficient. The procedure of land reform is dominated by centralised control, and a rigid, prescriptive process. A general lack of capacity, transparency and accountability characterises the MLRR and co-operation and communication with other ministries and stakeholders is limited. As the leading institution in resettlement, the MLRR fails to support settler self sufficiency. Thus equitable and sustainable community development and empowerment, remains extremely restricted.

The preceding discussion has highlighted some of the principle events directing general land reform planning and policy formulation processes in Namibia. Considering the above criticisms, specific reference is made in the next chapter to two documents central to informing the current resettlement process in Namibia. Provisions of the Constitution and the Resettlement Policy are examined to determine whether they hinder or encourage the devolution of power necessary for community development, and support San settlers to become self-sufficient.

CHAPTER 9

Evaluation of Policy Pertaining to Resettlement in Namibia



Chapter 9

EVALUATION OF POLICY PERTAINING TO RESETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA

9.1 Introduction

The development of institutional bodies and policy and legislation guiding Namibia's Resettlement Process were highlighted in the previous section. This provided a political context in which the resettlement procedure has operated both prior and subsequent to the current policy and legal framework. An illustration of the national and local contexts in which resettlement operates is provided in Figure 5 below.

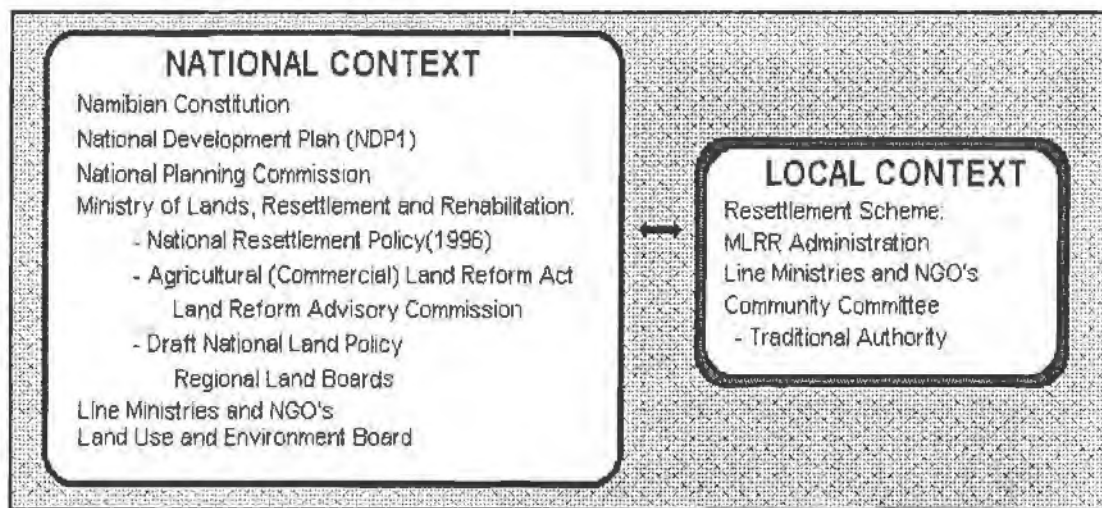


Figure 5 National and Local Institutional, Policy and Legislation Context for Resettlement.

Particular reference was made in the previous discussion to the participation of San communities in the process of policy and legislation formulation. San people continue to express their desire for recognition and autonomy and governmental rhetoric advocates a commitment to assisting impoverished citizens to become self-sufficient.

Despite this mobilisation a lack of long-term planning and a highly rigid and prescriptive enabling mechanism for resettlement initiatives, prevent the accomplishment of these ideals. The following section provides a more in-depth, critical examination of policy principles informing the resettlement programme based on sustainability principles of community development.

9.2 Official Documents Guiding the Namibian Resettlement Programme

The National policy and legislation framework under which the resettlement process in Namibia currently operates, is guided largely by four documents. These provide a legal mechanism for the implementation of resettlement in Namibia:

- The Constitution of the Republic of Namibia provides the overriding policy for land reform in Namibia. Article 16(2), provides for the expropriation of land in the public interest, subject to compensation, (Republic of Namibia, 1991). Article 95(g), calls for the enactment of legislation to ensure that *“the unemployed, the incapacitated, the indigent and the disadvantaged be accorded social benefits and amenities as determined by Parliament to be just and affordable with due regard to the resources of the State”* (Republic of Namibia, 1991:52). Exclusive rights of the State over land which is not otherwise lawfully owned, is delineated in Article 100, *“Sovereign Ownership of Natural Resources”* (ibid.: 53);
- The National Development Plan 1 1995/1996-1999/2000, (NDP 1), delineates Namibia’s short-term development aspirations, aiming to turn Namibia from a developing to a developed, high income country, (NDP 1 1995);
- The Namibian Resettlement Policy, (1996), outlines the primary aims and objectives of Namibian Resettlement Programme. The underlying principles guiding the resettlement process are expressed here. The roles of different Line Ministries and NGO’s who’s assistance is required in the implementation of resettlement, are further delineated in the policy; and,

- The Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act (6 of 1995), (ALRA) is the principle enabling legislation for the implementation of the resettlement programme. This Act aims, *“To provide for the acquisition of agricultural land by the State for the purposes of land reform and for the allocation of such land to Namibian citizens who do not own or otherwise have the use of any or of adequate agricultural land, and foremost to those Namibians who have been socially, economically or educationally disadvantaged by past discriminatory laws or practices”* (1995:2).

The discussion below attempts to identify the manner in which policy principles currently inform resettlement. That is, whether their provisions inhibit or facilitate the autonomy and empowerment of San settlers within the resettlement community.

The Namibian Constitution provides the overriding policy principles for Namibia based on democracy, the rule of law and justice for all, (Republic of Namibia, 1991). The NDP 1, promotes economic development in the country and provides a link between the national, Namibian, and regional, SADC, policy levels. The resettlement process is guided primarily by the Resettlement Policy. Thus, although the NDP 1 provides targets for resettlement it is not elaborated on below.

It is then, to a more in-depth examination of provisions of the Constitution and Resettlement Policy documents, that the dissertation now turns. The review is based on sustainability ideals of community development processes as flexible, dynamic, locally-conceived and controlled, participative and empowering. The aim is to identify provisions of the policies which, at this higher level of planning, may serve to inhibit or encourage San settler self-sufficiency and empowerment.

9.3 The Namibian Constitution and Resettlement Policy: Prospectives for Equitable Land Reform

9.3.1 The Constitution

The Constitution is a product of the legacy of Namibia. After the First World War, Namibia was administered by South Africa as a mandate of the League of Nations.

Subsequent to 1945, the United Nations Organisation, (UNO), replaced the League of Nations and relations with South Africa soured, (de Villiers et al, 1992). South Africa's administration of the then, South West Africa, was declared unlawful in 1971, by the International Court of Justice. As a result, a set of principles, accepted by the five Western members of the Security Council, were drawn up. The transitional period in which the Constituent Assembly was elected and the Constitution drafted, saw co-administration of the country by a United Nations force, (Erasmus, 1991). At the first Constituent Assembly in 1989, the accepted principles were adopted as Articles 5 to 25 of the Constitution, (de Villiers et al, 1992).

Reference is made in the Constitution to the protection and promotion of rights integral to sustainability ideals of community development processes. These include both Human Rights and Freedoms, (Chapter 3), such as equality, freedom from discrimination, culture, and education, and the protection of the environment for improving the welfare of Namibians, (Chapter 10 & 11). The Constitution therefore, recognises the crucial link between people and the environment. Despite these provisions Constitutional conditions allow for great discretionary and interpretative freedom in the hands of decision-makers. A precarious position is thereby created for marginalised or minority groups in the country. Referring to the cornerstone of Namibia's policy framework, the following exposé serves to situate the resettlement process as it applies to San settlers, within a National context.

The structure of the Constitution reveals a reactionary approach to the previous administrative regime. It aims to provide for greater sovereignty, democracy, secularisation and the formation of a nation state, (NDP 1, 1995). Throughout the Constitution, opposition is expressed to apartheid, racism, and the legitimacy of the South African administration, (Carpenter, 1991). The Principles of State Policy, (Chapter 11), delineate provisions for an action plan for redressing problems resulting from South Africa's rule.

- **Individual vs. Group Rights**

Individual human rights and freedoms are stressed throughout the Constitutions provisions.

Chapter 3, Article 10(2), states that, “*No person may be discriminated against on the grounds of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion or social or economic status*” (Republic of Namibia, 1991:8). Carpenter, (1991), however, identifies a striking omission of any direct reference to group rights. This is extremely significant for the disempowerment of members of any minority group in Namibia. Traditionally nomadic societies such as San and Himba people, increasingly depend on group solidarity and identification in the fight for political and social recognition of their needs and rights⁴⁴. Furthermore, Carpenter describes this type of protection afforded to members of certain natural groups as “*negative protection*,” in that it merely prohibits discrimination and does not confer special privileges by virtue of membership of a group, (Carpenter, 1991:33).

- **Cultural Freedom**

Article 19 similarly entitles individuals to a seemingly large amount of cultural freedom, “*Every person shall be entitled to enjoy, practise, profess, maintain and promote any culture, language, tradition or religion*” (Republic of Namibia, 1991:12). Limitations imposed on this entitlement are masked by a proviso. The entitlement is limited in terms of the Constitution, the impingement on the rights of others, and most significantly to the national interest. Therefore, if deemed contrary to the ideals of the nation state, freedom of any form of cultural expression may be unlawful. This proviso has severe repercussions for the maintenance of minority group self-identity and integrity. It has particular relevance to the resettlement process. Expression of separate identity on the projects is seen as ethnic separatism and is vehemently discouraged at a national level, (M Phil., 1998).

- **Environmental Protection**

Chapter 11 of the Constitution provides governmental commitment to policy formulation for the “*maintenance of ecosystems, essential ecological processes and biological diversity of Namibia and utilization of living natural resources on a sustainable basis for the benefit of all Namibians, both present and future*” (Republic of Namibia, 1991:52).

⁴⁴ San communities throughout southern Africa are claiming land restitution rights based on their identification as historically disadvantaged ethnic groups, who were victims of land appropriation.

The high status accorded to the office of the Ombudsman, (Chapter 10:91), who's duty it is to investigate complaints concerning environmental destruction or degradation, supports Namibia's commitment to sustainability and environmental equity.

- **Welfare**

The Constitution commits the state to promoting the welfare of the people in Chapter 11, "*Principles of State Policy*" (Republic of Namibia, 1991:57). These are second and third generation rights which are considered technically difficult to protect, particularly in so-called underdeveloped countries, (Carpenter, 1991). These principles necessarily allow for broad interpretation, allowing for their generic application. Nonetheless, the vague nature of the terminology, diminishes the strength of some of the to accommodate needs of minority groups. Article 95(e)(g) and (j), provides for access to public facilities and services, social benefits, and nutrition and living standards respectively. Non-compliance with these provisions would however, prove extremely difficult to contest, given the qualitative terms "*fair and reasonable*," "*acceptable*" and "*just and affordable with due regard to the resources of the State*."

- **Natural Resource Ownership**

Finally, Article 100 "*Sovereign Ownership of Natural Resources*" is of particular concern for land usage by marginalised and minority groups in Namibia. Extensive power is accorded to authorities in the provision that "*Land, water and natural resources, ..., of Namibia shall belong to the State if they are not otherwise lawfully owned*" (Republic of Namibia, 1991:53).

If abused, this has serious repercussions for nomadic or pastoral people such as the Himba and San. Their situation is particularly vulnerable due to the ALRA declaration that, "*given the complexities in redressing ancestral land claims, restitution of such claims in full is impossible*" (cited in Werner, 1997). Used in conjunction, these two provisions potentially compound the landless plight faced by many San individuals and communities. Very few formal land rights are owned by San people. Thus, these combined provisions effectively render them destitute and dependent on others.

Summary

The above review reveals that a great deal of discretionary power accorded to officials of the state. If misused, this power has severe repercussions for both the success of resettlement initiatives, and for the livelihood of settlers. Omission of reference to group rights precludes the ideals of community development while freedom of cultural expression is curtailed to fit in with the national interest.

A commitment to environmental protection is positive for sustainable development. Likewise the role of the ombudsman provides great assistance to citizens for access to natural resources. Nonetheless, ownership by the State, of all natural resources not lawfully proclaimed, potentially impedes the process of self-sufficiency and well-being of settlers. Namibia's resettlement process is currently controlled in an imposing, top-down and centralised manner by the MLRR, (M Phil., 1998). This illustrates how misuse of provisions of Namibia Constitution negatively informs lower level policy and legislation documents and negates national development practices.

9.3.2 The National Resettlement Policy

During the five year period subsequent to Independence, resettlement in Namibia was implemented in the absence of a specific guiding policy document. The result has been an extremely technocratic and inflexible top-down planning and implementation process, controlled by a centralised governmental authority, (M Phil., 1998). The National Resettlement Policy was approved by Cabinet in 1996 to provide direction to the resettlement programme.

Criticisms levelled at the policy highlight its conformance to enabling legislation rather than its intended guiding role.

Namibia's National Resettlement Policy aims to "*uplift the living standard of all Namibians*" (Republic of Namibia, 1996:1). Resettlement is emphasised by the policy as voluntary, and is restricted to rural areas. Acknowledging their excessively impoverished situation, the policy prioritises special assistance for San people, who "*are in the hands of commercial farmers and other big cattle owners, who have reduced them to modern slaves working for food and inadequate shelter*" (Republic of Namibia, 1996:2).

There is however, no explanation as to what manner of “*special care must be given to [the] most disadvantage[d] community, especially the San(Bushmen)*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:3). Specific provisions of the policy revealed below, testify to a lack of consideration of specific needs, capabilities and aspirations of settler communities, especially those of San settlers.

- **Top-Down approach**

The tone of the policy is prescriptive and dominating. Policy provisions of stakeholder roles and plans for future action, are delineated in an extremely top-down manner. This is evident in the section prescribing the duration of governmental support. It states that within a five year period, “*the settlers are expected to have gained enough experience and self-confidence to be able to stand on their own.*” In terms of development assistance, this is an extremely short-term, goal oriented approach to poverty alleviation. Furthermore, settlers “*have to commit themselves to meet some basic requirements*”, including “*clear(ing) the plots that are allocated to them and make the fields productive*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:5). Continual reference to the term “*beneficiaries*” implies settler passivity and furthers domination.

Such prescriptive rhetoric in the policy is telling of the lack of settler participation in the development process. Further evidence is illustrated by phraseology delineating settlers selection criteria. The majority of criteria begin with “*settlers should be prepared to*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:3,6). Promotion of the interests of the nation rather than those of the settlers is clear in the policy.

The National Planning Commission is required to “*advise on project planning issues, funding and to ensure that the programme progresses in the National interest*” (ibid.:6).

- **Inflexibility**

The inflexibility of the resettlement procedure to accommodate complex, diverse and dynamic circumstances, is clear throughout the policy. A stated objective is to give “*displaced citizens the opportunity to reintegrate into society*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:2). Rather than adapting the process to fit settler needs, the onus is placed on settlers to conform to the process.

This inflexibility is further evident in criteria outlined for selecting “beneficiaries.” These note that “*different models of resettlement will require different selection criteria in order to ensure that the beneficiaries fit the requirements of the model as much as possible*” and that “*settlers should have background in agriculture or other enterprises on which the resettlement project will be based*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:3). Freedom of autonomy for land management is curbed for by the unspecified assumption that “*land allocation should be used productively by the land holders*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:4).

- **Agricultural and Market-based**

The approach to poverty alleviation in the policy is based entirely on agricultural and economic, market-related factors. Applicants for resettlement are divided by the policy into 3 categories on the basis of economic welfare. They range from those without land, income or livestock to those who have only livestock, to those who need land to graze their livestock, (Republic of Namibia). Certain policy requirements potentially worsen the financial status of settlers who are unable to maintain the required “*target minimum income level, adjusted when necessary to reflect changes in the economy*” (ibid.:4), or to support “*cost recovery measures when they are introduced*” (ibid.:3). No leeway is provided in the policy for alternative livelihood strategies. Self-sufficiency is based primarily on providing individuals with an opportunity to produce their own food.

Objectives outlined in the policy emphasise full-time farming as a means to create employment and “*to bring smallholder farmers into the mainstream of the Namibian economy by producing for the market*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:1). For settlers who are destitute, but have no background or interest in farming, the requirement of agricultural production as the state defines it, proves problematic.

- **Technocratic Approach**

An overriding technocratic approach to the alleviation of poverty is clear. Each resettlement project is allocated “*minimum administrative staff, consisting of a record clerk, technical skills advisor and other officials as may be required in accordance with the size of the project*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:6).

The resettlement project staff have more of a supervisory role than facilitatory and no mention is made of empowering assistance for community development skills. Support provided to the settlers focuses on the satisfaction of basic needs, stating the necessity to, “*create a living package whereupon the most basic needs of the settlers can be covered, and the settlers may start working and producing for themselves*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:5).

Provision of services such as schools, clinics, transport means, access roads, and accessories for income generating projects, are stipulated in the policy, through co-operation with respective Ministries. No mention of these services is however, made in the enabling legislation. The MLRR is therefore not accountable to this provision, (M Phil., 1998).

Eleven institutions are listed in the policy for provision of assistance to the MLRR with the projects, (Appendix 5). Institutional designations encompassing consultation with settlers to determine specific needs or aspirations are conspicuously absent. Provision of training assistance to settlers is required of the MAWRD, Namibia Development Corporation and NGO's. Prior consultation with the MLRR is however, required, (M Phil., 1998). It is clear that most tasks outlined for these “partners” are either short-term or centralised technical assistance in planning and administration of projects. No attention is paid to enabling settlers to improve their well-being and autonomy.

- **Natural Resource Ownership**

Provisions dealing with land tenure and use, are particularly significant to San settlers. Free access to natural resources is the basis to livelihood security and well-being of many San people. Secure land tenure is integral to this. The Resettlement Policy fails to specify the basis of the resettlement project land tenure. Tenure security is addressed primarily in terms of access to credit rather than as an integral part of livelihood and well-being. According to the policy, “*settlers should be prepared to hold land under leasehold tenure arrangement to be conferred after 2 years of probation*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:3). This requirement contrasts with the 99 year lease delineated by the ALRA. Potential for conflict over tenure security is therefore high.

A condition of resettlement is that settlers “*should be prepared to relinquish all land rights elsewhere*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:5). Further disenfranchising settlers, this condition creates a system of dependency on the government. This requirement is particularly problematic for San people for whom the recourse to land ownership is generally only through claiming ancestral rights. Combined with the previously mentioned provisions of the Constitution and the ALRA, this provision presently precludes San communities from secure access to land.

- **Sustainability**

Minimal policy attention is given to environmental matters and planning for sustainability in resettlement. Environmental consideration in the policy is mentioned only under the role designated to the MET. The tasks required by the MET are to assist “*in the planning of wildlife based resettlement schemes,*” to ensure “*environmental soundness of plans*” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:5). No mention is made of consultation with settlers to determine their needs and rights to access to natural resources. Similarly, protection and sustainable utilisation of these resources is neglected. Environmental assessment of the resettlement process is not suggested by the policy. No provision is made for incorporating environmental concerns into the implementation, monitoring or management of the schemes.

Summary

The approach adopted by the Resettlement Policy of Namibia provides a short-term crisis management solution to the problem of poverty. The Policy focuses on the attainment of the “products” of self-sufficiency and poverty alleviation through a top-down provision of technocratic goods and services to settlers. This negates empowering principles of sustainable community development. As established in Part 1, these principles emphasise rather, the accommodation of locally conceived needs and aspirations through empowerment. Control of the process as stipulated in the policy is centralised and no provisions are made for the devolution of power.

9.4 Concluding Evaluation of Policy Provisions for Resettlement

Elements of the planning and design of Namibia's resettlement process were examined in Chapters 8 and 9. Selected policy and institutional circumstances governing the resettlement process were examined, based on sustainability principles for community development planning, established in Part 1. The following summary discussion relates the above findings directly to the previously established principles promoting sustainability in the planning and design of community development processes.

Flexibility inclusivity, transparency and accountability are integral to pro-active planning, design and implementation of resettlement initiatives. The objectives of resettlement are better viewed as a process, rather than a finite goal. A dynamic and iterative process more readily accommodates changing circumstances, power relations and learning experiences. Explicitly considering motivations for the process, clarifies existing and prospective roles and decision-making powers of key stakeholders (including settlers). This includes mechanisms to achieve and manage the changes. By heeding power relations between all sectoral levels and social structures and accommodating them into the process, channels of communication are made more effective.

The planning of resettlement process is neither inclusive, transparent nor participatory. Policy provisions designate the MLRR as the principle authority. Minimal co-operation with other ministries and key-stakeholders occurs at the national and regional level and ministry activities are impeded by a lack of capacity, (M Phil., 1998). Conferences and national fora promote consultation, but the MLRR is not accountable to recommendations thereof. Decision-making by the MLRR is not informed by prior investigations into the context of the resettlement projects. The result is a top-down technocratic resettlement process undertaken on an ad hoc basis.

The Resettlement Policy formulation is informed by inflexible legislation rather than guiding it and remains rigid and prescriptive. Resettlement objectives are seen as a goal to be attained in 5 years, rather than an ongoing process of improvement. The ALRA as enabling legislation is extremely inflexible and rigid. No consideration is given to changing power relations and roles of the resettlement 'players'.

Motivations for resettlement are outlined in the policy. Clear strategies for action according to policy and legislation provisions are however, lacking. Decentralisation is proposed through decision-making by Regional councils. No mention is made however, in policy or legislation about evolving community control of the process and their communication with other sectors.

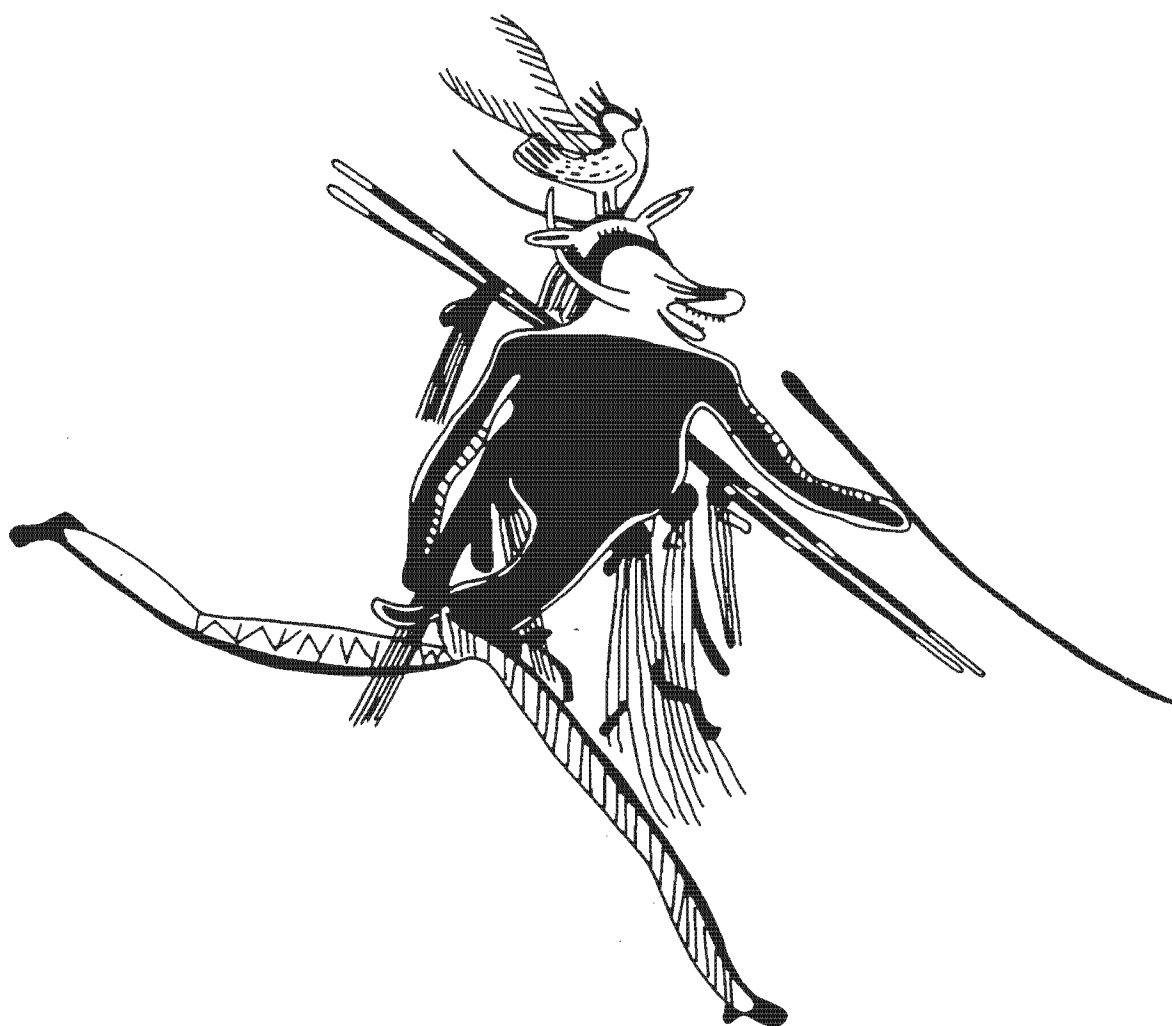
Notwithstanding the above, the three overriding community development principles promote:

- ◆ tailoring the resettlement process to a specific community context. This involves considering and incorporating the broad, dynamic and diverse, political, social and economic cultural, historical and ecological context of the initiative into the process as well as the links/tensions between them;
- ◆ facilitating the continuous participation and involvement of settlers from the inception of the process; and,
- ◆ facilitating the empowerment of settlers for community control of the process.

To determine whether these principles are satisfied with respect to San settlers, the dissertation turns to the resettlement case study of Skoonheid. A previous evaluation of the case study was undertaken for the RAEIR. This evaluation, presented in the baseline report, forms a basis for Chapter 10. It is stressed here, that this dissertation does not seek to re-evaluate Skoonheid in its entirety. Rather, a brief description of the project is given. This is followed by a critical examination of selected circumstances at the scheme which relate to the empowerment/disempowerment of San settlers, as determined by the resettlement process.

CHAPTER 10

Evaluation of the Community-level Implementation of Namibia's Resettlement Process: a Case Study Skoonheid Resettlement Project



Chapter 10

EVALUATION OF THE COMMUNITY-LEVEL IMPLEMENTATION OF NAMIBIA'S RESETTLEMENT PROCESS: A CASE STUDY OF SKOONHEID RESETTLEMENT PROJECT

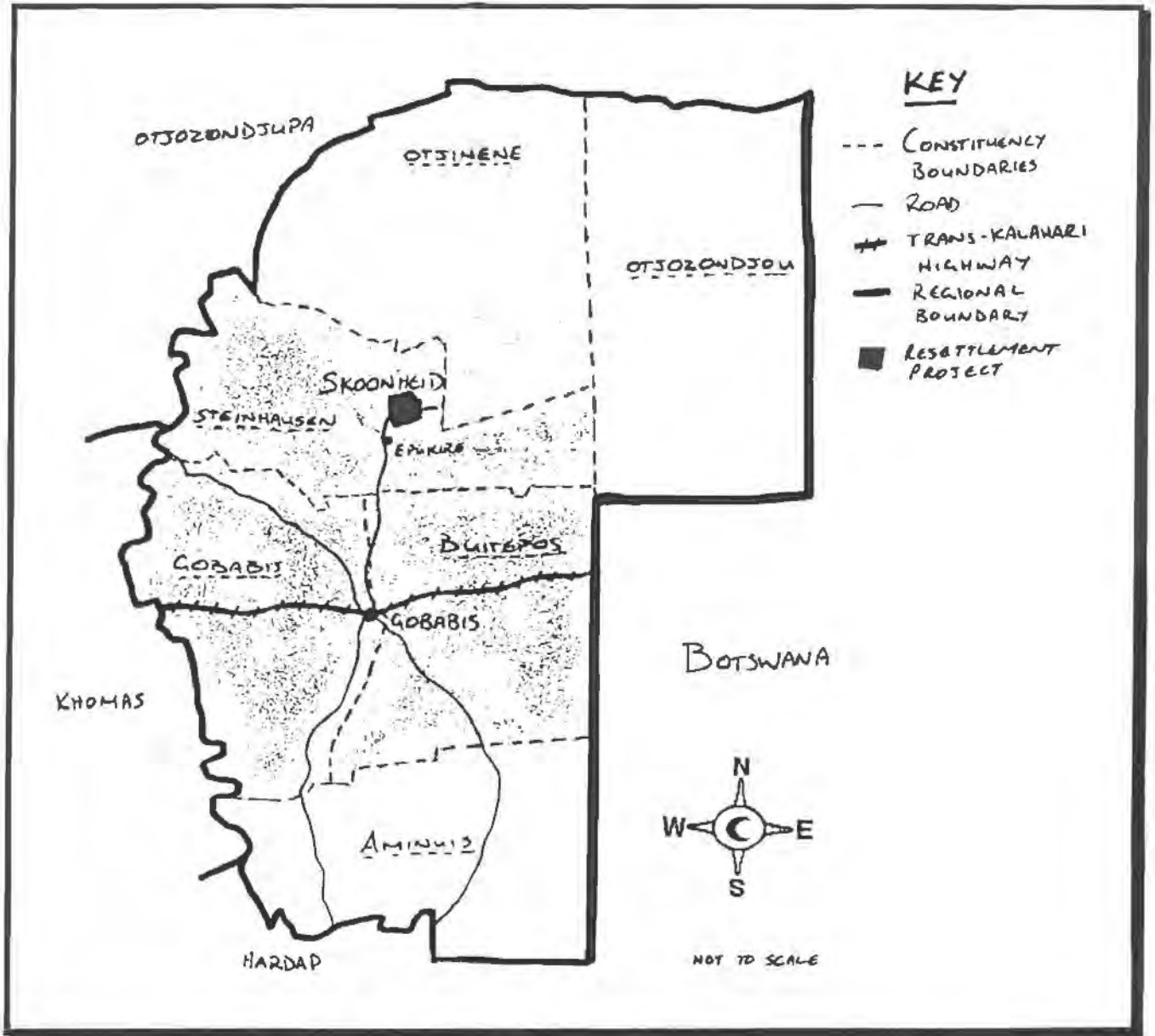
10.1 Introduction

Chapter 10 aims to evaluate the implementation of the Namibian Resettlement Process at the community⁴⁵ level. The intention is not to provide an all-encompassing review of Skoonheid Resettlement project. Rather, reference is made to selected circumstances pertaining to the empowerment of San settlers through the resettlement process. A qualitative examination is made of a specific case study situation, based on sustainable community development principles.

The chapter begins with a brief description of the regional and local circumstances of the study area to locate the case study in a particular context. Map 6, illustrates the study area. The ensuing critical evaluation is based on the model composed in Part 1 of *“Empowerment for Sustainable Community Development”*

The examination is concluded with a summary, Table 2, representing the main conclusions. Based on the evaluation, the table provides a qualitative indication of whether the resettlement process is moving towards or away from sustainability through empowerment for San settlers.

⁴⁵ Community is defined here by the geographical confines of the resettlement project and includes all residents on the scheme.



Map 6 Location of Sכוןheid Resettlement Project in the Omaheke Region of Namibia

10.2 Background: Local and Regional Context of the Study Area.

“To this day no land is owned or controlled by San people in the Omaheke”

(Sylvain, 1998).

Water is the central determining factor in the Omaheke Region. The region receives extremely variable annual rainfall which results in a diversity of vegetation types, (MAWRD, 1997). Despite the unpredictable nature of rainfall trends, cattle farming forms the basis of the regions political economy, (Suzman, 1995). Over half of the area of the Omaheke consists of commercial farmland, while the remainder comprises communal areas, (Werner & Kanguuehi, 1996).

Herero and Nama/Damara people form the majority of Omaheke’s population. Other smaller groups include San, Afrikaans, Tswana, Ovambo people, (Suzman, 1995). Due to the legacy of apartheid, political divisions in Namibia are dominated by ethnic concerns. Support by white and Herero voters, ensured that by 1995, the Omaheke was the only the regional council in Namibia led by the national political opposition, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, (DTA), (Suzman, 1995). At the same time, regional governance in Omaheke was essentially reliant on central government, a truth still evident at the time of researching. Line ministries play a more important role in the Omaheke than regional government in implementing and administering projects, while on a local level, three councils oversee civic duties, (Suzman, 1995). The authority of traditional leadership is still in flux in the Omaheke. As with most other Namibian regions, traditional authority in the Omaheke has generally diminished since to Independence.

Approximately four per cent of Namibia’s population is located in the Omaheke. Most people reside in rural areas and agriculture forms the basis of all employment in the region, (Werner & Kanguuehi, 1996). To Herero and Tswana farmers, ownership of cattle is central to their livelihood. Alternatively, poorer residents such as Damara and Ju’hoansi people rely on small livestock, (Suzman, 1995).

A lack of regular access to sufficient water in the region has prompted many farmers in the commercial sector to diversify their agricultural strategies, (ibid.). Due to water

shortages and extensive bush encroachment, serious overgrazing of pastures has occurred in many areas and is particularly extreme around water points where grazing is concentrated, (Kowalski, 1996).

Access to land provides the key to accumulating wealth in the Omaheke and is therefore intimately connected to impoverishment. Tswana and Herero households have some of the highest average per capita incomes in the region. For populations previously marginalised under the apartheid administration such as the rural Damara and Ju/'hoansi, limited financial gain is evident, (Werner & Kanguuchi, 1996). Forbidden to hunt in commercial farming areas since the 1920's, many of the Omaheke's San population are third and fourth generation farm labourers, (Sylvain, 1998).

Of all the groups in the Omaheke, the six and a half thousand strong Ju/'hoansi population are said to be the most marginalised and impoverished society, (Suzman, 1995). Commercial farms in the Omaheke have been purchased by the MLRR since independence for the institution of the National Resettlement Programme to address problems associated with this impoverishment. Two of the resettlement projects in the Omaheke with which Ju/'hoansi settlers are registered include Drimiopsis and Skoonheid.

10.3 Skoonheid Resettlement Project: Description of Study Site



Photograph 1 Entrance to Skoonheid Resettlement Project

10.3.1. Location and Description

Skoonheid Resettlement Project, (Photo. 1), is situated approximately 110 km north of Gobabis in the Omaheke Region. Located in a commercial farming area, “Skoonheid” project comprises 3 separate farms, Skoonheid, Rosenhof and Rusplaas, (Appendix. 6). These are managed by the MLRR as one property. Sold to the government in the early 1990’s, Skoonheid was specifically allocated to Ju/’hoansi communities, (Thoma). The farm was first resettled by Jo/’hoansi families in 1993.

10.3.2. Climate and Ecology

The climate of Skoonheid is classified as “sub-tropical Savannah” the heaviest rains of which occur between October and April, (MAWRD, 1997). The agricultural potential of the farm, determined by water availability, is limited in terms of crop production, (ibid.).

Agricultural Capacity

The dominant soil types of the farm have a low nutrient capacity. Livestock grazing is deemed the most suitable agricultural activity for the area and only small irrigated gardens for individual use are considered viable, (Huesken et al, 1994). The vegetation type in the case study area, is categorised as Camelthorn Savannah. As a long-standing commercial farm, the ecological status of the plot is far from pristine. Lack of control over livestock numbers and grazing patterns combined with an increasing population, has led to an overload of the carrying capacity of the farm. Signs of worsening land and vegetational degradation are evident, particularly around water points and according to settlers, wood availability is decreasing.

10.3.3. Settler Community

A total of 229 people are registered with the project. This figure fluctuates widely due to settler mobility. The majority of settlers on the project are Ju/'hoansi ex-farm workers, many of whom were relocated from Drimiopsis. At the time of researching, approximately only seven settlers at Skoonheid were Damara-speakers. Two Herero households on Rosenhof were allocated temporary drought relief grazing by the MLRR during the 1992/93 drought years in Namibia. The legal circumstances surrounding their continued presence and rights on the property are vague as these grazers were not registered with the resettlement programme, Suzman, (1995).

10.3.4. Institutions and Authorities

The MLRR is the principle authority at Skoonheid. The project is overseen by a Herero-speaking clerk, Ms Frederika Uanivi. The job description of the MLRR clerk remains unclarified, but a supervisory role was evident.

All activities on the farm are either determined or controlled by the official. One activity involves overseeing the communal garden which includes implementing the agricultural plan set by the MLRR national office. Seed distribution to settlers, control of planting and irrigation and managing the distribution and marketing of farm produce are all overseen by the clerk. Other duties of the clerk include regulating the food-for-work programme and communicating and co-ordinating with line ministries.



Photograph 2

Distribution of Governmental Food Provisions

Two NGO's provide assistance on the project. Health Unlimited provides a free monthly health service to the settlers. The Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa, (WIMSA), provides assistance to Ju/'hoansi settlers in the form of community organisation and mobilisation for the identification of community priorities, needs and aspirations.

Although not formerly associated with the resettlement project, assistance and training provided by these NGO's are greatly appreciated by the Ju/'hoansi settlers. The traditional leadership role on Skoonheid is undertaken by a Ju/'hoan authority who heads the community committee, Frederik Langman also represents local Ju/'hoansi people at consultative conferences and fora. The community committee on the project consists of six members of both women and men and is responsible for communicating with higher authorities.

10.3.5. Project Layout

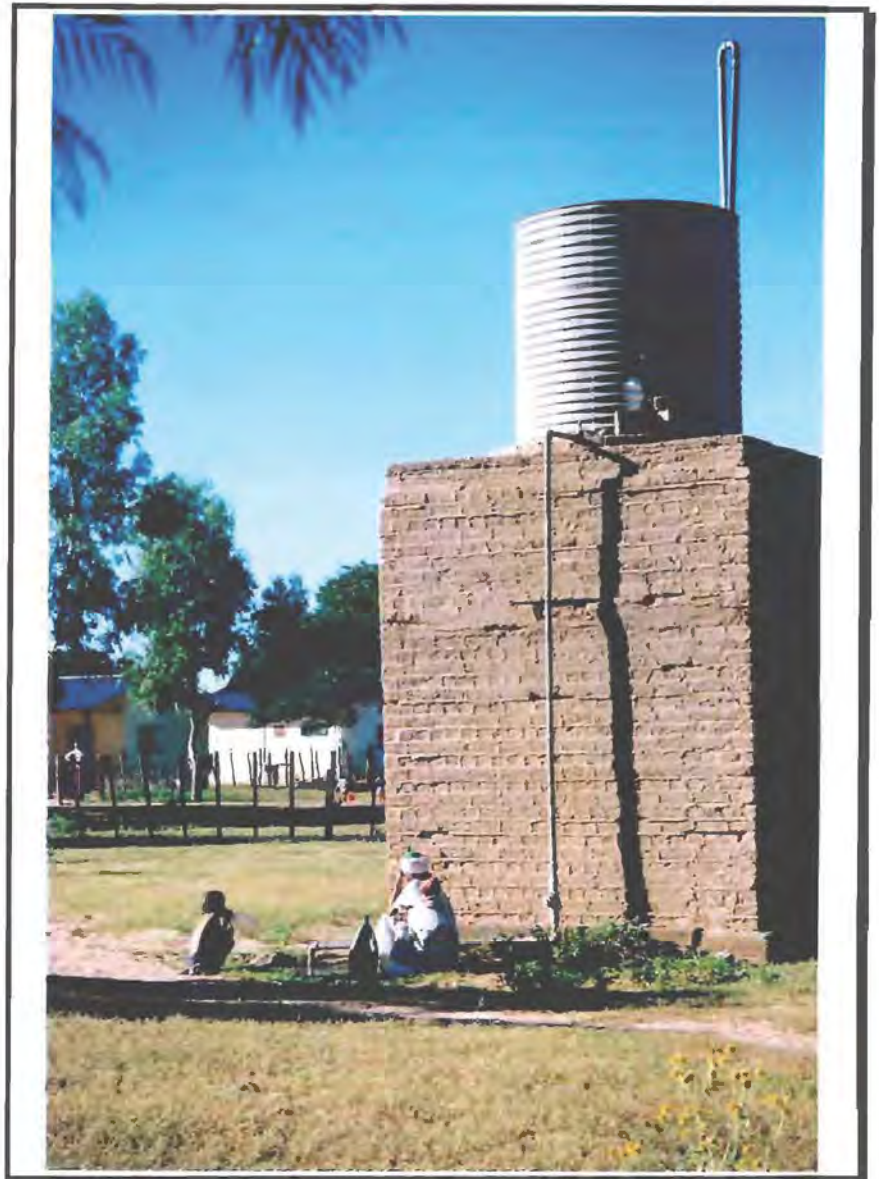
The majority of settlers have been allocated to a close community of approximately forty brick houses on the original Skoonheid farm. The houses were built to government plans by settlers using bricks produced on the project as part of the food-for-work programme. Adjoining many of these houses are small private vegetable gardens. Houses of the local authorities and livestock-owning settlers are located in surrounding areas and several four hectare plots have been allocated for livestock grazing. Remaining land serves as communal grazing areas. Twelve houses on the project remain incomplete.

Two communal gardens forming the basis for the current food-for-work scheme on the project are overseen by the administrator. Most food is obtained by settlers from monthly governmental provisions of this food-for-work scheme, (photo. 2), rather than produce from these gardens. The communal gardens are located behind the main farmstead, and are irrigated with water from a solar-powered pump. The project has a total of 16 boreholes. Of the six pumps at the main Skoonheid farm, only one was operating at the time of researching. Water is collected from this pump by individuals for household consumption, (photo. 3).

10.3.6. Project

Infrastructure

Infrastructure and transport facilities on the project are limited. Existing telephone facilities were cut by the MLRR and a private telephone owned by one of the Damara settlers, represents the single communication facility. No form of motorised transport is available on the project. Donkey-carts are owned by some settlers. At N\$40 per trip to Gobabis, these form the basis form of transport on the farm. A small shop run by one of the Damara settlers on the project, provides to settlers who can afford to purchase goods.



Photograph 3

Collection of water from central pump

10.3.7. Project Management and Activities

Maintenance of farm equipment is undertaken by line ministries and MAWRD extension officers are responsible for borehole operation and the provision of diesel. No management plan or monitoring of activities such as water and pasturage usage is undertaken on the farm and the carrying capacity is currently exceeded by fifty per cent, (M Phil., 1998).

Activities on the project are designed to occupy settlers in agricultural production on a full time basis. The closest major market to the project is in Gobabis. Part-time employment is sought on neighbouring farms by some men on the project. This is however, discouraged by the communal requirement of the food-for-work programme. The absence of workers from the scheme for any length of time is frowned upon. Supplementary income for settlers is low and most of the settlers are dependent on government provisions for satisfaction of basic needs. Education, training and income-generating services are limited on the project. Both an adult literacy and women's sewing and knitting project, organised by the MLRR, have since discontinued.

10.3.8. Facilities and Services

Besides the free monthly health facilities provided by a mobile clinic, the closest clinic to the project is located in Gobabis. Access of settlers to this service for emergency cases is limited in terms of expense and a lack of access to appropriate transport. As a result, many emergency cases such as childbirth, take place on the farm in the absence of formal medical assistance. There are no security services on the project.

The closest education facilities for children on Skoonheid are more than 20km away. In the absence of a school on the project younger children from the project attend either Gaina school or the Hippo school at Drimiopsis.⁴⁶ The highest grade of the schools is however, only grade 7. Non-attendance settler children of the secondary school at Drimiopsis is evident by the large presence of older Ju/'hoansi children⁴⁷ on the project. Responsibility for payment of the N\$92 per term school fees required at the Drimiopsis school reportedly rests with the MLRR, (McLeod, pers. comm.).

The above description of Skoonheid has outlined selected circumstances on the Resettlement Project as a basis for the following examination. It is then, to an evaluation of the community-level implementation of Namibia's resettlement process that this dissertation now turns.

⁴⁶ These are the only two schools in the Omaheke which cater primarily for Ju/'hoansi pupils.

⁴⁷ This is particularly true of girls. Project records reveal a far greater number of girls on the farm than boys of the same age.

10.4 Sustainable Community Development for a Ju/'hoan Settler Community: Evaluation of Skoonheid Resettlement Project

The section below provides a critical evaluation of the community-level implementation of Namibia's resettlement process at Skoonheid Resettlement Project. Undertaken within a qualitative paradigm, the study draws on previously established sustainability principles of community development processes. The emphasis of the evaluation rests on the process of empowerment afforded to Ju/'hoansi settlers through the resettlement programme.

The model of empowerment for sustainable community development is represented by Figure 6. The model provides a basis for the following evaluation and is reproduced in Appendix 8 for ease of reference. Incorporated into the model are sustainability principles of community development processes. These are assessed below in the context of Skoonheid Resettlement Project. As outlined in Chapter 6, these key principles include:

- ◆ Local Independence
- ◆ Provision of space for social and cultural assertion and spiritual welfare
- ◆ Ability to exercise financial independence
- ◆ Access to natural resources for sustainable livelihood
- ◆ Access to appropriate services
- ◆ Ability to achieve and enhance food and self-sufficiency
- ◆ Access to and ability to exercise knowledge and skills for sustainable, autonomous livelihood
- ◆ Access to skills training

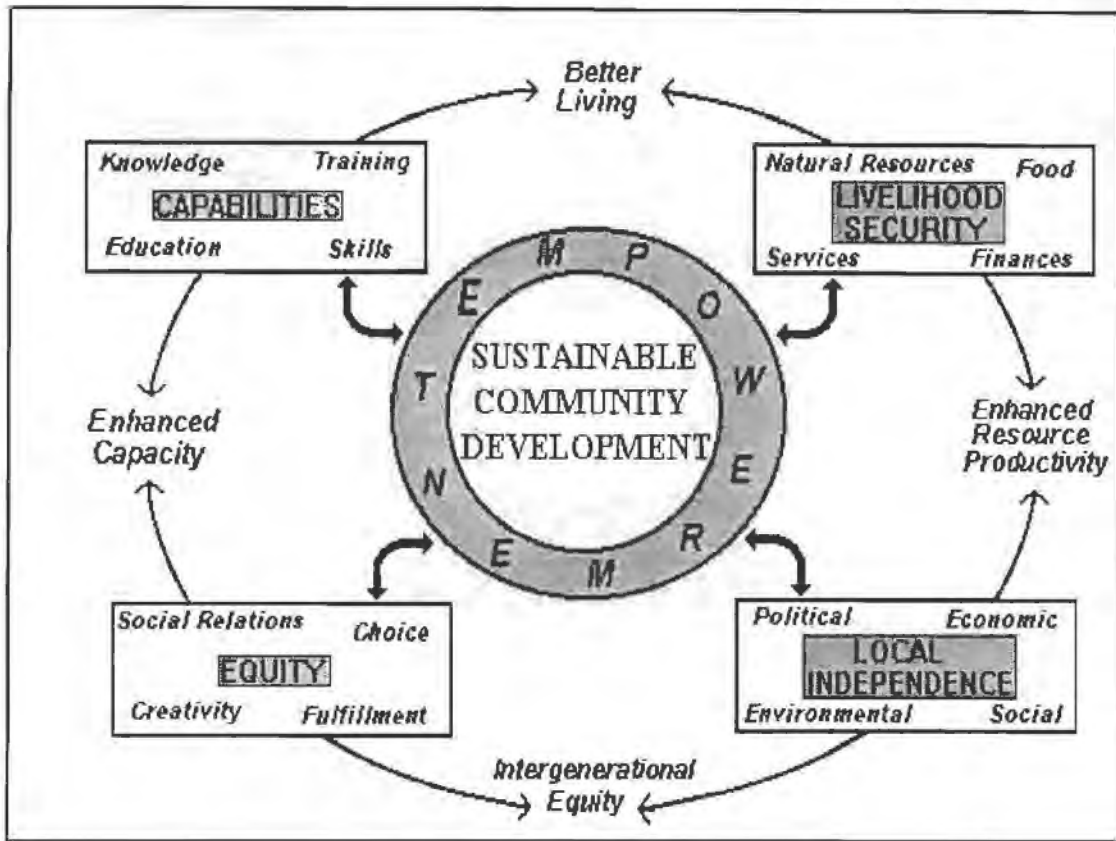


Figure 6 Model of Empowerment for Sustainable Community Development

Each condition description is followed by a discussion of research findings and a summary evaluation. Although based largely on findings from the case study, the aforementioned conditions are separated to facilitate examination of the process of empowerment. They are however, mutually informing and should not be considered in isolation. Chapter 10 concludes with a summary evaluation table. In this qualitative evaluation, the degree to which empowerment and sustainability is achieved is inconclusive. Nonetheless, Table 2 provides a useful indication of whether the resettlement process encourages or discourages the process of empowerment, autonomy and self-sufficiency of San settlers for each selected sustainability principle. The table therefore indicates whether resettlement is moving towards or away from sustainability.

10.5 Sustainability Conditions for Community Development

10.5.1 *Is Local Independence encouraged?*

Local independence encompasses a number of factors influencing individual well-being. It involves the ability to effect and manage continuous change for individual and community improvement in a sustainable manner, based on locally conceived and agreed upon priorities and aspirations. Local independence, implies the ability of all individuals to create, participate in and direct representative and accountable institutions and democratic decision-making processes on an ongoing basis. The choice to interact in regional and national governance is important access through appropriate and effective communication channels is essential.

Discussion

Change Management

Local Independence of settlers, relates to the ability of the community to effect and manage continuous change for individual and community improvement in a sustainable manner. According to Suzman, (1995), the strict controlled situation on farms in the Omaheke has instigated the break-up of kinship groups. This has meant that the Ju/'hoansi offer no unified political discourse or aspirations. On Skoonheid however, Ju/'hoansi settlers are increasingly mobilised to express local priorities. Nonetheless, this activism is discouraged by the top-down approach of the schemes' management. Minimal freedom is accorded to settlers to take initiative in planning and directing the resettlement process through project activities. Project management is centrally planned at a national level of government. This includes decisions ranging from the designation of settlers to Skoonheid, and their general living space on the farm, to the agricultural activity on the project and resource access and control.

The project is overseen by a MLRR administrator, who assumes the role of a supervisor. Project activities are determined and prioritised by the MLRR. The identification of local project needs is communicated to higher authority through the administrator.

The priorities for the project are therefore, not locally conceived to meet the aspirations of the settlers. Relations between Ju/'hoansi settlers and the MLRR administrator on Skoonheid were strained at the time of researching. These tensions were expressed as negative ethnic preconceptions from both parties. A general lack of communication between the settlers and the MLRR administrator was evident.

The MLRR clerk appears not to be present at Skoonheid on a continuous basis. Her absence from the project enabled settlers to take initiative for activities such as the allocation of food rations at the time of researching. Settlers expressed the preference for her absence, *"It is better when she is gone as she knows nothing about the farm."*⁴⁸ Despite wishing to take initiative however, settlers expressed frustration at not knowing what was expected of them. Describing the situation of the five broken boreholes on Skoonheid, a Ju/'hoan settler explained, *"we do not have tools, we have asked for them and know how to do the work. We want the responsibility to make it work. We need a drill and will build in the pipes ourselves, why are we not given the right?"*

Community Institutions and Political Autonomy

Traditional decision-making systems of the Ju/'hoansi are described as largely egalitarian. Any individual may participate in decision-making processes. An emphasis is placed by the group on collective decision-making rather than hierarchical authority, and high import is placed on tolerance of individual participation and story-telling, (Biesele, 1993). Authority within Ju/'hoansi communities is based on an individuals personal attributes rather than inherited rights and hierarchical structures within a community are generally frowned upon, (Jones, 1996).

Autonomy of the settlers on Skoonheid appears to be encouraged by the presence of Ju/'hoan traditional authorities at Skoonheid. Frederik Langman, and Hendrik Jager, a senior councillor, are responsible for communicating with government officials on behalf of the community committee. Despite the unanimous respect accorded to them by settlers, the authorities themselves expressed doubt as to the representativity of the committee.

⁴⁸ All quotes by settlers are translated from Afrikaans. The anonymity of settlers is purposefully maintained to pre-empt negative repercussions.

The committee was formed under instruction by the government and is therefore seen by settlers as inappropriate to the Ju/'hoansi governance as is expressed by Frederik Langman, "*We San are not good at such things.*" The traditional de-emphasising of leadership roles amongst the Ju/'hoansi remains a problem, (Suzman, 1995). By not accommodating the informal Ju/'hoansi political organisation the resettlement process prevents them from articulating their needs in the political economy, thereby increasing their marginalisation,

The extent of power of the committee and traditional authority at Skoonheid appears not to extend to directing decision-making processes. This is particularly true of those based on existing social institutions and mechanisms integral to Ju/'hoan well-being. As one settler complained, "*The ministers in Windhoek get to decide and they do not know what goes on the farm.*" The option of Ju/'hoansi settlers to interact in regional and national governance remains limited. Ju/'hoansi, have no political candidate of their own in Omaheke, or in the national government sector, (Suzman, 1995), Ju/'hoansi people hold a potential 5% of the vote in the region. Nonetheless, disillusionment in party politics due to past political manipulation by others has mitigated against the articulation of the Ju/'hoansi political interests, (ibid.).

Skoonheid Resettlement Project is characterised by a lack of appropriate communication channels necessary for interaction between settlers and higher sectoral authority.⁴⁹ At the time of researching settlers were awaiting instructions from the MLRR central office delineating their obligations on the farm. On a practical level, the lack of communication infrastructure on the project adds to the marginalisation of Skoonheid settlers.

Despite centralised control of project management, the lack of communication and organisation within the MLRR hinders settler self-sufficiency on Skoonheid. Knowledge essential to project management, such as maintenance of the farms carrying capacity and borehole monitoring was unknown by the clerk. This is despite access to the MLRR agricultural potential report containing this information. The lack of institutional communication served to further confusion concerning details of designated roles of various officials. Accountability of officials is therefore reduced and assistance provision remains inefficient.

⁴⁹ A factor characteristic of all the resettlement schemes visited during research for the RAEIR.

Summary Findings

Ju/'hoansi settlers on Skoonheid are highly mobilised to express their priorities and aspirations. Beauracratc restrictions and centralised control limits San settler self-determination. This is integral to all issues raised in this evaluation and is a major weakness of the resettlement programme. Centralised design and management of the project discourages settlers participation and involvement in the resettlement process. Community institutions are not locally conceived nor do they accommodate traditional decision-making systems. The political power of traditional authorities is limited. Ministerial disorganisation and miscommunication reduces accountability and effective assistance provision to settlers.

10.5.2 Is Space for Social and Cultural Assertion and Spiritual Welfare Provided for?

This condition promotes equity. It serves as a basis for the other conditions and is informed by them. In this way, individuals are continually free to define, express and change their well-being through such factors as social relations including gender and age, living standards, choice, creativity and fulfilment. Human rights, and intergenerational equity are integral to this condition.

Discussion

Social Relations

Characteristics of the Ju/'hoansi traditional social interaction include a de-emphasis of leadership roles, loose social structures, a lack of institutionalised authority and consensual egalitarianism in all decision-making processes, (Suzman, 1995). Extensive kin-based networks are used to overcome both ecological constraints and social hardships, ensuring shared resources and widespread provision of assistance. The maintenance of this social safety net, is manifest in highly fluid household arrangements and extended visiting, Sylvain, (1998). The break-up of kinship groups and subsequent fragmentation of social organisation is evident among many San communities throughout Namibia. This contributes to a poor self and group-image, (Suzman, 1995).

An awareness amongst many impoverished Ju/'hoansi people of their total dependency on other groups worsens their self-image and encourages them to engage in activities stereotyping them such as excessive drinking, (Suzman, 1995). This is evident on the project and alcohol is recognised by the settlers themselves as a problem.

Freedom of choice, social, cultural and spiritual assertion is integral to all other factors discussed here. Given the lack of local independence afforded to the Skoonheid settlers, the freedom of individuals to define, express and change their well-being is limited. The legacy of apartheid has resulted in a national cynicism of any form of individual expression or separation on so-called ethnic grounds. Mirrored in the resettlement process, this is significant for the autonomy of San settlers.

Resettlement in Namibia is touted in policy documents as a voluntary act. Furthermore, consideration is given by the MLRR to settlers in their choice of settlement area. Increasing impoverishment signals a decrease in choice. Given the impoverished status of the majority of San settlers, availability of choice to settlers is restricted. Although not explicitly stated in official documents, the population composition of resettlement schemes, is pre-determined by authorities. Families from diverse social backgrounds are settled together ensuring social integration, (Thoma, pers. comm.). This is not necessarily problematic, however, the resettlement process fails to recognise diverse local needs of settlers. Frustration at this was expressed by a Skoonheid Ju/'hoan settler whereby, *"The government knows that San will always be dominated, that is why we must always live together."* A great deal of social tension on the scheme related to this socially engineered situation.

The justified fear expressed by San settlers of domination by other social groups plays an integral part in their freedom of social and cultural assertion and their ability to exercise choice. Such fear was stressed by Ju/'hoansi settlers at Skoonheid, , *"The government says they bought the place for San, but now others manage it. Now that Herero's manage [the farm], others move in."* The Ju/'hoan fear that, *"A Bushman must just be dominated if you are a Bushman"* is not unfounded given widespread disparaging views of Ju/'hoansi people by others. Derogatory references to the Ju/'hoansi settlers by the Herero grazers were recorded during the research. One grazer described the settlers as *"lazy, stubborn and stupid."*

Lack of freedom by San settlers to choose and define their living standards is closely associated with derogatory perceptions of them by others. No attempt is made in the resettlement process to accommodate diverse requirements and social differences between groups are highlighted. Thus, like other San people, Ju/'hoansi are still regarded as primitive, (Suzman, 1995). Dissatisfaction was expressed by a Skoonheid Damara settler at living with people who, *"don't wash and don't care about money."* An issue related to the ability of San settlers to define their living standards refers to criticisms of ungratefulness and primitiveness levelled by officials at San settlers who slept outside *"even though they have been given houses."* Thus, the resettlement policy provision to *"uplift the living standard of all Namibian's"* (Republic of Namibia, 1996:1) fails to consider the ability of San settlers to define their own living standards.

Gender Relations

The freedom to define gender relations has particular significance to San settlers. According to Suzman, (1995), gender relations among the Ju/'hoansi differ to those of other groups. Men and women traditionally had equal access to resources and marriage structures were weak and monogamous. Decision-making was not defined by gender roles, and both parties were equally vocal. Similarly, gender did not form the basis on which social space was divided. The role of women primarily as gatherers resulted in their provision of most of the nutrition in a community's diet, Suzman, (1995). Employment largely of men in agriculture continued land appropriation, restricts foraging strategies. This currently causes vast changes in gender relations, (Suzman, 1995). Husbands are becoming the central providers thereby contributing to the increasing marginalisation of women. The incidence of domestic violence against Ju/'hoansi women in Omaheke is reported to have increased dramatically, (Thoma, pers. comm.).

Gender problems such as these and others are evident on the resettlement schemes visited. Employment of men on commercial farms to supplement their income has meant the settler population of Skoonheid consists largely of women, children and old people. The separation of gender roles on Skoonheid in project activities was evident and work in the communal garden was undertaken primarily by women. This was attributed by settlers to the fear of the clerk of men on the farm. Her subsequent lack of authority means that *"only the women skoffel (hoe) in the garden."*

Further activities carried out primarily by Ju/'hoansi women on the project included the collection of wood for fuel. During this time consuming and energy intensive activity a limited amount of veldkos, (bush food),⁵⁰ is gathered by the women. Government managed activities on Skoonheid formerly providing women with income, included a knitting and sewing project. Despite the marketing and management of goods and income by the previous clerk, the activity was viewed favourably by women settlers. The project however, discontinued. Women are particularly affected by the lack of access to emergency medical services at Skoonheid. Childbirth is reported by settlers to be frequent on the project in the absence of appropriate medical assistance and infrastructure.

Summary Findings

Social engineering by the government without due regard to diverse individual needs limits the well-being and self-determination of settlers. Forced integration, reduces the freedom of San settlers to define, express and change their well-being through such factors as social relations. Failure to consider the specific needs, abilities and priorities of the different groups, results in an unequal provision of assistance. Inevitably the most marginalised Ju/'hoansi people, are dominated by others. This is central to limiting the freedom of choice of Skoonheid's San settlers. Consideration of gender relations is insufficient. Likewise, specific needs of San women are neglected, thereby further marginalising them.

10.5.3 Are Settlers encouraged and assisted to exercise financial independence?

A factor of livelihood security, financial independence comprises access to employment, income, assets and credit facilities and markets as well as the ability to create manage and utilise them in such a way as to maintain and improve livelihood and increase choice and opportunities on a continuous basis. Financial independence should not be limited to economic efficiency in relation to markets and includes freedom to practice a multitude of alternative strategies of livelihood.

⁵⁰ Veldkos refers to all manner of edible vegetation and organisms obtainable from surrounding areas

Discussion

Access of San settlers to formal employment is less than that of other groups. Ju/'hoansi workers constitute around 25% of the commercial farm labour in the Omaheke. Despite this fact, low wages are paid as farmers believe they are incapable of handling a proper wage, (Suzman, 1995). The resettlement projects are planned "*to create employment through full time farming*" (Republic of Namibia, 1996:1). As a result, the opportunity of settlers to practice a multitude of different livelihood strategies is limited. The use of the food-for-work programme on the project, emphasising communal labour, precludes the settlers from access to regular income for their individual needs. The problem of alcoholism particularly amongst San settlers is often cited by authorities as the reason that money is not given to the settlers.

The management of income received from the sale of excess produce from the communal garden or from income-generating activities is controlled by the MLRR administrator at Skoonheid. Frustration was expressed by Ju/'hoansi settlers at Skoonheid on their reliance on authorities for access to markets and management of the income. Referring to marketing their goods, a settler remarked, "*if we could have our own transport, we could arrange to sell it ourselves.*" Furthermore, income from the sewing project which was managed by the previous MLRR administrator, has yet to be seen by the settlers. The lack of secure land tenure afforded through resettlement is cited as a limiting factor of access of settlers to credit facilities.

There is a clear distinction between the lower economic status of San and other settlers. Ethnic stereotypes contribute to the class status of San people, (Sylvain, 1998). The domination of San by other groups, is a source of great social tension between groups on Skoonheid. Numerous complaints referred to excessive prices charged to Ju/'hoansi settlers for goods and services rendered by other residents. Describing the sale of "*thombi*" (alcohol) to San settlers at Skoonheid a Ju/'hoansi settler stated, "*Damaras make thombi, they don't care, they just want money.*" These problems are seldom voiced to authorities by Ju/'hoansi settlers, and social conflicts remain unresolved on the project.

Access to income and employment is a priority to San settlers. Nonetheless, limited freedom is afforded to settlers to practice alternative livelihood strategies.

The inflexibility of the process limits the support given to diversify strategies and agriculture remains the principle livelihood means on the schemes. Strategies adopted by San settlers, are seen by authorities as contrary to the ideals of the schemes. These include foraging in plentiful seasons and “visiting” for the maintenance of kinship relations. The instituted ideals of the communal labour and livelihood on Skoonheid, strongly discourages settler ‘absenteeism’. The threat of not receiving sufficient food due to requirements of the food-for-work scheme, further limits the mobility of San settlers and they remain dependent on government provisions. The resettlement process therefore increases livelihood risk of San settlers by discouraging traditional systems of coping with adverse conditions. These traditional livelihood strategies relate closely to the following point of access to natural resources.

Summary Findings

Management of income from project activities is controlled by the MLRR administrator, thereby entrenching settler dependency. Access to markets is limited due to lack of infrastructure and transport facilities. The opportunity of settlers to diversify their livelihood strategies is limited by the inflexible food-for-work programme. This further precludes settlers from access to regular income for their individual needs. Ju/’hoansi settlers are exploited by more affluent groups. Traditional social systems securing livelihood, such as the maintenance of kinship ties through visiting, are discouraged. Livelihood risk is therefore increased for San settlers by the resettlement process.

10.5.4 Do settlers have access to natural resources for sustainable livelihood?

This condition further serves livelihood security, Access to natural resources pertains to the ability to own, utilise, maintain and improve these resources on a continuous sustainable basis, according to diverse local priorities and dynamic social and ecological circumstances. Some of the essential resources include land, water and vegetation.

Discussion

Land and marginality

Access to and control of natural resources, is a principle determining factors of empowerment of San settlers. The overriding consideration is that of the ability to own and utilise land according to local priorities. Central to traditional Ju/'hoansi land tenure is the idea of a demarcated unit of space or "n!óré." This is a natural resource base containing enough food and water resources to sustain a user group on a continuous basis, (Wilmsen, 1989b). The land surface of a n!óré depends on the number of people living in the area and the fertility of the land, (Thoma, 1997). This area, literally translated as a "place in land," may be acquired through birthrights or marriage, (Wilmsen, 1989b:53). It is related to "a set of status positions binding an individual to a network of associations and obligations owed between persons with respect to land" (ibid.).

Thus, kinship ties, regulating social rights and obligations are integral to land ownership and natural resource usage. Ju/'hoansi communities have adapted the n!óré system to modern circumstances and still use it as the basis for land allocation and resource use in communal areas of Namibia (Jones, 1996).

A stated purpose of the resettlement process is the redistribution of land to the landless. The manner in which this is done, however, discourages self-sufficiency of settlers. Dependency of the disenfranchised is increased through the allocation of people to an area managed and supervised by others. Referring to this, one settler complained, "They give us the land then take it away, they want San people to build the place up for them." Tenure arrangements on all projects is by leasehold, and land remains in the hands of the state.

Limited communication with San settlers over specific rights over the land, contributes to many of the problems experienced on Skoonheid. The lack of empowerment afforded to settlers to manage their natural resources is clear, "We want to start saving [pasturage] for the possible drought, but the government brings Hereros in." Further problems relate to the reluctance of settlers to invest time and energy in an uncertain future, "We don't know where we sit that is why we do not do anything with our place."

Ju/'hoansi fear of domination is justifiably linked to land tenure issues. Traditionally cattless people, the Ju/'hoansi are considered by others to be poor and Hereros are loathe to concede grazing to Ju/'hoansi, (Suzman, 1995). An example of this relates to the Herero grazers at Skoonheid who utilise a large amount of pasturage and water points on the farm. Thus policy rhetoric espousing equal access does not translate on a practical level. In the absence of absolute tenure of land, the Ju/'hoansi are unable to use their legal rights to prevent other groups from settling on land earmarked for them. The lack of consideration in the resettlement process for specific priorities of San is evident, *"The government does not understand San way of life, when we move around, they say we don't want our land."*

Access to and use of other natural resources for dietary supplements is further limited on the resettlement projects. Surrounded by private land in commercial farming areas, San settlers are unable to access to vast areas needed for the collection of *"veldkos"*. Overcrowding and unsustainable overutilisation of natural resources is evident on Skoonheid. A result of inappropriate project planning and management, this compounds difficulties experienced by women in satisfying food and energy requirements for their households.

Lack of organisation and communication amongst authorities, delays their service provision. Water is not freely accessible to settlers at Skoonheid, and at the time of researching pumps had been turned off by officials to prevent settlers from watering their individual gardens. Dependency and lack of responsibility for the management of natural resources contributes to the abuse of government provisions. Regular theft of machinery from the borehole pumps is reported from Skoonheid, (Uanivi, pers. comm.).

Summary Findings

The inflexible resettlement process fails to provide secure land tenure to San settlers resulting in their continued disempowerment. Ability of settlers to utilise and manage natural resources according to their local priorities is restricted. Control over access to basic needs such as water and energy remains with authorities. Non-recognition of diverse local priorities and traditional social systems of San settlers increases their subordination by others. Dependency on government provisions is compounded.

Inappropriate planning and management by authorities has resulted in overpopulation and unsustainable overutilisation of natural resources and therefore greater dependency of settlers on government provisions.

10.5.5 Do settlers have access to appropriate services?

A condition of livelihood security, this includes access to health and safety services which meet local needs and seek to enhance impoverished circumstances. These can be improved through education. Further services also include access to appropriate shelter in terms of the ability to choose both the type and location of shelter or housing. The command of an individual over the management of their own space is central to this factor which is linked to empowerment for equity.

Discussion

Health

Among Ju/'hoansi, dependency on government provisions has led to the lack of access to a foraging lifestyle which is more nutritionally balanced. A direct result of this is the development of health-related social problems. The most significant of this is alcoholism, (Suzman, 1995). The spread of diseases such as Tuberculosis is compounded by the communal lifestyle of the Ju/'hoansi, (ibid.).

Apart from the new Trans-Kalahri highway, all other roads in the Omaheke are gravel. No public transport systems are provided in the region. This is true on Skoonheid where access to emergency health care is extremely limited due to the lack of both transport and communication facilities on the farm. Basic health services provided by Health Unlimited, include education for identification and basic treatment of common ailments. Access to other health care services is limited to impoverished settlers and Ju/'hoansi settlers are financially constrained.

Security

Crime in the form of theft and fighting remains a threat on the resettlement project. Problems of access to safety and security services are experienced by San settlers, in the Omaheke. Stereotypes of the Ju/'hoansi have entrenched the preconception that they have an excessive propensity for theft, (Suzman, 1995). As one Ju/'hoan settler stated, "*from Independence, the jails are full of San people*" The inability or unwillingness of San settlers to seek formal reprisal against other groups on the scheme is linked to their dominated status. This situation is improving at Skoonheid as Ju/'hoansi settlers are becoming more aware of their rights through NGO assistance, (Brörmann, 1997). Women are particularly vulnerable to violent crime in the Omaheke, and girls are reportedly often kept away from school hostels by their parents because of this, (Suzman, 1995).

Shelter

San people define a household on the basis of those who eat together and share household tasks and resources, (Sylvain, 1998). Houses are provided to households which are stipulated as the nuclear family. Extended families may be settled nearby, but not in the same house, (Kanyemba, pers. comm.). This runs contrary to traditional communal San lifestyle and reduces kinship networks. Accusations of ungratefulness are levelled at San settlers for their misuse of government shelter provisions. Despite the fact that settlers were grateful for "*a place to sleep when it rains,*" disillusionment with the lack of provisions for the houses was common.

This is directly related to the lack of consideration of the needs of settlers in the process. As Suzman, (1995), suggests, providing housing without an independent means of subsistence, only increases dependence on others. Limited participation of the settlers in the planning process of the projects results in their inability to determine and manage their own social and living space. Traditional "mobile" social systems reducing community tensions, are limited by the sedentary lifestyle imposed by the inflexibility of the projects.

Summary Findings

Basic health services are provided on Skoonheid by an NGO. They are regular and beneficial. Education provided is highly appreciated by the settlers. Emergency medical services are, however limited due to the marginality of the projects and lack of transport and infrastructure. A derogatory view of San settlers limits their equitable access to safety services and crime remains a problem. The inflexible manner of shelter provision furthers social differences and negates the traditional lifestyle of San settlers. Freedom to determine living space is restricted by the top-down inflexible nature of the resettlement process. Traditional mechanisms of Ju/'hoansi people to reduce social tensions through mobility are discouraged.

10.5.6 Do settlers have the ability to achieve and enhance food and self-sufficiency?

The final condition of livelihood security, the autonomy to determine and manage the way in which food and self-sufficiency is achieved is important here.

Discussion

The manner, type and frequency of achieving food on the resettlement schemes is dictated by authorities. Agricultural planning, including 'when' and 'what' to plant, is currently determined by the MLRR at a national level. This generic planning is reportedly under revision, (Kanjii, pers. comm.). Settler reliance on provisions of the food-for-work scheme restricts the choice of food. This is pivotal to more impoverished settlers who have no access to supplementary food. Agricultural activities in the communal garden at Skoonheid, is exclusively controlled and managed by the clerk. As one settler stated, "*The manager says when we must plant and she gives us seeds. She has the key.*"

Options for utilising other strategies for achieving food are limited at Skoonheid. Traditional foraging strategies on the project are not viable given the large populations of both settlers and livestock. Hunting on surrounding private farmland is illegal. Traditional food sharing systems which are linked to the n'óré system of access to natural resources are restricted on the resettlement project. Problems are encountered by settlers in attaining food.

Comparing his life prior to resettlement a settler complained, “*we got the same amount of mieliemeel here in a month as we got in a week from the farmer, and got paid. We also received meat. Here we have to steal and go to jail. There are already two [Ju/'hoansi] in jail.*” The inability of San settlers to achieve their own food is a major contribution to their negative self-image. The low motivation to achieve self-sufficiency that this engenders compounds their disempowered status.

Summary Findings

The autonomy of San settlers to determine and manage the way in which food achieved is extremely restricted on the projects. The food-for-work scheme and rigid, authoritarian project management, determines the type of food, method and frequency of attainment. Traditional systems for achieving and sharing food are restricted by the inflexibility of the resettlement programme. These factors further the dependency of settlers on government provisions rather than encouraging self-sufficiency. Sustainability of the projects is thereby decreased.

10.5.7 Do settlers have access and the ability to exercise knowledge and skills for sustainable, autonomous livelihood?

Utilising and enhancing capabilities, this refers to the ability to exercise local knowledge and skills for maintaining or enhancing livelihood, as well as to enrich existing knowledge. This includes all forms of wisdom and skills including, technical, economic, social, cultural and ecological information underlying existing practices such as decision-making systems. Education should be tailored to meet local needs and aspirations and be sensitive to social, cultural and economic diversities. Access to education for change is further essential for marginalised groups and communities.

Discussion

Use and enhancement of traditional knowledge

Traditional Ju/'hoan knowledge is acquired additively, in unstructured, relaxed circumstances from a number of contributions rather than from a single teacher, in a system of group knowledge and information exchange, (Biesele, 1993).

In this system, an open and highly social flow of opinion and information promotes the egalitarian nature of the social structure and is therefore deeply entrenched in the cultural life of the community, (Biesele, 1993).

This factor is linked to the lack of local authority and freedom of social and cultural assertion. The ability of San people to enhance and exercise existing knowledge for sustainable autonomous livelihood is limited by the resettlement process. The inflexible and technocratic implementation of the agriculturally based process renders it unable to identify and accommodate individual settler knowledge and expertise.

The type of training, education and skills provided to the settlers fails to consider traditional wisdom. Settlers are not encouraged to use existing skills on the projects. The majority of Ju/'hoansi settlers at Skoonheid are ex-farmworkers and have sufficient knowledge to manage the agricultural production. This includes the maintenance of agricultural equipment. Farm management of Skoonheid remains however, firmly in the domain of officials. Negative preconceptions of the lack of ability of San settlers is translated into the neglect of these skills enforcing a feeling of powerlessness and inferiority.

Education

Education is central to improving the well-being of San settlers. This historically marginalised group remains the least educated. Eighty four per cent of San people between the ages of 6-24 have no schooling in the Omaheke, (Suzman, 1995). Where available, education is highly appreciated and is seen by San settlers as a way for themselves and their children to lead a better life than they have. The provision of both adult literacy classes and health education on Skoonheid is positively by settlers. The adult literacy classes taught were however, discontinued 3 years prior to the research, due to "*the jealousy of the clerk.*"

A number of schooling problems specific to the Ju/'hoansi have been identified which continue to hinder their empowerment.

These problems include the fact that:

- ⇒ School fees are beyond the financial means of most Ju/'hoansi, many are subsidised by parents employers
- ⇒ High mobility means that children do not remain at school for long
- ⇒ Ju/'hoansi children often teased and bullied by other groups and are therefore kept away by their parents
- ⇒ corporal punishment common at most Omaheke schools is fiercely opposed by most Ju/'hoansi,
- ⇒ there is a lack of teachers who can speak Ju/'hoan and the pupils are as a result, linguistically disadvantaged
- ⇒ Ju/'hoansi children have a high failure and drop out rate as only one failure at school is allowed, (Suzman, 1995).

Some of these problems were expressed by settlers at Skoonheid, and the number of children of school-going age present on the project testified to prolonged non-attendance of school. Only 3 schools in the Omaheke have Ju/'hoansi pupils, two⁵¹ of which are specifically for Ju/'hoansi. Due to the lack of schooling on the project, children from Skoonheid attended either the school at Gaina or Drimiopsis. Problems were expressed by Skoonheid settlers that the government had ceased to pay for school fees and children were expelled from school.

Access to education at Skoonheid therefore appears to be somewhat limited and education for change even more so. This remains a crucial enabling mechanism for San settler empowerment. As Suzman, states "*Education is but one of a gamut of factors which relate to the marginalisation of certain groups, and poverty must be seen as much as a result of lack of education as the lack of education is a consequence of poverty*" (1995:22).

Summary Findings

Derogatory preconceptions of San people preclude the use of existing skills for activities on the projects. The inflexibility of the resettlement process limits the accommodation of traditional skills and wisdom. Education, when available is highly appreciated.

⁵¹ Gaina School supported by NGO's but no Ju/'hoansi teachers and Hippo School at Drimiopsis

Limited facilities are available which are sensitive to social, cultural and economic diversities. San children from the resettlement farm are generally linguistically and economically challenged compared to others. They are often kept away from school as a result. Disorganisation within the MLRR in terms of non-payment of school fees restricts access of San children to education, a crucial empowering mechanism.

10.5.8 Do settlers have access to appropriate skills training?

Access to appropriate skills training includes problem-solving techniques and best available appropriate technologies and information to enhance existing knowledge and skills. This condition affects settler capabilities. Training should therefore be grounded in local aspirations and priorities and be flexible to dynamic circumstances should not only be according to market.

Discussion

The manner and type of training provided to settlers in the resettlement process is determined by the line ministries involved. Training is generally technically inclined and focused on crop production, brick-making for houses on the project and sewing and knitting. Despite expressed appeal for assistance, “*We want to try other things and want training,*” no governmental training was evident at Skoonheid. Governmental skills training neglects entrepreneurial abilities such as financial and asset management or community development skills.

Training for these types of skills was present on Skoonheid, through the NGO bodies of WIMSA⁵² and Health Unlimited. This included committee development, needs and priority identification or conflict management skills. Training provided by these organisations is integral to informing and mobilising San settlers to express and achieve their needs and priorities. Training of this type on Skoonheid has led to the mobilisation of Ju/'hoansi settlers to elect a traditional authority. These organisations are not, however formally involved in the national resettlement programme.

⁵² Hei || om settlers at Tsintsabis have recently applied for support from WIMSA, (Brörmann, pers. comm.).

Summary Findings

Limited governmental training is provided to San settlers. The nature of the training is technocratic and focused largely on agricultural production or construction for project infrastructure. Training is conceived externally to the settler community by the authorities rather than based on settler priorities and aspirations. Existing skills and knowledge are not identified.

Skills training provided by NGO's serves to empower individuals to improve their well-being by mobilising the settlers to recognise and achieve local priorities. Community development skills are greatly enhanced by the NGO's.

10.6 Conclusion

The above discussion represents an investigation of the community-level implementation of the Namibian Resettlement Programme. Using principles aimed at empowerment for sustainable community development, the evaluation focuses on Ju/'hoansi settlers at Skoonheid Resettlement Project. Table 2 presents a summary of findings. Based on these, an indication is given of whether the resettlement process is empowering or disempowering for San settlers. The indication therefore suggests whether resettlement is moving towards or away from sustainability.

It should be emphasised that the aim of the evaluation is not to state categorically whether the resettlement process is a successful mechanism for poverty alleviation. Rather, the discussion seeks to highlight circumstances surrounding the local implementation of the resettlement process which either promote or discourage self-sufficiency and empowerment for Ju/'hoansi settlers.

Leading up to the case study evaluation, Chapter 9 reiterated three overriding sustainable community development principles linking planning of the development process to its local-level implementation.

Relating these to the case study, they enquire whether the resettlement process:

- ◆ is tailored to a specific community context? That is, does the process consider and accommodate the broad, dynamic and diverse, political, social and economic cultural, historical and ecological context of the initiative, as well as the links/tensions between them?
- ◆ facilitates the continuous participation and involvement of settlers from the inception of the process?
- ◆ facilitates the empowerment of settlers for community control of the process?

Findings from the evaluation suggest that the local implementation of the resettlement process largely fails to satisfy these objectives. The short-term crisis management approach characterising the initiative fulfils only immediate basic needs of settlers. Government control of the process remains unsustainably centralised, rigid, technocratic and top-down. The effect is increasing dependency of San settlers on government provisions.

Forced integration of settlers of different social groups, with a disregard for diverse local priorities, fuels social tensions within the project community. Given the assumed low class status of San people, the subordination and impoverishment of San settlers of others is magnified through resettlement. Instances are evident, however of local initiatives empowering San settlers to improve their well-being. These relate to assistance provided to settlers by NGO's who adopt a rather more bottom-up approach, identifying local needs and aspirations.

Chapter 11 concludes this dissertation and makes broad suggestions for future attention within Namibia's Resettlement programme.

Table 2 Summary of Findings from the Evaluation

Sustainability Principle	Summary Finding	Indication of Sustainability
<p>Is Local Independence encouraged? <i>Local independence involves the ability to: Effect and manage continuous change for individual and community improvement in a sustainable manner based on locally conceived and agreed upon priorities and aspirations; Create, participate in and direct representative and accountable institutions and democratic decision-making processes on an ongoing basis; Interact in regional and national governance through appropriate and effective communication channels is essential.</i></p>	<p>Ju/'hoansi settlers on Skoonheid are highly mobilised to express their priorities and aspirations. Beauracratc restrictions and centralised control limits settler self-determination. Centralised design and management of the project discourages involvement in the resettlement process. Community institutions are not locally conceived, nor do they accommodate traditional decision-making systems. The political power of traditional authorities is limited. Ministerial disorganisation and miscommunication reduces accountability and effective assistance provision to settlers.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">—</p>
<p>Is Space for Social and Cultural Assertion and Spiritual Welfare Provided for? <i>Space for Social and Cultural Assertion refers to an individuals' freedom to define, express and change her/his well-being through such factors as social relations including gender and age, living standards, choice, creativity and fulfilment.</i></p>	<p>Social engineering by the government without due regard to diverse individual needs limits the well-being and self-determination of settlers. Forced integration, reduces the freedom of San settlers to define, express and change their well-being through such factors as social relations. Failure to consider the specific needs, abilities and priorities of the different groups, results in an unequal provision of assistance. Inevitably the most marginalised Ju/'hoansi people, are dominated by others. This is central to limiting the freedom of choice of Skoonheid's San settlers. Consideration of gender relations is insufficient. Likewise, specific needs of San women are neglected, thereby further marginalising them..</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">—</p>

KEY

- +** Resettlement is moving towards Sustainability
- Resettlement is moving away from Sustainability

Sustainability Principles	Summary Finding	Indication of Sustainability
<p>Are Settlers encouraged and assisted to exercise financial independence? <i>The ability to exercise financial independence comprises access to employment, income, assets and credit facilities and the ability to create manage and utilise them to maintain and improve livelihood and increase choice and opportunities on a continuous basis. This should not be examined only in terms of economic efficiency in relation to markets and includes freedom to practice a multitude of alternative strategies of livelihood.</i></p>	<p>Management of income from project activities is controlled by the MLRR administrator, thereby entrenching settler dependency. Access to markets is limited due to lack of infrastructure and transport facilities. The opportunity of settlers to diversify their livelihood strategies is limited by the inflexible food-for-work programme. This further precludes settlers from access to regular income for their individual needs. Ju/'hoansi settlers are exploited by more affluent groups. Traditional social systems securing livelihood, such as the maintenance of kinship ties through visiting, are discouraged. Livelihood risk is therefore increased for San settlers by the resettlement process.</p>	—
<p>Do settlers have access to natural resources for sustainable livelihood? <i>Access to natural resources pertains to the ability to own, utilise, maintain and improve these resources on a continuous sustainable basis, according to diverse local priorities and dynamic social and ecological circumstances.</i></p>	<p>The inflexible resettlement lessens San land tenure resulting in their continued disempowerment. Ability of settlers to utilise and manage natural resources according to their local priorities is restricted. Control over access to basic needs such as water and energy remains with authorities. Non-recognition of diverse local priorities and traditional social systems of San settlers increases their subordination by others. Dependency on government provisions is compounded. Inappropriate planning and management by authorities has resulted in overpopulation and unsustainable overutilisation of natural resources.</p>	—
<p>Do settlers have access to appropriate services? <i>Access to appropriate services includes health and safety services which meet local needs and seek to enhance impoverished circumstances. Access to appropriate shelter in terms of the ability to choose both the type and location of shelter or housing is central.</i></p>	<p>Basic health services on Skoonheid are regular and beneficial. Education provided is highly appreciated by the settlers. Emergency medical services are limited due to the lack of transport and infrastructure. A derogatory view of San settlers limits their equitable access to safety services and crime remains a problem. The inflexible manner of shelter provision furthers social differences and negates the traditional lifestyle of San settlers. Freedom to determine living space is restricted by the top-down inflexible nature of the resettlement process. Traditional mechanisms of Ju/'hoansi people to reduce social tensions through mobility are discouraged.</p>	+

KEY

Resettlement is moving towards Sustainability



Resettlement is moving away from Sustainability

Sustainability Principles	Summary Finding	Indication of Sustainability
<p>Do settlers have the ability to achieve and enhance food and self-sufficiency? <i>The ability to achieve and enhance food and self-sufficiency includes the autonomy to determine and manage the way in which this is achieved.</i></p>	<p>The autonomy of San settlers to determine and manage the way in which food achieved is extremely restricted on the projects. The food-for-work scheme and rigid, authoritarian project management, determines the type of food, method and frequency of attainment. Traditional systems for achieving and sharing food are restricted by the inflexibility of the resettlement programme. These factors further the dependency of settlers on government provisions rather than encouraging self-sufficiency. Sustainability of the projects is thereby decreased.</p>	—
<p>Do settlers have access and the ability to exercise knowledge and skills for sustainable, autonomous livelihood? <i>The ability to exercise knowledge and skills for maintaining or enhancing livelihood, emphasises the use and enhancement of local knowledge. This includes all forms of wisdom and skills underlying existing systems such as decision-making. Education should be tailored to meet local needs and aspirations and be sensitive to social and cultural and economic diversities.</i></p>	<p>Derogatory preconceptions of San people preclude the use of existing skills for activities on the projects. The inflexibility of the resettlement process limits the accommodation of traditional skills and wisdom. Education, when available is highly appreciated. Limited facilities are available which are sensitive to social, cultural and economic diversities. San children from the resettlement farm are generally linguistically and economically challenged compared to others. They are often kept away from school as a result. Disorganisation within the MLRR in terms of non-payment of school fees restricts access of San children to education, a crucial empowering mechanism.</p>	—
<p>Do settlers have access to appropriate skills training? <i>Appropriate skills training includes problem-solving techniques, best available appropriate technologies and information to enhance existing knowledge and skills. Training should be grounded in local aspirations and priorities and be flexible to dynamic circumstances and not only market based.</i></p>	<p>Limited governmental training is provided to San settlers. The nature of the training is technocratic and focused largely on agricultural production or construction for project infrastructure. Training is conceived externally to the settler community by the authorities rather than based on settler priorities and aspirations. Existing skills and knowledge are not identified. Skills training provided by NGO's serves to empower individuals to improve their well-being by mobilising the settlers to recognise and achieve local priorities. Community development skills are greatly enhanced by the NGO's.</p>	+

KEY

Resettlement is moving towards Sustainability



Resettlement is moving away from Sustainability

Part Three

CHAPTER 11

Conclusion and Suggestions

Resettlement as it is currently implemented in Namibia, remains a top-down, government controlled initiative. It is focused on the short-term **product** of poverty alleviation, rather than the **process** of self-sufficiency through empowerment. Planning and design of the resettlement programme is characteristically centralised, ad hoc, autocratic, and non-participatory. Government rhetoric is infused with commitments to special provisions for San people as the most marginalised and impoverished of all Namibians. Despite continued invocations by San representatives for recognition of San rights, these promises remain simply rhetoric. Numerous policy and legislative provisions preclude San people from exercising autonomy over their well-being. The provisions are prescriptive, technocratic and rigid. The “*quick-fix*” ideal of development for economic growth and a more advanced nation state, underlies the objectives of resettlement. These motivations sideline equitable, long-term assistance for marginalised communities.

The inflexibility of the Namibia’s resettlement process exacerbates the dependency of San settlers on others due to its inability to accommodate and adapt to diverse local circumstances on a continual basis. Consideration and accommodation of specific priorities and aspirations of San settlers is lacking throughout the resettlement process. Derogatory preconceptions of San people and social differences based on ethnic stereotypes are emphasised through social engineering and contribute to their depressed class status. Without attending to what Biesele, (1997), refers to as “*effective resocialisation*” through data-based resource planning for San people, resettlement compounds their continued social and economic dislocation. Modifying the resettlement programme to be more beneficial for San settlers therefore, requires a focused re-direction towards community control of the process. The following suggestions are by no means all-encompassing. They represent proposals based on Namibia’s current resettlement process and its disempowering effect on San settlers.

11.3 Suggestions

In the new development paradigm shift, Chambers, (1997), espouses a reversal of power roles between the upper and the lowers to achieve the goal of responsible well-being for all. What is advocated here though, is not an unmitigated and immediate revolution of power structures.

The lack of both ministerial and settler capacity and socio-economic circumstances renders such a change radical and impractical. A more viable suggestion entails two concurrent ideals.

- ◆ **A critical self-reflection by the dominant decision-making authority based on the ideals of sustainable community development.**
- ◆ **A re-orientation of the process to identify and accommodate local needs, priorities and aspirations of the settler community.**

Critical self-reflection by the dominant decision-making authority based on the ideals of sustainable community development

This proposal, applied to all sectoral levels, is useful to identify change mechanisms for improvement. It entails a critical review of all institutional mechanisms guiding land reform with a view to the equitable devolution of power to the community. The proposed institution of Regional Land Boards, signals a commitment by the Namibian government to decentralisation. Circumspect operation of these bodies is however, essential to ensure a just and continuous transfer of power to communities.⁵³ Basing the review on principles of sustainability promotes flexible, transparent, inclusive and accountable management of the resettlement process. An affiliated ideal of the suggestion involves an identification of realistic institutional strengths, limitations and constraints. This lessens the challenge to decision-makers of both initially accommodating settler priorities and subsequently devolving power to the community.

Re-orientation of the process to identify and accommodate local needs, priorities and aspirations of the settler community

Based on the nature of Namibia's current resettlement process, this suggestion pertains to a more community-level action. It involves inclusive co-operation with settler communities to identify and accommodate locally conceived ideals, priorities, solutions and avenues for facilitating settler empowerment. Integrated development assessment procedures based on participatory techniques such as Participatory Rural Appraisal, (PRA), guide the identification of specific community needs and aspirations.

⁵³ At the same stage of land reform in Botswana, unrepresentative Land Boards blocked San land rights by supporting politically and economically more powerful groups, (Widlok, 1994).

Managed equitably, these approaches provide a continual learning experience for both leading authorities and settlers themselves and represent appropriate vehicles for settler empowerment.

11.4 Towards Sustainability?

Compromise is integral to any initiative in which the interests of more than one party are involved. Inevitably however, it is the politically and economically more aggressive who succeed in promoting their ideals. As Rowe states, "*In the final analysis, power is the right to have your definition of reality prevail over other people's definition of reality*" (Rowe cited in Chambers, 1997). Lessons from development "failures" reveal that the outcome is ultimately unsustainable and detrimental, particularly to the marginalised party.

Traditional practices of San settlers are viewed by dominant decision-makers in Namibia as undermining the objectives of the resettlement programme. Maintenance of modified practices of kinship networks, sharing and natural resource ownership is however, integral to the survival of San settlers. They represent the "*last line of defence*" not only to adverse material conditions, as Sylvain, (1998:10), suggests, but also to their continued political, economic, social and spiritual well-being. If resettlement is to achieve any degree of sustainability for San settlers, it needs to engage players in an equitable process of role reversal, compromise and local discovery.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

- Adams, W. M., 1995. Green Development Theory, in Crush, J. *Power of Development*, pp 87-99. Routledge: London.
- Adams, F. and W. Werner, 1990. *The Land Issue in Namibia: An Inquiry*. University of Namibia, NISER: Windhoek
- Ashley, C., 1996. Can Population Growth and Environmental Sustainability be Reconciled?, in Tarr, P., (Ed.). *Namibia Environment*, pp 178-183. MET: Windhoek.
- Ashley, C. and C. LaFranchi, 1997. *Livelihood Strategies of Rural Households in Caprivi: Implications for Conservancies and Natural Resource Management*, RDP (20). Ministry of Environment and Tourism: Windhoek.
- Audouin, M.A., 1996. *A Framework for Resource Maintenance and Enhancement*. University of Cape Town. Thesis: Unpublished.
- Barendse, E, Huggins, G., 1995. Public Involvement and Social Impact Assessment in South Africa - some critical reflections. *Impact Assessments: involving people in the management of change towards a sustainable future* Paper presented at IAlA Conference: Durban.
- Biesele, M. and P. Weinberg,, 1990. *Shaken Roots: The Bushmen of Namibia*. EDA Publications: Marshalltown.
- Biesele, M., 1993. *Women Like Meat: The Folklore and Foraging Ideology of the Kalahari Ju/'oan*. Witwatersrand University Press: Johannesburg.
- Biesele, M., 1997. *Ju/'oan Critique and Indigenous Scholarship: Academic and Development Politics*. Centre for African Studies Seminar Paper, UCT: Cape Town.
- Bloch, A., 1995. Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, in Eide, A., C. Krause, and A. Rosas, (Eds.). *Economic Social and Cultural Rights*, pp 309-321. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: Dordrecht.
- Brörmann, M., 1997. *Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa: Report on Activities April 1996- March 1997*.

-
- Carpenter, G 1991 The Namibian Constitution - *ex Africa Aliquid Novi* after All? in van Wyk, D, Wiechers, M and R. Hill, (Eds.). *Namibia Constitutional and International Law Issues*, pp 22-64. Unisa: Pretoria.
- Centre for Traditional Knowledge, 1995. *Indigenous Peoples and the Effectiveness of Environmental Assessment: Proposal for and International Program of Consultation and Participation*.
- Chambers, R., 1997. *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last*. Intermediate Technology Publications: London.
- Coetzee, J. K. (Ed.), 1989. *Development is for People*. Southern Book Publishers: Johannesburg.
- Corbett, A. and C. Daniels, 1996. *Legislation and Policy Affecting Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Namibia*. SSD Research Report, No. 26. University of Namibia: Windhoek.
- Cowen, M. and R. Shenton, 1995. The Invention of Development, in Crush, J. *Power of Development*, pp 27-43. Routledge: London.
- Craig, D., 1990. Social Impact Assessment: Politically Oriented Approaches and Applications. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, Vol. 10(1), pp 37-54.
- Crush, J., (Ed.), 1995. *Power of Development*. Routledge: London.
- Day, K., 1995. *Social Impact Assessment in a developing context: A case study of the upgrading of the upgrading of the Olushandja Dam, northern Namibia*. University of Cape Town. Thesis: Unpublished
- de Villiers, B., D.J. van Vuuren, M. Wiechers, 1992. *Human Rights: Documents that Paved the Way*. HSRC: Pretoria.
- Department of Environment Affairs. 1992. *The Integrated Environmental Management Procedure*. Integrated Environmental Management Guideline Series.
- Dewdney, R., 1996. *Policy Factors & Desertification - Analysis and Proposals*. NAPCOD Steering Committee: Windhoek.

- Erasmus, G. 1991 The Namibian Constitution and the Application of International Law, in van Wyk, D, Wiechers, M and R. Hill, (Eds.). *Namibia Constitutional and International Law Issues*, pp 81-110. Unisa: Pretoria.
- Fuggle, R. F and M. A. Rabie, 1996. *Environmental Management in South Africa*. Juta & Co, Ltd: Cape Town.
- Ghai, D. 1994. Environment, Livelihood and Empowerment, in Ghai, D., (Ed.), *Development and Environment: Sustaining People and Nature*, pp 1-11. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.
- Ghai, D., and J.M. Vivian, (Eds.), 1992. *Grassroots Environmental Action: Peoples Participation in Environmental Action*. Routledge: London.
- Goodland, R. and H. Daly 1993. Poverty Alleviation is essential for Environmental Sustainability, in T. Raphaely, 1996. *Conservancies as a Vehicle for Achieving Sustainable Development*. University of Cape Town. Thesis: Unpublished.
- Gordon, R., 1989. Can Namibian San Stop Dispossession of Their Land? in Wilmsen, E., *We are Here*, pp 138-154. University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Groenewald, C.J., 1989. Community Development, in Coetzee, J. K. (Ed.). *Development is for People*, pp 256-271. Southern Book Publishers: Johannesburg.
- Gupta, A., K. Patel, A. Pastakia, and P. Shand, 1995. Building Upon Local Creativity and Entrepreneurship in Vulnerable Environments, in Singh, N., and V. Titi, (Eds.). *Empowerment: Towards Sustainable Development*, pp 112-137. International Institute for Sustainable Development: Canada.
- Hill, R. C., and R. F. Fuggle, 1988. Integrated environmental management of development of development in South Africa, *Proceedings of the eighth quinquennial convention of the South African Institute of Civil Engineers*. Pretoria.
- Huesken, J.A., A.R. Chisa and S.K. Kapiye, 1994. *Report on the Broad Agricultural Potential of the Government Farms "Skoonheid, Rosenhof and Rusplaas" Omaheke Region*. Ministry of Lands Resettlement and Rehabilitation: Windhoek.
- Jones, B. T. B., 1996. *Institutional relationships; capacity and sustainability: Lessons Learned from a Community-Based Conservation Project, Eastern Tsumkwe District, Namibia, 1991-96*. RDP (11). Ministry of Environment and Tourism: Windhoek.

- Kaure, A., 1994. Development through Resettlement. *Namibia Review*, July/August, pp 11-13.
- Kennet, S. and Perl, P., 1995. Environmental Impact Assessment of Development-Oriented Research. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, Vol. 15(4), pp 341-360.
- Kowalski, K., 1996. *Overview of the Omaheke's Environmental Situation*. Oxfam (UK&I): Windhoek.
- Manzo, K., 1995. Black Consciousness and the Quest for a Counter-Modernist Development, in Crush, J., (Ed.). *Power of Development*, pp 228-252. Routledge: London.
- Martin, L., 1994. Give the San Equal Access to Development. *Namibia Review*, May/June, pp 11-14.
- M Phil. Environmental and Geographical Science, 1997. *A Retrospective Assessment of the Environmental Impacts of Emergency Borehole Supply in the Gam and Khorixas Areas of Namibia*. University of Cape Town.
- M Phil. Environmental and Geographical Science, 1998. *A Retrospective Assessment of Environmental Implications of Resettlement in the Oshikoto and Omaheke Regions of Namibia*. University of Cape Town.
- Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Undated. *Community-Based Natural Resource Management Programme*. MET: Windhoek.
- Ministry of Environment and Tourism, 1995. *Namibia's Environmental Assessment Policy*. MET: Windhoek.
- Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, 1997a. *Annual Report 1996-1997*. Division of Resettlement, MLRR: Windhoek.
- Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, 1997b. *Information Paper on the Land Use and Environmental Board*. MLRR: Windhoek
- Muthien, Y., 1989. Imperialism and Underdevelopment, in Coetzee, J. K., (Ed.). *Development is for People*. Southern Book Publishers: Johannesburg.

- Nandjaa, T., 1997. The Land Question: Namibians Demand Urgent Answers. *Namibia Review*, March/April, pp 1-6. Windhoek.
- National Planning Commission, 1994. National Development Planning and the Regions of Namibia. NPC: Windhoek
- National Planning Commission, 1995. *National Development Plan 1*, Vol. 1 and 2. NPC: Windhoek.
- Odendaal Report, 1964. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1963-64*. RSA Gov. Printer: Pretoria.
- Preston, G. R., N. Robbins, R. F. Fuggle, 1996. Integrated Environmental Management, in Fuggle, R. F and M. A. Rabie, (Eds.). *Environmental Management in South Africa*, pp 748-761. Juta & Co, Ltd: Cape Town.
- Raphaely, T., 1996. *Conservancies as a Vehicle for Achieving Sustainable Development: With Reference to a Case Study in the Nye-Nye Area of Eastern Otjondjupa, Namibia*. University of Cape Town. Thesis: Unpublished
- Redclift, M., 1992. Sustainable Development and Popular Participation: A Framework for Analysis, in Ghai, D., and J.M. Vivian, (Eds.). *Grassroots Environmental Action: Peoples Participation in Environmental Action*, pp 23-49. Routledge: London
- Republic of Namibia, 1991. *The Constitution of Namibia*. Directorate of Production and Publicity, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting: Windhoek.
- Republic of Namibia, 1995. *Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act (6 of 1995)*. Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation: Windhoek.
- Republic of Namibia, 1995b. *Draft Communal Lands Bill*. Windhoek
- Republic of Namibia, 1996. *The National Resettlement Policy*. Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation: Windhoek.
- Rickson, R. and S. Rickson, 1990. Assessing Rural Development: the Role of the Social Scientist. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, Vol. 10: (1), pp 103-112.

- Ross, H., 1990. Community Social Impact Assessment: A Framework for Indigenous People. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, Vol. 10:(1), pp 185-193.
- Seely, M. K., and K.M. Jacobson, 1996. Desertification in Namibia, in Tarr, P., (Ed.). *Namibia Environment*, pp 170-173. MET: Windhoek.
- Singh, N., and V. Titi, 1995a. Empowerment for Sustainable Development, in Singh, N., and V. Titi, (Eds.) *Empowerment: Towards Sustainable Development*, pp 6-28. International Institute for Sustainable Development: Canada.
- Singh, N., and V. Titi, 1995b. Engaging Stakeholders in a Process of Change towards Sustainable Development, in Singh, N., and V. Titi, (Eds.) *Empowerment: Towards Sustainable Development*, pp 172-182. International Institute for Sustainable Development: Canada.
- Solway, J and R. Lee, 1990. Foragers Genuine or Spurious? Situating the Kalahari San in History. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 11:(2), 109-146.
- Sowman, M., R. Fuggle and G. Preston, 1995. Environmental Policy Making. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, Vol. 15(1), pp 45-68.
- Stiefel, M. and M. Wolfe, 1994. *A Voice for the Excluded: Popular participation in Development: Utopia or Necessity?* UNRISD: London.
- Suzman, J., 1995. *Poverty, Land and Power in the Omaheke Region*. Oxfam (UK & I): Windhoek
- Sylvain, R. 1998. *Survival Strategies and San Women on the Commercial Farms in the Omaheke Region, Namibia*. Paper presented at the 1997 Khoisan Conference, UWC: Cape Town.
- Tandon, Y., 1995. Poverty, Processes of Impoverishment and Empowerment: A Review of Current Thinking and Action, in Singh, N., and V. Titi, (Eds.) *Empowerment: Towards Sustainable Development*, pp 29-36. International Institute for Sustainable Development: Canada.
- Technical Committee on Commercial Farmland, 1992. *Report of the Technical Committee on Commercial Farmland*. Office of the Prime Minister: Windhoek.

- Thoma, A., 1997. The Communal Land and Resource Management System of the San, in Malan, J. and M.O. Hinz, (Eds.). *Communal Land Administration*, pp 61-63. Paper No. 38. CASS: Windhoek.
- Thornton, R. and M. Ramphela, 1988. The Quest for Community, in Boonzaier, E. and J. Sharp, (Eds.). *South African Keywords, The uses and abuses of political concepts*, pp 29-39. David Phillip: Cape Town.
- Treseder, L., 1995. Indigenous Peoples and EA. *Impact Assessments: Involving People in the Management of Change Towards a Sustainable Future*. Paper presented at the International Association of Impact Assessment Conference: Durban.
- van Wyk, D., M. Wiechers, and R. Hill, (Eds.), 1991. *Namibia Constitutional and International Law Issues*. Unisa: Pretoria.
- VanderZwaag, D., 1995. Law Reform for Sustainable Development: Legalizing Empowerment, in Singh, N., and V. Titi. *Empowerment: Towards Sustainable Development*, pp 68-81. International Institute for Sustainable Development: Canada.
- Vigne, P., and P. Oates, 1992. *Rural Development Priorities in Northern Namibia*. NEPRU Research Report, No. 2. NEPRU: Windhoek.
- Vivian, J.M., 1992. Foundations for Sustainable Development: Participation, Empowerment and Local Resource Management, in Ghai, D., and J.M. Vivian, (Eds.). *Grassroots Environmental Action: Peoples Participation in Environmental Action*, pp 50-77. Routledge: London.
- Werner, W., and T. Kanguuchi, 1996. *Overview of the Omaheke Region*. Paper presented at the Forum on Natural Resources: Windhoek.
- Werner, W., 1997. Land Reform in Namibia: The First Seven Years. NEPRU Working Paper No. 61.
- Widlok, T. 1994. *Problems of Land Rights and Land Use in Namibia: A Case study from the Mangetti Area*. SSD Discussion Paper, No. 5. University of Namibia: Windhoek
- Wilmsen, E.N., 1989a. *Land Filled with Flies: A Political Economy of the Kalahari*. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago

Wilmsen, E. N., 1989b. Those Who Have Each Other: San Relations to Land, in Wilmsen, E. N., *We are Here*, pp 43-67. University of California Press: Berkeley.

World Bank, 1990. Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) Policy. *Involuntary Resettlement: Operational Directive 4.30*. <http://www.his.com/-mesas/policy.htm>. June, 1998.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

List Of Organisations And Libraries Visited

Institution	Location
CASS Resource Centre	University of Namibia, Windhoek
CSO	Windhoek
DEA Library	Windhoek
DRFN Resource Centre	Windhoek
MAWRD	Windhoek
MLRR	Windhoek
NANGOF	Windhoek
National Library	Windhoek
NEPRU	Windhoek
NPC	Windhoek
Oxfam Canada	Windhoek
Oxfam UK/Ireland	Ben Hur, Omaheke
SSD Resource Centre	University of Namibia, Windhoek
University of Cape Town	Cape Town
University of the Witwatersrand	Johannesburg
University of Namibia	Windhoek
WIMSA	Windhoek
SASI	Cape Town

Appendix 2

List of Interviews

Date	Interviewee	Title/Institution
1/12/97	Wolfgang Werner	Senior Researcher, NEPRU
17/12/97	Grahame Rogers	Department of Social Anthropology WITS University
8/1/98	John Kinahan	Archaeologist, Windhoek
13/1/98	Barney Karuombe	NANGOF
14/1/98	Mukwaita Shanyengana	Director, Division of Resettlement
14/1/98	Simeon Kanyemba	Deputy Director, Division of Resettlement
14/1/98	Andrew Vergotine	Control Officer, Division of Resettlement and Rehabilitation
16/1/98	Michaela Figuera	DEA
17/1/98	Flip Stander	MET
20/1/98	Sister Geysers	Tsintsabis Clinic
23/1/98	Reinhart Frederich	Muramba Bush Trails
29/1/98	Soron Christensen	Land Surveying & Land Administration
2/2/98	Lisa McLeod	Clerical Assistant, MLRR, Regional Office Gobabis
3/2/98	Antonia Sechogele Ennus Kgosireleng	Mogamedi Thabanello High School
3/2/98	Nikki & Ewald	Teachers Drimiopsis Junior Primary
4/2/98	Frederick Langman	Traditional Authority, Skoonheid
5/2/98	Frederika Uanivi	MLRR Clerk, Skoonheid
9/2/98	Mr Kanjii	MLRR Chief Control Officer
10/2/98	Axel Thoma	WIMSA
4/3/98	Geoff Perrott	SASI
5/4/98	Linda Waldman	Wits University Social Anthropology Department
23/3/98	Rick Rhode	PLAAS
2/4/98	Thomas Widlok	University of Köln
9/6/98	Magdalena Brörmann	WIMSA
8/6/98	Michaela Figuera	DEA

Appendix 3

List of Skoonheid Settlers Interviewed

HOUSEHOLD/ GROUP	CHILDRE N	WOMEN	MEN	LANGUAGE GROUP
Group	-	-	4	San
Group	3	-	-	San
Group	3	-	-	Nama
Group	-	3	5	San, Nama, Herero
Group	5	4	1	San, Nama
Household	-	3	2	Nama
Household	-	-	1	Nama
Household	1	1	1	Nama
Household	-	-	2	Nama
Household	12	5	6	Herero (<i>Grazer</i>)
Household	2	3	4	San
Household	1	3	2	San
Household	2	1	-	San
Household	2	2	1	San

Appendix 4

Research Observations of Skoonheid

**General Perceptions/Observations of Researcher:
Skoonheid Resettlement Project**

Lack of communication between settlers and the largely absent clerk
Fencing in good repair.
Unfinished houses seemingly abandoned.
Main farmstead in a state of disrepair
Many children not at school, including older children.
Presence of one or two wealthier settlers on the project who are Damara
A relatively large number of horses and donkeys compared to other livestock.
Houses standard MLRR design for brick houses - 3 rooms, including kitchen space, no toilet, concrete floor.
Very few furnishings in houses.
Insufficient water supply and only one borehole working.
Small amount of produce in communal garden
Individual gardens extremely droughted
More women than men on the project.
Women responsible for most labour activities including wood collection, work in the communal garden, food preparation.
Distance walked by women to collect wood is increasing.
Many young women with babies or pregnant
Women use 1l or 2l containers to collect water from the pumps.
Small amount of supplementing of diets by "veldkos" the availability of which is diminishing due to overgrazing
Evidence of informal income through entrepreneurship and use of natural resources such as berries and wood for sale goods
Presence of livestock belonging to governmental officials.
Disorganisation of data/records of the farm.
Desperate need for medical facilities, transport and telephones.
Frustration of settlers at not being able to manage their land themselves.
Frustration at not being allowed to utilise skills such as fixing the boreholes.
General uncertainty by settlers of what is expected of them and the degree of responsibility they had on the farm.
Concern of San settlers of domination by other ethnic groups, particularly Herero grazers and clerk
Respect for traditional authority by all settlers.
Lack of motivation particularly on the part of the men, to participate in the food for work scheme.
Alcohol abuse amongst mainly San settlers as well as awareness of problems thereof.
Resentment at preferential treatment of "grazers"
Settler distrust of and disappointment with government authorities.
Patronising and derogatory view of San settlers by clerk and other ethnic groups.

Appendix 5

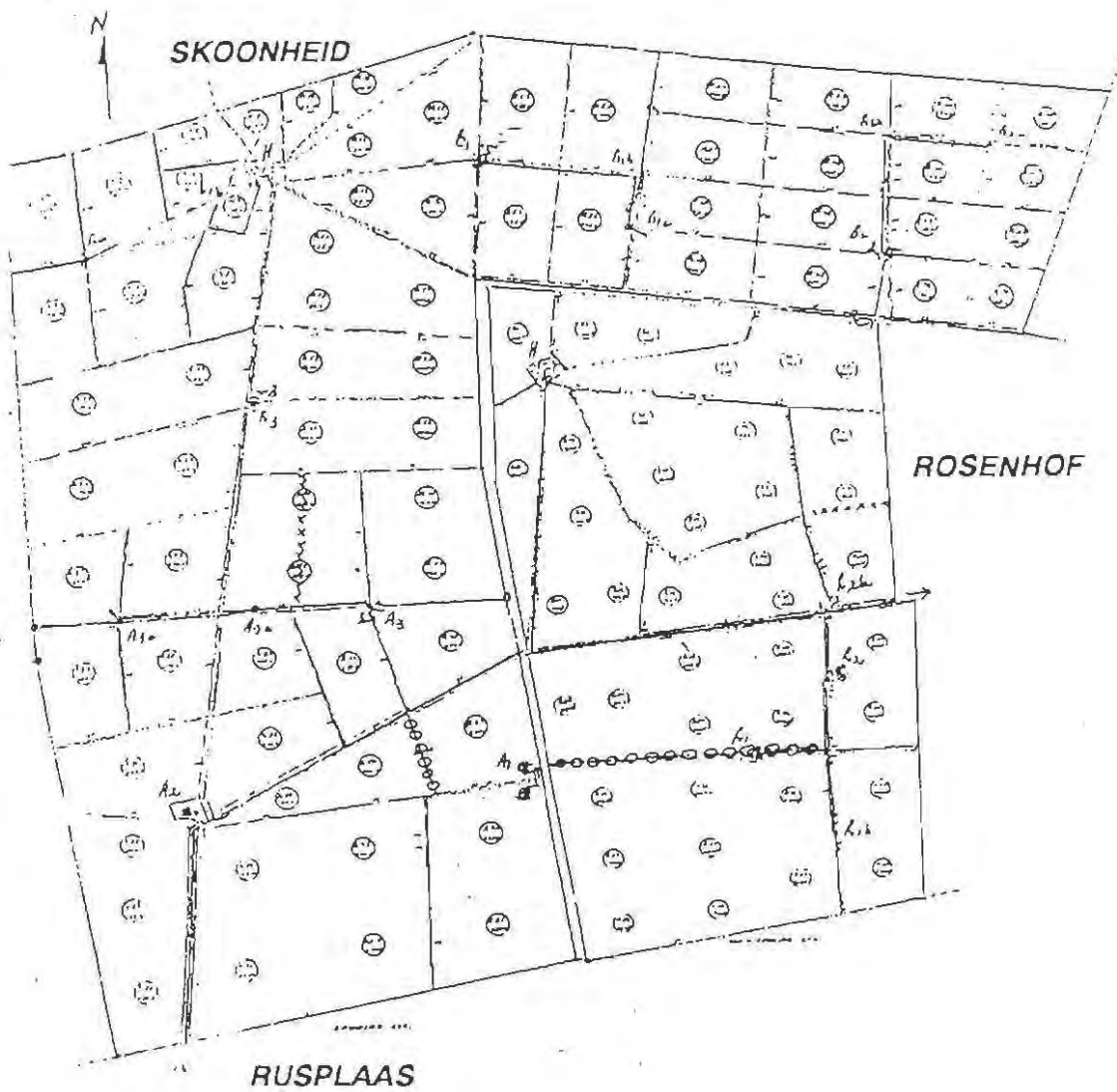
Institutions and Their Role in Resettlement

Institution	Role in Resettlement
Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) Directorate of Resettlement	Planning and co-ordination of resettlement programmes; Implementation of projects; Supervision of resettlement projects; Monitoring and evaluation of projects.
Directorate of Land Reform	Registration of leases; Resource surveys and planning of proposed resettlement areas Development of planning guidelines and training of planners.
Surveyor General's Office	Provision of mapping and photography scales;
Registration of Deeds	Registration of leases and other real rights
Directorate of General Services	Financial control; Planning and evaluation
Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development	Provision of veterinary services; Assistance in evaluation of farms; Provision of agricultural extension and training; Provision of credit facilities; Provision of water; Collection of grazing fees; Survey, installation and maintenance of water points; Support of co-operative schemes; Market development.
Ministry of Environment and Tourism Directorate of Environmental Affairs	Assisting in planning of wildlife based resettlement schemes; Ensuring environmental soundness of plans.
Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing	Proclamation of resettlement areas when essential
Ministry of Works, Transport and Communications	Provision of infrastructure in resettlement areas
Ministry of Basic Education and Culture	Provision of education, teachers and relevant materials
Ministry of Health and Social Services	Provision of health services
National Planning Commission	To advise on project planning issues and funding.
Namibia Development Corporation	Provision of credit to aspiring small scale farmers Assisting in planning of schemes and training of settlers in relevant situations
Agribank-bank	Provision of credit loans; Assistance in evaluation of application forms
Non-governmental organisations	Planning, extension services, materials input and training, where relevant.
The Land Tribunal, (est. Act 6 of 1995)	Recommendations to Minister in terms of the Act
Land Reform Advisory Committee (LRAC), (est. by Act 6 of 1995)	Recommendations to Minister on applications for resettlement, compensation for expropriated farms and other issues as outlined by the Act.
Land Use and Environment Board (LUEB) - not yet operational.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proposed to provide a multi-sectoral forum integrating land use planning. Advisory body to the NPC and Cabinet

Appendix 6

Layout of Skoonheid Resettlement Project

LAYOUT OF CAMPS AT SKOONHEID, RUSPLAAS AND ROSENHOF



XXXXX EXISTING FENCE. NOT INDICATED ON FARM PLAN

ooooo FENCE INDICATED ON FARM PLAN BUT NON-EXISTENT

Appendix 7

Model of Empowerment for Sustainable Community Development

