

AN ASSESSMENT OF RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

The resettlement programmes in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa aim to provide secure access to natural resources and infrastructure for landless people within rural areas, in order for them to achieve self sufficient livelihoods through the production of agriculture. Resettlement programmes are a development initiative and a component of rural development. In order for the resettlement programme to be a positive component of rural development by contributing to economic development and improving the welfare of the beneficiaries, the correct procedures need to be followed in the planning and implementation stages. The aim of the study is to establish a set of criteria for assessing resettlement programmes. Zimbabwe's resettlement programme is reviewed to assist in the establishment of the criteria. The criteria is used to evaluate the two case studies, namely, resettlement schemes at Gam, in Namibia and on Elandskloof, in South Africa. Guidelines are developed from the criteria to assist in the planning of resettlement programmes. Unless effective planning which takes the socio-economic and biophysical environments of resettlement areas into consideration, the objective of resettlement programmes practicing sustainable resource use, is reduced.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND DEFINITIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

ADA	Agricultural Development Authority
ADB	African Development Bank
AFC	Agricultural Finance Corporation
CFU	Commercial Farmers Union
CL	Communal Lands
EEAN	Environmental Evaluation Associates of Namibia
FELDA	Federal Land Development Authority
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMB	Grain marketing Boards
HRRC	Herero Repatriation and Resettlement Committee
LAA	Land Acquisition Act 1992
LSCF	Large Scale Commercial Farms
LSU	Large Scale Unit (Livestock)
LUS	Livestock units
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SSU	Small Scale Unit (livestock)
SSCF	Small Scale Commercial farms
UNFOA	United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization
VIDCO	Village Development Committee
WADECO	Ward Development Committee
WILSA	Women and Land Rights in Resettlement Areas in Zimbabwe
ZASM	Zimbabwe Agriculture Sector Memorandum

DEFINITIONS

Arable land:

All land under temporary crops and land temporarily fallow or lying idle.

Agro-industries:

Industry which is developed around the production of agricultural produce.

Arid:

An area where mean annual rainfall is less than 250mm; rainfall is seasonal, highly variable from year to year, and evaporation is high.

Communal lands:

Land available for common use; in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia this land is owned by the State.

Degradation:

To diminish the productivity of the Land.

Destocking:

Removing most or all of the livestock from an area as a soil conservation measure, thus reducing grazing pressure and allowing the plants to grow back.

Environmental degradation:

Destruction of the living and non living things and a reduction of the productivity of an area.

Fallow:

Allowing cultivated land to 'rest' for a period to restore fertility, often with a crop cover.

Household:

A unit reflecting the arrangements made by persons, individually or in groups, for providing for themselves with food or other essentials for living. A household may consist of one or more people.

Household food security:

The availability and access to household of affordable, nutritious food whether by their own production, purchases, social welfare or community support.

Indigenous:

Native to an area, occurring naturally.

Land allocation:

How much land is allocated to people for various uses, which defines peoples access to resources and income opportunities.

Land tax:

A monetary yield from the owner of certain land, payable to the State.

Land tenure:

The type of land ownership system.

Non-equilibrium system:

A system that drops the duality between abiotic and biotic dynamic phenomena, and recognizes unpredictable abiotic events as part of healthy eco-system behaviour.

Nomadic pastoralists:

People who rely primarily on livestock to meet their needs, moving to different grazing areas with the seasons.

Off take:

The number of cattle removed to a given area for local slaughter or sale to another area.

Overgrazing:

Grazing by livestock or wildlife to the point where the grass cover is depleted, leaving bare patches of soil with a corresponding increase in erosion by water and wind and encouraging the growth of thorny bushes and poisonous plants.

Pastoralism:

The moving of livestock to different grazing areas depending on rainfall and plant cover.

Rainfall variability:

The pattern of rainfall in arid and semi arid environments where the amount of rain and where it falls differs widely from year to year.

Rangeland:

Open country (usually grassland) used by grazing livestock.

Resilience:

Capacity for a natural area to recover from disturbance.

Rural land:

Land which is predominately used for agricultural produce and has a lack of industrialized operations taking place.

Sacrifice zone:

The 300 meter area surrounding boreholes and water points in semi arid and arid lands.

Sedentary pastoralists:

Village based subsistence farmers who grow crops, keep livestock which graze near the villages and rely on them to pull ploughs and provide manure.

Semi-arid:

Areas where mean annual rainfall is between about 250-600 mm, rainfall is seasonal and variable and potential evaporation is high.

Soil degradation

Declining productivity of soils resulting from a combination of physical factors such as drought, management factors such as cultivation of marginal land and historical and socio-economic factors such as inequitable distribution of land.

Stocking rate:

The number of hectares required to support one livestock unit (cow) based on the theoretical capacity of the land.

Subsistence:

A situation where people provide for all their own needs from their immediate environment rather than earning wages to pay for goods and services.

Sustainable agriculture:

Agriculture which does not degrade the soil or other or other resources on which it depends.

Sustainable development:

Development which does not require a continuous input from outside to sustain itself and it meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs..

Sustainable resource use:

To use something in a way that the supply is not diminished.

Tenure:

Indicates whether the household occupies the housing unit as an status owner, renter or under another type of arrangement.

Transhumance:

Seasonal movement of cattle and humans over great distance in response to the availability of water and grazing.

Urbanization:

The movement of people form rural to urban areas.

Villagisation:

Involves moving people from scattered, smaller residential clusters to a concentrated, larger, village type or nucleated residential settlement.

(Southern African Research and Documentation Centre,1994, M Phil Baseline Report, 1997)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Resettlement involves the planned establishment of residential and agricultural land in rural areas for the voluntary settlement of people. The procedure involves the purchase of land by the State and the implementation of basic infrastructure and service support for the settlers until such a time as they become self sufficient through agricultural production. Resettlement projects form part of a land reform process which remains one of the most powerful tools available for the restructuring of Africa's rural areas, and is directed towards encouraging increased agricultural production and creating additional employment opportunities (Olson, 1996). The long term aim of resettlement schemes is to create self sufficient settlements which can be achieved by empowering people to use their resources in an effective and sustainable manner.

To implement a successful resettlement project the interaction between a number of important criteria need to be addressed. These criteria are listed below:

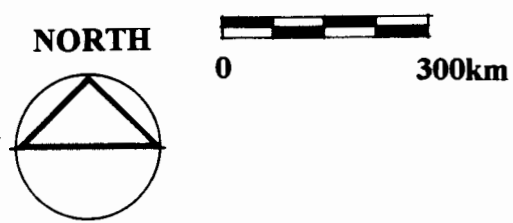
- Socio-economic and biophysical components associated with the project;

- Application and co-ordination of policies and infrastructures that are specifically suited to the project;
- Cultural aspects;
- Appropriate agro-pastoral activity practiced to suit the biophysical environment;
- Commitment from planners to understand the unique characteristics of a project within a national programme.

In Africa, approximately 22 million people have been resettled in both pre- and post-independence contexts (de Wet, 1991). In this report, the focus rests on resettlement and land redistribution policies and programmes in three southern African countries namely, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Governments in these countries have instituted measures to redress the imbalance of land access inherited from the previous colonial powers and white minority governments.

The need to introduce rural development programmes in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa results from the dual system of land use inherited by the independent governments. The land use system in these countries is characterized by large scale commercial farming, on the one hand, and small scale communal farming, on the other. The commercial farming sector is typically well supported by government in the allocation of economic resources such as favorable credit and markets. These farms are well mechanized and generally produce high agricultural yields per hectare. They occur in more favorable ecological areas and are sparsely inhabited by people mostly of European descent. Small scale communal farming is characterized by unused and degraded lands, resulting in the production of low agricultural yields. In comparison to commercial farms, the land is densely inhabited by the indigenous populations and often restricted to the agriculturally marginal areas.

Figure 1.1: SELECTED SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES OF ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA



Within the above mentioned countries, the beneficiaries of the programmes are people who have experienced racial discrimination by former governments. Most participants were previously landless farm laborers, soldiers and inhabitants of overcrowded communal areas.

Resettlement programmes have become a dimension of development in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa in response to political structural choices. Projects were launched in Zimbabwe in 1980; the Namibian programme commenced in 1994 and in South African, the initial stages of programmes have been in progress since 1995. The Namibian and South African programmes are therefore in the early stages of implementation.

1.2 MOTIVATION FOR STUDY

Central to this study is a concern with human development, a cornerstone of which is the relation between people and the environment. Activities of people affect their environment while individuals in their physical, economic, cultural, social and psychological contexts are in turn influenced by environmental variables. The environment has the ability to extend people beyond their immediate experiences and to enable and create new opportunities which enrich their lives. The reverse also applies: the environment can restrict one's opportunities and reduce levels of satisfaction (Dewar *et al*, 1978). In the face of increasing population growth, development is making increasing demands on the resources (natural, human, financial) of developing countries. How much and what should be provided to enable individuals to achieve sustainable rural livelihoods, thus becomes a fundamental question in the design of rural development programmes.

Planning and implementation of resettlement and land redistribution programmes in southern Africa has occurred over the past 15 years. An opportunity now exists to learn from these resettlement programmes, and to assess the successes and difficulties experienced. Information derived from such an exercise could be important to future

planning in enhancing existing and future projects and serve to guide appropriate use of limited financial resources.

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of the study is to identify and formulate criteria for assessment of resettlement programmes and schemes. To achieve these aims the principle objectives of the study are to:

- Investigate and compare legislative and administrative requirements and constraints associated with resettlement schemes in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa;
- Identify and assess socio-economic and ecological issues that need to be addressed within a resettlement programme;
- Evaluate individual characteristics of resettlement programmes which consist of the implementation characteristics, such as provision of infrastructure and selection of beneficiaries, and the outcomes of resettlement, such as the economic implication of resettlement;
- Identify and evaluate remedial measures that may be required to mitigate negative impacts of resettlement schemes and suggest ways of enhancing positive effects and opportunities.

Recommendations and guidelines will be outlined on the following issues:

- Institutional planning process;
- Stakeholder involvement in the planning and implementation of a project;
- Ecological sustainability factors;
- Design of infrastructure.

1.4 APPROACH TO STUDY

The study has been approached through:

- A literature review of books and articles;
- Interviews with national, regional and local key informants;
- Field work information from case studies in Namibia and South Africa;
- Case studies.

Literature review

The study found that the literature on resettlement programmes in southern Africa is limited. This is due to the recent implementation of the Namibian and South African programmes. The Zimbabwean programme, because of its longer history, however offers greater insights to resettlement programmes. Assessing available information about resettlement schemes is a responsible task and is more difficult in developing countries where the historical and cultural background of communities often differs from that of the assessors.

Interviews

Key informants interviewed during the course of the study provided information at national and local levels. Informants, including government officials, planners and professional consultants involved in resettlement programmes, provided first hand information in addition to providing insights on processes, problems, future possibilities and opportunities which have not been exploited. The informants was used to supplement data obtained from literature review. The choice of informants was aimed at achieving a balanced view of the development schemes.

Local key informant interviews were directed at political authorities, community leaders, women, veterinary and agricultural extension workers and farmers. National key informants in Namibia included spokespersons from the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR), Surveyor General's Office, Department of Water Affairs, Directorate of Environment and Tourism and aid agencies such as the

Swedish Embassy. South African national key informants were from the Department of Land Affairs, social scientists and spokespersons working in Universities and NGO's involved in resettlement programmes and rural issues. In all interviews, emphasis was placed on informal communication. Interviews were conducted on the basis of a guideline schedule rather than through the use of a structured questionnaire. This technique provided for greater flexibility and avoided constraints on discussion content.

There are distinct advantages and disadvantages using an open, qualitative interview technique. Open-ended discussion and narrative answers, for example, tell the assessor more about what is going on in the minds of respondents but do not provide information that is amenable to quantitative analysis as closed response answers might (Fowler and Mangione, 1991 in Day, 1995). Sources of error in unstructured or semi-structured interviews are also likely to be greater¹.

Field Work

Information on beneficiaries of resettlement in Namibia was gained from field work in a case study incorporating observations, informal interviews and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques. The case study covered the resettlement of Herero and Mbanderu from Botswana to Gam in eastern Otjozondjupa, Namibia.

Data gathered during the field work focused on livelihood strategies and use of natural resources in addition to the attitudes of settlers. A qualitative analysis of soil and vegetation was carried out within a 500m radius of each borehole site and around each homestead site. The analysis compared soil from each site to soils in the surrounding area in terms of the potential to support vegetation growth. The information included vegetation type and condition, topography, surface stoniness, form of soil surface, soil texture and signs of erosion. Informal transect walks in the company of farmers were undertaken to ascertain vegetation condition away from the immediate surroundings of boreholes.

Efforts were also made to converse with the women and elderly without the men being present. The elderly members of the community were considered more reliable

¹ Further discussion on interviews and PRA techniques is in Chapter 6.

informants and were considered to have suffered most from social disruption associated with voluntary relocation (Burge, 1990). Women were identified as being more susceptible to the negative impacts of resettlement as their domestic role in the homestead makes them responsible for resource utilization and the well being of the children. Their priorities and perceptions often differed from those of the men and thus provided a more complete understanding of resettlement circumstances. Research undertaken by the Center for Advanced Training in Agriculture Development (CATAD, 1994) indicates that women are in many cases negatively affected by impacts associated with development projects. Yet, these projects are seldom gender sensitive to the needs of women.

Field work was undertaken with the following particular objectives in mind, namely to:

- Ascertain degrees of dependence on natural resources;
- Identify management strategies for natural resources;
- Examine health impacts of resettlement;
- Examine procedures for resettling large numbers of people from another country;
- Identify all parties affected by the resettlement programmes;
- Identify public participation initiatives within the programmes;
- Investigate the expectations of the beneficiaries of the programmes;
- Identify the relevant administrative structures and clarify legislative requirements;
- Develop an appropriate approach to the collection of field data;
- Inform relevant authorities and interested parties of the findings.

1.5 CASE STUDIES

The case studies assessed in this report were chosen from Namibian and South African examples with the aim of illustrating the wide range of experiences associated with resettlement programmes. It is unlikely, however, that the case studies selected will comprehensively represent the full range of social, political and biophysical issues that surround resettlement programmes. The analysis and findings in this study should

therefore be considered as a partial contribution to the development of information that could inform further policy development and decision making.

The case study sites are situated in the following areas:

- Gam, Namibia
- Elandskloof, South Africa

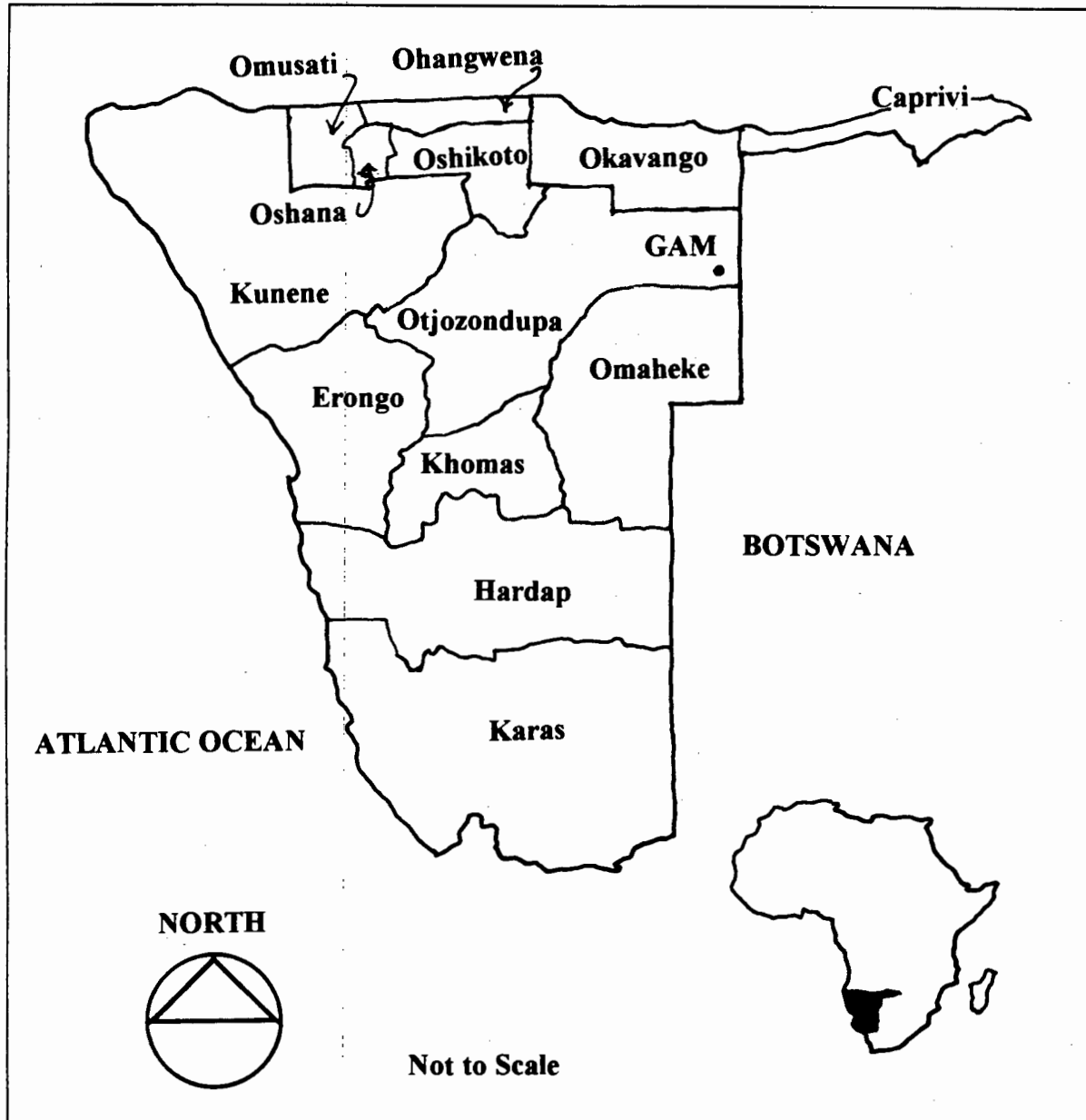
Gam, Namibia

The Namibian study is to a degree unique. The Herero and Mbanderu beneficiaries of the resettlement programme previously lived in Botswana to which their forefathers had fled in 1905 to escape German rule in Namibia, then South West Africa. In April 1991, the Namibian government designated the Ministries of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, Home Affairs and Foreign Affairs to facilitate the repatriation of Herero and Mbanderu from Botswana. This decision followed a long history of repatriation plans.² The land on which resettlement has occurred is in Eastern Otjozondjupa, a semi-arid region in the north eastern part of the country. Prior to the resettlement programme, the area was sparsely populated by people and domestic stock and was considered to be largely pristine (Environment Information Services and Environmental Evaluation Associates of Namibia (EEAN), 1994). San people hunted and collected food there on a seasonal basis and wildlife was common. The absence of permanent water points had previously deterred permanent settlement from occurring.

² Initiatives for the repatriation first occurred in 1959/60 by the Union Government and the British High Commission in South Africa. In 1980 it re-emerged when it was considered by the South African Government but due to cost implications it was delayed until Namibia gained its independence in 1990.

Figure 1.2: LOCATION OF GAM RESETTLEMENT CAMP

Source: M Phil Baseline Study, 1997



The resettlement in this area was enabled by the successful development of boreholes in the Gam region. Ground water was difficult to locate in this area and only through the use of a combination of aeromagnetic survey and geological and geophysical sensing data were water supplies detected (Inter-Consult, 1996). The repatriation of the Herero and Mbanderu settlers has, however, been a slow and problematic process that has encountered a number of problems including the destruction of their cattle by Botswana authorities due to an outbreak of foot/lung disease.

Namibia has implemented resettlement projects nationwide and these programmes are seen as a priority in the newly independent nation. The government ministry responsible for the resettlement programme, the MLRR has undertaken all planning and implementation procedures without the inter-sectoral assistance of other ministries and organisations.

Elandskloof, South Africa

Elandskloof is situated within the Western Cape near the town of Citrusdal. Resettlement in this area is a result of restitution of land rights to the former inhabitants of Elandskloof farm and their descendants who were dispossessed of their land in terms of racially discriminatory legislation and practice in 1962. The previous owners, the Dutch Reformed Church, sold what had been mission land to white farmers who subsequently evicted those living on the land and started farming fruit commercially.

The Elandskloof land claim is the first land claim to be validated by the South African Land Claims Court³. The Elandskloof Association was formally registered by the Department of Land Affairs as the first Communal Property Association on 13 November 1996 (Legal Resource Center, 1996). This study raises a number of important considerations. A commercialised farm was expropriated by the state and returned to the previous occupants. If not utilised to its benefit, the farm can change from an asset worth millions of rand to a liability to the new owners (Cronwright, pers comm.). The implementation procedure is therefore vital for the longer term sustainability of the land and the unity of the beneficiaries. Questions also arise as to whom a "Elandsklower" is and the nature of the community which consists of approximately 308 families.

³ The judgment was taken on 15 October 1996 by Judge Antonie Gildenhuys.

Figure 1.3: LOCATION OF ELANDSKLOOF FARM

Source: Map Studio



In assessing the Elandskloof as a case study the following issues have been considered:

- Determination of exclusive and basic rights that can be enjoyed by the beneficiaries;
- Access to the fertile agricultural land;
- Allocation of residential land holdings;
- Organisation of grants (cash) from the state;
- Range of accommodation types and implementation strategies of each;

- Physical relocation of the affected families;
- Payment for basic services such as water and electricity usage;
- Allocation of funds from the farming practices;
- Determination of land use with participation of beneficiaries;
- Dealing with expectations and disappointments of beneficiaries;
- Monitoring the use and abuse of resource use rights;
- Measures taken if rights abused.

1.6 ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS TO STUDY

The period of three months for the duration of the project limits the scope of study and should be noted as a constraint. Few critiques cover the Namibian and South African projects due to their recent implementation. The criteria, established in Chapter 5, for pre-planning and evaluating resettlement schemes are restricted by the limited literature available and the short time span available to conduct effective field work.

1.7 REPORT STRUCTURE

The report is divided into 8 chapters.

Chapter 1 provides on background, introduction for the study, including the aims and objectives and limitations to the study.

Chapter 2 provides details of the nature of development and developmental paradigms.

Chapter 3 places the focus of development on Africa. The rural context of resettlement programmes is provided by examining rural land usage and rural development which includes the restructuring of agricultural practices.

Chapter 4 reviews the resettlement programme in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 5 develops a set of criteria for use in the assessment of the properties and qualities of rural settlements and guidelines to assist in the process of planning and implementation of such schemes.

Chapter 6 examines resettlement in Namibia. Gam resettlement scheme has been selected as a case study to illustrate implementation of the programme and to serve as a basis for evaluation.

Chapter 7 examines resettlement programmes in South Africa. The proposed resettlement on Elandskloof farm has been selected as a case study to illustrate implementation of the programme and to serve as a basis for evaluation.

Chapter 8 concludes the report with a conclusion on the study and recommendations for future resettlement programmes.

Appendices contain additional information referred to in the body of the report and a compilation of field data.

Chapter Two

DEVELOPMENT



Maufengejo, John: *They are Cutting down the tree,* 1973

CHAPTER TWO

DEVELOPMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to examine rural development which involves resettlement programmes, it is necessary to consider development and what it entails. Chapter 2 provides a broad overview of development, in that it considers what development is and a number of different developmental paradigms.

2.2 DEVELOPMENT

Development is essentially about people and for people. The objective of development is therefore to raise the level of living of the population and to provide all human beings with the opportunity to develop their potential (Streeten, 1974 in Coetzee, 1986).

In spite of intensive debate, numerous problems still exist in defining the concept of development. Broadly speaking, development can be seen as a process of directed change leading to economic growth, political autonomy and a broad basis of social reconstruction (Varma, 1980 in Coetzee, 1986). Social reconstruction, as an overarching component of development, makes for the provision of principles such as freedom, equity, fraternity, satisfaction of basic needs and a general process of economic growth. According to this view, community growth becomes possible as soon as the

cumulative processes of directed change start to influence the total social structure. The definition of development is further complicated by the presence of individual value judgments in decision making.

In determining the need for development and to what degree, relevant questions should be answered, such as what has happened to poverty, unemployment and inequality in an area. If all three have declined from higher levels, a period of development has occurred. If one or two of these central problems grew worse, it would be strange to call the result development, even if per capita income has doubled (Lehmann, 1979 in Coetzee, 1986). Development and economic growth are not, therefore, related per se, yet are always confused. Economic growth does not take into account social and political transformation, the most important prerequisite for real development, since there could be growth without development but there cannot be development without growth.

The objective of contemporary development initiatives is to be sustainable in the long term. Several attempts have been made to define sustainable development. The World Commission on Environment and Development in its report "Our Common Future" defines sustainable development as:

"development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Maposa, 1995.25).

Anil Agarwal of the center for Science and Environment in New Delhi criticizes this definition in his statement:

"...it is important to understand the political content of sustainable development. Sustainability can never be absolute. A society which learns faster from its mistakes and rectifies its behavior will invariably be more sustainable than another society which takes a longer time...learning from one's mistakes is crucial to the process of sustainable development because no society - today, tomorrow or even in the future can claim to be so knowledgeable that it will always manage and use its natural resources in a perfectly ecologically sound manner. That will always be

an impossibility. Changing social, political, cultural, technological and ecological conditions will exert new pressures on the natural resource bases and the possibility of its misuse will always remain" (Agarwal, 1993.p.2 in Maposa, 1995.p.26).

By looking at the inter-relatedness of sustainable development Agarwal highlights the need to address all factors. Thus sustainable development is a holistic concept comprising the whole framework of changes taking place at any given time. In this respect Holmberg notes that the concept of sustainable development should include careful analysis of the system of land and resource ownership. Furthermore, he emphasizes that there is no one ideal system but the workings of a chosen system must be clear to all (Maposa, 1995).

A paradigm is a system of thought and in the context of development is internally consistent with a particular view of decision making, a set of development goals and theoretical and normative assumptions about social change (Blakie, 1997). Theory and practice are contextual, contingent and always changing.

Different paradigms and styles of development have been involved in an increasing ideological and polarized debate (ibid). For each development paradigm there is a consistent set of assumptions of human behavior and decision making. There are different perceptions to decision making which treat the role of perceptions and knowledge creation, adaptation and application in very different ways. In order to define development within the context of this study, 3 developmental paradigms are outlined below, namely the classic modernization paradigm, the neo-liberal paradigm and the neo-populist paradigm.

Classic Modernization Development Paradigm

From about 1950-1975 a 'classic' paradigm of development predominated and drew its sources from strategic objectives in the USA as a hegemonic power in the Cold War period, academic Marxism's, and other lower order notions chiefly concerning rural development and environmental management from a colonial past. Big theories, such as

modernization and Marxist theories, were then in fashion. The classic model of development was supposed to realize those meta-narratives in terms of state led and top-down policies. The most popular manner of development to solve problems of the Third World, centered around the classical 'modernization' approach (refer to Figure 2.1). This approach is conceptualized as a transition in a continuum with traditionality (underdevelopment), on the one hand and modernity (development), on the other. From this viewpoint, all societies can be placed somewhere on a historical line of change in terms of certain characteristics and indices and all humanity progresses on essentially the same evolutionary road from an undeveloped state to a developed state (Coetzee, 1986).

In the paradigm of modernization, the goal of development is to bring the undeveloped world to a developed state (Dewar, pers. comm.). Modernization was widely believed to be the bearer of salvation to 'underdeveloped' nations, with present circumstances in Western countries regarded as the development target. Thus, in most cases, development reflected or represented western ideas of total satisfaction of human needs for developing countries.

The most important criticism of the approach centers around elements of Western centrism. Western conceptions of reality, societal analyses, structures and visions of progress are taken as points of departure and 'under development' is judged as bad development. By using developed western nations as points of reference, the Third World is judged as backward, in that its people do not comply with the characteristics of developed modernity¹.

¹ Features of a modernizing society include: specialization; secularization; urbanization; mass mobilization; increases in technology, scale of production, communication and achievement motivation (Dewar pers. comm.).

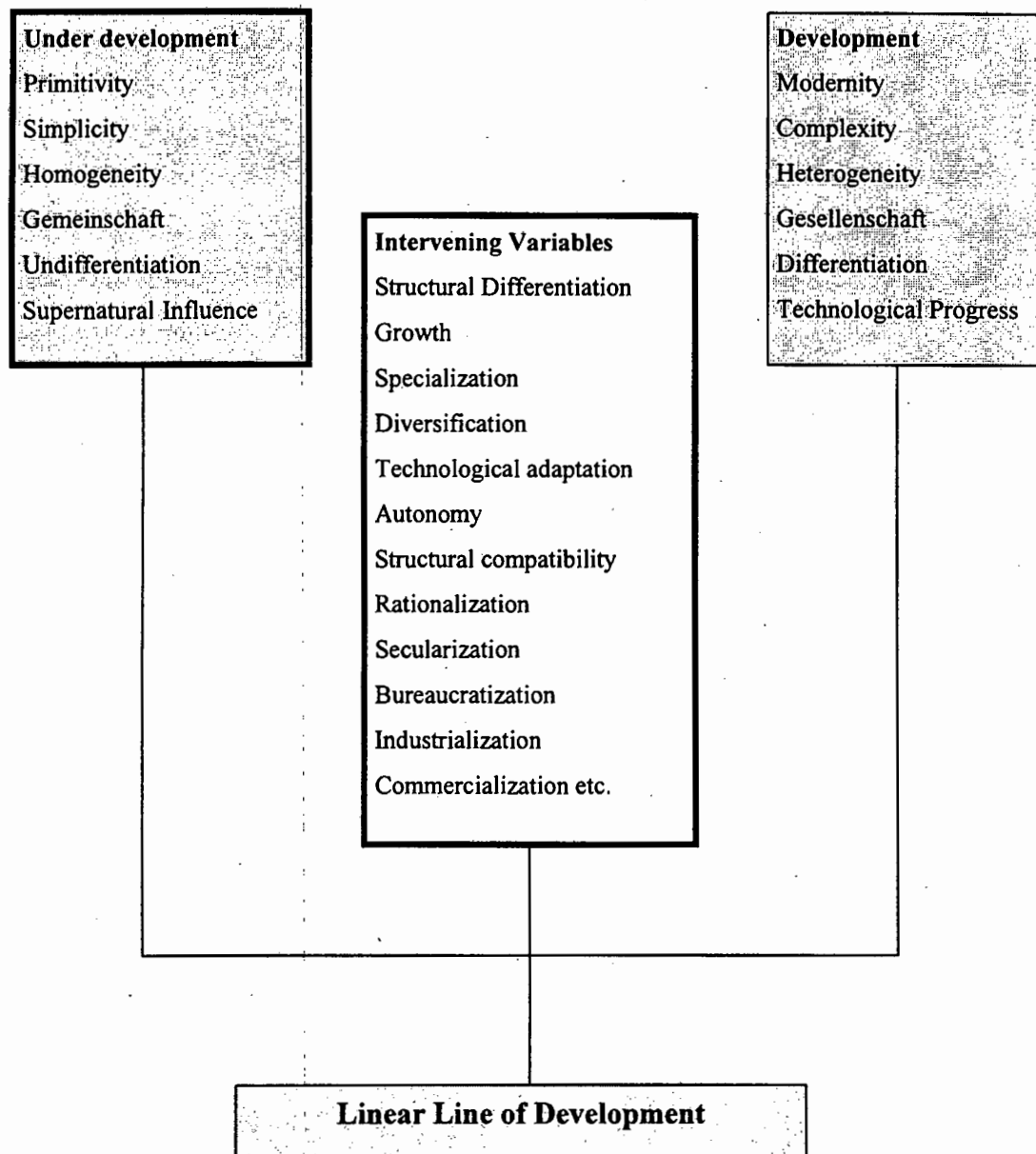


Figure 2.1: TRADITIONAL REPRESENTATION OF DEVELOPMENT

Source: Coetzee, 1986

For many reasons which include the world economic recession and the foreign debt crisis, and a dismal catalogue of failures of the 'classical' development approach, two very different paradigms asserted themselves at about the same time, in the 1970s. The first is a neo-liberal approach which remains dominant, and the second a neo-populist approach (Blaikie, 1997).

Neo-Liberal Development Paradigm

The neo-liberal paradigm has been rediscovered from time to time during the past century in response to particular global crises, with a view to ensuring outcomes which are claimed by its adherents to be beneficial to all people, or alternately to certain fractions of capital according to Marxist critics (ibid). This paradigm relies heavily on incentives and regulations, the principles of which derive from neo-classical economics. The paradigm is indifferent to the needs of local institutions, which are induced to meet market demand.

Neo-Populist Development Paradigm

The neo-populist paradigm ignited from a number of different sources which increasingly converged during the late 1970s. Adherents reject the classic approach and reasserted populist sentiments. New found respect for indigenous technical knowledge and local knowledge were brought together in neo-populist thinking. By the 1980's, the neo-populist approach had become central to many development agencies, particularly NGOs, not only in environmental management but also sustainable agriculture, health, education and welfare projects and policy. Within this paradigm there is a continued support for the view that local people participate in their own problem identification, research methodology, use of findings and implementation. From the more paternalistic end of the continuum, technologies are developed ex-situ and then adapted to local conditions with the 'participation' of local people, who are persuaded to adopt them and provide the resources necessary for their application. The other extreme of this range of application are those that believe local people can solve all their own problems (Chambers *et al*, 1989, Haverkort *et al*, 1991, Scoones and Thompson, 1994 in Blaikie, 1997).

2.3 ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT PARADIGMS

Debates on development are characterized by a search for alternative forms of measurement, the main one being that development must have a trickle down effect towards the majority of the population. Shifts in emphasis represent reactions to the danger of growth without development and are based on the acceptance of individuals as pertinent focal points.

Recent strategy has seen a shift of emphasis from development to development for people. Policies and strategies previously directed at the control of natural settings, technological considerations, economic structures and demographic conditions have been progressively replaced by policies and strategies that recognize concomitant values, local customs, social structures and political participation (Coetzee, 1986).

The emergence of alternatives to conventional development operations does not imply that significant increases in the material welfare of individuals will emerge, but in general all are likely to benefit and new processes will contribute to a growing consciousness of the specific meaning of the total social life world. The idea of progress is dependent on the continuous affirmation of meaning, ingenuous efforts to encourage the perseverance of individuals and a will to create a meaningful life. This emphasis on qualitative experience and participation represents a different approach to that propagated by the traditional modernization approach.

When considering alternatives regarding development, one aspect stands out clearly: it is totally unacceptable to content oneself with a generalized, linear model that bestows analytical priority on external factors in the constitution of development. This applies to the modernization, dependency and imperialism approaches, as all three hold a centralist view of development. All interpret changes in organizational and structural levels as responses which are externally inspired. Socio-economic change is predominately defined in deterministic terms and very little allowance is made for a view which includes the reciprocal and active contribution of local forces. The most important implication of this shift in emphasis is that it places the meaning and the specific circumstances within which action takes place, at the center of analysis. If the

individual and collective constitution of meaning is placed at the center, one acknowledges the fact that the total concept of development will continually be analyzed in a critical manner.

This implies that 'alternatives in development' will form a dynamic ingredient of development thought due to:

- Diverse political, social and ideological systems (capitalist versus socialism, freedom versus planning, secular versus theocratic, *et cetera*);
- Diverse strategies and technical issues (agriculture versus industry, capital intensive versus labour intensive, growth versus inequality, *et cetera*);
- Fundamental differences between Third World and Developed World (poor agricultural setting versus moderate to excellent agricultural potential, totally different life-worlds, *et cetera*) (Streenen, 1974 in Coetzee, 1986)

The rejection of Western centrism calls for the evaluation of appropriate development alternatives for the following reasons:

- The transfer of one set of institutions, values and standards (for example, the Western way in the modernization approach) not only had disappointing results, but in some cases, created or aggravated certain obstacles to development;
- The existence of wealth and diversity in human cultures should never be sacrificed for so-called development progress;
- So-called self knowledge (as presumed by the Developed World) does not provide an understanding of societies completely different from one's own (Coetzee, 1986).

Development for Women of a new Era (DAWN), a network linking women researchers living and working in the southern hemisphere, outlines the basis for an alternative type of analysis of development. In their view theories of development and social change must recognize the differences between those who aim at managing the status quo and those who seek to promote social change. DAWN's research methodology is bottom up - starting out from an analysis of micro-level experiences of poor, rural and urban

women living in the southern hemisphere and linking these to the macro-economic level, on the assumption that experience at the micro-level and its analysis should inform macro-level analysis and visa versa (Braidotti *et al*, 1994).

Development efforts should be based on the assumption that all people value respect and want to be treated as worthy individuals. Esteem and freedom must be accompanied by the fulfillment of basic needs experienced by every human being. To a large extent, development therefore forms the focal point of human expectations.

In spite of the technological, economic, health and other achievements of the western world, a call for alternatives points to an acceptance of reality and an acknowledgment that the most sophisticated production methods, a soundly based welfare economy, technological advancement and an excellent academic backing, do not necessarily constitute development.

Development projects need to be intensely involved in targeted areas to consider sensitive levels of affected people by applying the following:

- Provide opportunities for effective participation, as no sincere development is possible without participation by those who find themselves in the midst of the development situation;
- Recognize social justice;
- Apply appropriate education;
- Seek the abolition of poverty and inequality;
- Provide for community development that may lead to social reconstruction and the provision of meaningful existence;
- Increase goals and actions directed at the micro-level of individual expression;
- Constitute meaningful programmes that embody acceptable values, customs and social structures (Coetzee, 1986).

In establishing appropriate development intervention, planners need the following information to be reliable, relevant, accessible and comparable over time²:

- Knowledge of current development trends and its status;
- Theories of processes of socio-economic change;
- Resources for development;
- Problem identification;
- Formulation of goals and objectives;
- Implementation possibilities (including phasing);
- Feasibility of implementing monitoring, comparison and evaluation of programmes
(Dewar, pers. comm.).

2.4 SUMMARY

Development is implemented to improve the livelihood of affected people. Yet, the initiatives may fail in this primary objective if a number of issues are not considered, namely the sustainability of resource use, local customs and politics of the inhabitants and the uniqueness of the affected environment. The manner in which development is implemented affects the process and outcome. In order to achieve the best possible implementation programme, various developmental paradigms are researched and developed.

² The 'means' or 'performance' indicators used in establishing data should be known by the researcher. Means indicate a quantifiable amount, such as, number of hospital beds; performance indicates the success or failure of an action.

Chapter Three

DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA



Maufengejo, John: *MEN are Working in Town. They are working in Mine,* 1981

CHAPTER THREE

DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Africa provides a focus for development initiatives, as current economic crises and decay of political and social structures have brought about warfare and widespread poverty resulting in environmental degradation. Development is frequently concentrated in rural areas to affect the majority of Africa's population. An outline of the nature of rural settlements is discussed, in addition to gender issues within them. The objective of rural development is to address existing unfavorable conditions mentioned under problems in rural areas. In southern Africa, the polarization between small and large scale farming operations is the basis for current rural land reforms and restructuring practices in agriculture, both which are discussed in the concluding sections of this chapter.

3.2 DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

The decay of political systems and rural society structure is the cause of poverty in many African countries. Poverty is one of the major causes of environmental degradation. It is considered unlikely that either environment or living conditions of the rural inhabitants will be substantially improved until the major causes of poverty are tackled (Rogers, 1983 in Dankelman and Davidson, 1989). According to the World

Commission on Environment and Development, this means not only addressing local symptoms of distress, but the underlying reasons for the appalling and self defeating mismanagement of resources, both human and natural. Foremost of concern is the debt crisis which forces Third World countries to dangerously exploit their natural resource base. Even though major efforts are being made to improve food security through supporting food producers with appropriate price and other incentives, population growth, low and fluctuating commodity prices, dwindling and inappropriate aid programmes and the escalation of weapon spending, are issues which national governments must tackle with more than rhetoric (Mahmoud, 1991).

The dropping of commodity prices and the subsequent rush to privatize under the Structural Adjustment programmes imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank have led to slashed education and health budgets which in turn has led to increased malnutrition and disease, especially among women and children. As the prices crashed for the cash crops of the Third World, so did their economies. In a global economy where export crops fetch the same prices at they did 30 years ago, the aim of development projects should be considered (ibid).

The African crisis is not merely economic, but entails a breakdown of social structure and political systems accompanied by environmental degradation. Thus, sustainability of the environment is related to the building of durable social economic and political structures (Suliman, 1991). Appropriate sustainable developments must be addressed in this context. African governments are blamed for ignoring the cardinal demand of developments: they must begin by changing the economy from a colonial, externally orientated structure to one that is internally responsive. Authorities to solve local problems should be established at a local level. Development should be localized, human in scale and intended to solve human problems. Nothing should be done by a national government, state, province or district that could be done at the village level. (Omo- Fadaka, 1991).

It is clear that the only way out for African countries from their current poverty is to lessen dependence on the industrialized nations and pursue an independent path of development. The neo-colonial status of African countries will not change until they

recognize their national self-interest is the basic fact of international relations (Suliman, 1991). Their resources are their land and their people. African countries should not wait for international assistance to launch their development projects. The services of foreign personnel should be welcomed if they are catalytic to the whole process of development. An important rule in the policy of self reliance is that African countries should assess the aims and interests of their development policies, and then train enough of their people for the tasks involved. Only in this way will they eventually become independent of foreign assistance and fully self-reliant (ibid).

3.2.1 Settlements

The definition of human settlements is elusive, perhaps because most people, although perfectly capable of grasping the concept, are unable to describe it. Human settlements are where organized human activity takes place. They are human constructs. Settlements are not simply physical structures but an integrated combination of all human activities such as livelihood, culture, education and leisure to name a few. Human settlements and the systems they form are an expression of a society and of its values, in addition to being indicators of a nation's achievement. Investment in human settlements contributes to the improvement of a society's ability to respond to basic development needs (Habitat, 1986).

Human settlements are focal points for economic activity and for interaction between people. They are among a nation's principal economic assets and centers for wealth creation. Settlements can promote social development in improving the quality of life and in meeting basic needs. The promotion of the well-being of people is the central concern and purpose of all development efforts (ibid). Investments in settlements are investments in the development of human resources, the benefits of which not only accrue to groups and individuals but also to the nation as a whole. Human settlements provide contexts within which opportunity to reconcile economic growth with the need for sustainable development might be realized. They provide an environment for reconciling sectoral concerns and for expressing them in a spatial dimension. Human

settlements can be seen as the framework within which social and economic development, public sector investment and resource usage (allocation) are situated (Dewar, *et al*, 1978).

The components of a settlement are forms of different shapes, constructed of various materials and positioned by the function they perform. Form is a statement of place and time. It is the recognition which derives from the uniqueness of the natural conditions which exist of position, of people's needs at the time and of the significant and dominant attributes of the culture. In short, form is place related and by definition unique (*ibid*).

Settlement creation in resettlement schemes varies according to the nation's policy, the culture of the beneficiaries and the biophysical environment. The creation of a 'village' is a response to the belief that concentrated settlement patterns maximize natural resource usage and facilitate a more cost effective provision of social services, for example reticulated water and electricity (Cronright, *pers. comm.*). 'Villagization' as an example of a type of resettlement procedure, typically involves moving people from scattered smaller residential clusters to a nucleated residential settlement (de Wet, 1991). The villagization process has affected many more people than development related to resettlement projects as it involves the involuntary displacement of people in for example, resettlement arising from the construction of a dam. In Africa, at least 22 million people have been villagized under both pre- and post independence governments (*ibid*). South Africa has villagized several million people in agricultural 'betterment' schemes while in Mozambique approximately 1.2 million people have been affected (*ibid*).

The effects of a resettlement scheme seem to be related to the interplay of factors at the local level, immediately prior to the event, and those which arise in the wider political and economic spheres and which have a bearing on the implementation of the scheme. Resettlement schemes provides governments with greater control over their rural populations and this control facilitates the implementation of policies, such as socialism or apartheid (*ibid*). Beneficiaries of the schemes are exposed to people they had

previously regarded as strangers and outsiders. This has led to the establishment of new social relationships and kinship ties and a reduction of traditional family structure.

The movement of people into more concentrated rural settlements may have negative ecological consequences, such as the unsustainable usage of natural resources (de Wet, 1991). Resettlement schemes has in cases deprived people of the flexibility of land usage which was previously adaptable (ibid). The strategy of 'opportunism' practiced by communal pastoralists for example, is not always permissible. If both people and livestock are crowded into a small area, degradation of ground cover closest to the village occurs. Stander argues that such occurrences will always be the case and the significance is how far this degradation occurs; in his opinion over 300 meters from the settlement is cause for concern (Stander, pers. comm.).

The results of forming a settlement where rural inhabitants live within a more concentrated area than before, may include the following consequences:

- Demise of traditional political and ceremonial groupings;
- Changes in the composition of people working together;
- Increased commercialization of agricultural labour relations (de Wet, 1991).

In the resettlement process, the creation of a settlement is an intervention from outside the community and is generally implemented without effective consultation with local inhabitants and beneficiaries. The consequences of certain resettlement schemes has been to significantly transform the physical, socio-economic and political settings in which rural people found themselves (ibid). It has brought about changes in their access to resources, their social relationships and their relationships to authorities - usually limiting rather than increasing people's options. In addition to these impacts, individuals may suffer a loss of autonomy and economic viability. Literature shows that local factors such as the physical terrain, patterns of land use, access to resources and social relationships all constrain and influence the way resettlement takes effect (de Wet, 1991).

3.2.2 Gender Issues

A large portion of the world's homeless, approximately 1,000 million people, are women (Celik, 1985 in Dankelman and Davisdson, 1989). Within the Third World, 90% of women depend on the land for their survival. Their work keeps the family and rural economy alive. African women have always been on the front line of socio-economic planes of African societies - the farmer, nurturer, educator and the cultural and religious repository of her world.

Rural women's tasks in agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as in the household, make them the daily managers of the living environment (Dankelman and Davidson, 1989). As such they play a major role in managing the natural resources (soil, water, forests and energy) of the area. The supply of water - vital for survival and health of the family and farming - is exclusively the responsibility of women and children. As long as agricultural tasks are not mechanized, women are responsible for sowing, weeding, crop maintenance and harvesting, while men look after field preparation. Their traditional farming methods, created by necessity to ensure future harvests, are passed down through generations and help sustain the environment. They have profound knowledge of plants, animals and ecological processes around them. As a result, women experience environmental problems acutely as they can directly undermine the base of their daily lives.

Gender equality should not be understood to mean antagonism between men and women as individuals, because it is a social phenomenon and not a personal one. This should not, however, negate the fact that gains for women are losses for men, especially in the transitional phase, such as sharing domestic work and caring for the elderly and sick. Equality means that men and women should be equal, not only in an egalitarian sense, but in a socio-economic and political sense. In order for such equality to take place in the Third World, radical changes in the entire socio-economic order need to occur.

It is clear that women fulfill a greater number of essential tasks than men, yet they and their labour are often unrewarded. Women have title to only 1% of the world's land, yet in south of the Sahara they produce more than 80% of the food (ibid). Not withstanding

their important role, women have only very limited access to and control over income, credit, land, education, training and information. International agencies and governments have ignored the vital part that women play in caring for the environment. Their voice, like their knowledge and experience, is not heard. In resettlement schemes, women are marginalised by the removal of their traditional role to cultivate land, resulting in the loss of incentive to conserve resources.

Development in the Third World has worsened the position of women by introducing external problems, caused by:

- Western colonization, frequently accompanied by racially discriminatory legislation and the resulting loss of control over the country's natural resources;
- Increasing dependency on a Western monetary economy;
- Developments in technology, such as agricultural modernization;
- Sharpening of the worldwide division of labour; and
- Increasing religious fundamentalism (ibid).

There was a time when a women's invisibility was less. In traditional societies of pre-colonial period there is evidence to suggest that her central place and pivotal role in the reproductive-productive and cultural chain of African life was recognized - by herself if not by men. The impact of the outside world through monotheism (Islam and Christianity) and above all through conquest and colonialism drastically changed the perception she and the men who rule her (colonialists and local alike) had of her vital functions. This perception has remained and in fact deepened with the coming of Third World independence leading us to an absurd paradox which is: although African women continue to play the role described above, and to play it more and more as development strategies (based on normative prescriptions inspired by the West) fail, the recognition of the crucial capability continues to be denied by all, women and men alike. Not only are her own needs being denied, but her undeniable achievements continue to be ignored. The more she copes as more and more African economies decline, the more invisible she becomes to the decision makers, inside Africa and out, in the decision process.

As a result gender blind development has led to increasingly desperate situations for women and their families, in addition to undermining sound ecological and traditional agricultural knowledge. Women's knowledge provides security for themselves and others. Effective development requires the full integration of women in the development process as both agents and beneficiaries. Development agencies should therefore, take full cognizance of women in the decision process as a development resource. A transfer of power to women on all levels would enable them to take control of their own development.

In the short term, to capitalize on the resources of women, the aim of development should be to improve women's capacity to conserve. Projects should be locally designed and managed, and access to training improved. The continuing awareness raising and advocacy of women will enhance their ability to influence the way in which development is planned and implemented. National and regional focus points are needed to form alliances between women and environmental and welfare NGOs, research and educational institutions and women groups, which can assist in arguing against misguided projects and press for gender equity.

3.3 RURAL LAND USAGE

Rural land usage in southern Africa has been strongly polarized between small and large scale farming operations caused by policies of previous colonial and minority led governments. The independent states of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa inherited a dual land use system in the rural areas, comprising large scale farms, operated on a commercial basis by settlers, and small scale farms, operated on a subsistence level by indigenous populations within communal areas. Access to land and the usage thereof was determined by racial classification and communal areas for the majority of the population were demarcated in ecologically marginal lands. This weighted distribution of land was an essential feature of colonial exploitation of natural resources in the selected southern African countries. The commercial agricultural sector, in addition to the mining and industrial sector, were all profitability affected by

the skewed land policies of the previous governments (Werner, 1991). Access to land and lack thereof, determined the supply and cost of African labour to the colonial economies. It may be assumed that present day changes in the distribution and utilization of land will affect the economic structure of the newly independent southern African countries (ibid).

Large scale 'commercial farming' is characterized by a high degree of mechanization in production and high allocation of resources. Farms occur in more favorable ecological regions of the countries and are sparsely inhabited by people generally of European descent. Management of land use is specialized and farmers frequently received benefits from earlier governments, such as cost-plus prices, exemption from labour legislation, assured markets, cheap low risk credit, extension services and generous subsidies. New policies in rural development coupled with unfavorable weather conditions in recent years, have meant that many commercial farmers are now running financially strained operations (Jensen, 1996). They have been struck by crippling droughts, high debt burdens, surplus production and over-intensive or incorrect cropping systems. In addition diminished commodity price subsidies, increased input costs and increased interest rates have taken their toll on this sector.

Small scale 'communal farming' is characterized by low agricultural productivity and the frequent occurrence of unused and degraded lands. Farms are located in the communal lands situated in the marginal, drier areas of the countries and are inhabited by members of the indigenous population. Black, small-holder farmers face problems related to insecure and fragmented land rights, small farm units, deterioration of natural resources and lack of access to financial support, markets, transportation, extension and research services¹. Yet, in spite of these restraints, many communal farmers have survived and run successful operations.

¹ Subsistence farmers grow food crops, allowing them to exist from the land, without surplus to sell and without cash income from wage employment. Peasant farmers produce crops to live off and if surplus arises, to sell.

3.4 RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural development as a component of development aims to improve the livelihood of rural people and maximize agricultural production on their lands. Components of rural development include improved access to natural resources, greater security of land rights, the creation of employment opportunities in agricultural and agro-industry sectors and the provision of infrastructure and services to the rural population.

Rural development is vital in addressing the needs of the rural poor. By attending to the low potential to earn a living in marginalised areas, many positive effects may result. These include a decrease in the high rural-urban migration rate experienced by many African developing countries (refer to Table 3.1). Africa is the world's least urbanized region, with the highest rates of urbanization (Habitat, 1986). In southern Africa, the average urban growth rate between 1990-1995 was 6.5%² and is not expected to decrease to 3% until after 2025 (ibid, Southern Africa Research and Document Center, 1994). The rural/urban ratio in southern Africa is moderately high, with 42.7% of the population living in urbanized areas in 1990, while in eastern and western Africa, 75-80% are rural inhabitants (ibid).

The growth of urban areas is due to the natural increase of urban populations and rural-urban migration of people. Migration to urban areas arises from a low level of economic activity, unemployment and limited development of human settlement in rural areas. Internal, voluntary migration in African countries is the crucial variable, as opposed to international migration, although southern and central Africa are currently experiencing unprecedented international migration from neighboring states in response to disruption caused by civil wars.

² The southern African nations consist of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Table 3.1: POPULATION GROWTH IN THE SELECTED SOUTHERN AFRICA COUNTRIES

Source: Southern Africa Research Document Center, 1994

Country	Population (millions)	Average annual growth rate (%) 1990-5	Population (millions)	Density per sq. km. (persons) 1994	Population in urban areas (%)		Annual urban growth rate (%) 1990-5
	1994		2025		1970	1990	
Namibia	2.0	3.1*	4.7	2.4	19	28	5.2
South Africa	38.5	2.2**	65.4	32.5	48	59	3.2
Zimbabwe	11.0	3.1*	22.6	28.2	17	28	5.4

* growth rate increasing

**growth rate decreasing or stable

Members of rural families, acting rationally to augment their household incomes, join the migrant labour stream, causing farm labour shortages (Seidman *et al*, 1992). Where labour migration to urban areas has been going on for generations, most migrants have to or choose to retain a rural base. Many rural households have come to rely on remittances from members of the family working in urban areas. As a result, incomes in rural households may vary in response to past and present earnings from sources outside agriculture (Cliffe, 1992).

Several governments in the developing countries of Africa have committed themselves to redressing urban-rural inequalities. In doing so they have promoted rural development and the containment of the growth of large cities as a development strategy. Policies put into place to address these issues include:

- Land redistribution from large farmers to small farmers;
- Rationalization of the location of rural facilities;
- Development of agro-industries;
- Implementation of resettlement schemes;
- Provision of rural housing;
- Improving access to infrastructures;
- Upgrading rural centers;

- Creation of rural co-operatives.

However, there is no single solution to poverty in the communal areas of southern Africa (Moyo, 1994). A multi-disciplinary approach to development, in which strong inter-connections between the ecological, social, economic, political and institutional aspects is emphasized, is required (Cousins, 1996). It is considered that neither the resettlement of people, investment in infrastructure nor quicker industrialization would be enough in themselves, but the combination of all aspects might help (Moyo and Skalkness, 1989).

3.4.1 Sustainable Rural Development

Sustainable rural development is a fundamental goal of development. Without the long term availability of natural resources, people's reliance on local resources would shift to reliance on other rural and urban areas.

Basic requirements for sustainable rural development incorporate the following:

- Clear tenure rights which guarantee security of tenure that are negotiated at a local level; it is argued that no single model of land tenure is appropriate for all circumstances;
- Designation of holdings of a size that can sustain families at a reasonable standard of living and are not bound to one enterprise alone;
- Encouragement of eco-system preservation, sustainable management of resources and intensification of land use; the effect of these requirements would initially be the self sustenance of rural communities and thereafter their ability to produce surplus produce for marketing;
- State guaranties on rules for the tenure framework;
- State ensurance that poverty does not prevail to the extent that people are obliged to 'break the rules';
- Participation of local people in the planning and decision making process;

- Equity and access to resources, that is credit and land;
- Political will by government to empower people to participate in the decision making process;
- Women's right to resources;
- Good educational programmes and open channels of information (Maposa, 1995; de Wet, 1991).

By taking the above mentioned factors into account, positive changes in agriculture in terms of production and land management in the communal and resettlement areas can be created regardless of people's qualifications or the class of land in question (Maposa, 1995).

3.4.2 Problems in Rural Areas

Rural development in southern Africa aims to address unfavorable socio-economic symptoms found in rural areas, all of which are interlinked. The following table outlines the major socio development indicators of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

Table 3.2: SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS OF THE SELECTED SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

Source: Southern Africa Research Document Center 1994.

Country	Adult Literacy (%)		Births attended by health personnel (%) 1983-90	Infant mortality per 1,000 (%)		Under 5 (years) mortality per 1,000		Pop. with access to health service % 1987-1989	Pop. with access to safe water (%) 1988-90	Life expectan. (years)	
	1970	1990		1970	1991	1960	1990			1960	1992
Namibia	-	40	-	118	72	262	167	-	-	43	58
South Africa	-	70	-	79	54	192	88	-	-	49	62
Zimbabwe	55	67	60	96	48	181	87	72	74 % rural 83% resett 100% urb.	45	56

- data not available

Land reform is vital to address the following unfavorable conditions found in rural areas:

Hunger

The most glaring symptom of the development crisis in many communal areas is widespread hunger experienced by inhabitants. Field research has exposed that in certain areas, families were calorie deficient and the majority of household diets lacked minerals and vitamins. It was discovered that the bulk of diseases were due to poor nutrition caused by an excessive dependency on maize (Mushala, 1992). In a South African study undertaken in 1985, a recorded infant mortality rate for black people living in reserves was 282 per 1000, a figure more than 23 times higher than the rate for urban white South Africans.

Overcrowding

The demarcation of marginal lands for the indigenous populations in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa has resulted in severe overcrowding in certain areas. Policies were implemented which forced the ecologically marginal areas to carry a much greater population than local resources could sustain (ibid). In the South African context there was a 44 % population increase in the communal areas between 1970 and 1980 (ibid). The absence of viable urban alternatives for the less-skilled and older rural inhabitants have caused the rural areas to act as a sink for the unemployed. Moreover, rural inhabitants tend to hang onto their land as a means of security. It is deemed unlikely that a land market will develop in the former bantustans/homelands to any significant extent in the near future (de Wet, 1991). Generally, unless there is substantial and effective rural development, unviable arable holdings will stay much as they are at the present, and the environment and the resource base will continue to be subjected to heavy human and animal pressure (ibid).

Landlessness

Overcrowding in communal areas may result in landlessness. Even in the larger areas in South Africa such as KwaZulu/Natal, a third to half of the households are without land (Mushala, 1992). Increasing land pressure has led to declining farm yields, replacement

of cattle by smaller stock, soil erosion and the disappearance of natural resources such as trees, fish and wildlife (ibid). Yet a large proportion of arable land is not cultivated. In the extreme case of Ciskei in South Africa, only 20 % of the potential cropping land with adequate rainfalls is cultivated, an occurrence which is partly attributed to the high economic rewards of migrant labour as opposed to communal farming (Tapson, 1984 in Mushala, 1992).

Access to Agricultural Inputs

Small farmers are particularly vulnerable as they lack access to risk-reducing institutions - readily available to white commercial farmers - such as crop insurance, marketing boards and transport networks. Technology, appropriate for small scale farmers, has received little attention and research. Underdevelopment of permanent and hygienic water resources results in wasted labour, time and low productivity. This scarcity of physical and financial resources causes what might be called a shortage of "psychological resources in the rural areas" (Moyo, 1991). Within this context, it is understandable that young people reject a future as farmers and seek an urban education and existence, thus aggravating the shortage of skilled farm management.

Declining productivity

Growing landlessness of the population and shortages of productive resources have steadily eroded the ability of communal farmers to feed the people who live in the communal areas. Food aid forms a consistent component in the diet of many rural people (M Phil baseline report, 1997). It is argued that pure subsistence agriculture does no longer exist partly due to the following reasons (Mushala, 1992). Land holdings (half a hectare and less in some areas) are often not adequate for the creation of a subsistence lifestyle and are thus not cultivated and non-agricultural remittances (migrant labour, pensions, wages and salaries earned locally) are responsible for all cash needs. Due to these factors, the landed/landless division does not necessarily assume as high a social significance as it did in the past (de Wet, 1991).

For rural development to improve the socio-economic conditions of the majority of the rural population, government policies would need to provide for the following:

- Secure rights to land for residential occupation and agricultural production;
- Expansion of secure access to arable and/or grazing land;
- Provision of support services for the expansion and development of economic production;
- Development of a range of employment opportunities.

Yet, only by targeting the landless poor and the women, will the benefits of rural reform extend to the full sector of the rural societies (Jensen, 1996).

3.5 RURAL LAND REFORM IN AFRICA

Land reform is an important component of rural development and extends over three dimensions:

- Land redistribution from either commercially owned farms or state land to the majority of the rural inhabitants;
- Security of land tenure for holders;
- Settlement support structures for the upliftment of livelihoods.

Land redistribution

Land redistribution is a transfer of land from the privileged section of the population to the unprivileged section. The process should benefit the most disadvantaged sectors of the population who are the landless rural inhabitants and enable them to practice small subsistence farming and engage in other employment opportunities.

The need for land reform is undeniable in countries where, prior to independence, white farmers owned the majority of the productive area and black peasants were relegated to mostly inferior land in the drier parts of the countries.

There are various alternatives involved in the redistribution of land. Firstly, in communal areas the following options present themselves:

- Expansion of communal grazing areas involving the development of lands which are underutilized due to lack of access to water and transport networks;
- Commercial development of industry within the communal areas;
- Community based wildlife utilization.

The commercial areas present other options such as:

- Purchase of commercial farms for communal area residential and farming expansion;
- Purchase of commercial farms for allocation of grazing lands to communal stock farmers;
- Settlement of small farmers and landless people on commercial farms as in resettlement schemes;
- Subsidized purchase of commercial farms by individual communal farmers (Harnett, 1993).

As land is a finite resource, the redistribution process results in people either benefiting from land gained or forfeiting through loss of land. The process in the selected southern African countries is seen in the light of reconciliation and the restructuring of society. As discussed in Chapter 4, the majority of land transactions occur on a 'willing seller-willing buyer' basis with the purchase price being set by market related criteria. However, the situation in Zimbabwe has changed since the promulgation of the Land Acquisition Act of 1992. The Act allows the government to designate and purchase all ('utilized' and 'under utilized') lands at their discretion and pay a 'fair price' within a 'reasonable period'. In Namibia, the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, No.

6 of 1995³, allows the government to purchase land classified as 'under utilized' and 'excessive'. Although they have purchased most land on a 'willing seller/willing buyer' basis, the current Minister of Lands Resettlement and Rehabilitation, Ms. Ithana, stated that her ministry will "put a new emphasis on forcibly taking land from owners" in accordance with the above mentioned Act (Maletsky, 1997; Kanyemba, pers.comm.).

Land Tenure Reform

Land tenure addresses the contract for land occupation between the user and the owner. Tenure systems determine the ownership of the land, the permissible land usage and the length of occupation of the resident. The degree of security is determined by the tenure system employed (refer to Box 1). Systems range from freehold tenure in which land is owned by the user to the other extreme, where there is no form of contract between user and owner of land. The latter usually implies a land invasion by an individual or groups of individuals.

Tenure reform is a complicated process. It involves usage of land and the form that the usage takes. In the selected southern Africa countries, tenure reform addresses the land practice created in the past.

By clarifying and strengthening the rights of people to the land they occupy, tenure reform will constitute the granting of real land rights to the rural and urban poor (Jensen, 1996). Tenure security means that people can enjoy the benefits of their land without the fear of arbitrary eviction by individuals or organisations. It is considered that the introduction of a legal and administrative system which protects the land rights of all citizens will make a significant contribution to personal security, social stability and the sustainable use of land within southern Africa (Jensen, 1996).

Prior to the governments of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa gaining their independence, the structuring of land use enforced by racially discriminating legislature by the previous political powers created two forms of tenure. Freehold tenure was applied to commercial farmland and communal tenure or customary ownership occurred

³ More detail on Namibia's Agricultural (Commercial) Reform Act No. 6 of 1995 in Chapter 6

in communal areas under the authorities of tribal leaderships. These two socio-economic spheres, created by official policy and enacted by legislation, developed in isolation from each other and maintained different land tenure systems throughout the pre- and initial post-independence periods. Land in the three countries was historically exploited, alienated and segregated. Distinct social, economic and racial areas evolved. In the demarcated communal areas, known as homelands and reserves in South Africa and Namibia respectively and as tribal trust lands in Zimbabwe, the majority of the country's population became occupants of traditionally allocated land holdings that were unable to sustain them (ibid).

Tenure reform is presently being implemented in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa under various policies. The intent of the tenure reform programme in South Africa and Namibia is to extend security of tenure to all citizens under a variety of systems. Zimbabwe is more intent on securing land under state control within the land redistribution process. South Africa and Namibia are in the process of completing legislation frameworks for tenure reform. Due to the far reaching implications of the new policies, the South African government has set aside a two year period for consultation on tenure policy, the hearing of test cases and for the preparation of legislation. A Green Paper on Land Tenure Policy will be released at the end of 1997 (Department of Land Affairs [DLA], White Paper, 1997). These land tenure reforms aim to bring all people occupying land under a unitary, legally validated system of land holding (DLA, Pub. A).

A draft of the Namibian National Land Policy was issued in January 1997. It aims to provide for a "unitary land system in which all citizens have equal rights, opportunities and security across a range of tenure and management systems" (Namibia, 1997). In the finalized policy, various forms of tenure such as customary grants, leasehold, freehold, licenses /certificates /permits and state ownership will be introduced and administered by Regional Land Boards. The current permission to occupy (PTO) certificates will be phased out as the new system becomes operative.

Box 3.1: Types of Tenure Systems**Customary Ownership**

In this system land is deemed to be an ancestral heritage of the whole ethnic community; the tribal authority controls, manages and allocates the heritage.

Tribal or Communal tenure

Here land is held by the community and allocation occurs by the leadership to its members. A tribal authority usually has this task, although since independence, local government structures have been created and will in time take over this task. An important factor in the effective operation of communal tenure effectively is the right of group members to exclude outsiders from the use of resource.

Freehold tenure

Freehold tenure is private ownership of land where rights of access to and control are held by an individual or a private body. It provides the most secure tenure for title holders. Land use and inheritance rights are governed by law and stated in a set of Title deeds.

Quitrent

Quitrent is essentially a form of leasehold tenure and is one of the earliest tenure systems to have developed in South Africa.

Leasehold Tenure

Leasehold tenure provides for long term leases which are secure, registrable, transferable, inheritable, renewable and mortgageable. The term of lease is usually determined in years, for example, 30, 50 and 99 years.

Customary grants

Customary grants involve the issue of a certificate of rights which is secure, inheritable and not limited in time for customary uses such as residential purposes and subsistence farming. The certificate is not transferable except with the consent of the national land authorities.

State ownership

Here rights of access and control over land are vested in the state.

Permit System

Under a permit system, a permit is granted by the State to the user. Various forms of permit exist, for example, a permit to reside, to cultivate crops and to pasture stock.

The ecology of the communal land areas also has important tenure implications. The ecology of areas may be classified as being either equilibrium systems or a non-equilibrium systems. Certain drier areas in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are known as ecological non-equilibrium systems due to semi-aridity or aridity and are characterized by climatic variability through both time and space (M Phil Baseline Report, 1997). Rainfall levels in these areas are low and highly changeable and aridity is a permanent feature of the climate. Thus, primary productivity is largely determined by extreme, variable, stochastic rainfall events and there is little opportunity for the population to reach a ceiling of ecological carrying capacity (Scoones, 1995) Rangelands are termed 'patchy' due to the variability of resources, both in quantity and quality.

In an equilibrium system, the rainfall is regular and vegetation changes are perceived to be gradual. Livestock populations are limited by available forage. Stocking rates and other 'mainstream' range management techniques can be usefully employed from year to year (Cousins, 1996).

Difference between equilibrium and non-equilibrium systems have important land management and tenure implications.

In equilibrium systems, exclusive forms of common property where boundaries between user groups are clearly defined and enforced are appropriate. In non-equilibrium systems the mobility of herding livestock over a wide range of areas is important as a strategy and non-exclusive forms of tenure are more suitable. This farming practice, termed 'opportunism' by Stanford is vital for sustained livestock farming in communal areas as it allows co-ordinated access to the heterogeneous patchwork of resources at a large scale, within a framework of temporal variation (Stanford, in Cousins, 1996). One form of tenure system that could accommodate this form of farming practice is 'focal point management and tenure' in which clear rights and responsibilities are defined over resources (such as boreholes) which are critical for system functioning (Cousins, 1996.).

Settlement Support Structure

Settlement support to families who are established on lands and to those who are resettled on new lands, is essential. Unless the appropriate services are provided, the aims and objectives of a resettlement programme cannot be achieved. Provision for basic human needs such as shelter and uncontaminated water and food, provides the foundation of a productive livelihood. In times of minimum rainfall, water and fodder for livestock are essential to prevent major stock losses through natural disaster. Once these basic needs have been satisfied, services and infrastructure such as schools, transport facilities, agricultural and veterinary extension officers and health clinics provide opportunity for improvement in lifestyle.

The level of infrastructure and service provision is dependent on many factors that may be interlinked and variable over time. They include:

- State policy;
- Economic underpinning of the state and their influence upon budget allocations;
- Capacity of government agencies;
- Involvement of NGO's;
- Political strength of the beneficiaries;
- Complexity of the project.

In resettlement programmes, where provision of services and infrastructure is lacking and beneficiaries have access only to natural resources, the prognosis for the process may be negative. In these circumstances resettlement is best described as a process of 'dumping' people. It is enormously difficult to survive in harsh environments without the establishment of a basic framework of services.

3.6 RESTRUCTURING AGRICULTURE

Land reform is seen as proceeding in tandem with the restructuring of agriculture. Agriculture, apart from its basic economic significance, also plays a large indirect role in economies of countries through linkages with other sectors. Studies have shown that increases in agricultural production have large positive impacts on growth, employment and the balance of payments, factors which are experienced by all citizens (Adelzaheh, 1997). More jobs are created in agriculture with increased production than for any other sector of the economy (ibid).

In the early 1980's, a three year drought gripped southern Africa, aggravating food shortages that left hundreds of thousands of the region's inhabitants on the verge of starvation (Seidman *et al*, 1992). Although rural inhabitants constitute the majority of the southern African population, they contribute a relatively small share of the national product (ibid). Instead, a relatively few capital intensive, large scale farms, employing tens of thousands of workers, produce 75% of the region's marketable crops. More specifically, until Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, about 6000 commercial farms, employing over 300 000 workers, produced 95 % of the nation's marketable crops (ibid).

The result of the domination of the commercial farming sector in terms of agricultural produce, has aggravated three trends that contribute to the southern African agricultural situation:

- The marginalisation of small scale producers due to their lack of access to institutional structures has reduced the per capita income of peasants farmers;
- By emphasizing export cash crops to maximize profits, local food production is undermined and international dependence for aid is increased;
- Economic insecurity is created by dependence on transnational corporate farms to grow food crops.

Small 'emerging' farmers represent the cornerstone of land reform and rural poverty alleviation. It is appropriate to consider small scale farmers as the lynch pin to land reform but there are two issues which suggest they cannot be the only solution to rural poverty. Firstly, rural land reform programmes aimed at improving the efficiency of 'emerging' farmers are unlikely to reach the poorest households and are more likely to assist farmers who are already earning part of their income from farming. Secondly, even if small-scale schemes are successful in targeting the rural poor, it is doubtful if a sufficient number of farmers could be targeted to have a meaningful impact on rural poverty and a significant impact on the rural economy as a whole. Local and international evidence suggests that small scale holders do not fare well in a neo-liberal economy, and that when they do, it is with state support. (Adelzaheh, 1997).

Studies have shown that macro-economic environments which have domestic policies aimed at encouraging increased agriculture to further job creation are unfavorable and unsuccessful. Unlike key macro-economic strategies which place an emphasis on the potential of agriculture for job creation and growth, by investing in agro-industry and social infrastructure. The belief is therefore that agro-industry investment creates new jobs, improves rural livelihoods and has the potential for stimulating the economy as a whole (ibid).

In resettlement programmes, the procedure of transforming commercial farmland into communal farmland raises concerns about declining agricultural production that would negatively affect the country. There has generally been a lack of consideration of the possibility that traditional African range management strategies, as used by communal farmers, may be more appropriate than commercial farming methods with origins in Europe (Harnett, 1993, Cousins, 1996). The prevailing view is that communal farming methods are inappropriate and ineffective and result in environmental degradation. Yet, there is no evidence to back up this perception while there is mounting evidence to suggest the contrary: communal methods of farming are potentially more productive than commercial areas, less damaging to the environment and more likely to benefit poor, small scale farmers if encouraged (Harnett, 1994). The degradation that does occur in communal areas is the result of many factors, not only farming methods, and include forced overcrowding of people on demarcated marginal lands. Lack of access to

natural resources, such as permanent water points, and the non existence of credit and loans schemes to encourage agricultural production are other important factors.

In the restructuring of agricultural policies, the governments need to consider strategies employed by communal farmers and concentrate on methods to enhance their production in the context of subsistence. Research elsewhere in Africa suggests that herding practices and local knowledge are central issues in gaining a comprehensive understanding of land and farming practices (Cousins, 1996).

The institutional framework in which agrarian restructuring occurs is vitally important for a successful implementation of the policy. Significant factors to consider are the following:

- A clear understanding of socio-economic structures and livelihood strategies of the inhabitants;
- Effects of the socio-economic strategies on resource use;
- Creation by the State of the conditions for effective local management by provision of dispute resolution procedures, technical advice and the clarification of territorial rights;
- Operational rules governing the way in which common resources are maximized;
- A system of property rights which provides security of tenure while permitting flexibility of use patterns (Behnke and Schoones, 1993 in Cousins, 1996).

Crucial in developing new and appropriate policies and programmes, is an understanding of the nature of the extensive land use systems and in particular the role of livestock production in rural livelihood strategies.

Table 3.3: PASTORAL FARMING INDICATORS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Source: Southern Africa Research Document Center, 1994

Country	Number Of Livestock (Average 1988-90)	% Increase Since 1978-80	Pasture Land As % Of Total Land
Namibia	2.06 million cattle	23	(data unavailable)
	9.08 million goats & sheep	14	
South Africa	11.86 million cattle	13	66
	36.91 million goats & sheep	1	
Zimbabwe	6.25 million cattle	11	60
	3.15 million goats & sheep	59	

Studies by Cousins (1996) show that livestock production in black rural areas is multi-purpose in character and an integral part of household livelihood strategies in providing for the following needs.

- Meat and milk production (the most common use is the supply of milk for home use);
- Draught power;
- Ritual use such as in marriage and funeral ceremonies;
- Status;
- A form of savings for rural people and migrant workers.

The choice of the livestock function depends on a number of factors, such as the agro-ecological zone, the economic profile of the region and whether suitable land is available for cropping purposes (ibid). As Table 3.3 indicates, substantial increases in large livestock units (LLU) have been made in Namibia and South Africa, and small livestock units (SLU) in Zimbabwe. The latter is indicative of the increased number of small scale farmers in Zimbabwe since their independence. Livestock ownership is highly skewed in most areas and is often correlated with increased levels of crop production and income from non-rural sources. Livestock can thus used as a reasonably reliable indicator of social differentiation (ibid).

Table 3.4: LAND DIVISIONS AND AGRICULTURAL COMMENTARY ON ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Type of land	Zimbabwe (1988/1994 figures) Total land 33.3 mil ha	Namibia (1966 figures)	South Africa (1995 figures) Total land 118 482,500 hectares
Communal land	49% of total (16.4 mil ha) 74% located in regions of low potential-regions IV and V) 97.88% (700 000) farmers	41% of total (36 200,000 hectares) 138000 households	10,000 hectares under tribal authority used for communal grazing.
Commercial land (large scale)	47 % of total (15.5 mil ha) 6700 farmers(0.93%) 4660 farms	44% of total (36 200,000 hectares) 6300 farms	30 000,000 hectares commercial livestock grazing.
Commercial land (small scale)	4% of total (1.4 mil ha) 8500 farmers (1.19%) 6000 farms (mainly in regions IV and V)		
Comments	Land classified into 5 regions according to rainfall and soil quality: I: specialized farming II: intensive crop farms III:semi intensive crop farming IV:semi intensive live-stock farming V: extensive livestock farming (ranching) About 17% of land suitable for intensive farming systems. In over 50% of land crop production risky-better suited to livestock.	Land divided up into 2 categories: <u>Agric.unusable</u> (desert, diamond areas, nature reserves) <u>Agric.usable:</u> communal and commercial farmlands. Approx. 70% of people live on rural areas with 90% of this population dependent on agriculture for their livelihood.	9% used in arable agriculture; 1% forestry activities; 65% has an average rainfall of less than 500mm 85% of agricultural land used for extensive uses (mainly domestic livestock)

Important in the new agricultural policies is the development of ecological sustainability. The work of Cousins and Robbins (1994) show that the following range management ideas might positively inform land reform policy in several ways:

- A knowledge of the actual character of production systems in communal areas ensures that policies are appropriate, rather than idealized models derived from large scale commercial farms. This means that a range of production objectives should be

framed and that appropriate support to multi-function, high density systems on communal lands should be provided;

- A more equitable spread of livestock benefits is required through programmes which would assist rural households to gain wider access to livestock. Appropriate credit schemes and sharing of the draught resource of livestock are examples;
- Wider access to rangelands would enable increased livestock earnings and encourage the practice of opportunism;
- Appropriate institutional arrangements and skills upliftment for effective group management of common resources;
- Land use planning that allows opportunism to be practiced;
- Decentralization of development planning to restrain rigidity of over-centralized control and to empower local institutions at grass roots level.

This new paradigm in agricultural restructuring emphasizes the importance of local knowledge of ecological constraints and opportunities and the necessity for development agencies to learn from local people (Cousins, 1996). This is significant given the variety of contexts in which land reform is occurring. A multi-disciplinary approach to development is emphasized. Planning and support services must draw on the insights and skills of a range of disciplines such as anthropology, planning and biology (ibid).

3.7 SUMMARY

The need for development in Africa which addresses the problems occurring in rural areas has been the focus of development initiatives over the past while. Resettlement schemes are rural development initiatives, implemented to address the problems in African rural areas. In the provision of land, services and infrastructure, and opportunities in agriculture and agro-industry, the aim is to prevent the reproduction of existing problems in rural areas. Resettlement schemes should thus significantly transform physical, socio-economic and political settings in which people live.

Settlements occur where organized human activity takes place in an integrated manner. They have the ability to improve the quality of life if suitably organized. Settlement creation in resettlement schemes vary according to a country's policy, culture of beneficiaries and the bio-physical environment.

Sustainable rural development is a holistic concept highlighting the need to address all interrelated factors of the environment. Unless resettlement schemes can provide a sustainable livelihood to their beneficiaries and assist in the prevention of social, political and bio-physical destruction that currently occurs in many southern African rural areas, they will fail in their objectives.

Women play a pivotal role in managing rural resources, yet their access to and control of credit, land, education, training and information is marginal. In addition to 'gender blind' development strategies, this has led to the undermining of the ecology and traditional agricultural knowledge of rural areas, resulting in a further loss of incentive by inhabitants to conserve resources. Women need encouragement in their tasks through access to opportunities equal to those of men in resettlement schemes.

Land reform consisting of land redistribution, security of tenure and settlement support structures, should take place in tandem with the restructuring of agricultural practices. This is necessary in southern Africa as most agricultural produce is contributed from few large scale, capital intensive farms, and not the majority of rural inhabitants. Marginalization of small scale farmers results undermining local food crop production and increasing economic insecurity by a reliance on export agricultural produce. Communal farming methods are potentially more productive than commercial farming methods, less damaging to the environment and more likely to benefit small scale farmers if encouraged. These need to be encouraged in resettlement schemes.

In the following chapter, a review of the Zimbabwean resettlement programme gives further information on procedures of resettlement schemes and resultant impacts.

Chapter Four

REVIEW OF ZIMBABWEAN RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME



Maufengejo, John: *Two Girls are Stamping the corn in 1975,* 1975

CHAPTER FOUR

REVIEW OF ZIMBABWEAN RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a review of the resettlement programmes in Zimbabwe. Information from the Zimbabwean resettlement process is useful due to greater experience of implementation within the country's policy of economic growth. Data on resettlement patterns, sustainability factors and agricultural produce drawn from resettlement schemes will be used to develop criteria and guidelines for resettlement programmes. Although it is not seen as a complete review of resettlement planning, or of the results and impacts associated with resettlement, the information presented assists in the development of criteria for evaluating resettlement programmes and the evaluation of case studies.

The chapter is divided into 3 sections: firstly, an overview of Zimbabwean resettlement procedures, including the scale and pace of implementing schemes and the manner in which land is acquired, secondly lessons learnt from these procedures and lastly, a review of impacts and the lessons learnt of the Zimbabwean resettlement process.

4.2. OVERVIEW OF ZIMBABWEAN RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES

The section outlines the historical and legal aspects of the resettlement programme, reviews the scale and pace of the programme and considers the land acquisition process.

4.2.1 Historical and Legal Context

The resettlement process implemented in Zimbabwe can be divided into two parts. This division is due to legislation affecting the programme over the past 16 years. The first part comprises the period between 1980-1990 and was governed by the provisions contained in the Lancaster House Agreement which concluded independence negotiations and was signed in London in 1979. The second part involves the period from 1990 until the present day which is affected by the National Land Policy of 1990 and the Land Acquisition Act of 1992.

The primary objective of the resettlement process between 1980 and 1990 was to address the land issue within a political and social context. Political aspirations had to be fulfilled and promises of the liberation struggle had to be delivered to the majority of citizens. A decade later, the objective shifted in line with a revised National Land Policy (NLP) (1990) which aims to maximize agricultural production from resettlement schemes for commercial purposes without losing the former social welfare objectives (Moyo, 1994).

The Land Acquisition Act, 1992, was promulgated as a result of the NLP, to achieve the following objectives:

- Reduce the imbalances in land distribution;
- Ensure that following resettlement, the resultant land distribution pattern leads to the effective use of all land in Zimbabwe;
- Introduce population control measures;
- Promote agro-industries and irrigation schemes (Maposa, 1995).

The Zimbabwe government argued that the Lancaster House Agreement (LHA), signed at the independence negotiations in 1979, constrained the land redistribution process and that the promulgation of the Land Acquisition Act 1992 (LAA, 1992) was therefore a necessity (ibid). Yet, Maposa argues that the government did not need this Act, neither was it fettered or constrained by the LHA. Maposa believes the government could have used existing colonial legislation to make all the changes necessary for a meaningful land distribution programme. Existing powers of Eminent Domain¹ allowed land to be acquired for public utility. Indeed the principle of Eminent Domain is embedded in the formulation of the LAA 1992, (section 3 of the LAA 1992) (Maposa, 1995).

In terms of the provisions contained in the LAA, 1992, the Zimbabwean government can determine the price of the land at the time of purchase and the period of payment. Payment can be made 5-10 years after the purchase date. Given the high level of inflation, the actual value over a period and purchasing power of the money is therefore likely to be very low if payment is made 10 years after the purchase date. If the owner of the farm is not satisfied with the level of compensation, he/she may appeal, but only to the Minister of Agriculture. So far, prices paid out by the government appear reasonable (ibid) and only a limited number have contested acquisition purchase price out of the 70 farms designated (Moyo, 1994). The procedure does, however, introduce uncertainty in the process and if financial resources should decline in the future, the mood could change.

To place responsibility for compensation in the hands of the Minister of Agriculture poses a number of potential problems. These include uncertainty and difficulties in resolving disputes. To address these problems such powers should be vested in the Judiciary which is responsible for the interpretation of the law. To achieve this, section 6 of the Constitutional amendment No. 11 of 1990² would have to be repealed, thereby revoking the provisions which give the Minister or Acquiring Authority the final decision on land acquisition and compensation issues (Maposa, 1995).

¹ Eminent Domain refers to state power to expropriate land or property in the public interest.

² Constitutional Amendment No.11 of 1990 was introduced to provide for the following: •payment of land to be in local currency; •acquired land could be fully utilized;•government could pay a 'fair price' within a 'reasonable period'; •compensation to be assessed by a 'compensation committee' made up of

4.2.2 Scale of Resettlement in Zimbabwe

The initial objective of the Zimbabwean government in 1980 was to resettle 162,000 rural households. By 1992, however, only 60,000 families had been resettled on 2.7 million hectares of purchased land and 600,000 hectares of existing state land (MacGarry, 1994). The aim, in 1992, was to settle the remaining 110,000 households currently living on crowded and agriculturally poor communal lands, on 5 million hectares of farmland to be acquired from large scale commercial farms (LSCF) through the Land Acquisition Act, 1992.

Although this figure of 110,000 people is seemingly high, it is conservative considering the actual population requiring land. It was estimated in 1980 that over 330,000 households required land (Bratton, 1994 in Maposa, 1995). Given the population growth over the past sixteen years, estimated at 3.1% per annum, the number of households will have increased substantially from the figure of 110,000. The communal areas support over 1 million households and it is in this context that the scale of the government figure of 110,000 households seems low (Maposa, 1995).

4.2.3 Pace of Implementation

The slow pace of delivery in Zimbabwe highlights the legal and economic constraints facing the resettlement programme. Government has argued that the provision of the 'willing seller/willing buyer' clause in the Lancaster House Agreement has legally constrained a radical and far reaching land redistribution programme.

The slow pace of resettlement also reflects the limited level of available funding for the programme. Unless land purchase and personnel budgets are substantially increased, the government will need close to 20 years to achieve the 1992 purchasing target of 5 million hectares. Appraisal of the programme on the basis of land delivery, and a ratio of numbers of households resettled since independence and remaining to be resettled,

six people; •where there is a dispute people can appeal to the Administrative Court for arbitration; •it does away with the 'willing seller/willing buyer' principle (Maposa, 1995).

would suggest that the programme has achieved a below moderate success rate (Maposa, 1995).

The slow pace has been attributed the following factors:

- Budget constraints and the lack of staff capacity experienced by both the Ministries of Local Government and Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development. Of the total cost of resettlement, it is estimated that 50% has been contributed by external donors, yet the lack of donor funding has been a major factor that has hindered the pace of implementing the programme (Cusworth, 1990, in Zimbabwe Agriculture Sector Memorandum [ZASM] 1991). The high costs of resettling people has restricted and slowed the process. In 1993, Minister Joseph Msika announced plans to resettle 64,000 families at a cost of between Z\$ 3 and Z\$ 4 billion, or Z\$ 55,000 per family (MacGarry, 1994). In the 1993-1994 financial year, 2,355 families cost Z\$ 47 million to resettle (ibid).
- An attempt by the government to satisfy all parties: black capitalists, poor peasants households and white commercial farmers. Dependence on external funding has meant that the Zimbabwean government has had to perform a difficult “balancing act” which is generally in favour of local and international capital to the detriment of the rural poor (Moyo, 1994).

4.3 RESETTLEMENT MODELS FOR ZIMBABWE

Individual resettlement schemes in Zimbabwe have been implemented through choices made from four models (Model A, B, C and D). The resettlement schemes are centrally planned by the Government Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development (MLRRD). Schemes are intended to be exclusive and self sufficient with infrastructure and management strategies designed to be independent of those of the communal areas. The major characteristics of the models are outlined below:

Model A - Individual family farming

Model A schemes make up 75% of schemes implemented in Zimbabwe to date and consist of residential villages with residential plots of 2500 square meters and 6 ha. plots of arable land for cultivation by individual households and for communal grazing pasture. Model A schemes are planned to accommodate approximately 500 families, made up of groups of 20-25 families settled in approximately 15 villages. Schools and clinics constitute infrastructure provided. These facilities are shared between the inhabitants of the villages.

Model B - Co-operative farming

Less than 6% of implemented schemes fall under this model which is expected to consist of a collective co-operative farm with land held in common as one unit and worked in common, although livestock are owned privately (Jacobs, 1984, MacGarry, 1994). These schemes were originally promoted as the most 'socialist' form of agriculture in the initial period of independence. There has, however been a shortage of capital to implement this model as donors have been reluctant to fund co-operative operations.

The central objective of the Model B scheme was to enable poorer peasants, refugees and young unmarried people to gain access to land and encourage them to become agriculturally productive by the provision of resources, such as land, equipment and credit. In return, settlers were expected to use and maintain the well developed infrastructure, such as processing units, existing on the former commercial farm (Cousins, 1994). The farms developed as Model B schemes range between 1163 and 3166 hectares and accommodate between 17 and 90 households each.

Non governmental organisation (NGO) involvement in resettlement schemes has been largely confined to the schemes developed according to the Model B scheme where appropriate financial, technical, managerial and training support services are provided in the absence of government supervision of such schemes (Cousins, 1994).

Model C - State farm

The Model C option consists of a core estate which provides residential accommodation, and around which members have their own cultivated land holdings

and communal grazing areas. It has elements of co-operative committees and is run by the parastatal Agricultural Development Authority (ADA) which provides back-up services (Maposa, 1995).

Model D - Rotational grazing

The Model D approach is orientated around pastoral farming and is implemented by the ADA. Commercial farmland, purchased by the state, is made available to communal pastoral farmers for grazing of their cattle on a rotational basis. The farmers and their families remain on their communal lands. Under this model their residences are reorganized into a complex of planned villages and arable and paddocked grazing land is demarcated by fences (Cousins, 1994).

By November 1991, though, after spending Z\$ 2.5 million in the implementation of this model, the Ministry of Lands stated the project was a failure due to the high costs involved. Political violence between followers of the ZAPU and ZANU-PF political parties was also cited as a factor contributing towards the failure of the Model D scheme and resulted in delays and vandalism of properties (Alexander, 1991). By contrast the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation and African Development Bank (FOA/ADB) attributed the failure of the model to the ADA's top-down approach to development

4.4 LAND ACQUISITION FOR RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES

Zimbabwe is divided into 5 ecological zones (refer to figure 4.1) determined by soil quality and amount of rainfall. These agro-ecological zones are named natural regions (NRs) and each are suited for particular types of land use (Moyo and Skalkness, 1989).

The 5 regions with their appropriate agricultural composition and allowed number of livestock units (Lus) per household are:

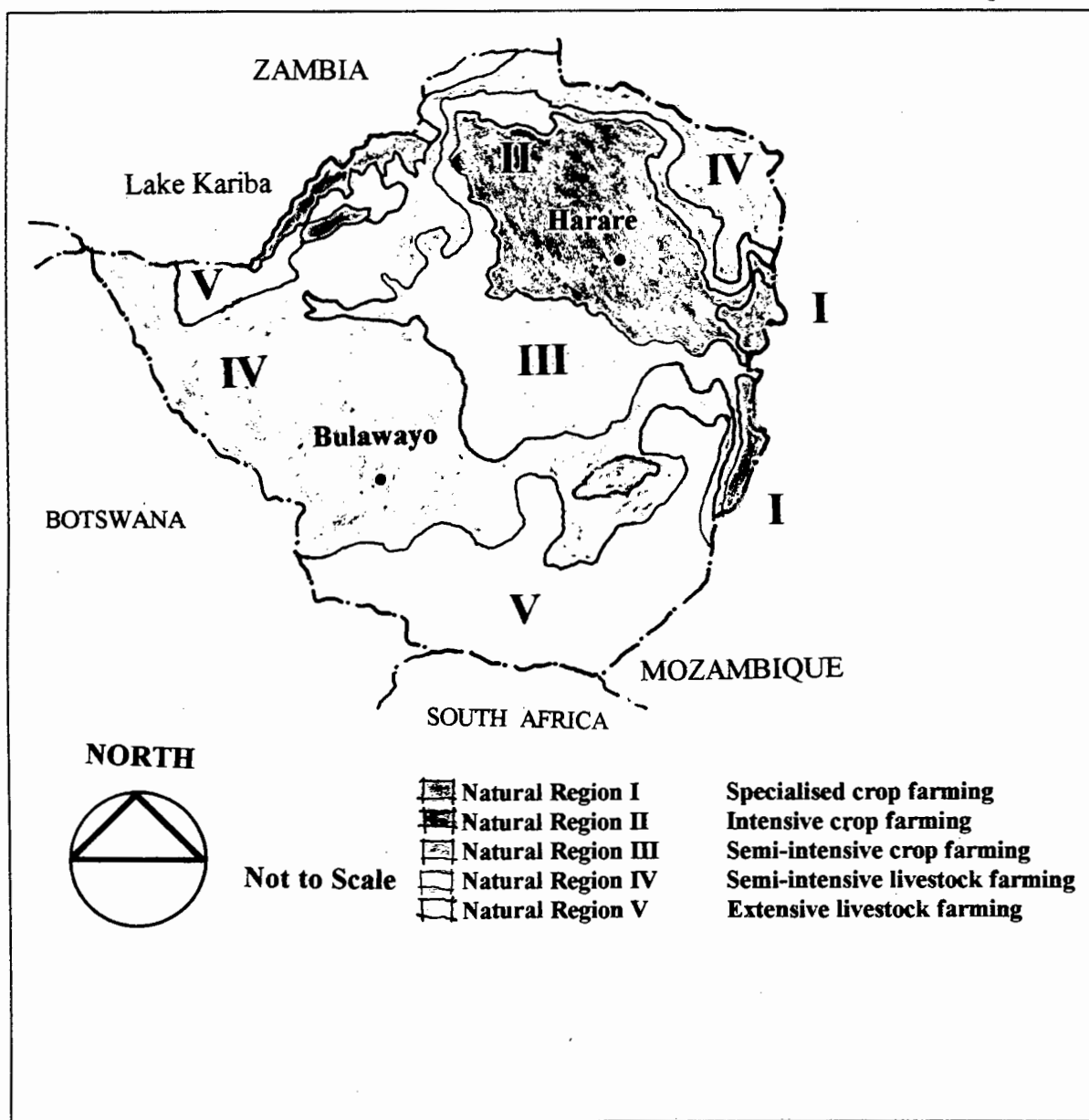
1. Natural Region I: specialized crop farming, 4-5 Lus on 20 ha.
2. Natural Region II: intensive crop farming, 4-5 Lus on 20 ha.
3. Natural Region III: semi-intensive crop farming, 8 Lus on 56 ha.

- 4. Natural Region IV: semi-intensive livestock farming, 10 Lus on 80 ha.
- 5. Natural Region V: extensive livestock farming (ranching), 15-20 Lus on 150-200 ha. (Cousins, 1994).

In resettlement schemes situated in Natural Regions I and II all farm income is expected to be derived from crop cultivation; in Natural Regions III and IV, a combination of crops and livestock, and in Natural Region V, primarily from livestock (ZASM, 1991).

Figure 4.1: NATURAL REGIONS OF ZIMBABWE

Source: MacGarry, 1994.



Land acquisition for resettlement schemes involves the purchase by government of land for sale at market prices or expropriation (with varying degrees of compensation). Land acquisition in Zimbabwe has mostly targeted marginal lands which were generally under-utilised commercial farms. Table 4.1 displays the regional distribution of land acquired for resettlement between the 5 ecological regions and shows clearly that the majority of land acquired is located in Regions III and IV (Moyo, 1994).

Table 4.1: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF LAND ACQUIRED FOR ZIMBABWEAN RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME

Source: Moyo, 1994; MacGarry, 1994

Natural Region	Distribution of Acquired Land
I	1%
II	18%
III	37%
IV	25%
V	19%
TOTAL	100%

The Zimbabwean government's slow approach to land acquisition is evident in the geographical locations and size of farms acquired. Between January 1992 and May 1993, 84,000 hectares or 51% of the land acquired were distributed over only 13 farms, making an average of 6462 ha/farm. Moreover, of the total, only 33 of the acquired farms accounted for over 78% of the land acquired since 1992 (Moyo, 1994). Much of the land designated is suitable, under rain fed conditions, for livestock, maize, cotton and groundnut enterprises.

Figure 4.2: ZIMBABWEAN LAND CATEGORIES 1993

Source: MacGarry, 1994

Areas in square kilometers.

LSCF-Large Scale Communal Farms; SSCF-Small Scale Communal Farms; CL-Communal Lands

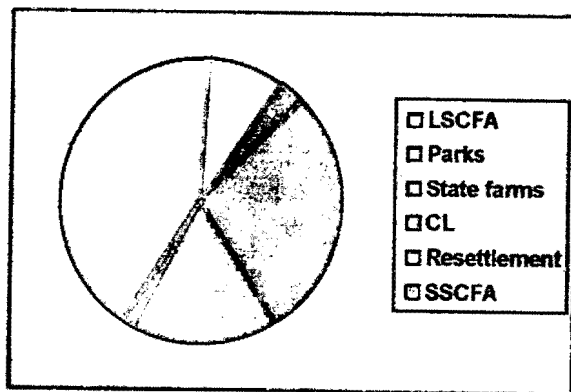


Figure 4.3: LOCATION OF RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES IN ZIMBABWE

Source: MacGarry, 1994

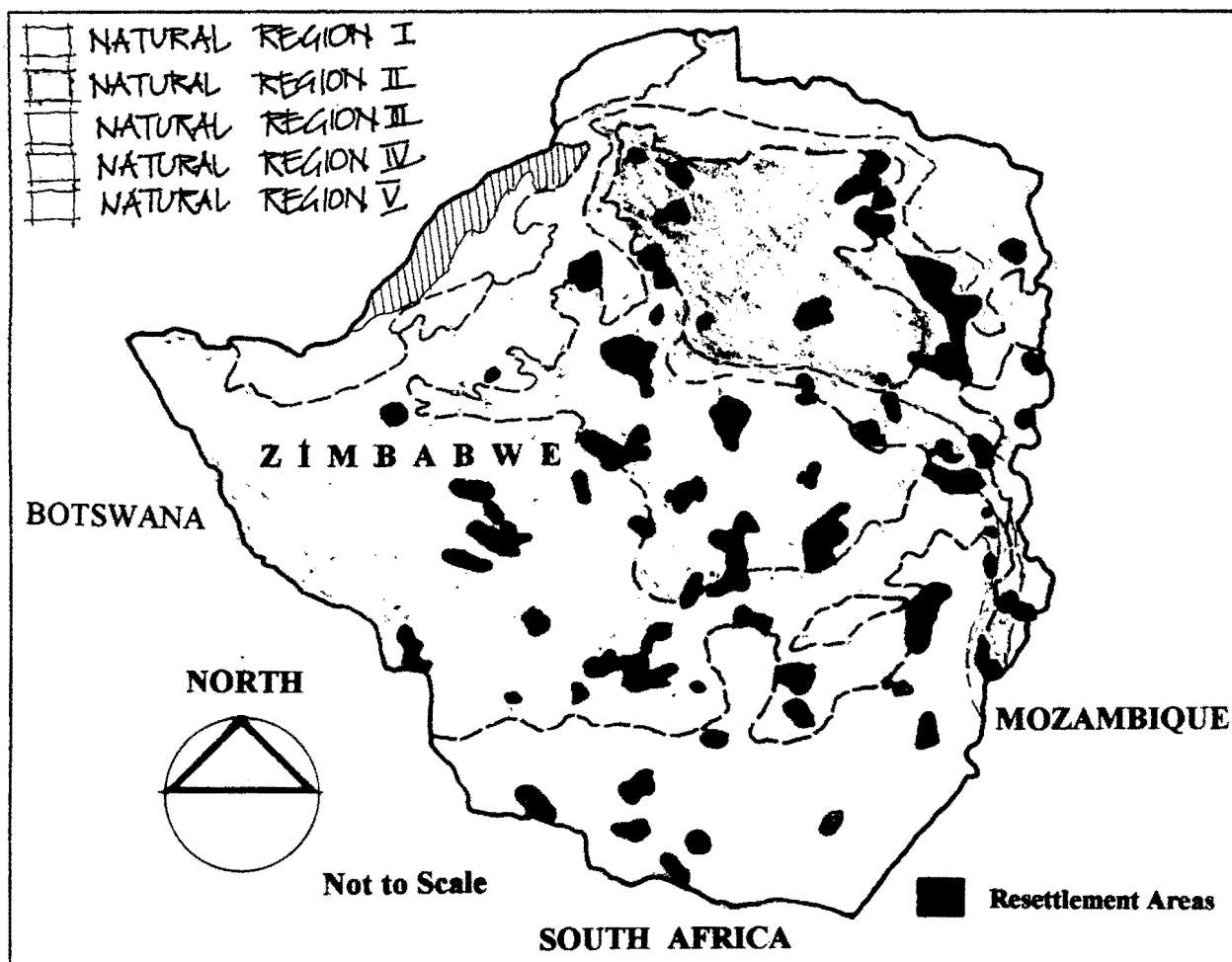




Figure 4.4: 'A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A DESIGNATED FARMER'

Source: MacGarry, 1994

4.5 COMPONENTS OF ZIMBABWEAN RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES

Resettlement programmes in Zimbabwe consist of a number of components. They are discussed below.

4.5.1 Land Rights of Allocated Holdings

Land allocated to beneficiaries of resettlement schemes is defined under a system of tenure. The present system in Zimbabwe is the issue of permits by the resettlement officer on behalf of the MLRRD for the lease of residential holdings and arable land³. The permits do not include a time limit nor permissible actions. Yet, resettlement officers may terminate them if they feel they are being abused by lack of agricultural cultivation (Maposa, 1995).

It is suggested that the permit system should be replaced by a variety of tenure forms to increase the sense of security of beneficiaries and to protect their investments (MacGarry, 1994). Debate within the country has generated a range of proposals including the following:

- Absolute ownership of tenure by way of a lease convertible to freehold title;
- Ownership without subletting and letting;
- A 99 year lease, inheritable within the family;
- A phased system whereby permits would be granted initially for five years then converted to a lease for 25 years with an option to extend to 99 years (Bruce, 1990 in Cousins, 1994).

A tenure system which replaces the permit system should not encourage unrestricted sub-division, sales and speculation in land (Cousins, 1994).

³ Copies of Zimbabwe's resettlement scheme permits are in Appendix 1

Insecurity experienced by settlers is attributed to the lack of conditions of permit conditions, lack of information given on tenurial rights by the authorities and the poor level of formal education of settlers. Farmers have confessed ignorance on the conditions of tenure (Maposa, 1994).

Forty eight percent of farmers interviewed in Maposa's research wanted a title deed to their lands, a demand they believed would enable them to develop more efficiently (Maposa, 1995). They felt their investment, such as houses, was threatened by a lack of title. This desire expressed their need for investment security and for capital or collateral with which they could negotiate rights on the economic market to source financing.

To reduce the insecurity, it is argued that permits should be converted to a form of limited ownership jointly allocated to husband and wife and the survivor should have inheritance rights. Further permit provisions should provide that it:

- is inheritable but cannot be subdivided except with the consent of the scheme;
- can be leased;
- can be used as security for credit with the consent of the scheme;
- can be sold but only after a substantive period, say 20 years.

The literature shows no clear advantage of freehold ownership over secure, usufructary rights or long leases, so long as land rights are clearly spelt out. While freehold tenure is useful for loans, farm developments and movable assets owned are equally important for farm credit schemes. Title deeds do not guarantee optimal farm investment, as evidenced by the failure of most large scale farmers in Zimbabwe to fully develop or utilize their lands (Moyo, 1994). Many Zimbabwean resettlement and communal farmers who realize output surpluses, have used remittances and various forms of formal and informal credit to invest in their farms. Their constraints include infrastructure, access to various inputs and limited access to appropriate competitive credit and not the lack of title deeds (ibid). Although selective provision of title deeds, leaseholds and secure land permits may improve investment opportunities in

resettlement areas, title deeds are secondary to appropriate agricultural and land redistribution policies (ibid).

4.5.2 Use and Size of Allocated Land Holdings

Insecurity felt by resettlement farmers in part determines the land use. Land is often poorly utilised without regard to sound management. An example in Zimbabwe was witnessed where farmers, to avoid eviction, were tilling all arable lands made available to them, irrespective of the amount of seed available, thereby resulting in a sparse density of crops, just to have something in the field. This also means that no land is left fallow to recuperate. The end result of this would be exhaustion of land within a short period. In some cases, those who could not utilize all their land rented to those with available resources.

The average gross arable land given to each household in Zimbabwean resettlement schemes is 6 hectares with the exception of a few areas, such as in Gokwe, and the tobacco farmers who have more land (Maposa, 1995). Average maize production in resettlement schemes is less than one ton of grain per hectare. In contrast, on a large scale commercial farm average production is above three tons per hectare (Maposa, 1995)⁴. Most families, with a limited amount of draft power, consider 6 hectares to be sufficient for their present subsistence needs. However, families larger than the average size of between 6 to 8 children need more land to support themselves. Commercially orientated farmers in resettlement schemes consider this size of land too small for their needs and compensate by renting land from others who are unable to utilize their land due to lack of implements, draft power and financial resources.

The slow pace of implemented schemes and the provision that land cannot be inherited within the family, questions of size of allocated land, as large extended families are forced to subsist from its produce.

⁴ Commercial farmers obtain impressive yields of maize averaging 4.2 metric tons per hectare (Bratton, 1994 in Maposa, 1995)

4.5.3 Selection of Beneficiaries

Different methods and criteria are employed in selecting beneficiaries for Zimbabwean resettlement schemes.

Criteria used in 1980 to select beneficiaries were:

- Landlessness;
- No income from any source;
- No resources.

An emphasis on welfare objectives in Zimbabwe's resettlement programme resulted in the selection of significant numbers of destitute settlers who could not use all the land allotted to them. From 1990 onwards, the criteria shifted to focus on landless people with agricultural experience and/or resources. In this regard the government found it more cost effective to implement the programme to people who were already farmers. Moreover, potential existed for increasing agricultural production from resettlement land. The change in emphasis has however drawn criticism. The objective of the programme - which is to resettle the most disadvantaged members of the population and not necessarily farmers - begs the question of whether the correct people now benefit from the programme.

4.5.4 Provision of Infrastructure and Services

The provision of infrastructure and services takes on many forms and results in varying degrees of success. Provision is generally by government agencies who contract their own personnel or private companies. In certain circumstances, the lack of supporting services has impaired agricultural production by settlers who need the basics of clean water for themselves, their livestock and crops, in addition to food aid and health services, until they manage to become self sufficient.

There is generally a lack of infrastructure and social services on the ground either due to poor government organisation, budget constraints and a lack of credit facilities. In

addition to these deficiencies, many settlers experience labour shortages as their children attend school in neighbouring communal areas as the settlement schemes themselves frequently lack schools of their own.

Infrastructure and services are discussed under the following headings:

Extension services

Agricultural and veterinary extension services assist settlers with new technologies and biophysical conditions. Effective extension coverage from agricultural and veterinary services is critical in Zimbabwe as most settlers have little experience of agricultural management, yet at times government agencies experience difficulty in establishing services because of substantial distances between villages and schemes.

Marketing

Marketing systems relate to crops grown and their market destinations. Produce from Zimbabwean settlers is sold to various buyers: the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), the local shopkeeper and out of hand. The GMB is preferred as exploitation might arise in the case other buyers. For example, in 1993, when the GMB were paying Z\$ 900/tonne, shopkeepers bought much of the crop at \$10/bucket or less (approximately Z\$ 620/tonne) and people in Piriviri communal land, not more than 40 km from the GMB depot at Mudzimu, were selling their crop to local store keepers at Z\$ 6/bucket (approximately Z\$ 360/tonne) (MacGarry, 1994).

Credit Facilities

Credit is considered for resources such as livestock, seed and agricultural implements and provided in short and long term loans. Credit provision and recovery in Zimbabwe has proved to be a problem (ZASM 1991). Initially a high proportion of settlers took out loans from the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC). Short term loans were more popular and were used mainly for seasonal agricultural inputs such as seed and fertilizer while medium term loans were mainly used for the purchase of draught oxen. As the schemes matured the debt arrears has built up to about 75% in recent years. In

response the AFC has tightened its lending policy and the number of short term loans was cut back dramatically. The number of medium term loans, on the other hand, has tended to increase (ZASM, 1991). The increase is partly explained by the AFC practice of converting short term loan arrears into medium term loans to assist farmers with debt repayment.

An overall decline in credit activity may be attributed to poor loan repayment rates by settlers, drought conditions affecting many resettlement areas and the need for AFC to consolidate its operations (ibid).

Accumulated debts may have serious long term consequences. Settlers may be forced to apply for further loans to repay existing loans and a drop-off in the use of inputs for farming might result. Settlers may also be driven towards an extensive semi-subsistence type of farming (ibid).

Shelter

Zimbabwean settlers provided their own shelters. It is important, however, to time the resettlement so that settlers do not arrive a few months before the rains and face the daunting tasks of clearing, preparing and planting the land while at the same time building houses and other structures.

4.5.5 Local Level Representation

When settlements are constituted by pre-existing groups, they have been more successful than in instances where groups have been artificially created (Kingsey and Binswanger, 1993). In such cases outcomes have been almost universally negative. In Zimbabwe, the only way a group could choose to be resettled as a group, was to agree to the collective co-operative model of settlement.

Zimbabwean settlers have benefited from an organizational framework established under the Rural District Council Act, 1989. Prior to its promulgation settlers were the exclusive clients of the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation and had no

political representation. Local political bodies too were ineffective in providing representation. The Rural District Councils Act, 1989, effective from 1 July 1993, brought about the integration of Rural Councils and District Councils to create Rural District Councils for which settlers are eligible to vote. Prior to this Act, no local government body was responsible for administering the areas in which the schemes are located and resettlement officers were the only point of contact with government. Yet, it is maintained that resettlement officers, as intermediate level representatives of the state, can either play a dominant, and at times authoritarian, management role (Cousins, 1994) or give careful consideration to the people (MacGarry, 1994). Concentration of power in these officers is considered justified as local leadership is often lacking and community cohesion is limited because settlers came from diverse backgrounds (Paraiwa, 1992 in Cousins, 1994).

Local institutions that are put into place by government agencies are the Village Development Committees (VIDCO) and Ward Development Committees (WADECO). Members of these committees are elected by settlers and represent the schemes at the Rural District Council level. Their purpose is to undertake land use planning and they address conditions in the schemes. There is a danger though that resettlement officers may have a limiting effect on capacity building in the committees. It has been observed that Ward Chairpersons at schemes only have observer status at District Council meetings and VIDCOs do not have much say in decisions on developing issues due to the over-arching control of resettlement officers (Cousins, 1994).

That vibrant local level institutions have not emerged is attributed to a deficit of political will on the part of the government, on one hand, and several other factors, which have influenced and inhibited this level of political structure from developing, on the other. They include:

- Relative under-utilization of resettlement grazing land which underlies a weakness in communal resource management institutions;
- Skewed distribution of livestock; large livestock owners often mobilize opposition in an attempt to limit stock numbers making it difficult for resettlement officers to enforce conditions of the permits;

- Non livestock owners are reluctant to participate in range management initiatives (Paraiwa, 1992 in Cousins, 1994).

There is also an absence of mutually acceptable and effective local level conflict resolution bodies which are needed within the resettlement schemes and between the schemes and their neighbours. Resolution of a high incidence of poaching of natural resources and stock theft from resettlement schemes could be facilitated by a conflict resolution body. The outcome of a lack of institutional capacity has meant that resource struggles have persisted (Cousins, 1994).

4.6 GENDER EQUITY IN ZIMBABWEAN RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES

Women are subject to discrimination in the Zimbabwean resettlement programme as the majority of permits for residential land are issued to married men. Wives are denied the right to land in favour of their husbands and very few single women, usually only those supporting aged family members and/or children, have been granted settlement permits in their own right. Of the permit holders, 87% are men who are generally married. All women permit holders are unmarried widows, divorcees and single mothers (Women and Land Rights in Resettlement Areas in Zimbabwe [WILSA] report in Maposa, 1995). This is the outcome of the belief that women are dependents and as such have no direct rights to land which is traditionally allocated to males by the tribal authorities, even though women produce the majority of labour in the cultivated lands (World Resources Institute, 1994). The selection of resettlement beneficiaries, and the issuing of permits has thus perpetuated women's customary lack of land rights which have remained conditional upon their marital status.

The Zimbabwean male adamantly refuses to allow women an equal position on such fundamental issues as land. In certain discussions, men have vowed not to witness land allocation to women in their lifetime. In most cases, labola was used as a ground to further their cause. Comments such as "not when I paid 7 beasts for her...she is my property, how can she have rights of her own" are voiced by men folk. The president,

Robert Mugabe is recorded as having similar views on the situation. He is reported to have said that “women had gone wild”, at his Meet the People encounter in August 1994 (ibid).

Educational services to women are provided, yet tend to concentrate on their reproductive labour and marginal economic enterprises and fail to give advice on agricultural technology and extension and credit services. The lack of emphasis on agricultural education ignores the fact that many of the most productive farmers in the resettlement schemes are women and they do most of the agricultural labour on the schemes (Maposa, 1995). Thus, government policy with regard to land and the peasantry has continued to marginalize women.

During reported group discussions with women⁵, a desire was expressed for land to be allocated in their own right or to have a portion of land given to them specifically to gain exclusive rights on the management of that portion or at least to have an equal say on the management of jointly owned land (ibid). A contrary opinion was expressed by other women saying that this would destroy traditional social structures.

Upon the death of a settler, a widow is granted the holding, but in the case of a divorce, the divorcee has to return to her father's people, thereby abruptly terminating her access rights to resettlement land (Bruce, 1990, in Cousins, 1994). This situation continues to occur notwithstanding legislation, such as the Legal Age of Majority Act 1982, which entitles women to own their own property and obtain credit. A retreat to communal area practice highlights the fact that within resettlement areas, government has made no provision for cases of divorce. In an attempt to halt the removal of newly divorced women from access to resettlement land, an amendment to the Matrimonial Causes Act which governs the parties at divorce should be promulgated (Maposa, 1995).

⁵ These discussions occurred at Mtshingwe, Wenimbi Macheke and Wanezi in Zimbabwe.

4.7 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED WITH LAND ACQUISITION

Opponents of land reform⁶ in Zimbabwe focus on the legality of land acquisition, its administration and the purported political motivation of land acquisition. Criticisms of the process concern the following issues:

- The legal powers of the Minister are too great and are open to abuse. In the land acquisition process, opponents argue for a legal dispensation which will control the Government's hand, while giving landowners a larger influence. Farmers, it is maintained, should be permitted to contest the individual acquisition of their land in courts (Maposa, 1995).
- The manner in which notification of the acquisition is given to the owners. Incidences are reported where farmers have first heard that their farms are on an acquisition list via the media (Gonclaves, 1993). These farmers, moreover question the wisdom of the government in not making assessments of their farms through Agritex (government agricultural extension authority) or through other government officials.
- Much land is not put to its most suitable use, many landless peasants, for example, are moving to land in Region IV, which would be better left to the wildlife found there. Ironically farms in Region II are simultaneously being turned into private game ranches (MacGarry, 1994). Clearly farms operating as game ranches should be in areas where there is a natural wildlife population present and where conditions are more suitable for their conservation and exploitation.
- Government could have created and employed a land tax on commercial farmland to aid in financing the redistribution of land amongst the poorer section of the population. It is envisaged that the tax could operate as a disincentive to the

⁶ Opposition as expressed by the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU), individual farmers, opposition parties, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, white media writers and other individuals in the press (Moyo, 1994)

retention of under-utilised land as a cost would be attached to it (Maposa, 1995). The LAA 1992, on the contrary, is proving to be a burden on the ordinary tax payer who has to finance exorbitant prices government is paying to the commercial farmers for land acquisition (ibid).

It is claimed that the current land acquisition programme is being directed towards the need of enhancing capitalist accumulation, creating rural employment and export delivery as opposed to delivering land to the peasants (Moyo, 1994). At present, public opinion and emerging conflicts over land acquisition mostly reflect tactical differences which obscure the need to speed up land distribution in the face of growing unemployment and economic hardships being experienced by many rural people (ibid).

4.8 REVIEW OF THE IMPACTS OF ZIMBABWEAN RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME

The review covers three issues of impact: economic implications of resettlement, social impact on beneficiaries and the effect of the resettlement programme on neighbouring areas.

4.8.1 Economic Considerations

The economic effect of resettlement schemes is considered in terms of agricultural production within the commercial farming sector, agricultural produce among the settlers, lack of investor confidence and the loss of employment opportunities for agricultural labourers on commercial farms.

Agricultural Production on Large Scale Commercial Farmers

Concerns expressed by the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) and other observers, that land acquisitions by government have undermined existing productive capacity in the large scale commercial farms (LSCF) have, it is maintained, proved to be unfounded (Moyo, 1994). This can be shown through an analysis of the quality of land acquired, its

geographic location, the range of farm sizes designated, the potential land uses of designated farms and the number of farms involved.

By far the largest proportion of land acquired has been in more marginal regions suitable for extensive ranching and lower value crops. Peasants have slowly, but effectively been producing agricultural products from that land. Land is situated in areas with a lower intensity of agricultural production from which a low proportion of Zimbabwe's present agricultural output is derived. Land acquisition in Zimbabwe has therefore tended to avoid the more productive land areas (Moyo, 1994).

Agricultural Production By Settlers

Although communal farmers have produced impressive surpluses of agricultural produce for sale in every year that brought good rains since 1980, the produce from the settlers has been disappointing. They have not achieved hoped for levels of productivity.

The unsatisfactory performance of resettlement farmers may in part be attributed to their lifestyle which is influenced by the following economic factors:

- Lack of infrastructure and social service inputs;
- Lack of finance to purchase implements and livestock;
- Lack of affordable transport to commercial centers and GMB depots;
- A cycle of operations in which farmers plant later and thus experience late harvests, deliveries and payment for crops. Seed and fertilizer are sourced late for the following season. A never ending cycle of low cash reserves ensures;
- Population pressure within resettlement schemes. Current resettlement policy is to have one family per plot, but no provision is made for population growth. Conditions characteristic of the present communal areas could be recreated;
- Pressure from neighbouring communal land inhabitants for the use of resources such as grazing and water.

Cattle are considered the key to increased productivity, especially in Natural Regions IV and V, yet more than half of all settlement households in these areas own no cattle. A further 21% have fewer cattle than the planned number and 28% of the households own more than the planned number (Moyo, 1994). Non cattle owning settlers or settlers with few cattle fail to generate significant cash incomes in the short run. Such farmers tend to rely on crop farming for both subsistence and in good rainfall years, some cash income. Given that yields are low in certain areas, such as Natural Region V, settlers with few or no cattle are barely able to achieve subsistence production. On the other hand, those settlers who have access to draught power are cultivating more than the planned 3 hectares per household (ibid).

Commercial farmers suggest that settlers have failed except in the production of grain, but believe this has been achieved at the expense of the environment. They maintain that the fertility of the soil is not replenished and that the production levels are not sustainable in the long run (Maposa, 1995).

The success of the resettlement farmers should however also be measured in the first instance on whether they are capable of producing enough to meet subsistence needs (basic food, shelter and clothing). Second is the measure of income and surplus attained per year. Given harsh natural conditions including droughts, resettlement in areas of poor agro-ecological conditions and poor resource allocation, farmers who meet subsistence needs could be said to be doing well.

Loss of Investor Confidence

The Land Policy of 1990 and the resulting Land Acquisition Act, 1992 tended to confuse western donors and induced tension between racial groups within the country (Moyo, 1994). An official trip by a Zimbabwean delegation to Canada, for example, was canceled in 1992 due to the confusion of the Canadian government over the land policy of 1990. President Mugabe reacted angrily to this cancellation at the time in his Heroes Day speech (August 1992) saying "donors can keep their money if they want to condition it to a reversal of the land policy" (Gonclaves, 1993).

Loss of labour force

The land redistribution programme resulted in the loss of work for 45% of the 300,000 jobs held by farm labourers who lived with their dependents, on commercial farms. Once evicted from their place of employment and residence, they became landless and dependent on state resources. Knowledge of local conditions and skills possessed by evicted workers should be regarded as important human resource assets. Such workers should logically be included in resettlement schemes created on commercial farms where they worked previously.

4.8.2 Social Impacts on Beneficiaries

Social impacts of resettlement involves measures of welfare attained by beneficiaries, relations between beneficiaries within schemes, relations between members of schemes and neighbouring communal areas and the impact on the population in the communal areas.

Resettlement schemes can change the *modus operandi* of many of the livelihood strategies practiced in the communal areas. For example, in communal areas, social claims are made on cattle owners for herding and other functions, practices which ensured a redistribution of benefits to the cattle poor and cattleless. Yet, the allocation of fenced grazing land, such as in Model D schemes, raises the possibility of conflict within the beneficiary community by offering large herd owners a way to break the social claims and 'escape' into commercial beef production as the need for herding in fenced land is reduced and so is one of the major incentives for loaning cattle to others (Alexander, 1993).

Children have no automatic right to receive land from their parents as is the custom in the communal areas where land is subdivided within the family unit or the village by the tribal authority. Zimbabwean resettlement schemes have strict rules on land allocation. Under the policy, children must apply for their own permits for access to resettlement land. Yet due to the slow implementation of the process, newly married couples who apply for resettlement land and place their names on the waiting list at the Rural District

office, can remain on the waiting list for years. As a consequence, most households informally share their 6 hectare plot between all members of the family, resulting in land being over used and exhausted within a few years. Such practices suggest that resettlement schemes, due to lack of long term planning and poor resource management practices, will quickly degrade the land to levels currently experienced in communal areas.

The outcome of a permit for resettlement granted to a young couple is for resettlement on a different scheme to that of their families. The traditional family is thus broken up due to government policy. The practice has serious implications for the security of parents in their old age when the labour of their children is needed to cultivate their land. Maposa advocates that the social implications of breaking up families is so grave that, to prove successful, resettlement schemes should be replanned (Maposa, 1995).

Welfare levels attained by beneficiaries are difficult to determine. Indicators used to assess welfare in the commercial farming sectors are considered inappropriate as the resource bases vary greatly (Moposa, 1995). A report by the World Bank suggests that current resettlement schemes have higher levels of poverty than communal areas (ibid). Research undertaken by Maposa (1995), however, indicates differently. Although 76% of people interviewed in his study testified to a significant positive change in their livelihood, the finding must be viewed within its context. Most people resettled in the early 1980's were landless war victims and ex-combats who generally had no implements or knowledge of agriculture.

Of the farmers interviewed in the Maposa study, 71% produced a surplus of maize in the period 1993-1994. Those without a surplus for sale were amongst those living below the poverty datum line. In certain areas in which a variety of crops may be grown, food security systems are devised where three quarters of the maize produce is not sold until the beginning of the next rainy season to avoid dependence on the government should a drought occur (ibid). To achieve this self sufficiency, farmers grow another crop, such as cotton, which they sell for cash. Certain resettlement farmers are so successful that their incomes may well be above the average of some civil servants pay, such as teachers, nurses and soldiers.

4.8.3 Impact on neighbouring areas

Lands and the inhabitants of communal areas and commercial farms are neighbours to resettlement schemes. Certain impact of resettlement schemes is considered below:

Communal Areas

The governments objective of lowering pressure on communal lands by resettling people on resettlement schemes has been mixed (Alexander, 1993). On the one hand, the vast majority of settlers had access to land in the communal areas. On the other hand, resettlement has served to only marginally slow the rate of population increase in the communal areas. Resettlement has relocated approximately 10% of the population in the communal areas over the first decade. The rate of population increase in the communal areas - still estimated to be over 3% per annum - has far exceeded the resettlement outflow. Without resettlement, however, population pressure would have been approximately 10% greater than it is at present. Since the beginning of the programme, overall population pressure has increased in the communal areas by 16% (Cusworth, 1990 in ZASM, 1991). Table 4.2 compares the population density in certain selected communal areas and nearby former white farmlands which now include some resettlement schemes. It shows the population in the communal areas has increased more than that of the former white areas despite the resettlement programme. Regrettably, due to changes in district boundaries over the years, it is only possible to make this comparison for a few areas.

Table 4.2: COMPARISON OF POPULATIONS OF SOME COMMUNAL AREAS AND FORMER WHITE OWNED LAND

Source: MacGarry, 1994

Year	Population in year			Ratio of Populations CL/ nearby 'white' land	
	1969	1982	1992	1969	1992
Hurungwe CL	43 700	53 514	82 494	88.1%	113%
Karoi 'white' area	51 650	56 293	73 027		
Inkosikasi CL	7 800		14 760	65.5%	92.8%
Nkayi CL	63 800		111 569	536.1%	701.3%
Bubi 'white' area	11 900		15 909		

Resettlement areas included in 'white' area; CL-Communal Lands.

Negative impacts for communal pastoral farmers, outlined in greater detail below, include the loss of land previously used for grazing and new farming methods introduced which they believe undermine their livelihoods. Problems between communal area inhabitants and resettlement beneficiaries generally occur when resettlement schemes border on communal lands and where resettlement is undertaken without the participation of the surrounding inhabitants.

Conflicts, including hostile attacks, arise due to a number of factors, namely:

- Resettlement land previously used by communal area farmers who claim the land on the basis of need or historical rights (Alexander, 1993). In many cases temporary shelters and relief grazing areas of communal area farms now form part of resettlement schemes and are thus out of bounds;
- Outsiders given access to natural resources which were previously used by communal farmers. Settlers who were brought in from commercial farmers, mines or urban areas are blamed for undermining attempts to use state owned land for relief grazing in desperate drought situations;
- The introduction of new farming practices has evoked strong reactions from communal farmers. An important strategy employed by government has been the transformation of the role of cattle in the farming by settlers of resettlement schemes. Their role of cattle has changed from being suppliers of arable inputs, such as manure and draft power, to beef production for sale on the market. Neighbouring communal farmers have a strong interest in preventing beef production on the schemes because it undermines their system of loaning cattle to the often cattleless settlers. Economic planners consider the loan practice to be unproductive and a patronage network. It is seen as part of a traditional system which lacks equity. The state, through its resources and controls, proposes to replace the system by a modern market orientated one. In the interest of beef production, the Department of Rural Development has attempted to ban loaned cattle from resettlement schemes, yet, according to resettlement officers, the only way to control the loaning of cattle to settlers is to introduce cattle that settlers can

own, develop and sell. The Livestock Improvement Scheme is intended to encourage settlers to start their own commercial cattle herds through the provision of loans. Resettlement officers have tried to control loaning by a vigorous fencing program and strict monitoring of cattle ownership on schemes. Fences, however, have yet to make good neighbours;

- The creation of an anti-government agenda by communal farmers has manifest itself by their lack of willingness to participate in the schemes. In certain communal areas, inhabitants did not believe the resettlement scheme in the area could address their problems which were a shortage of natural resources. (Alexander, 1993).
- Animosity between people in communal areas and those in schemes. Animosity arises out of tension created by tribal chiefs due to their exclusion from jurisdiction over the resettlement schemes. If communal area inhabitants are the beneficiaries of a scheme, they wish to be selected as their pre-existing group and under the control of their tribal chiefs.

The record shows that residents of communal areas in some cases expressed objections to resettlement schemes by attacking villages, beating settlers and burning their homes. Fences have been cut and cattle driven onto settlement lands. Settlers have also been accused of being “sellouts” (Alexander, 1993). Settlers have been intimidated, being told either to clear out or face the same treatment again (ibid). Conflict areas described occur mainly on the borders of communal areas and have not affected the redistribution of land in other areas.

Hostile tactics used by communal area inhabitants are termed “weapons of the weak”. They carry a high risk and are punishable under the Act by fines, imprisonment and loss of cattle (ibid). The tactics are indicative of several important conditions:

- The daily struggle over resources for which peasants are poorly equipped to conduct their fight through political institutions and legal channels;

- These tactics are an integral part of peasant politics which act to constrain the state and the land holding classes, yet they are limited, costly and can involve high risks;
- A need to save cattle during droughts and source supplement incomes.

By-laws have been instituted in resettlement schemes to control the practice of poach-grazing. The by-laws allow settlers to impound cattle driven onto a scheme and hold them to ransom for one dollar a head. The money claimed is then used to repair damaged fences. This sanction has proved unpopular among communal cattle owners and despite the successful collection of fines, certain schemes remain targets of fence-cutting, poach-grazing and cattle theft (Alexander, 1993).

Although resettlement programme has reduced the rate of increase in pressure on resources in the communal areas (CAs), it has not directly imported development in the CAs. There is no formal sharing of infrastructure and services between the resettlement schemes and the communal areas and few government personnel work in both areas (ZASM, 1991).

Commercial farms

Resettlement schemes tend to be located near the communal areas for specific reasons. As the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 provided for land acquisition to be conducted on a 'willing seller/willing buyer' basis, most willing sellers lived on farms adjacent to communal areas where armed attacks and encroachment were concentrated during the war of independence. Today many resettlement schemes act as a buffer between the remaining commercial farmers and the communal areas (Alexander, 1993). Resource shortages, experienced by subsistence farmers, including grazing and livestock, has meant that neighbouring commercial farms are also subject to poaching. Commercial farmers are recorded as saying that they do not think that poaching can be controlled. Full patrolling is not feasible and costs of repairing long boundary fences are high.

Maposa (1995) maintains that commercial farmers have failed in the land redistribution programme through acts of omission and commission. The farmers could have been

active participants from the outset, but, in his view, have been preoccupied with preserving vested interests. They waited until 1994 before becoming involved in the redistribution programme. Prior to this, they watched their new neighbours, the settlers, blunder in their agricultural ventures and did not offer practical assistance. Instead the degradation of resources in resettlement schemes was criticized (ibid).

4.9 LESSONS LEARNT FROM THE ZIMBABWEAN RESETTLEMENT EXPERIENCE

Chapter 4 deals with resettlement characteristics from Zimbabwe. In doing so it considers the scale and pace of implementation, the nature of the programmes and problems encountered. This information provides valuable insights to resettlement programmes.

In conclusion the following lessons of the Zimbabwean resettlement experience may be outlined:

- Policy should be flexible to accommodate changes required within the resettlement programme.
- Land acquisition process should include all affected and interested parties in a public forum and be within a transparent process;
- Resettlement programmes are expensive to implement. Sufficient budgets should therefore be allocated to implement the process effectively;
- Staff implementing resettlement programmes should be well trained so that capable management and organisation can occur;
- Resettlement programmes should take into account specific environmental conditions;
- The design of various resettlement models attempt to address different needs of settlers, but they require effective support from the implementing agency;
- Land rights of allocated holdings should be clearly spelt out and provide adequate security for usage;

- Land allocated to households should be large enough to establish a subsistence lifestyle and be inheritable amongst family members;
- Selection of beneficiaries should be governed by a sound policy and effectively address the needs of the targeted people and the country;
- Provision of appropriate infrastructure and services is vital during the initial phases of resettlement;
- Resettlement programmes should address gender inequalities currently occurring within communities. Women as such should receive rights to land on resettlement schemes;
- Local level representation should be established in a democratic manner to ensure that settlers requirements are addressed and schemes effectively integrate into the local district;
- Sufficient agricultural production by settlers requires inputs such as infrastructure, services and co-operation between themselves and neighbours;
- A local conflict resolution body is advantageous to settle differences between beneficiaries and their neighbours and between themselves.

The following chapter, makes use of the information outlined in this chapter for the development of criteria and guidelines to the planning and implementation of resettlement schemes.

Chapter Five

GUIDELINES TO ASSIST IN THE PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES



- Selection of beneficiaries;
- Pace of implementing the resettlement programme.

5.2 GOVERNMENT ORGANISATION

Government planning is a major factor in determining the success or failure of a resettlement programme. Poor formulation at government level, be it national, regional or local could have serious, negative long term repercussions. Experience has indicated that resettlement programmes operate at an optimum level when an effective policy is in place to guide the process and where implementation agencies have the staff capacity and budget to achieve their aims.

Agencies at a central government level require effective staff to co-ordinate programmes which are to be implemented nationwide. Experience suggests, however, that administration in relevant government agencies should be decentralized (Kinsey and Binswanger, 1993). Responsibility for the administration tasks, such as smaller scattered land transfer programmes, ought to be contracted out to local bodies which might include members of affected communities (Moyo, 1994). Where resettlement programmes are not decentralized, they tend to lack the necessary flexibility required to adapt to local socio-economic and biophysical conditions. Resettlement agencies tend to adopt - implicitly or explicitly - infinite horizons for implementation, so that resettlement is never 'finished' and responsibilities are returned to local administrations only after a very long period of time, if ever.

The management and administration components of organizational structure are important in determining the degree of success of a settlement programme. Typically, the administering authority is involved in every aspect of resettlement from land acquisition to settler selection, infrastructure and agricultural development, extension and post production activities (ibid).

Evidence from Zimbabwe indicates that the technical staff involved in programmes often failed to understand that they were participating in a new and different system and

as a result often behaved as if they were foremen or overseers for their institutions. In doing so they failed to recognize that settlers need to be encouraged in their new role as owners or land rights-holders and treated as independent decision makers who must learn to operate within the constraints imposed by nature, their skills, their assets and their access to markets.

However it is important to recognize that the task of rebuilding rural society should not be left solely to the government, the beneficiary communities nor to donor agencies. In order to achieve successful resettlement all relevant sectors of society need to actively work together with the same vision (Maposa, 1995).

To enable a process of integrated co-operation within government organisation, the following dimensions of development should be stimulated:

- Forums for public debate should be instituted to ensure that government implements programmes fully informed by public opinion. Continuing public support for policy is ensured in this way;
- Appropriate research on proposals, enabled by public finance, should be undertaken to ensure that resettlement programmes are suited to local socio-economic and biophysical conditions;
- Local expertise and interest groups should be involved in the process to attain viable and credible plans;
- Transparency by government and other agencies should be ensured in all operations and decisions.
- Credible resource use plans should be formulated through the use of the combined talents of interest groups, agricultural and technical ministries, settlers and experts.

Experience suggests that an administrative programme which display excessive paternalism on the part of an administering authority and its associated personnel tend to be highly ineffective (Kinsey and Binswanger, 1993). The adverse consequences of paternalism appear to be worse in centrally rather than locally administered programmes. While paternalism is usually based on good intentions - the wish to see settlers do well and to shield them from excessive hardships in the early stages of the

resettlement process, these good intentions are almost always linked to a profound failure to appreciate that continued control and coddling of settlers in later stages of the resettlement process is more damaging than inadequate support in earlier stages. An example of paternalism being motivated by concern is the belief that settler-controlled purchases of inputs or sales of outputs will result in less favorable prices, due to a lack of experience and information amongst settlers (ibid).

Paternalism frequently expresses itself in the constraints imposed on decisions taken by settlers regarding production techniques and crop choices, land rental and sale, labour market participation, investment and marketing (ibid).

Paternalism is strongly linked to the following issues:

- Institutional self-interest;
- Lack of clarity on effective processes which enable a well organized resettlement scheme;
- The assumption that resettlement programmes can be successful only if administrative support is maintained (Kinsey and Binswanger, 1993).

Recommendations

Based on the experience encountered with resettlement programmes in Zimbabwe, the following recommendations have been identified for government organisation.

- The organisation of resettlement programmes should be set within a clear policy, understood by all concerned and be operated from decentralized nodes by trained personnel under effective management.
- Appropriate research which considers local expertise and develops credible resource plans is required in advance for the resettlement programme to effectively take into account the local socio-economic and biophysical conditions.

5.3 PROVISION OF INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

Limited research has been undertaken on the sequence of activities or the minimum level of physical infrastructure and social services required for the establishment of successful resettlement (United Nations (UNCHS), 1987). However, a threshold level of physical infrastructure and social services is clearly needed (Kinsey and Binswanger, 1993). Inadequacy of infrastructure and basic services causes poor health conditions, reduction of employment opportunities and a degraded settlement environment (UNCHS, 1987). In this regard water supply and sanitation play a key role in promoting health and usually rank highest of all expressed needs by settlers. In addition to these key basic needs, available land, extension services, subsistence allowances, access roads and waste removal all play an important role in ensuring the success of the resettlement programme.

The need to integrate the provision of infrastructure with human settlement development is based on the knowledge that upgrading infrastructure has a beneficial effect on human settlements and livelihood and efficiency (ibid).

A number of factors affect the delivery of infrastructure to resettlement schemes. The following sections outline the factors affecting the provision of infrastructure and services.

5.3.1 Funding

The reliance of resettlement programmes on external funding for infrastructure projects with few or no effective local mechanisms for recovering infrastructural capital and operating costs, has limited the prospects of on-going investment in the programmes and constrained the expansion of services to the poor. The reduction of the per capita costs for construction of basic infrastructure is an effective means of increasing the real value of resources available for expanding water supply, sanitation, waste disposal and drainage services, provided the systems stay consistent with acceptable performance and safety standards (UNCHS, 1987). However, many sector agencies fail to budget for

system maintenance with the result that systems fall into disuse. Costs can however, be reduced by adopting inexpensive and resource conserving technologies using locally produced materials and components.

5.3.2 Programme Design

In the absence of coherent sector plans/programme approach, short term or contingency planning and an *ad hoc* approach to addressing problems becomes the norm. This approach is commonly referred to as the project approach and frequently results in 'once off' actions rather than the establishment of a strategy to address the needs of the resettlement programme. In order to avoid adapting an *ad hoc* approach towards resettlement, long term national planning objectives should be developed and worked towards. This necessitates a careful appraisal of the required infrastructure implementation. This approach ensures that the provision of labour, logistical support in the operation and maintenance of systems and other support services grows at a rate commensurate with the overall development of the programme.

In designing programmes, problems are often encountered resulting from the lack of basic information about various infrastructural elements in a country. Research and current data formulation are therefore a prerequisite for the design of all resettlement programmes.

Sound co-ordination in the planning stage is needed to ensure the success of the programme. Traditionally the planning of infrastructure services has been heavily influenced by engineers; a financial analyst may be involved but rarely an economist and almost never a social scientist. The problem with this approach is that most appropriate technologies may never be considered and no checks are carried out to ensure that technical solutions are socially acceptable. Planning of infrastructure has often concentrated on the provision of the ultimate desirable service level and since the cost of providing this level of service is high, the 'all or nothing' approach to planning has meant that many projects are shelved due to a lack of funds.

To ensure that the programmes provides for the greatest number of people within a specified budget, a basic needs approach is necessary in selecting elements of infrastructure and levels of service. This means that lower standards must be adopted initially with the intention that services can be upgraded in an incremental manner, consistent with the socio-economic development of the beneficiary community. Fortunately, the majority of essential infrastructure services lend themselves to this form of incremental upgrading.

5.3.3 Operations and Maintenance

The operation and maintain of infrastructure is closely associated with the cost effectiveness and quality of service associated with resettlement programmes. Experience has shown there is often a failure to budget for system maintenance with the result that systems fail and fall into disuse, and the need to replace service facilities is precipitated prematurely. Without adequate operation and maintenance the intended benefits of the capital outlay are therefore reduced or lost.

Institutional weaknesses are probably the most important factor affecting infrastructure delivery and the operation thereof. These weaknesses are manifested in:

- Numerous ineffective agencies with overlapping jurisdictions and competing interests;
- Inadequate framework for encouraging and supporting local interest initiatives and community participation.

In order to overcome these weaknesses requires the formation of an institutional framework that allocates authority and responsibility for policy formulation, financial resource mobilization, and planning implementation and operation.

5.3.4 Technology

Technology that provides a socially, environmentally and economically acceptable level of benefits and services may be considered appropriate.

The use of inappropriate technology is linked to the following factors:

- Lack of awareness by planners of appropriate low cost relevant technologies;
- Inadequate operational and maintenance of systems; often institutional arrangements are so complex, with different agencies having responsibility for different elements of infrastructure, that the administration problems of co-ordination and delivery are not overcome;
- Institutional regulations such as codes, regulations and standards frequently result in the use of unnecessarily high standards;
- Lack of trained labour; qualified labour is in short supply in most developing countries and agencies responsible for infrastructure services have been handicapped by inadequate staffing. The quality of staff in many agencies has also restricted the application of imaginative approaches;
- Financial constraints by donor agencies or national budgets;
- Inadequate resource mobilization and utilization created by the shortage or absence of credible resource plans at the planners disposal;
- Inadequate cost recovery programmes.

5.3.5 Community Participation

User interest and involvement is implicit in participation and essential for the success of resettlement programmes. Experience has shown that meaningful involvement should take place at all stages of project development, from initial conception and planning to construction, operation and maintenance. The effective participation of the users usually requires additional personnel, but the returns in terms of reduced resource wastage outweigh the implied increase in planning costs.

Beneficiaries of resettlement invariably give more value to short term, immediate benefits of infrastructure than long term ones favoured by project managers. This situation requires negotiation with the future users to ensure certain immediate benefits which are not at the cost of a longer term strategy plan.

Resettlement programmes which have incorporated effective community participation have been able to pass on some of the responsibility for maintenance directly to the community. In this regard local level training for skilled workers and community members should be seen as an integral component of most infrastructure projects.

Communities who are not involved in the planning or implementation phases of programmes tend to have less interest in the continuing success of the programme. These communities perceive the success of the programme to be a responsibility of the government. Planning in isolation by outside agencies, not familiar with local needs, customs and aspirations has led to the implementation of technologies and systems which are unacceptable to the users.

5.3.6 Shortage of Skilled Labour

A shortage of skilled labour at all levels has been a serious constraint facing the success of resettlement programmes and the delivery of services. The two most important ingredients for the success of service agencies are competent employees and sufficient funds. In order to address the shortage of skilled labour, training programmes should be multi-sectoral by encompassing administration, communication, operation and maintenance skills. In addition the training should be on-going and meet the needs of the poor. In this regard on-the-job training has been found to be effective in the provision and upgrading of services to low income rural people. Experience has also shown that sub-professionals are able to identify more closely than professionals with the needs and aspirations of the poor.

5.3.7 Cost Recovery

Inadequate cost recovery procedures associated with resettlement programmes have hampered the ability of infrastructure implementing agencies to become self-financing. In the case of state funded programmes, funding has been constrained by the national budget. The establishment of an adequate and equitable tariff structure and of effective mechanisms for assessing and collecting charges should be seen as a pre-condition for the success of a resettlement scheme. However, there is little point in setting tariff levels which are beyond the means of the beneficiaries. On average 3 to 5% of household income for either water supply or sanitation or a combined service charge not exceeding 7% of household income, is considered affordable. The setting of equitable and affordable tariffs is further complicated by the difficulty in determining household wages in resettlement programmes.

With regard to water, tariffs should be established on an incremental basis, where the initial quantity of water to be consumed for basic needs¹ is charged at a nominal rate, but increases with the overall quantity consumed. Progressive rates also serve as effective conservation tools. Since long term costs tend to rise as cheap water sources are fully exploited and costly alternatives must be developed, pricing should also be in accordance with the long term marginal costs. Tariff charges are easiest to apply when water can be metered, yet where this is not possible or practical, either because of water pressures are too low or because costs are prohibitive, the same basic principles of incremented costs can be applied with rates based on other measures of water use, such as the size of the service connection, the amount of fittings or the size of the land. In the case of communal supply points, individuals do not pay charges related to use, due to the administrative difficulties of charging. In these situations general municipal revenues or property taxes should be levied to cover the costs.

While cost recovery is seen as an important component of resettlement programmes, financial self-sufficiency remains a distant goal for the majority of rural communities, as needs are generally associated with low per capita income levels, corresponding to low

standards of service. Low levels of income and the use of traditional sources of supply lessen the prospects for recovery of any significant part of capital costs. To address these problems the current trend is towards transferring the responsibility for operating and maintaining service facilities to the communities themselves (M Phil Baseline Report, 1997).

5.3.8 Specific Infrastructure and Services

The following section outlines the possibilities in the delivery of specific infrastructures and services.

Water Supply

Providing water supply to a rural settlement involves tapping the most suitable source of water, ensuring the water is suitable for human and livestock consumption and supplying it in adequate and reliable quantities. Rural water supplies require a self-reliant technology with a high level of process stability. Besides ensuring that the water is both chemically and biologically safe for consumption, it is often necessary to establish whether it is acceptable to the community.

In order to do this all water resources should be assessed so that the most suitable and acceptable source may be chosen. Different sources require different degrees of treatment which has a marked bearing on the cost of installation. Sources of water include ground water from springs, hand dug wells, boreholes, interception of rainwater from roofs and other impervious surfaces, (this can also be applied in semi-arid areas), and surface water (exposed to the atmosphere and thus can be easily contaminated).

Where large quantities of water are required, surface sources are often utilized. While it is possible to improve the quality of surface water sources through the use of natural filtration and sand filter wells, abstraction of large quantities of water often necessitates

¹ The minimum quantity essential for drinking, food preparation and personal hygiene, is usually established between 5 and 10 cubic meters per month per household (UNCHS, 1987).

extensive treatment, involving storage sedimentation, filtration and disinfection. This in turn raises the costs.

The per capita quantity of water consumed daily varies with physical and socio-cultural conditions and consequently varies between regions. The level of service also has a marked influence on water consumption. The distance from the dwelling to the pump and the capacity of the pump, for example, will affect the levels of consumption.

Often water supply has not been implemented to provide for basic needs at minimum cost, and systems installed can be too sophisticated for rural communities to manage or too costly to operate. The provision of house connections, as opposed to stand pipes, necessitates a comprehensive distribution network. Despite the high capital cost this implies, it has been found that that the provision of house connections results in a reduction in water wastage and facilitates cost recovery.

Sanitation

Providing adequate sanitation facilities in human settlements has the objective of increasing health standards for the settlers and their livestock. However, in the majority of rural settlement in the developing world, the surrounding fields are used for defecation. Experience has shown that a range of on-site sanitation technologies can provide the same health benefits as conventional water borne sewage, yet at a fraction of its cost. These technologies have low levels of water use and such have significant effect on the total cost of facilitation and sustainability. The majority of simple on-site sanitation systems can also be upgraded to off-site systems when settlement density, water supply and water usage increases. In some cases, soil conditions and housing densities may preclude reliance on on-site disposal technologies and off-site disposal technologies may become necessary.

Cultural, aesthetic, social and technical factors also influence the selection of a particular sanitation technology. In this regard communal toilets have not always been successful, owing to opposition to the concept and a subsequent lack of user care.

While the ability to serve a large number of people lowers the per capita costs, it can give rise to problems associated with maintaining the facility. In order to address these components of sanitation problems, public participation and educational programmes are therefore crucial.

Solid Waste Disposal

A low level of awareness of the inter-relationship between health, environment and hygienic waste disposal makes communities pay little attention to providing adequate storage facilities for refuse within the home. However, rural households tend to handle material of all kinds very frugally and re-use most food wastes as animal fodder. As a result they tend to have relatively few problems associated with refuse disposal, and community awareness is all that is often necessary to ensure safe and hygienic disposal of refuse in these settlements.

The physical characteristics and composition of the refuse determines the most appropriate method for its collection and disposal. Open dumping accompanied by burning is the most prevalent form of refuse disposal in rural settlements. The high organic content of the refuse makes processing into composting a possible option as low cost techniques with little or no mechanization are used.

Attention should also be given to the use of appropriate household storage facilities for refuse as most fly breeding takes place in the domestic environment as a result of the ready access the insects have to partly fermented food. A low cost, fly proof washable container made from used car tyres has been successfully developed for refuse in low income areas.

Drainage

The provision of adequate drainage in human settlements varies from region to region and has the objective of protecting life and property against flooding and providing a safe and healthy environment. Drainage facilities usually interact with other

infrastructure, such a sanitation disposal, making it important to understand and recognize inter-relationships between services. This aspect is however frequently ignored. As a result the planning of new settlements is often undertaken with little regard to drainage and drainage systems are superimposed on pre-planned settlement layouts, resulting in an increased cost of the system while at the same time reducing the systems effectiveness.

Extension Services

Agricultural and veterinary extension services are the basic components of extension services. They are necessary as many settlers farm with new technology in foreign biophysical conditions. Experience has shown that there is a positive association between the provision of extension services and increased agricultural production (Kinsey and Binswanger, 1993). Provision of extension services are, however often affected by the large distances between schemes and poor road networks. Extension services provide an opportunity for the implementing agency to introduce and enhance agricultural skills of settlers thereby increasing their agricultural production and to promote the sustainable use of local resources. Extension officers are a link to further places of learning; willing and talented settlers, for example can be introduced to workshops and agricultural colleges to further their knowledge.

Health Service

There is evidence to show that the resettlement process may heighten exposure to diseases, raise the incidences of malnutrition and increase the rate of child mortality. In this regard poverty and poor health are closely related (Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit [NEPRU], 1996). Poor living conditions and lack of knowledge about preventative care result in a close relationship between ill health and low income. This in turn affects labour productivity and makes poor households vulnerable to additional income losses. Improvements in health, education and nutrition therefore serve to reinforce each other and help to raise living standards (ibid). The provision of an effective primary health care service should therefore be seen as an imperative for all resettlement programmes.

Shelter

There is no clear evidence to show that provision of housing is justified as a social overhead. Settlers, in most cases, appear more than willing to build shelters for themselves. Buildings that are necessary in resettlement schemes are for residence of households, storage for agricultural produce and livestock and to accommodate educational and health services. To facilitate a self-build process, grants for materials are often needed and, if provided, they are most likely to make a strong, positive impact at the beginning of a project.

Advice should be given to the beneficiaries to optimize on the local conditions with in their buildings. Local conditions include climate, available building materials and the users cultural customs and preferences. The climate should influence the position, size, shape and orientation of structures, in addition to affecting the position and size of all openings and the distance of the interior floor level from the natural ground level.

Further advice is needed for beneficiaries on the sustainable use and procurement of suitable building materials, such as:

- timber for roof and wall structure and cladding;
- grasses for roof covering, as a component of plaster and bricks and bailed into blocks for wall construction;
- earth for wall and roof plastering and bricks;
- cow dung for roof and wall plastering;
- rock for walling and roofing;
- bushes for fences.

Important factors to consider for building materials are costs, durability, availability, preferences of users and sustainability of source. Methods to enhance certain of the above factors include the establishment of a source of building materials by beneficiaries. This can be achieved by, for example, developing woodlots of indigenous and non indigenous trees, with care taken not to establish evasive species which would threaten the local ecology, and the establishment of block/brick making processes. Structural knowledge of buildings is needed to enhance the structures lifespan and to

optimize on material use and labour effort. Strength and size of foundations, for example, the need (or not) for lintels over openings and the components of plaster mixtures, is knowledge that will assist all builders.

If structures are supplied by the implementing agency, all decisions on structures should be in effective participation with the users who could possibly also become the builders. The advantage for beneficiaries to build their own structures are numerous; they may gain skills on building construction, a sense of ownership of the structures, reduced costs, and the suitability of the structures meeting their needs. Encouragement should be given to the initial erection of small buildings as they are quicker to build, easy to heat and simpler for the inexperienced builder. As the users requirements and affordability dictates, improvements and enlargements to the buildings can occur (Shelter, 1973).

Formal Education

Where access to education is limited, it is inevitably the poor who are disadvantaged by this. A poor education means that job prospects are limited, indicators of health get worse, and there can be a negative effect on the status of women (NEPRU, 1996). As the upliftment of individuals is an objective of the resettlement programme, a formal educational programme is a key component to a resettlement scheme. The provision of education facilities for children of beneficiaries can prevent them from lacking the essential skills to determine a productive lifestyle. In addition, the provision of schooling facilities in resettlement schemes avoids the necessity of sending the children away to schools in the communal areas. This process is costly (hostel fees and transportation) and reduces the family labour force. The provision of primary education limits the occurrence of excessive and inclusive child labour, and is therefore important.

Many adult beneficiaries of resettlement schemes have experienced a lack or absence of attending schooling within their lives. To promote the reduction of illiteracy among adults, appropriate educational programmes should be provided. These education services for adults have the opportunity to maximize and uplift skills and create the potential for earning additional personal income.

Credit Facilities

The provision of credit for either short or medium term use falls into two categories: credit for land purchase and for other resource needs. Beneficiaries of resettlement schemes in southern Africa are generally provided with access to their allocated land free of charge by the government. A degree of grant finance is at times supplied to provide poor and resourceless settlers with equity necessary to engage in risky, own account farming.

Evidence indicates that alternatives to institutional and other formal credit facilities need to be considered in resettlement schemes as repayment of loans is often difficult for settlers. In this regard small scale resettlement farmers are vulnerable and may experience difficulties in repaying loans. For the successful repayment of loans, settlers must generate agricultural surpluses on a continuing basis. However, due to climatic conditions and unreliable rainfall events in southern Africa, this is often difficult to achieve. Alternatives to credit facilities may include forming 'saving organisations' among settlers and working on schemes for the government for cash incomes.

In the provision of credit, assistance and advice is also needed for the management of cash and the repayment of loans since many settlers lack the necessary experience and education in this area. The evidence from resettlement programmes clearly indicates that a substantial grant component should form a component of resettlement programmes to make up for the missing equity deficiencies encountered by the beneficiaries. Alternatively, own equity may play a part in the purchase of land by settlers who are financially more able, and credit can then be used to top-up resources. Assistance to both the poor and those who are more asset-rich can also be successfully combined if the appropriate intervention is achieved. Appropriate credit facilities can be devised to suit local conditions and users. It could provide credit in various forms, such as agricultural implements, and accommodate flexible repayments that are possibly linked to sales of agricultural produce.

Recommendations

Based on the above discussion the following recommendations are advised in the provision of infrastructures and services.

- Long term strategy planning is necessary for the design of successful resettlement programmes.
- The provision of a basic level of infrastructure is necessary for the insurance of basic health standards.
- Financial budgets must plan for operational and maintenance costs of infrastructure and credible resource plans of existing and future infrastructures and services must be developed.
- Co-ordination of implementing agencies must be ensured to avoid the duplication of work and ineffective implementation of programmes.
- Social scientists should be involved to enable effective participation of future users in the process of planning and implementation of the programme.
- Awareness of alternative technology (inexpensive, resource conserving and economical) by planners should be promoted and adopted if acceptable to users.
- Technology should be incrementally implemented to allow for the gradual improvement and upgrading of services which reflects users affordabilities and priorities.
- Up-to-date codes, regulations and standards must be developed for infrastructural and services to become suited to the requirements of low income communities.
- Users should become engaged in training for maintenance of services.
- Implementing agencies train local people to maintain services.
- User costs should be applied to ensure a degree of cost recovery and ownership of infrastructure by the users.
- Advice on the sustainable use of local building material and establishing sources of other materials should be given, in addition to knowledge on construction methods and optimizing the climate within the buildings.
- Formal education facilities should be provided for children and appropriate facilities for adults of resettlement schemes to ensure increased opportunities and the upliftment of skills.

5.4 GENDER EQUITY

Given the important economic role which women play in rural economies, mechanisms to ensure secure access to land and promotion of their potential to use the land, should be key economic principles of land policy (Moyo, 1994). Yet, resistance to granting equitable rights to women is widespread and needs to be addressed. A solution to traditional male resistance to land access for women may be in their social re-education. Men need to be sensitized to appreciate the role and equity rights of all women.

Women and men should be granted equal rights. Women and men with dependents, such as the elderly and children, should not be discriminated against but assisted to establish a livelihood that supports the household. In the initial stages of resettlement schemes, assistance by implementing agencies is needed to enable women to represent themselves on local issues.

Recommendations

As the full potential of women can be brought about by providing equal rights to both genders in resettlement schemes, the following recommendations are made

- No discrimination in resettlement programmes based on gender and marriage status.
- Equal rights for women should be granted with regard to access to resources.
- Women be encouraged to participate in all matters affecting their lives.
- If necessary, men should be sensitized to the role women play and the need for equal rights of access to resources.
- Provisions for land holdings and status need to be made to deal with the outcome of divorce.

5.5 LOCAL LEVEL SETTLER REPRESENTATION

The emergence of strong self reliant groups among settler communities is a vital ingredient for ensuring the sustainability of settlement programmes. When pre-existing groups have been resettled, the success rate has been greater than in instances where

groups from divergent areas and ethnic groups have been brought together. In the latter scenario, the formation of local representation is either artificially created or takes longer to be fully effective and representative, if at all. Literature studies reveal little about the process of group formation in settlements where groups did not exist before settlements were formed. Recent studies carried out, almost exclusively, by economists, are brief about the process or about the way organizations form, or how they contribute to the success of settlement efforts (Kinsey and Binswanger, 1993).

The experience from Zimbabwe indicates that settlers should be encouraged to partake in decision making which affects their lives and livelihood, including issues such as land allocation, use of resources and new settlers. Where a history of non representation of women exists, a condition to the formation of a representative body should be a degree of representation by women.

Resettlement programmes should also be represented by elected persons on local political bodies, such as Rural or District Councils. They should be an integral part of their sphere of activity and not be separated and isolated by being under central control of a government ministry. The establishment of a local level conflict resolution body is also a useful mechanism to amicably solve problems that may arise between beneficiaries and/or between beneficiaries and neighbours impacted by the resettlement programme.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are advised for effective local level representation amongst beneficiaries in resettlement programmes.

- Settlers should be encouraged to form a representative body amongst themselves in a democratic manner that ensures the views of all are met.
- Resettlement programmes should be represented at the local political level.
- A conflict resolution body that is respected by all should be established with the purpose of resolving differences amongst beneficiaries and their neighbours.

5.6 SIZE AND USE OF ALLOCATED LAND HOLDINGS

The characteristic most critically associated with the success of settlements appears to be the size of allocated holdings. In this regard flexibility in allocating appropriately sized holdings has been found to be positively associated with the use of purchased inputs, lower levels of social conflict, greater income-earning possibilities, growth of mutual help efforts and fewer administrative problems (Kingsey and Binswanger, 1993).

The size of holdings is an important feature in attracting settlers and determining agricultural incomes, the more appropriate the size, the more successful the result. A review of the available literature on economies of scale suggest that an area a family can operate efficiently depends on the amount of family labour, the farmer's managerial skills, machinery and capital stock that he or she owns, and access to credit markets (ibid).

Few resettlement schemes, however, explicitly allocate land according to the factors discussed above. Instead two principles are frequently used to determine size, namely, farms must not be larger than settlers can cultivate (often using family resources) and farms must be large enough to provide settlers with an income higher than they had previously received, but not so high that tensions develop between settlers and existing neighbouring farmers.

The primary aim in usage of allocated holdings is the continued sustainability of the natural resources to sustain livelihoods. Research undertaken by experts in this regard should be used to inform agricultural practices undertaken by settlers. Monitoring programmes should also be implemented to observe the continual use of resources by the settlers and, if degradation occurs, appropriate mitigation measures should be identified and implemented.

Recommendations

Recommendations for size and use of allocated land holdings are the following.

- Settlements are likely to be more successful if allocated holdings are designed and planned to take into account the following:
 - natural resources available;
 - agricultural skills and experience of the settler;
 - beneficiary's family labour force;
 - cash resources available to settler families;
 - infrastructure and services available to support the usage of the land.
- Land use needs to be determined by the natural environment and provisions should be made so that the sustainability of natural resources is maintained.

5.7 LAND RIGHTS TO ALLOCATED HOLDINGS

From the literature and experience in Zimbabwe and in developing countries, it would appear that no resettlement process can succeed without a formulated tenure policy that is stated clearly to all affected parties. In this regard both genders need to experience a sense of security in their land holdings and in investments for optimum use of resources.

There are a number of land tenure options available to resettlement programmes that are discussed in more detail below:

Freehold Tenure

The following reasons frequently arise in arguments made by lobbyists for the granting of freehold title to land in resettlement schemes:

- Investment and growth in agriculture require assets as collateral for loans. Title deeds held on land are therefore an advantage for those seeking loans in the present conservative money markets;
- Title deeds to land assist in the formation of a land market in which the transfer of land can take place between settlers, commercial farmers and prospective farmers;
- Individual private title has been the necessary first step towards economic development of low income earners everywhere else in the world.

These arguments are considered plausible. Yet, other questions are posed by critics (Moyo, 1994; MacGarry, 1994). If farmers default on their loans, financial institutions recover their losses in the form of the farmer's land. This scenario particularly concerns small farmers, who are vulnerable to crop losses and other agricultural impacts. Whatever the cause the result is the same; the farmer has too little crop to sell, defaults on his/her loan through no fault of their own, and the bank ends up owning the land (MacGarry, 1994). The farmer thus loses access to the land and once again becomes landless and the land belonging to the bank becomes underutilized.

Kinsey and Binswanger (1993) indicate that there is no clear advantage to freehold ownership over secure usufructary rights or long leases, providing land rights are unequivocally spelled out. Technical efficiency and economic viability, however, have been best achieved in programmes for which secure land rights have been determined, whether they be in the form of individual freehold title or other long term usufructary agreements (*ibid*).

In order to address these concerns widespread consultation with inhabitants on tenure preferences and land needs should be put in place as part of resettlement programmes. These discussions should include the possibility of providing qualified leasehold title or freehold title to beneficiaries of a resettlement scheme. Moyo (1994) argues that immediate needs should be addressed, such as improving accessibility and delivery of services and infrastructure, instead of implementing land rights which is often costly and time consuming. Appropriate and preferred tenure systems should be implemented, based on consultations with the users and other interested parties.

Collectivism

Many collective farming enterprises have failed, mainly due to lack of clear guidance from government and aid agencies on the new modes of agricultural production required for co-operative farming (MacGarry, 1993). However, it is considered that collectivized schemes can operate successfully if implemented with sound tenure. The lack of necessary implementation skills frequently impact on the success of the scheme (ibid).

In order for collectivized farm models to operate successfully the following elements need to be in place:

- Initial support from institutions to develop the managerial and institutional capacity of settlers;
- Technical and service back-up by government and aid agencies;
- A sense of security of tenure for settlers;
- Clear definitions of settlers rights;
- Freedom from the State to manage the mode of production and allocate assets (ibid).

Land Sales and Rental

There is a tendency in many resettlement programmes to prohibit land sales and rental, both to outsiders and among beneficiaries of the schemes. These restrictions often reflect a desire by the authorities to retain tight administrative control over settlers, a position often justified by the argument that without these conditions settlers would either sell or pledge the land and become landless, or they would subdivide it among their heirs, rendering the holdings uneconomic. The literature review shows that restrictions on rental and sales of land can rarely be enforced. Where they are partially enforced, they tend to create a climate of insecurity of tenure, leading to efficiency losses and idle land (Kinsey and Binswanger, 1993).

Directed schemes are designed on the premise that all settlers will or should be successful, yet such outcomes seldom materialize. Instead, schemes should be designed to anticipate the withdrawal of some settlers. Constraints on sale, leasing and other forms of land reallocation should therefore not be imposed since they create fallow land

and other inefficiencies. Settlers should therefore be allowed to sell or rent out their land to other settlers.

Inheritable Land

To promote family cohesiveness, land in resettlement schemes should be inheritable among family members, much the same as occurs under tribal authorities in communal lands (Maposa, 1995). In terms of land uses, changes to demarcated areas should be allowed with the consent of the majority of those in a settlement.

Recommendations

Based on the review of various tenure options, the following recommendations are identified.

- Static tenure arrangements, if rigidly enforced, ultimately lead to stagnation or - if the administration lacks the power and will to enforce tenure regulations - to unrest and upheaval. Resettlement programmes should be designed to accommodate flexibility in ownership and usage and incorporate a range of approaches.
- In the initial configuration of land allocation, certain lands should be left in reserve to accommodate growth and future changes.
- Renting, sale, transfers and subdivision of land among the beneficiaries and non beneficiaries should be allowed.
- Land holdings should be inheritable amongst family members and specified people.

5.8 LAND ACQUISITION FOR RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES

There is no evidence to suggest that either the mode of acquisition of land, or the price paid for it, has a strong impact on the ultimate performance of settlements. The level of compensation that buyers pay for land, however strongly influences the scope of the settlement programme, since budgets available for resettlement are often limited (Kingsey and Binswanger, 1993).

In the process of acquiring land for redistribution, all affected parties should be identified and consulted. This could be achieved by government creating a forum made up of all affected parties who would discuss issues, such as the choice of land, its future use and potential users. To acquire appropriate land for resettlement and develop credible plans, acceptable resource use plans should be developed either by government or consultants. Initiatives and encouragement should be implemented for the redistribution of underutilized lands. Financial pressure, such as a land tax, or social incentives, such as land donated in the spirit of reconciliation for the purpose of nation building, are examples of such incentives.

Recommendations

The implementation of the following factors would enhance the suitable acquisition of land for resettlement programmes.

- All interested and affected parties should be consulted and encouraged to participate in the land acquisition process within a public forum.
- Credible resource plans are vital to identify appropriate lands for resettlement and enable informed planning to take place.
- Appropriate financial pressure and social incentives should be used by government to encourage the release of underutilized land for resettlement purposes.

5.9 SELECTION OF BENEFICIARIES

Resettlement programmes are a difficult process in which settlers must adapt to new environments while at the same time create productive enterprises. The failure of resettlement programmes are common and many beneficiaries are forced to leave the schemes (Kinsey and Binswanger, 1993). To deal with the consequences of settlers leaving, resettlement programmes require not only greater flexibility in the allocation of land, as discussed, but also a process which reduces the rate of failure.

It is recognized that although such a process can be implemented, it can never eliminate the fact that certain settlers will leave the scheme. In a formal selection procedure, it is considered important to fully brief potential settlers. Without a full briefing, problems are often encountered where settlers hold unrealistic expectations about the resettlement process, and particularly on how long it might take for incomes to reach certain levels. Adequate briefing may therefore reduce the drop out rate by ensuring that those who are not suited do not volunteer for resettlement.

Criteria used in choosing beneficiaries should be open to public debate and result in transparent inventories which are freely available to the public. Organisations, such as farmers unions, agricultural colleges, NGOs and other related farming groups, should be mobilized to partake in the process of setting criteria and contribute to the establishment of inventories.

The information in Table 5.1 outlines the traits most commonly taken into consideration in the selection procedure of beneficiaries for resettlement programmes (Kinsey and Binswanger, 1993).

In the process of applying for the resettlement programme, future beneficiaries should state their choice of area, production mode, resources and skills. This information should then be collated into the planning and implementation of the programme to ensure that settlers are placed on holdings of appropriate size and provided with the resources which match their interests and skills. Those people with no resources and

few recognized agricultural skills, but who possess the desire and commitment to make a successful contribution, could also benefit from an appropriately designed programme.

Table 5.1: SELECTION CRITERIA OF BENEFICIARIES

Source: Kinsey and Binswanger, 1993

Selection of criteria	Performance outcome
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience shows that those aged under 45 years are generally the most successful.
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is strong evidence that better educated settlers are more successful than those that are less well educated.
Family labour force	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural and economic performance has a strong positive correlation with the number of family members able to work.
Marital status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married settlers almost invariably out perform those who are not married.
Farming experience and skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A background that included farming experience and skills is strongly predicative of good performance, although not essential.
Capital assets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no consistent evidence in favour of selecting settlers who already have capital or assets. Settlers who have gone into resettlement schemes well-equipped have fared no better than those who have few resources. In sound projects, capable settlers who begin with little, seem to accumulate capital and acquire assets remarkably quickly.
Nationality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No clear evidence
No prior criminal record	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No clear evidence.

Although there is no consistent evidence to suggest the settlers that possess capital should be favoured, experience suggests the choice of settlers based mainly on equity may lead to problems. It would appear from experience that agricultural resettlement schemes, except in special circumstances, do not make good welfare programmes (Moyo, 1994). While landless people may be able to make good use of new resources provided by resettlement, the elderly, sick, disabled and those with inadequate access to labour, usually cannot. A successful programme therefore must maintain a balance between a settler's suitability and needs. A level of flexibility in the selection process is therefore required. For example, those with particular skills, which may be in short

supply should be favoured. Also, preference might be given to younger candidates when employment among school leavers is a problem.

Recommendations

Considering the above mentioned factors for the selection of beneficiaries, the following recommendations are made:

- Criteria for selecting beneficiaries needs to be flexible and open to public debate in order to respond to peoples needs.
- Transparent inventories of beneficiaries should be open to all interested.
- Future beneficiaries need to state their preferences and skills in order that the appropriate planning can be implemented.
- Future beneficiaries need to be fully briefed.
- People, with and without resources, should be chosen: the important ingredient being desire and commitment to achieve.

5.10 PACE OF RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION

Although people suffer through lack of access to land caused by the slow pace of resettlement, the mere numbers of future beneficiaries should not be emphasized above the quality and viability of resettlement programmes. Settlers may be moved in numbers approximating target figures, but if initial planning is superficial, consultation is weak and post settlement follow up and support are ineffective, schemes are unlikely to succeed (Kingsey, 1982).

Experience has shown that rapid and ill considered implementation displays a undimensional emphasis on short term technical aspects rather than the attainment of longer term social and economic goals (Moyo, 1994). The pace should be determined more by the rate at which productivity can be achieved within schemes and less by the rate at which land is acquired or people can be resettled. Government ministries should

endeavor to implement better and more rapid resettlement programmes by ensuring that staff capacity is attained and available funding is maximized.

Recommendations

Although a fast pace of the resettlement programme would appear to address the needs of future beneficiaries, the following recommendation is made.

- Fast pace should not be the primary objective of a scheme. Effective planning for the programme should involve a streamlined operation that ensures longer term planning for the attainment of a successful resettlement.

5.11 SUMMARY

Table 5.2 concludes this chapter by listing the recommendations from each discussed section. The following chapters 6 and 7 evaluate the case studies in Gam and Elandskloof according to these recommendations.

**Table 5.2: GUIDELINES FOR PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING
RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES**

CATEGORY	GUIDELINES
Government Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resettlement programmes should be set within a clear policy which is understood by all concerned; • There should be decentralized administration to allow for the flexibility of the programme to suit local socio-economic and bio-physical conditions; • Government personnel must be trained to effectively implement the programme, treat settlers as independent thinkers and encourage them in their new role as land rights-holders; • Resettlement programmes should target socio-economic and bio-physical conditions, address local needs and achieve sustainable development; • Research should be commissioned by government to enable

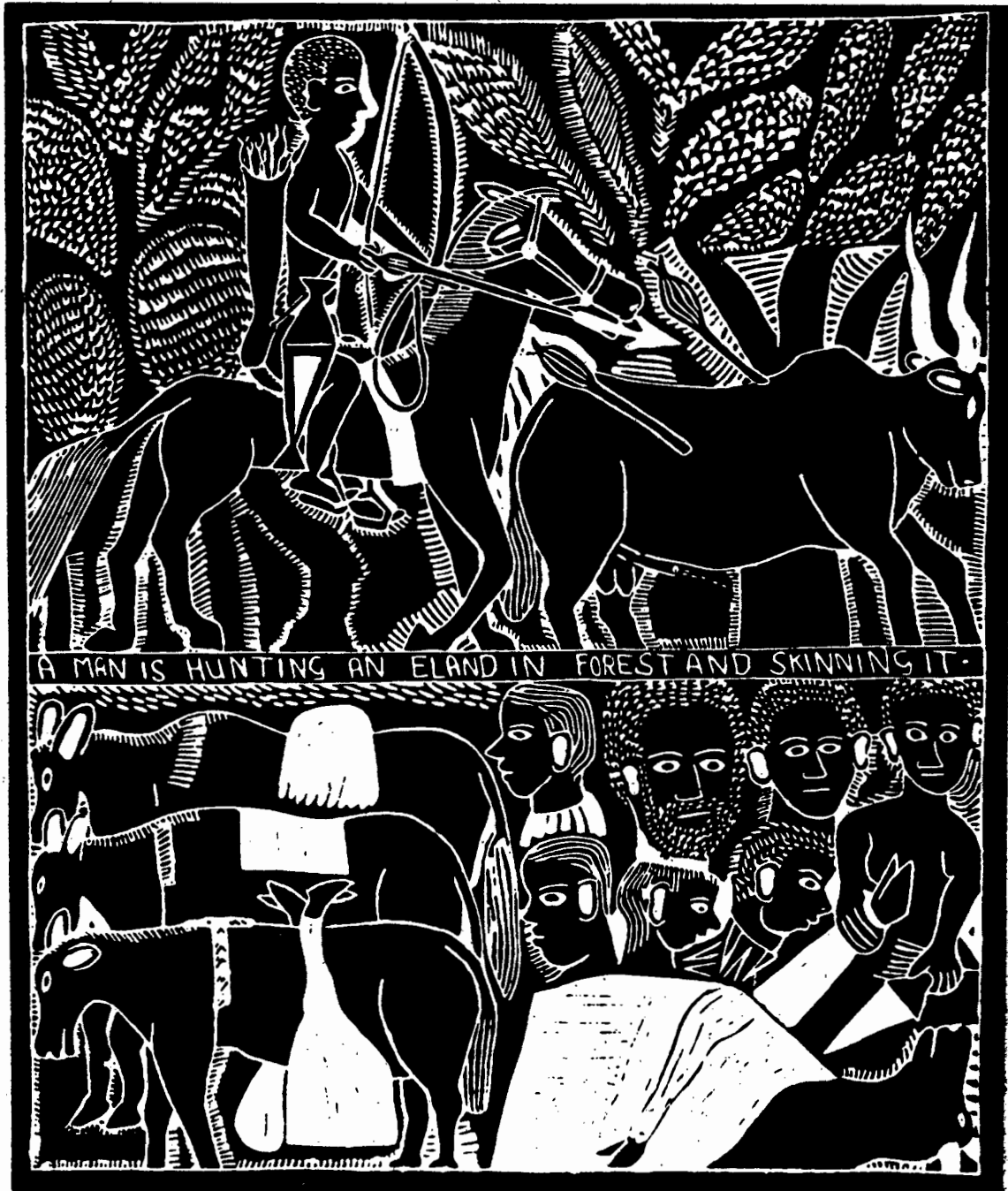
<p>(Government Organisation continued)</p>	<p>resettlement schemes to implement appropriate development initiatives;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Credible resource use plans should be formulated through the use of the combined talents of interest groups, agricultural and technical ministries, settlers and experts; • An absence of paternalism within the implementing agency is important as the continued control of settlers actions is often more damaging than inadequate service support.
<p>Provision of Infrastructures and Services</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Long term strategy planning consisting of coherent sector plans and programme approach, is needed in the provision of infrastructure and services; • Financial budgets must plan for operational and maintenance costs for the initial phase of settlement; • Credible resource plans of existing and future infrastructures and services must be developed; • Co-ordination between and accountability of implementing agencies must be ensured to avoid the duplication of work and ineffective implementation of programmes; • Participation of beneficiaries is required in the planning of the provision and maintenance of infrastructure and services so that implementation is appropriate to all users in addition to a sense of ownership by the users; • Appropriate technology (inexpensive, resource conserving and economical) should be researched by planners and applied if suitable to the socio-economic and biophysical situations; • Personnel within implementing agency need to be trained so that provision of services occurs in an effective manner; • Regulations, such as codes and standards, should be revised to address the social, economic and biophysical conditions in which infrastructure is implemented; • Infrastructure should be implemented in an incremental manner within a long term programme to suit the needs of users and the affordability of the implementing agency; • Extension services should be available in order to assist settlers in promoting the necessary skills in agriculture needed and appropriate management strategies for natural resources; • Users of infrastructure and services should be trained to operate and maintain the services;

<p>(Provision of Infrastructures and Services continued)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of a health service is necessary either as a mobile or permanent clinic to assist with sicknesses and health education; • Advice on the sustainable use of local building materials and in establishing sources of other materials should be given, in addition to knowledge on construction methods and optimizing the climate within the buildings; • Formal education facilities for children and appropriate education for the adults should be provided to maximize opportunities and skills; • Appropriate credit facilities and advice on cash management should be provided which address the irregular incomes of the beneficiaries of resettlement programmes;
<p>Gender Equity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal rights for women should be granted with regard to access to resources in resettlement programmes; • Women should not be discriminated by their gender and marriage status; • Women should be encouraged to participate in all matters affecting their lives; • If necessary, men should be sensitized to the role women play and to the need for equal rights of access to resources; • Provisions for land holdings and status need to be made to deal with the outcome of divorce.
<p>Local Level Representation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government personnel need to encourage beneficiaries to democratically elect a representative body among themselves; • Encouragement by government personnel to beneficiaries for the participation in all decisions taken which affect their livelihoods; • The settler representative body should be represented at the local political level; • A conflict resolution body that is respected by the majority of settlers should be established with the purpose of resolving differences amongst beneficiaries and their neighbours;
<p>Size and Use of Holdings</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There should be a degree of flexibility with the resettlement programme in the allocation of appropriately sized holdings to accommodate natural resources available, family labour force, agricultural skills and experiences of settlers, and infrastructure and services to support the usage of the land. • Unforeseen changes within the resettlement scheme and future growth of the settlement should be accommodated by planning

(Size and Use of Holdings continued)	<p>allocated land to be distributed at a later date;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land use should be determined by the natural environment and provisions for the usage should be given for its continued sustainable usage.
Land Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Static tenure arrangements should be avoided; resettlement programmes should be designed to accommodate flexibility in ownership and usage and incorporate a range of tenure approaches; • Land and usufructary rights need to be unequivocally spelled out to all users. • Land sales and rentals should be permitted among beneficiaries and if recommended by researchers, to outsiders; • Land should be inheritable among family members.
Land Designation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All interested and affected parties should be consulted and encouraged to participate in land acquisition process within a transparent public forum; • Credible resource plans are vital to identify appropriate lands for resettlement and enable informed planning to take place and therefore should be developed.
Selection of Beneficiaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selection criteria for beneficiaries should be flexible and open to public debate in order to respond to settlers needs; • Transparent inventories should be open to all concerned; • Details of beneficiaries particulars such as skills, resources, family size, should be considered in the selection and planning process; • Future beneficiaries need to be fully briefed on the settlement programme, so that their expectations are not unrealistic; • People with special needs, such as disabled persons, need to be accommodated in appropriately designed schemes; • Consideration should be given when possible to resettling people that originate from same or similar backgrounds in a resettlement scheme, as opposed to mixing people from differing ethnic groups.
Pace of Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A fast pace should not be the primary objective of a resettlement programme; pace of scheme implementation should be determined by effective management and organizational skills of the implementing agency.

Chapter Six

NAMIBIAN
RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME



Maufengejo, John: *A Man is Hunting the Eland in Forest and Skinning it,* 1974

CHAPTER SIX

THE NAMIBIAN RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 6 examines resettlement processes and procedures in Namibia. In doing so the Gam resettlement programme has been selected as a case study to illustrate implementation and to serve as a basis for evaluation, according to criteria developed in the previous chapter. The first section of the chapter concentrates on the Namibian resettlement process, the policy and legislation promulgated. Thereafter, the history of the Gam resettlement process and the beneficiaries is outlined. To complete the chapter, the Gam resettlement scheme is evaluated.

6.2 RESETTLEMENT PROCESS IN NAMIBIA

Provisions to resettle landless people in Namibia began immediately after the independent government began their rule in 1990. The political and legal framework of the resettlement process is firstly discussed, thereafter implementing agencies within the government and the guiding principles of the Namibian resettlement programme is outlined in more detail below.

6.2.1 Political and Legal Framework

Resettlement is considered by the Namibian government to be a priority programme. The Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) was instituted in September 1990 by the newly elected independent government to facilitate resettlement of 'destitute and landless people of the country' (MLRR, 1996).

The main aims of the Namibian resettlement programme are to:

- Redress past imbalances in the distribution of resources, particularly land;
- Encourage people to become self sufficient in the production of food;
- Introduce subsistence farmers into the commercial markets;
- Create employment through farming;
- Alleviate human and livestock pressure on communal lands;
- Offer citizens, displaced by colonial rule and the war of liberation, an opportunity to reintegrate into society (ibid).

By implementing the programme the Namibian government hopes to uplift the living standard of marginalised Namibians. An official resettlement publication states: "the people at the bottom of social life, having no income, no shelter, are to be brought up above the poverty line by helping them to attain a certain stage of social and economic development, so that they can live on their own" (MLRR, Pub. A).

The Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, No 6 of 1995 was promulgated to provide for the acquisition of agricultural land by the State for the purposes of land reform (Agricultural and Land reform Act 1995). The allocation of such land is for Namibian citizens who do own or otherwise have the use of inadequate agricultural land, and foremost to those citizens who have been socially, economically or educationally disadvantaged by past discriminatory laws or practices. The Act gives the State the right to purchase agricultural land, in addition to the compulsory acquisition of certain agricultural land for the purposes of the Act. In terms of the Act, the State can also regulate the acquisition of agricultural land by foreign nationals. A Land Reform

Advisory Commission and a Land Tribunal were also established through the Act (ibid). The Land Reform Commission, consisting of 12 members, makes recommendations to the Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation regarding matters concerned with the Act and investigates and considers matters relating to the Act. Land which is for sale or is classified as under utilized and excessive in terms of subsection (3) of the Act, and that which is acquired by a foreign national in contravention of section (58) or (69) of the Act is available to the Minister for purchase.

In terms of the Act land may be expropriated if the owner of such property is unable to negotiate the sale of such property by mutual agreement, or the whereabouts of the owner cannot be ascertained. In this regard the Minister is required to offer compensation to the owner. The amount is based on recommendations by the Commission and market prices. If the owner is unhappy with the amount, an application to the Lands Tribunal may be made for the determination of the compensation. As part of the expropriation process the interests of persons employed and lawfully residing on such land are considered by the Commission.

The Land Tribunal, consisting of 5 members, will review appeals lodged with it and adjudicate upon matters which is required or permitted in terms of the provisions contained in the Act.

6.2.2 Government Implementing Agencies

The Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) is the major coordinator of resettlement in Namibia and works in close collaboration with other ministries responsible for the provision of the relevant infrastructure and services to schemes.

The MLRR is divided into various sections to deal with the resettlement programme. They include the Directorates of Resettlement and Rehabilitation, Lands, General Services and the Surveyor General's Office. The Directorate of Resettlement and Rehabilitation is responsible for overall planning and coordination of resettlement

programmes; securing land on a 'willing seller-willing buyer basis'; implementing projects; supervising and later monitoring and evaluating projects. The Directorate of Lands is responsible for the registration of leases, resource surveys and development of planning guidelines and training of planners. The registration of deeds is undertaken by the Surveyor's General's office. The Directorate of General Services exercises financial control. Evaluations of projects and concept planning is jointly undertaken by all the above mentioned structures.

Ministries and departments involved in the resettlement process include:

- Agriculture, Water and Rural Development. This ministry is involved in the supply of veterinary and agricultural services, in addition to the provision of water supplies, market development, collection of grazing fees and credit facilities.
- Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET). MET is responsible for ensuring environmental soundness of the resettlement programmes.
- Regional Local Government and Housing. This directorate is involved in the proclamation of resettlement schemes.
- Works, Transport and Communication to provide and maintain relevant infrastructure.
- Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC). MEC is involved in the provision of schools, teachers and relevant educational materials.
- Ministry of Health and Social Services (MOHSS). MOHSS is involved in the provision of permanent or mobile clinics.

Other government organizations involved in the resettlement programme are the National Planning Commission which advises on project planning issues and funding and, ensures that the programme progresses in the national interest. The National Development Corporation provides credit to aspiring farmers and assists in skills provision. The Agri Bank provides credit loans and assists in the evaluation of possible resettlement areas. In addition to these are a number of non-government organizations (NGO's) who provide planning, extension services, material inputs and training according to needs and the organization's capacity.

6.3 OVERVIEW OF NAMIBIA'S RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME

Standard resettlement planning procedures, outlined below, include models of resettlement, land usage and size of allocated holdings, land rights to allocated land, provision of infrastructure and services, and the selection of beneficiaries.

Models of Resettlement

The Namibian government has promoted two models of resettlement, namely Models 1 and 2. In model 1, individual plots are granted to households within a defined settlement area. Beneficiaries are expected to develop their plots productively for purposes applied for, with a stipulated minimum level of production maintained. In Model 2, individuals are given access to a cooperative farming scheme in which land is cultivated by a group of settlers. Subsidiary income generating activities of beneficiaries, such as vegetable gardening, are encouraged. The model of resettlement depends on the agro-ecological conditions of the area selected.

Land Usage and Size of Allocated Land Holdings

In model 1, individual families are allocated between 4 and 7 hectares of arable land depending on the rainfall, soil quality and fertility of the area to be resettled. Prior to the approval of an area for resettlement, it is envisaged by the MLRR that research should be commissioned to ecologically assess the natural resources available and establish data on existing infrastructures and services.

Land Rights

The aim of the resettlement policy is to provide secure tenure for all Namibians. Legislation in this regard is under consideration and is expected to be promulgated within the forthcoming two years. Beneficiaries are placed on probation for two years to ensure the allocated land is used productively and for purposes it was applied for. If the investigating officials are satisfied, land may be provided to beneficiaries on a leasehold

tenure system of between 30 and 50 years and thereafter on a freehold tenure system. It is envisaged that land held under the leasehold tenure system could be used as collateral for loans from credit granting agencies especially established to benefit settlers (ibid).

Provision of Infrastructure and Services

The supply of basic infrastructure, such as a permanent water supply, schooling, health service, accessible roads, land and food aid, is considered vital in establishing a basis upon which beneficiaries might attain sustainable, small scale agricultural production. The success of the resettlement programme is deemed dependent on the industry of the settlers and the 'dedication and efficiency of the administration' (MLRR, 1996). Yet, it is recognized that essential support services must be implemented due to the marginal living conditions in Namibia determined by the environment.

In terms of the current approach to resettlement the Namibian government aims to support schemes for a maximum of 5 years. Within this time, beneficiaries are expected to gain skills and establish a livelihood that does not require supplementary aid. A basic requirement of the government is therefore to ensure that beneficiaries effect productivity on resettlement land.

Selection of Beneficiaries

People targeted in resettlement programmes have been identified by the MLRR in cooperation with Regional Councils and Land Use and Environmental Boards. Initial screening of potential beneficiaries is undertaken at regional and local levels. Advertisements concerning application for resettlement schemes are also placed in national newspapers.

In terms of the programme potential beneficiaries are expected to apply to the MLRR stating their livelihood, agricultural preferences and personal details. Experience in agriculture or other enterprises on which a proposed project is based, enhances an applicants chances of being chosen. This written application procedure does not address rural inhabitants unable to access newsprint, nor the illiterate.

Groups identified by the Namibian government as being in need of a resettlement programme are listed below in order of priority:

- The San, who are considered by the MLRR as the most disadvantaged and manipulated of all ethnic groups in Namibia due to the exploitation, discrimination and displacement by other Namibians and colonial governments.
- Returnees that were former exiles during the Namibian war of liberation.
- Ex-soldiers who were members of the former fighting forces in the war of liberation..
- Disabled people whose conditions are often associated with the war of liberation.
- Displaced and landless people, such as retrenched farm labourers and people forced to leave rural areas through inadequate access to resources, to become squatters in urban areas.

Several categories of applicants are also identified on the basis of the applications received. These include persons having neither land, income or livestock; persons having neither land nor income, but livestock; persons having income or cattle, yet need land to settle with their families and graze their livestock. The limit to the amount of livestock a person may own in the last category is a maximum 15 head of cattle and 90 small stock (goats, sheep).

Several beneficiary selection criteria are also stipulated in the policy. They are as follows:

- Beneficiaries must be Namibian citizens, above the age of 18 years;
- Previous rights held to land elsewhere should be relinquished;
- Settlers should be prepared to hold land under leasehold tenure after a two year probation period;
- Settlers should be prepared to support cost recovery measures introduced by the government, such as the intended borehole maintenance programme.

6.4 GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME

The Namibian case study, situated at Gam, falls outside the commonality of the nation's programme as citizens from another country (Botswana) whose forefathers lived in Namibia, have been resettled. The scheme was investigated by Master of Philosophy students in February 1997 as part of a study which examined the provision of emergency boreholes for the settlement scheme (M Phil Baseline Report, 1997). A history of the Gam resettlement scheme and its beneficiaries is outlined below to give context to its implementation.

6.4.1 History of the Herero in Namibia

Historians believe the Herero crossed the Cunene River into Namibia (South West Africa) in the middle of the 16th century. The Ovambo who occupied the well grassed plains north of Etosha Pan resisted the movement and forced the Herero westwards into the remote mountainous area known as Kaokoland (Visagie, 1997). The Herero remained in this district as nomadic pastoralists until the middle of the 18th Century when they migrated south due to severe drought. During the following century, the Herero experienced many land related conflicts with colonialists and other tribal nations, such as the Nama. In August 1905, a decisive battle was fought at the Waterberg between the Germans who had arrived in Namibia (South West Africa) and the Herero. At this battle, the Herero were defeated and many fled to the Ngamiland of former Bechuanaland (now Botswana), with the help of the San as guides (Malan, 1995). It is the descendants of these Herero who constitute the beneficiaries of the Gam resettlement scheme.

The Herero who remained in Namibia were treated badly by German authorities. On 26 October 1905, their land and cattle was confiscated and provisions were instituted to prevent them from owning cattle in the future (ibid). The only action the Herero nation could take was to seek work on farms and in towns as labourers. In 1920, the Native Reserves Commission (M Phil Baseline Report, 1997) recommended that a number of reserves be provided for the Herero. In these reserves, the Herero were able to revive their cultural life and practice traditional subsistence economy based on pastoralism. At

present Hereroland, located in the north eastern part of Namibia occupies territory that represents a consolidation of the former reserves and additional land purchased.

6.4.2 History of Herero Resettlement at Gam

The Herero that fled to Botswana re-established their nomadic pastoral lifestyle, but felt marginalised by the local inhabitants, the Tswana. In this regard they considered themselves to be under-privileged within the society (Botelle and Rohde, 1995) and as a result agitated to return to their motherland. Small groups did translocate and settle in the area near Gam, yet did so at considerable risk. If discovered by the authorities, their cattle and homes were destroyed. The response of the Namibian authorities arose to a large extent, out of fear of transmitting cattle diseases from neighbouring states. Other barriers experienced by the Herero wishing to return to Namibia included resistance from the Ju/'hoansi (the local San group) and the lack of permanent water supplies.

In 1959/'60, the Union Government and the British High Commission in South Africa considered the issue of repatriating Herero people from Botswana. The initiative was not pursued and the issue only re-emerged in 1980 when it was considered by the South African government. It was then stipulated that the process could only occur once all relevant issues had been defined and addressed. In the early eighties, a small group of approximately 80 Herero did settle in the Gam district (ibid).

During the early 1980's, the Herero in Botswana continued to agitate for a speedy repatriation. However, the issue was continually delayed due to high cost implications. As a result the South African government decided to delay the repatriation until Namibia gained its independence (MLRR, 1993).

On 30 April 1991, the cabinet of the Namibian Government designated three line ministries to facilitate the repatriation of Herero from Botswana. The ministries involved were Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) (coordinating ministry), Home Affairs and Foreign Affairs.

An Inter-ministerial Technical Committee was established at the outset of the resettlement programme to assess the following issues:

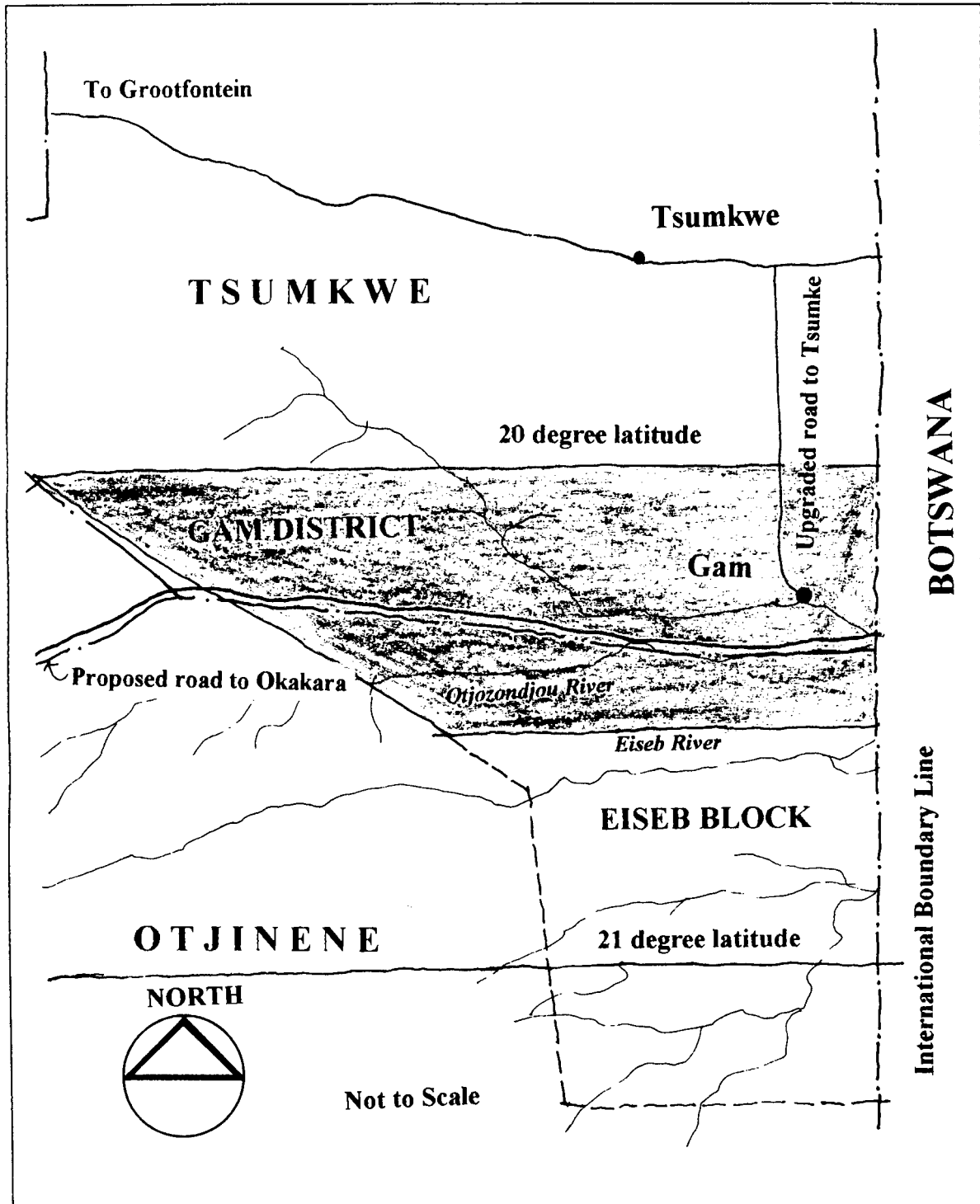
- Potential areas for the resettlement and existing surrounding infrastructure;
- Possible involvement of local communities;
- Feasible water sources;
- Potential entry points along the Namibian/Botswana border.

The Gam area was decided on for resettlement by MLRR staff and representatives of the Herero Repatriation Committee. Negotiations between the governments of Botswana and Namibia established a *modus operandi* for the resettlement process. As part of this process, the Botswana government began registering Herero and a related group, known as the Mbanderu, wishing to be repatriated.

The initial settlers, comprising women and children, arrived in 1993. A total of 498 persons arrived in April, followed by a further 1670 persons in September 1993. Women and children were sent initially as their men wanted to be sure of the conditions before they committed themselves to the resettlement scheme (Botelle and Rohde, 1995). Most of the resettlement volunteers held Botswana citizenship as they had been born and educated there. Initially 2000 head of cattle arrived in February 1994 with a second group consisting of approximately 3000 cattle, in May and June 1994. (MLRR, 1994).

Figure 6.1: LOCATION OF GAM WITHIN OTJOZONDJUPA REGION

Source: M Phil Baseline Report, 1997.



An outbreak in livestock lung disease occurred in Botswana in late 1994. As a result the majority of the cattle belonging to repatriates that had yet to be brought into Namibia were exterminated by the Botswana authorities. The owners were compensated at a rate of 500 Botswana pula per head. In terms of the existing situation, cattle are no longer permitted to be translocated from Botswana to Gam by new repatriates and stock has to be purchased in Namibia. This stipulation, together with the marginal conditions experienced by the settlers have slowed repatriation down to a trickle (Shikongo, pers. comm.).

In volunteering for resettlement, returnees believed that more opportunities existed in Namibia than Botswana. (Botelle and Rohde, 1995). They also considered Namibia as their motherland (Maharero, pers. comm.). In addition the fact that Botswana does not pay a pension compared to Namibia which does, also serves as an incentive for the older people to return (Shumba, pers. comm.)¹. This was confirmed in the field trip during February, 1997 undertaken by the Masters of Philosophy students (M Phil Baseline Report, 1997). Certain young adults told of their unwillingness to leave Botswana and return to Namibia and their discontent with the situation at Gam (ibid). Yet, due to their family elders wishes to be repatriated, they had no choice but to return as required by traditional Herero custom of obeying the elder male in the homestead.

To become eligible for resettlement, the Herero and Mbanderu beneficiaries had to renounce their Botswana citizenship. A temporary Namibian residence permit was then granted while formal citizenship procedures were in process. Formal citizenship can take up to 3 years to be granted (Shikongo, pers. comm.). This delay has proved problematic, as only those pensioners who are citizens are eligible for pension.

¹ Namibia is one of the few countries in Africa to provide a universal state pension scheme financed solely by the government. People over the age of 60, as well as the disabled, are entitled to receive a monthly allowance. In May 1994 the scheme was equalized at N\$ 140 per month for all (NEPRU, 1996).

6.5 PROFILE OF GAM REGION

A brief description of the geographical location, the biophysical environment and the inhabitants in and around Gam is provided below.

6.5.1 Geographical Location

Gam is located in north eastern Namibia on the western edge of the Kalahari Basin. Bushmanland and Gam became part of the Otjozondjupa region - one of the 13 regions established by the Delimitation Commission - in 1992. Eastern Otjozondjupa comprises the communal lands of western, central and eastern Bushmanland and the Gam district, which was part of former Hereroland East (Botelle and Rohde, 1995). The Gam resettlement area borders the Okamatapati area to the west, the veterinary control fence to the south (Eiseb area), the international boundary with Botswana to the east and the 20° latitude to the north (figure 6.2).

6.5.2 Biophysical Environment

The climate, geology, vegetation and wildlife of the Gam region are discussed under the section.

Climate

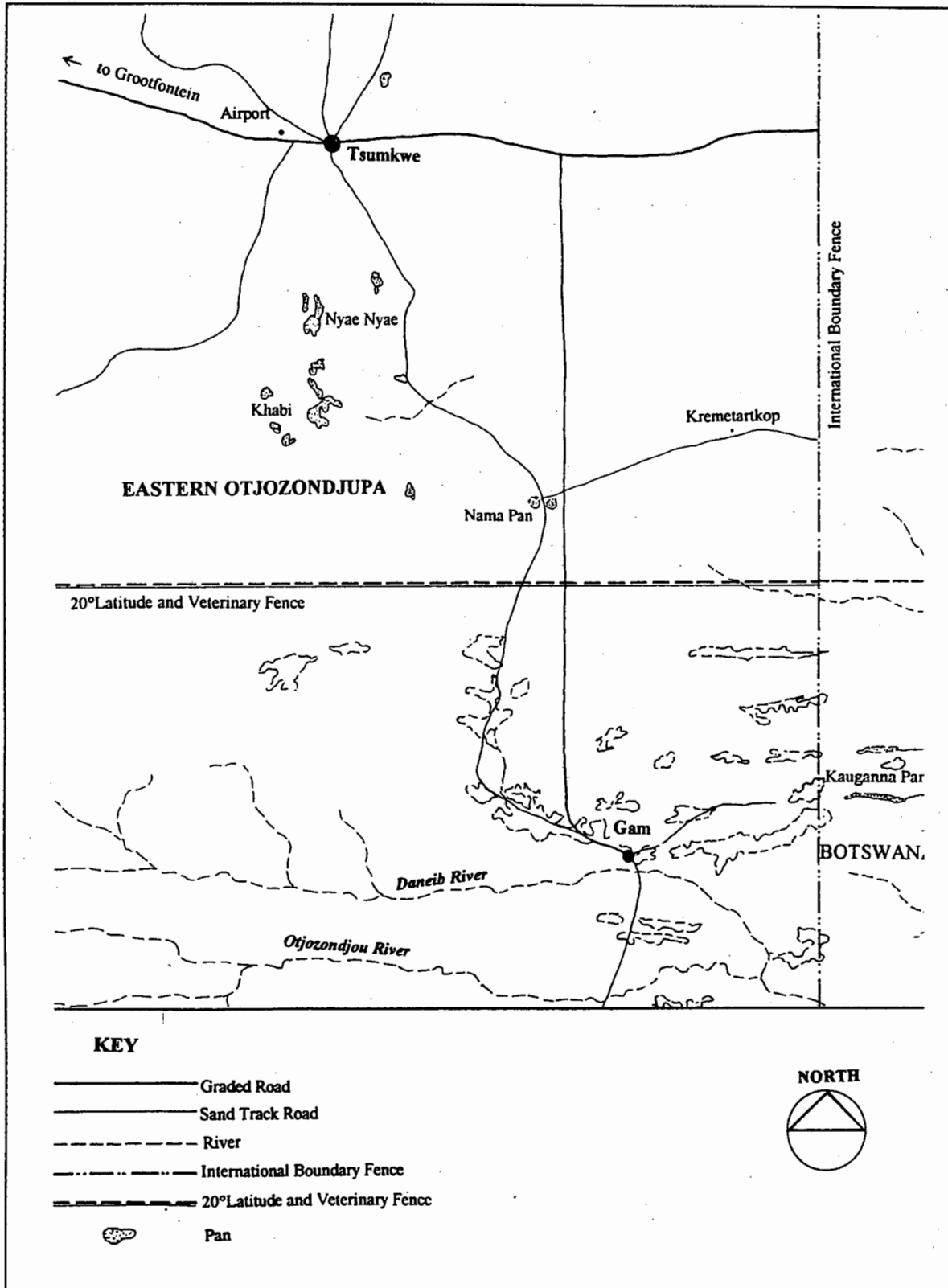
The climate of this area is classified according to the Koppen system as 'Hot Steppe' (MLRR, 1994). According to the National Atlas (Van der Merwe, 1983), the Gam area lies within a zone with a average annual rainfall of 300-400mm. The rainy season occurs from October-March.

There are no direct recording of potential evaporation rates for the area, however it is estimated from a correlation with humidity, as 2750 mm per annum. In the heaviest

rainfall months of January to March, potential evaporation is three times that of rainfall (ibid).

Figure 6.2 : GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME

Source: M Phil Baseline Report, 1997



Geology, Geomorphology, Soils and Drainage

Gam is essentially a flat area with little relief, with the exception of the drainage's (*omiramba*) incised in the sand plains and the dunes in the south (Environmental Information Services and EEAN, 1994). The area falls within the Kalahari Geological System, which extends through much of the Western half of Africa.

Gam resettlement scheme falls within a semi-arid region, and the recent geological origin of superficial deposits, combined with the low moisture environment inhibit, to a large degree, the development of mature soil. Soils are therefore largely unstructured and are derived from redistributed surficial deposits (rather than basement rock) through aeolian and surface flow processes (*ibid*).

The area consists of very deep sandy soils (dunes) with patches of weakly developed sandy loams in the *omirambas* (dry river beds) of the Otjisondnjou and Danieb rivers - running from west to east through the area towards the Okavango Delta rivers. The north-western corner consists of calcareous soils where arable farming on small scale can be practiced (MLRR, 1994). No surface water flow in the form of rivers occurs in these appreciably higher areas.

Vegetation

Acacia species dominate on the more calcareous soils north-west of Gam whilst forest savannah and open woodland dominate the rest of the area with plenty of *Terminalia sericia* (Sand Yellow Wood) and occasional occurrences of Red Serigia, *Pterocarpus angolensis* (Dolf wood) and Manghetti trees occur to the West of the area (MLRR, 1994).

Most of the *omiramba* plains are covered with open grassland with patches of Acacia and solitary Camel thorn trees. *Dichapetalum cymosum* (Gifblaar) are endemic to the area and occur throughout (MLRR, 1994). *Dichapetalum cymosum* is poisonous plant of major concern to livestock farmers in north-eastern Namibia. Small quantities of leaves are sufficiently lethal to bring about death in most domestic animals

(Environmental Information Services and Environmental Evaluation A Namibia [EEAN], 1994).

Wildlife

Animal species assemblages in the undisturbed areas of gam district closely resemble those recorded further North in Bushmanland. Fauna types found in the Gam area include amphibians, reptiles, birds, and mammals (Environmental Information Services and EEAN, 1994). Large game species such as gnu (blue wildebeest), oryx giraffe, kudu, eland and elephant are found in small numbers around Gam. Small game present in the area include steenbok, duiker and warthog, as well as predators such as jackal, cheetah, leopard and both brown and spotted hyena. Lion may occasionally enter the area from the northern Nyae-Nyae region (MLRR, 1994).

Conservation in Gam and Bushmanland

Ecologically and in terms of wildlife the region could be seen as one unit. The area was well endowed with wildlife with considerable herds of elephant, giraffe, kudu, gemsbok and some of the smaller antelope species prior to resettlement occurring. There were also numerous lions, leopard and hyaena. The area is also known for its bird life and has a Ramsar site - the Nyae-Nyae pans.

In Bushmanland, the conservancy programme is relatively well advanced. The Nyae-Nyae Farmers' Cooperative has been recognized by the government as a representative committee, people in the area are being registered with the conservancy, a community campsite has been built and the application for registration of the conservancy is planned (Viall, pers. comm.).

Local people (the Ju/'hoansi) have successfully and sustainably managed the resources in the area for countless generations through traditional and cultural practices. The San have a tremendous depth of knowledge of wildlife and ecology and from this point of view there is great potential for the conservancy.

From the Herero there is, however, very little interest in the conservancy concept. Very few people were had heard of the idea and it did not stimulate much interest as a land use. Traditionally, cattle and large cattle herds, play an important role in the culture and this is highly prioritized.

Carnivores, such as leopard, lion and hyaena are rapidly being eliminated from the area (Stander, pers comm). This can not be legally prevented as communities have the right to protect their livestock. However, it is evident that elephants, giraffe, ostrich, kudu, gemsbok and warthog have also been extensively hunted (ibid). Discussions and interviews with communities around Gam confirmed this to be true. Conservation is not a priority and the fact that animals were being lost, even lost for the purpose of hunting, did not seem a matter of concern for community members interviewed.

It seems unlikely, therefore, that an integrated approach to land use and water management would be welcomed in the framework of a conservancy in the Gam area.

6.5.3 Socio-Political Environment

As a resettlement scheme impacts of the lifestyles of the inhabitants of the area, the socio-political, economic and cultural ways of the San and Herero are discussed.

Herero

Traditionally the Herero pastoralists followed a nomadic way of life with large herds of cattle. More recently, this movement has been restricted by commercial farming and political decisions, resulting in permanent settlements being erected. Livestock management is based on the principle that there is no private ownership of cattle (Malan, 1993). The cattle belong to the family lineage, of which a person is a member and from which they have acquired most of their wealth through inheritance. The pastoral economy of the Herero in Gam is based on cattle and goats as a source of food

and income. Sharing, which does not depend on kinship relations, takes place with wealthier beneficiaries assisting poorer ones when necessary.

The principle unit of settlement in Herero villages is the *onganda* (household *ozonganda* pl.) consisting of related men and their wives and children. A person's identification with his parents *onganda* and *ohamba* (locality) is lifelong, but links to extended households may be invoked to extend rights to land. (Botelle and Rohde, 1995) In the Herero village the eldest male member has the highest authority. He is usually the grandfather and the most respected man in the group and his decisions are never challenged.

San

The San represent 2.9% of the total population of Namibia, with 45 000 people estimated in 1994 (Malan, 1995). For thousands of years the San were a hunter-gatherer society in many parts of Southern Africa, where game and veldt foods were plentiful. Today, the San have been forced onto reduced land and have a diverse livelihood which combines crop farming, livestock production, cash incomes, food aid and hunting and gathering. (Botelle and Rohde, 1995).

The San population of Eastern Otjozondjupa consists of two ethno-linguistic groups: the Ju/'hoansi (central !Kung) and the Vasekele and Mpungu (northern !Kung). These divisions correspond to dialects and cultural units.

Three categories of social organization stand out as factors crucial to understanding the way in which San interact with their environment:

- **Social networks: kinship, distribution of property, sharing and exchange**

Social networks throughout Bushmanland are based on extended family groups or bands. The band size is flexible and structured according to kinship ties and networks of exchange that extend far beyond the immediate band territory (Botelle and Rohde, 1995). !Kung society is governed by strict rules of sharing which sustain both basic food security for households and cooperation within and between

the bands. The sharing of meat and other consumables is a matter of course. A formal system of exchange, known as *hxaro*, involves the establishment of gift giving partners over a wide geographic area. Implicit in these gift giving relationships are rights to water and plant resources. Kinship links are an important key to understanding the relative wealth or poverty of settlements. Strong kinship link support successful survival strategies. Communities can be differentiated in terms of material success or social advancement by their kinship links. (ibid).

- **Territory and rights to natural resources**

The !Kung territory or *n!ore* (*n!oresi* pl.) varies in size between 2000 and 3000 hectares, comparable to a commercial farm. *N!oresi* do not have firm boundaries but regulate social rights and obligations associated with the use of natural resources. Individuals are affiliated to *n!oresi* on the basis of birth place, parental inheritance and marriage. In the past, two types of *n!ore* could be identified: those with reliable water which could accommodate people throughout the year and those with intermittent water supplies.

- **Leadership and decision making structures**

Political activity traditionally occurs at band level. The power of an individual is dependent on their relationship to the core kin group, their age, experience and personal qualities. !Kung decision making is characterized as 'consensual'. Leadership operates through compromise based on acute perception of the band's mood. When compromise is impossible, the traditional response to avoiding violent confrontation is separation or band fission. (Botelle and Rohde, 1995)

Most of the San living in the region rely on incomes derived from both permanent and seasonal employment, (wages, pensions and crafts), and on a variety of food sources (wild foods, crops, livestock, food aid and purchased food) (ibid).



Figure 6.3 : (above and below) MEETING BETWEEN BENEFICIARIES OF GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME AND OFFICIALS OF MLRR



FIGURE 6.4: (below) CHILDREN BENEFICIARIES AT GAM REPATRIATION CAMP





Figure 6.5: (above) OFFICIAL STRUCTURES AT GAM SCHEME

Figure 6.6: (below) SELF BUILT BENEFICIARY HOME IN GAM DISTRICT





Figure 6.7 (above) BENEFICIARY SHELTERS AT 'BOREHOLE NO. 5'

Figure 6.8 (below) BENEFICIARY SHELTERS AT 'OTJISERANDU'





Figure 6.9: (above) TIMBER STRUCTURED AND EARTH CLAD HOME

Figure 6.10: (below) VARIETY OF STRUCTURES IN USE BY BENEFICIARY



6.6 EVALUATION OF GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME

An evaluation of the Gam resettlement scheme using the criteria developed in Chapter 4, is presented in a tabulated form below. The criteria established does not address all aspects of the resettlement scheme as time and information limitations prevailed. It is however, hoped that the evaluation may assist government intervention in the planning of future resettlement schemes. In terms of undertaking the evaluation, the question how might resettlement programmes be reviewed and what are the criteria to apply, is applied. To answer this a number of sub questions are suggested, within the knowledge that judgments on the performance of resettlement programmes depend to a large extent on expectations:

Evaluation questions

- Does the resettlement scheme meet government objectives and principles expoused in national policies ?
- What is the level of sustainablity of the programme and is each household achieving adequate levels of self sustenance ?
- Is there a general improvement in the living standard of the programmes beneficiaries ?

In terms of the criteria developed in Chapter 4, the following items are covered in the evaluation;

- Scale of resettlement scheme;
- Government organization;
- Provision of Infrastructure and Services;
- Gender equity;
- Local level representation;
- Size and use of allocated land holdings;
- Land rights to allocated holdings;
- Land acquisition;
- Suitability of land for resettlement scheme

- Selection of beneficiaries;
- Restrictions placed on settlers;
- Pace of implementation.

6.6.1 Scale of Gam Resettlement Scheme

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
<p>The scale of a programme does not determine its success or failure. Unless projects of all scales are effectively managed and implemented, the chances of failure are high.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The original intention was to resettle 4000 people and 50 000 head of cattle on 862,000 ha. yet, approximately 3000 people have been resettled to date (Shikongo, pers. comm.) either in the Gam repatriation camp, the surrounding district or the Eiseb block. Only a small number of people are still expected. In terms of the programme, it is considered fortunate that all livestock did not arrive as the infrastructure would not have been able to support the numbers initially anticipated (MLRR, 1994). <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The scale of Gam resettlement scheme is larger than other resettlement schemes implemented by the MLRR, in which approximately 1,000 people are resettled. The amount of complex logistics involved have been more than the MLRR could efficiently organize.

6.6.2 Government Organization of Gam Resettlement Scheme

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
<p>(a) The success of resettlement schemes depends on a sound government policy in</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The resettlement policy was formulated after the inception of the scheme, and therefore cannot be evaluated with respect to Gam resettlement scheme. As this scheme addresses needs of former Namibian citizens and their descendants, concerns were raised about the inappropriate use of funds. Critics condemned the high costs of the repatriation programme and believed that jobless

<p>place which is understood by all.</p>	<p>Namibians should receive priority treatment (ibid). The ideological basis of the resettlement policy is to address inequalities within Namibia that exist due to former practices. This project addresses needs of descendants of former Namibians who were unfairly treated by a former colonial power; people who are established pastoralists.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clashes of interest emerged during the planning stages between those who favoured conservation as a priority for the area and those in favour of development (MLRR 1994). The pro-conservationist lobby wish to create a conservancy within the region. • The issue of cost recovery is not addressed in the scheme (Werner, pers. comm), an issue that may potentially limit the programme. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lack of a policy at the outset of the Gam resettlement programme hindered the implementation of the scheme.
<p>(b) Staff capacity within the implementing agency is needed to effectively implement resettlement programmes.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A shortage of skilled staff at national level hampered the effective implementation of the project. In addition a number of staff changes have occurred within the MLRR (Werner, pers. comm). • A sense of job insecurity exists among staff members because employment is based on short term contracts. The rapid turnover of staff made it extremely difficult to handle major tasks of the resettlement procedure concurrently with the implementation of an employee training programme (MLRR, 1994). The lack of skilled staff resulted in a lack of organization within the process. The Inter ministerial Committee, for example, in their irregular meetings and absence of minutes thereof, were reportedly acting more as a crisis management committee than a steering and coordination body (ibid). • The Herero Repatriation and Resettlement Commission (HRRC) in Gam reported the current staff within Gam resettlement camp were able. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The resettlement scheme would be better organized if a core staff is retained on a permanent basis and all staff were trained to effectively implement the resettlement programme.
<p>(c) Sufficient budget available to implement, operate</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The largest problem encountered on the project was the lack of money. The limited budget slowed implementation down and limited the provision of infrastructure and services. The budget supplied by central Government was lower than anticipated as the project had been improperly registered with the National Planning Commission and normal procedures to obtain funds had not been followed.

<p>and maintain all required provisions.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Donors were not attracted to the project and expected donor funding thus did not materialize. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Cabinet of the Namibian government should have been approached and comments from the Ministry of Finance and National Planning Commission obtained prior to the initial planning phase, in order to plan accordingly to a budget (MLRR, 1994).
<p>(d) Decentralized administration of resettlement scheme to allow for a level of flexibility to suit local socio-economic and biophysical conditions.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The scheme was centrally administered with all final decisions taken by the MLRR at the ministry offices in Windhoek. • A number of committees were established to determine the scheme: the Inter-Ministerial Committee, as a coordinating body to enhance communication and co-operation between its members, the Repatriation Committee; its sub-committee, the technical committee, which concentrates on technical aspects of the project and advises the Repatriation Committee on the consequences for other ministries. • The project was implemented with a minimum of inter-ministerial co-operation. As such other ministries were not involved at the outset of the project due to the requirement for immediate action, disagreement over certain conditions proposed by the MLRR and concerns that the project was “out of place, not in the national interest and that the government should rather attend to the thousands of jobless Namibians on the streets of our towns and cities” (MLRR, 1994:27). The Department of Water Affairs, for example, established that, given their water requirement of 45 litres per day, 220 cattle could be accommodated at each successful borehole, (successful boreholes could give an average yield of 10m³/day) not the 2000 cattle proposed by the MLRR. Although an Inter-Ministerial Steering Committee on the Repatriation was established at the outset of the programme in 1991, it seems that views from representatives of other ministries were not taken into consideration (ibid). It is expected, however, that MLRR will cede relevant portfolios to other ministries. The Department of Water Affairs (DWA) and the Department of Rural Water Supplies (DRWS) has been given the responsibility of borehole maintenance in the region from mid 1997 (Shikongo, pers. comm). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Gam resettlement scheme suffers due to the centralized implementation that has occurred and the lack of inter ministerial involvement. The results of which are a lack of flexibility in the programme to accommodate local socio-economic and biophysical environments to the detriment of the scheme.
<p>(e) Effective management is needed to effectively</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allegations of bad management and a lack of responsibility by MLRR officials in Gam have been voiced, such as the lack of attendance at meetings and failure to implement decisions taken (MLRR 1994).

<p>implement the resettlement policy.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management in the central office in Windhoek appears to have been ineffective. Senior staff appear to work in a rushed manner while junior staff find the time to read newspapers and idly chat. A notice placed in a communal area, warning staff not to spend office time at the local shop, supports this impression. While members of management are away visiting resettlement projects, a void of accountable staff to operate the Ministry appears to exist. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effective management by staff is important to implement a policy that is deemed important by the Namibian government and has the potential to positively affect many people in need. Sound management at resettlement schemes can reduce delays and therefore costs and cope with unforeseen difficulties that may arise.
<p>(f) All sectors involved in programme, especially locals</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A distinct lack of concern for local sector involvement and for impacts which the resettlement scheme might exert on the local Ju/'hoan community existed. The Ju/'hoansi lifestyle has been negatively impacted by the resettlement scheme. • Prior to the inception of the scheme, the Gam district was inhabited by approximately 80 Ju/'hoan and 100 Herero people (the latter who had illegally settled in the early 1980s). The presence of a permanent spring meant that Gam served as an important convergence point for Ju/'hoansi bands of the southern Nyae-Nyae people and was used by traders and pastoralists during the wetter years over the past century. • Local inhabitants and NGOs involved in the area were not involved in planning the scheme, nor were their livelihoods considered by the planning authorities. In the initial stage of seeking the appropriate site for resettlement, the reported meeting at Gam to disseminate information of the scheme, was attended by 35 people. Included in this number were the Headmen Mr. Tjiho, Gam's local commissioner Mr. A Kavei, Herero Chief Rituako's Repatriation Committee of the future repatriates, and Chief Munjuku II "and his entourage" (MLRR, 1991.7). No mention is made of Ju/'hoansi attendance. The mentioned people and the accompanying attendees "whole -heartedly" welcomed the repatriation of the Botswana Herero and Mbanderu (ibid). Mention is made of the resistance of the San to the resettlement programme, by the statement "...San are not eager for outside people to settle there. They fear mostly domination and ecological denudation that may result in wild animals running away for ever" (MLRR, 1991.15) Recommendations are made that the hostility of the San should be taken into consideration. • Few Ju/'hoan were contracted to build infrastructure of the scheme, such as the quarantine camp fence. Herero and Mbanderu returnees did not participate in the planning and implementation of any part of the project, much against their wishes (Mungendje, pers. Comm.). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unless local; people are involved in all decisions that affect their livelihood, negative impacts are likely to occur which could

	potentially threaten the resettlement programme.
(g) Transparent government operations are needed in order to reduce levels of corruption and inefficiencies.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During most interviews undertaken with national level personnel at the MLRR, there appeared to be a lack of transparency about the resettlement scheme and a resistance to supply information, yet at Gam resettlement scheme, the MLRR officials were satisfactorily transparent. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lack of transparency at central level was indicative of the lack of planning and poor management that occurred at Gam resettlement scheme
(h) Research commissioned on all affected issues by the implementing agency.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research, as mentioned below, was commissioned by the MLRR after the initial planning had occurred and therefore did not affect planning decisions. • In the effort to compensate for the lack of feasibility studies, use was made of existing secondary information. Available data included: previous repatriation proposals (from 1983), limited vegetation studies, geological based data, insufficient information about returnees and mapped material from the Office of the Surveyor's General. • The Inter-Ministerial Standing Committee on Land Use Planning commissioned an ecological study of the district from the Environmental Information Services and Environmental Evaluation Associates of Namibia (EEAN) in 1994. The MLRR commissioned socio-economic research on eastern Otjozondjupa, published as "Those who live on the Land" (Botelle and Rohde, 1995). As these studies were commissioned after resettlement had begun and many of the recommendations were ignored or failed in application as they were not developed in conjunction with the planning of the scheme nor the local communities. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Correct research was commissioned by competent researchers, yet after resettlement at Gam had occurred. Research should be commissioned prior to any development taking place and research findings should assist in all planning decisions.
(i) Monitoring procedures implemented prior to and at regular	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A monitoring programme was designed by the Environmental Information Services and EEAN but never implemented due to lack of political will on the part of the Government and a lack of staff capacity (Seely and Shikongo, pers. comm). • The monitoring programme was developed to provide a simple methodology for collecting basic data. If implemented, the monitoring programme could enable long term trends in the eco-system and its response to resettlement to be measured

<p>intervals after settlement occurring for the long term.</p>	<p>quantitatively. It has been suggested that the local community should become involved in the monitoring process to heighten awareness of its importance and to ensure its implementation (MLRR, 1994). This has however not been achieved.</p> <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lack of implementing monitoring programmes has negative consequences, such as not knowing the extent of degradation occurring to the natural resources.
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6.6.3 Provision of Infrastructure and Services

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
<p>(a) Provision of permanent water points supplying safe water for human and livestock consumption.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 7 boreholes have been installed in the Gam area. The contract to site boreholes was awarded to a private consulting firm, Inter-Consult, in August 1994. As there was difficulty in locating water sources, a combination of high resolution aero magnetic survey with standard geological, geophysical and remote sensing data was used to locate potential sources beneath the Kalahari overburden (Inter-Consult, 1996). • Of the 200 targets identified, 82 boreholes were drilled, only 19 were considered successful and recommended for installation. To be considered successful, boreholes had to yield more than 1.0 m³/hr. This reflects a 23% success rate. • In general the water quality is found to be suitable for human and livestock consumption, although some boreholes did intersect unpotable groundwater (M Phil baseline report, 1997). • The supply in the Gam repatriation camp from 2 boreholes, diverted to 2 taps in an irregular supply, is inadequate (Rudert 1996). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The decision to create a resettlement scheme at Gam did not take into account that water could be very difficult and costly to supply. The few boreholes installed that do provide water have enabled resettlement to occur, although the duration of permanent water supplies are unclear.

<p>(b) Access roads passable by two wheel drive vehicles to enable access to other services.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gam is relatively isolated. The primary access road towards Tsumkwe (120 km) was recently upgraded, but to unsatisfactory standards, as in certain areas during the wet season, it is impassable even to a 4x4 wheel vehicle. • Other gravel roads to have been graded include the following roads: Otjinene to Gam via Eiseb River (250 km), Ndobe to the Ahs Hills along international border fence (graveled for 8 km), roads along quarantine fences and towards newly established water points (approximately 500 km without derooting) (MLRR, 1994). • The envisaged gravel road between Gam and Okamatapati (approx. 290 km) was delayed due to lack of funds. The Ministry of Works, Transport and Communication cannot finance the project nor provide the construction unit, but if funding is available, will arrange for the construction by tender (MLRR, 1994). (Refer to figure 6.2). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The road system is lacking and negatively affects the beneficiaries in the quality of services that receive, for example health care, and limits their accessibility to employment opportunities.
<p>(c) Resettlement land is made productive for the purposes envisaged.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Herero practice pastoralism but are generally unsuccessful at establishing food gardens. Officials, such as the agricultural extension officer (Kakujana, pers. comm) and health workers (Rudert, 1996) believe this is due to apathy. Women at the outlying settlements, however, indicated that lack of water and the presence of rats led to unsuccessful endeavors. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land is made productive for the purposes envisaged, although research indicated pastoralism is not suitable for the local biophysical environment.
<p>(d) Provision of agricultural and veterinary extension services for the upliftment of skills and to increase the potential for increased</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The agricultural extension officer, Mr. Kakujana, has his office in Tsumkwe and visits Gam and the settlements several times a week to advise on animal husbandry, pest control, technical services, marketing of cattle and growing crops. • The services of a veterinary officer was vital when cattle from Botswana entered Namibia, yet the services were constrained by lack of management by MLRR and lack of infrastructure, such as water points (MLRR, 1994). As the incoming livestock originated from a disease ridden area, a quarantine camp with five crush pens and kraals was established in the quarantine camp to test for brucellosis and tuberculosis and vaccinate against foot and mouth disease (FMD). Treatment was also given for internal and external parasites. Livestock were released from the quarantine camp once it was established they were clinically free of communicable disease (ibid). Veterinary services are presently located at the Ndobe border post and officers regularly attend to the Gam area.

agricultural produce.	<p>Conclusion</p> <p>There has been adequate provision of agricultural and extension services in the gam resettlement scheme.</p>
<p>(e) Provision of social services appropriate to the needs of the settlers.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although the MLRR envisaged 'community development' programmes, such as social awareness and leadership, adult literacy, handicrafts training and promotion of cultural activities, there is a lack of appropriate social services available to the settlers (Mungendje, pers. comm., MLRR, 1994). Those provided by the police and health clinic are not deemed appropriate (Mungendje, pers. comm.). Due to the stress of emigrating from one country to another and leaving family behind, the needs of the people for social services is high, yet undelivered. It was recommended that education on the use of water, and general health issues be implemented (Rudert, 1996). • There is a logistic problem in delivering services to the settlers as many are dispersed on the settlements and posts and relatively far (by foot) from Gam. Therefore providing social amenities in Gam and the environs, is costly as an outreach programme would have to be established. <p>Conclusion</p> <p>There are insufficient social services provided to the beneficiaries to Gam resettlement scheme.</p>
<p>(f) Provision of a health service in the form of a permanent or mobile clinic to assist with sicknesses and health education.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health services in the district comprise the clinic in Gam (staffed by a registered nurse and a nursing assistant); a health care center with fifteen beds in Mangetti Dune, 230 km away; and a district hospital in Grootfontein, 420 km from Gam. People who cannot be treated in Grootfontein are referred to the State hospital in Windhoek. • Work at the clinic in the resettlement camp is currently constrained by the lack of an adequate clinic building (it is a prefabricated structure, not designed or equipped as a clinic) and facilities (no lights, refrigerator or water), and transport problems. The site is often inaccessible to vehicles including an ambulance. Added to this, the workload is high and nursing assistants rotate on a monthly roster (Rudert, 1996). • The clinic provides basic curative and preventative services and no outreach service is provided at cattle posts. Many inhabitants thus have limited access to the clinic. MLRR has submitted plans to the Ministry of Works for a new clinic in Gam which it would pay for. (refer to 6.10). MLRR wishes to hand over full responsibility for the health service in Gam to the Ministry of Health and Social Services (MOHSS). <p>Conclusion</p> <p>Health services at gam resettlement scheme are limited and effort should be made to increase the service.</p>

<p>(g) Provision of building materials and/or temporary shelter units that addresses and optimizes local conditions.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tents were supplied by the United Nations (UNHRC) and MLRR for the initial provision of shelter within the 10 hectare repatriation camp (Botelle and Rohde, 1995). These were seen as a temporary measure for the settlers as they are expected to return the tents following their erection of permanent settlement (Rudert, 1996), but none have been (Shilongo, pers. comm.). Repatriates still living in the repatriation camp have reported their broken tents and indicated that they require replacements. • MLRR has provided mattresses, blankets, basic kitchen equipment, paraffin lamps, aluminum buckets and wash basins (Rudert, 1996). • Settlers are expected to provide their own form of shelter. However, sand suitable for mortar and concrete is not available locally as aggregate for concrete. This has to be purchased from Grootfontein at high transportation cost. For construction purposes of footings for prefabricated buildings, a local fine grain sand has been used. This consumes large quantities of cement and results in inferior quality construction. • As with most activities in the region, the establishment of adequate infrastructure is severely hampered by the transport of materials over long distances and inadequate roads. • Stone and mud rondavel shelters roofed with thatch (refer to figure 6.10). However sandy soil in the area creates a bad consistency for plastering, resulting in cracking within a short space of time. No advice on this situation has been delivered to the builders of shelters. Certain shelters are constructed of sheet metal which settlers purchased in Grootfontein and wood cut from trees in the area. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporary shelters in the form of tents are supplied by the MLRR, yet no assistance is given to securing materials from neighbouring towns. Beneficiaries lack advice in order to maximize local building materials and climatic conditions for their structures. It is recommended that settlers do not destroy valuable trees such as Kiatt (<i>Pterocarpus angolensis</i>) and Camelthorn (<i>Acacia giraffe</i>) (MLRR, 1994).
<p>(h) Provision of formal education for children of beneficiaries and appropriate education</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The objective of the Ministry of Education and Culture is to bring schooling nearer to the people. The government has put a high priority on education, yet schools in rural areas lack resources, teacher qualifications are poor, and absenteeism affects the performance of both teachers and pupils (NEPRU, 1996). • Currently, a school accommodates 900 pupils in 10 classrooms (Mungendje, pers. comm.). Grades 1 to 7 are taught by 22 teachers. Representatives of the Herero Rehabilitation and Resettlement Committee (HRRC) attributed difficulties experienced in obtaining qualified teachers to the lack of facilities in Gam and its isolation from other towns. The school

<p>for adults to maximize their opportunities in achieving a self sufficient lifestyle.</p>	<p>operates on a double shift system (morning and afternoon) as the classrooms can accommodate only about 450 children at any one time (ibid). As the school is far from the posts, children stay in the repatriation camp during the week and return 'home' at weekends or forego school.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grades 8-10 learners go to Tmumkwe or Grootfontein for schooling and stay as term and/or weekly borders. • No educational services were provided by implementing agencies to address the needs of the adults <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is an urgent need for additional education facilities at Gam and/or at the larger cattle posts for children and adults.
<p>(i) Provision of food aid to assist beneficiaries until a self sufficient livelihood has been established.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food assistance based on internationally accepted standards and of socially accepted types is provided. Each adult repatriate in the repatriation camp receives the following rations from MLRR each month: 10kg.maize meal, 750 ml cooking oil, 1kg. sugar, 1kg. soya soup powder, salt and 1 bar of soap. Children receive 4 kg maize meal, sweets and the same number of items as the adults each month (Rudert, 1996). Dissatisfaction about previous rations (milk powder and dried soya meal) was expressed, resulting in food supplies been amended to the above list. • A maximum period of 5 years is envisaged for governmental food aid. • Among the children, a significant problem of undernourishment and of micro-nutrient deficiencies has been reported. The problem arises from a lack of vegetables and fruit in the diet (ibid). • Food rations are supplied on a government tender by 'Karstland Vars' established in Grootfontein (Hochobeb, pers. comm.). Where practical the MLRR envisages the provision of food rations on a 'food for work' basis (MLRR, 1994), although this was not mentioned by settlers interviewed. • Of great concern is the significant number of unmarried women and elderly people, who have come without livestock or any other means of supplying their individual needs. Unless provision is made to engage these people in income-generating activities appropriate to their lifestyle, they will continue to be dependent on the government (MLRR, 1994). <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and assistance should be given to encourage the inclusion of vegetables and fruit in the diet of all people, especially young children. Provisions should be made for women without resources to establish income generating activities. It is recommended the provision of food rations are evaluated on an on going basis and curtailed as soon as people can supply for their own needs as they did in Botswana.

<p>(j) Provision of adequate sanitation and waste facilities to prevent the spread of diseases and environmental degradation.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sanitation facilities originally provided in the repatriation camp are presently non functional (4 pit latrines and showers in a prefabricated building). • Some 3000 repatriates have been using the bushes surrounding the camp for the past 4 years, which has serious health implications (Rudert, 1996). • People in the camp either dispose of their rubbish beside their homes or take it into the surrounding bush to burn or bury it. There is one collection point at which the rubbish is burnt, although not successfully (Rudert, 1996). • No sanitation or waste facilities are provided at the settlements established around the boreholes. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sanitation and waste facilities are extremely lacking in Gam resettlement scheme. The technology of the infrastructure and services implemented did not consider the cultural norms of the users or the use of appropriate technology. No participative planning was conducted in the choice of technology.
<p>(k) Provision of credit facilities with advice on payback period, management of cash and marketing.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No advice available to beneficiaries on credit provision and cash management. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although certain beneficiaries do not need credit facilities due to the cash payment made by the Botswana government for the cattle exterminated due to FMD, advice to the management of cash resources is needed, as many beneficiaries have large amounts of cash resources.

6.6.4 Gender Equity

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
(a) Non sexist policy promoted and implemented by Government.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, by provisions made in the Constitution.
(b) Emphasis to sensitize males to the role and equity rights of women.	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Herero and Mbanderu society is male dominated, and women appear to accept their subordinate role in their society. Younger, more educated women, however, seemed more able to voice their opinions and determine events, such as divorce. Refer to appendix I (PRA findings)(M Phil Baseline Report, 1997) <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There appears to be no effort to sensitize the Herero men to the equity rights and needs of Herero women.

6.6.5 Local Level Representation

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
(a) Local representative body elected by the majority of settlers to represent the needs of the beneficiaries and	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The local level representative body, the Herero Repatriation and Resettlement committee (HRRRC), established in 1989 in Botswana, was formed by the future repatriates most willing to return and therefore not elected by the majority of settlers. This committee is supposed to oversee the welfare of beneficiaries and bring their concerns to the MLRR. According to the MLRR, it consists of five men and five women, chosen by the community, yet there were many conflicting stories of their numbers, composition and function (Rudert, 1996). The HRRRC includes sub-committees on cattle, food, water points, the camp and the school. The cattle committee is organized by the agricultural extension officer and is considered the most important. The HRRRC meets with the MLRR representatives whenever a meeting is called, often 3 times a month.

<p>organize operations of the resettlement scheme once the initial phase is completed.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many people interviewed believe the committees are self selected and they do not know who their leaders are (ibid). The Ju/'hoansi residents of Gam are not included in any committee, nor consulted for their opinions. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The representative body was not democratically elected and therefore lack representing the needs of all beneficiaries. All local inhabitants should partake in a democratic election of the representative body, with provisions made to ensure women and Ju/'hoansi representatives are elected on all committees that affect them.
<p>(b) Encouragement of settlers to partake in all matters affecting the scheme.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community participation seems very difficult to engender in Gam (Rudert, 1996) <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All beneficiaries of the resettlement scheme should be encouraged to partake in matters that affect their livelihood.
<p>(c) Representation by the elected body at local political level in order to integrate the resettlement scheme into the region.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representatives of the HRRC make representations on their needs to the MLRR's office in Gam and the central office in Windhoek (Mungendje, pers. comm.). They are not involved in the politics of the region. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <p>Effort should be made by the MLRR and the HRRC to partake in all matters affecting their region.</p>
<p>(d) Conflict body established to resolve difficulties that might arise amongst settlers and/or existing inhabitants of the area.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflicts are jointly resolved by the HRRC Committee and Staff of the MLRR in Gam. As noted by a member of the HRRC on this issue "together we join hands"(ibid). <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A formal conflict resolution body that is respected by all should be established and all operations should be conducted in a transparent manner to ensure fairness and accountability.

6.6.6 Size and use of Allocated Land Holdings

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
<p>(a) Allocated land holdings suited to local biophysical and socio-economic conditions to accommodate natural resources available and livelihood practices of all inhabitants.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The pattern of land allocated to the Herero settlers is dictated by the availability of water points. They do therefore suite local conditions. • Successful water points are established on an approximate 10 km grid (Simmons, pers. comm.) which accommodates farms between 5,000 to 10,000 ha (MLRR, 1994) <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land allocation is suited to the supply permanent water points (boreholes) and therefore determined by biophysical conditions. This has good implications as livelihoods are dependent on the natural resources. The Herero have created settlements that accommodate their large families and spatial requirements. The lack, therefore of the provision of formal settlement structures by the MLRR has been fortunate, as the Herero were able to create their traditional configuration of <i>ozonganda</i>.
<p>(b) Land allocated according to amount of family labour, farmer's managerial skills, machinery and capital stock available to beneficiaries.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land is allocated for the practice of pastoralism. The amount of family labour and the herd size are primary determinants in formal land allocation. • Many women, without their menfolk, remain in the repatriation camp, unless friends and/or family members resettle at water points, in which case they join them. • In certain instances a 'cattle post' is established and managed by a few men. Cattle belong to the men's families and to other returnees residing in the repatriation camp. Once the herd enlarges, family members (women/children) may wish to create a settlement near a permanent water source in the district. • The other mode of settlement is without the prior establishment of a cattle post. Families and their livestock, who previously all resided in the repatriation camp, move together to a permanent water source (borehole). The area is planned to eventually accommodate 120 farms, with water points each sustaining some 330 livestock units (LSU) and 20 people (4 families). The low success rate of determining permanent water supplies has resulted in more people and LSU being concentrated around 7 established boreholes.

	<p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land allocated by the MLRR appears to be sound and in participation with the future users. It is made on the basis of the beneficiaries cattle ownership, family size and amount of water supply from specific boreholes.
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6.6.7 Land Rights to Allocated Land

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
<p>(a) Implemented land tenure policy clearly applied to all affected people in order to reduce incorrect land usage occurring.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The land is presently under communal land tenure. Occupants have the use of the land but not ownership. Until new legislation on communal lands is promulgated, the land rights of settlers are understood by all users. The issue of land tenure rights of the Ju/'hoansi inhabitants has been completely ignored of the project. This issue is considered contentious and represents a clash of principles between the anti development (pro conservancy) pressure groups and those involved in the project (MLRR, 1994). There seems clarity among the beneficiaries and government officials about which lands to settle and the extent of grazing pastures. The MLRR staff have the final say in determining which areas around the successfully established borehole are resettled (Shikongo, pers. comm.). Water points (boreholes) and the surrounding land are allocated to distinct groups of households <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The land rights concerning the beneficiaries are clearly implemented by the MLRR. Although the communal land tenure system under which the Herero and Ju/'hoansi of the Gam district have been living, a lack of Ju/'hoansi land rights were not respected by all Herero beneficiaries. The Ju/'hoansi are pressured to adapt their lifestyle in order to accommodate the Herero pastoralist livelihood (Botelle and Rohde, 1995).
<p>(c) Land rights unequivocally spelt out</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land rights are clearly spelt out to all inhabitants although they are not adhered to. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> After many delays in the initial stages of resettlement, the process of land allocation by the MLRR appears to be effectively implemented.

<p>(c) Flexible land tenure system incorporated in planning proposals in order to anticipate unforeseen changes to the present circumstances.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amendments to land allocation are anticipated by the MLRR and certain beneficiaries settled in close proximity to water points as the permanent supply of such is not a certainty. Settlers state they would move to another water source if their present source became insufficient for their needs (Kahaka, pers. comm). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The scarcity of permanent water supplies ensures a flexible approach is considered in the allocation of land.
<p>(d) Land inheritable amongst family members.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land is inheritable amongst family members. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Herero tradition in the inheritance of resources has not been affected by the resettlement programme. Unless the land tenure system is not dramatically altered, the land should be inheritable amongst family members.
<p>(e) Provisions made for the rent, sale, transfer or subdivision of land among beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land allocated for the resettlement scheme is primarily available to returnees with a few Ju/'hoansi bands and Herero from Hereroland are considered. • Land is held under communal tenure, and as described in article 100 of the Namibian Constitution, "...Land, water and natural resources below and above the surface of the land.....shall belong to the state" (Harnett, 1993.6) There is no freehold land within communal areas, therefore inhabitants have the opportunity to use the land and its resources, but not to own it (ibid). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As communal land is not sold or rented in Namibia and grazing areas are not demarcated, the stated objective does not apply. Yet, resettlement land is allocated to the Herero from Namibia and creates negative impacts on existing Ju/'hoansi livelihoods. Protection of the Ju/'hoansi land and livelihood is currently underway in the establishment of a conservancy (Viall, pers. comm.), yet does not include the resettlement scheme the Gam district.

6.6.8 Land Acquisition

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
<p>(a) All affected parties identified and consulted in a public participation process.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No consultation occurred with the local population of Ju/'hoan, nor with NGOs working in the region and representing Ju/'hoan interests. These included the Nyae-Nyae Foundation and the Nyae-Nyae Farmers Cooperative (Viall, pers. comm).(Refer to 6.6.2 {f}). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The lack of consultation with all affected people has resulted in the negative impact of existing inhabitants which reflects on the degree of success of the resettlement scheme.
<p>(b) Credible land resource plans developed by implementing agency to enhance the selection of appropriate lands.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recommendations for resource use were presented in the ecological study undertaken by the Environmental information Services and EEAN. These studies were undertaken after the decision had been made to resettle in Gam and have been ignored. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unless recommendations from research are incorporated into planning and implementation procedures for resettlement schemes, the objective in producing credible resource plans become unrealized.
<p>(c) Procedures incorporated in policy for land owners to part with underutilized land (such as a land tax).</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There was no need for incentives as the land identified for resettlement was state land under the communal system of tenure. <p>Conclusions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> State owned land enables less procedures and costs for possible usage for resettlement.

6.5 9 Suitability of Land for Resettlement Scheme

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
(a) Land use resource plans developed by experts in consultation with local inhabitants.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The ecological study prepared by the Environmental Information Services and Environmental Evaluation Associates of Namibia (EEAN) in 1994 did not consult with the local communities. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of consultation with local inhabitants increases the possibility that the land is unsuitable for resettlement purposes, due to existing socio-economic and local political conditions.
(b) Land considered suitable for resettlement purposes.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unused available land is considered unsuitable for sustainable pastoral farming due to the scarcity of water resources. As recently as October 1992, during the development of the Roads master plan for the area, the repatriation of people was not considered possible, and wild game was considered to be the major land use option in the area (HKW Engineering, 1992 in M Phil baseline report, 1997). Surface water is entirely absent during dry years and present only for a few months during years with above average rainfall (Environmental Information Services and EEAN 1994). Boreholes tapping water at depths of hundred metres are the only possibility for supplying water for the resettlement programme. Despite estimates on grazing potential, water is the ultimate limiting factor in the area. Boreholes allow long term grazing in the area. Once reliance is placed upon grazing in one particular area in the Kalahari, rangeland degradation becomes a reality even at recommended stocking rates. The resultant degradation leads to the eradication of the most palatable grass species and ultimately to bush encroachment (ibid). Unless flexible, adaptive management (reducing and increasing the animals present on the range as conditions vary) is used in the area, even though it is almost an impossibility under the current land tenure and range management systems, degradation can be expected in an environment such as this, that is not at equilibrium (Westoby <i>et al</i>, 1989 in M Phil baseline report, 1997). Livestock keeping practices are seen by certain experts (such as from the Ministry of Environment and Tourism [MET]) as incompatible with the semi-arid environmental characteristics of the Gam region (MLRR 1994). In areas where high population density of human and livestock populations are established (areas along the south-western border of Otjozondjupa Region and the omiramba of former east Hereroland), profound negative effects have been witnessed (Environmental Information Services and EEAN, 1994). There is extensive evidence of reduction in the quality and quantity of grazing and

	<p>bush encroachment. It is apparent that current land tenure systems and associated livestock practices are not compatible with semi-arid environment of the region and are consequently not sustainable (Marsh and Seely 1992 in M Phil baseline report, 1997).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The possible negative impact by the resettlement scheme on the relatively advanced conservancy plans in Bushmanland were not accounted for in the planning phase and presently. Despite all the concerns, Gam district was chosen as the most viable area for resettlement because of its vastness, proximity to Botswana and the fact that it was sparsely inhabited by people (MLRR, 1994). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The land is unsuitable for the resettlement scheme due to numerous reasons, namely the livelihood practices of existing inhabitants, (hunting-gathering of the Ju/'hoansi) which are not compatible with pastoralism practiced by the beneficiaries; the lack of permanent water supplies and grazing land to support a pastoralist economy of the beneficiaries; and a negative impact on the conservancy plans in Bushmanland.
<p>(c) Land Alternatives for resettling Herero and Mbanderu beneficiaries considered</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Twelve alternative areas were considered by the Inter-Ministerial Investigation team (consisting of 4 MLRR staff, representatives from the Ministries of Home Affairs, Education and Culture, Foreign Affairs and Health and Social Services, and regional Commissioner of the Eastern Region; notably absent were a representatives from the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development, Departments of Veterinary Services and Water Affairs who reportedly did not 'turn up' [MLRR, 1991]). Representatives of the Herero Resettlement and Repatriation Committee said they viewed alternative sites (Maharero, pers. comm.). During the alternative site investigations, inhabitants were urged to co-operate and to release information on the area. In this regard information on demographics, climate and infrastructure was noted. The Inter-Ministerial team noted the choice of the resettlement solely lied with the future returnees. Cost was not addressed by the investigating team, partly because neither the number of future returnees or stock was available. Cost estimates were achieved from previous studies. Certain areas were found to be suitable for resettlement: Hereroland East (Gam, Eiseb- block and Rietfontein, were considered the primary choices although the water sources were inadequately developed (ibid). Subsequent to this investigation and the realization that the development of permanent water sources was a long and expensive procedure, the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development identified additional resettlement areas, where the development of water supply is less difficult or where water is already available, such as on existing farms, was not

	<p>heeded (MLRR, 1994).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the socio-economic study by Botelle and Rohde (1995), returnees stated in answer to the question: Where do you want to live in Namibia?, 25% Gam; 12% Tsumkwe; 14% Hereroland West; 9% Okahanja; 2% Otiwarongo; 2% Omaruru; 36% don't know. Just over half of the respondents wanted to settle near to the Gam area (Gam, Tsumkwe and Hereroland West). Other areas preferred include traditional OtjiHerero-speaking towns. The large group of indecision was largely due to the absence of male decision makers in the camp (ibid). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alternative land was not properly assessed by the implementing agency in terms of costs and impacts on socio-economic and biophysical environments, due to lack of inter ministerial involvement and experience within the MLRR.
<p>(d) Monitoring plans developed.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A monitoring plan was developed by the Environmental Information Services and EEAN in addition to training staff to implement the plan. As noted in 6.6.2 (i) the implementation of the plan has not been achieved. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> An appropriate monitoring plan was developed capitalizing on the resources of the local people and users.

6.5.10 Selection of Beneficiaries

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
<p>(a) Selection criteria open to public debate.</p>	<p>Finding</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Settlers were not chosen, as all returnees voluntarily returned to Namibia. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There was a lack of public debate concerning the issue of resettling citizens from a neighbouring country, resulting in differing opinions on the topic.
<p>(b) Transparent</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unknown

<p>resettlement beneficiaries available to public.</p>	
<p>(c) Involvement of NGOs, and other related groups in selection of beneficiaries.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not applicable.
<p>(d) Beneficiaries to state their choice of area, production mode, skills, resources, family labour force.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Repatriates did state their resources prior to arrival in Gam. The traditional livelihood mode of the Herero and Mbanderu (pastoralism) was planned for and accommodated within the MLRR organization (quarantine camp, borehole provision and extension services). • This dominant livelihood source dominates wishes of the women, who are interested in reviving their craft skills previously practiced in Botswana. No plans have been made to accommodate their skills and potential cash earning potential. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The allowance of the beneficiaries to determine their mode of livelihood is positive. The beneficiaries livelihood preferences should have informed a better choice of resettlement lands.
<p>(e) Level of flexibility in selection process.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not applicable
<p>(f) Briefing of settlers concerning future scheme.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There seemed to be an absence in briefing the majority of settlers on the conditions in Gam, and although representatives of the Herero Repatriation and Resettlement Committee (HRRC) visited Gam in the process of planning, many women interviewed seemed discontented with the scheme. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The disillusionment of many beneficiaries due to unrealized expectations, negatively affects the outcome of the resettlement scheme.

6.5.11 Restrictions imposed on Settlers

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
<p>(a) No unnecessary restrictions on the kind of crops grown, land dealings, manner in which crops are sold, homes built, non farm employment, in order for the beneficiaries to determine their lifestyle.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Certain restrictions are present. Settlers are advised not to use Kiaat and Camelthorn trees for the construction of their homes. • Namibia is divided along the east-west access by a veterinary fence, also known as the 'red line which inhibits the movement of all animals. Livestock to the north of the fence is considered to carry more diseases than that south of the fence. Stock is therefore, of better quality and fetches higher prices in the southern area. The fence controls contamination of livestock in the commercial areas from the communal areas of northern Namibia, Angola and Botswana. If livestock north of the fence is sold to an owner south of the fence, a quarantine period is required. Livestock south of the fence may be sold freely to owners north of the fence. • A section of the veterinary fence has been relocated from south to north of Gam, on the 20° latitude, and enables Herero pastoralists to sell their cattle in southern areas where prices are higher. Until then, livestock must be sold in areas north of the veterinary fence or else be subjected to a quarantine period. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No unnecessary restrictions are implemented by the MLRR. There should however be greater emphasis on rangeland management principles to ensure the sustainable use of grazing lands.

6.5.12 Pace of Implementation

OBJECTIVES	GAM RESETTLEMENT SCHEME
<p>(a) The pace should not be determined by the numbers of people to settle, but the viability of the scheme and the productivity of the settlers.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Completion of the project was originally planned within a time period of three years, yet it is presently envisaged be completed within approximately 7 years (MLRR, 1994). • The pace of resettlement has been slow due to demanding logistics of planning between two countries and inexperience of the implementing agency. Indirect lines of communication between Namibian and Botswana officials created misunderstandings over the movement of people and livestock from Botswana to Namibia. The Namibian government wished the settlement to be slowed because of delays in establishing permanent water supplies. The MLRR believed in the establishment of effective management and infrastructures prior to the return of the repatriates. The Government of Botswana, however, wanted the pace of the project to be increased in order to cut costs on their part (ibid). Resettlement of the people thus occurred before infrastructure was sufficiently developed. <p><i>Conclusions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The programme serves as an example to delays caused by provision implementation by ineffective management within the implementing agency and unforeseen obstacles presented by the unsuitable choice of lands for resettlement purposes.

6.7 SUMMARY

The Gam resettlement scheme is complex as it involved the translocation of people and livestock from one country to another with difficult logistics between the Namibian and Botswana governments.

An assessment of the resettlement scheme at Gam can be addressed at the following two levels:

- Policy level which addresses policy formation and programme implementation at the national scale;
- Project level where infrastructure and service inputs, settlement of beneficiaries and management of the scheme are addressed and decisions implemented.

Policy Level

The scheme was planned and implemented prior to the formulation of a national resettlement policy (MLRR, 1996). Therefore, many aims of the policy were unfulfilled by the scheme, such as addressing targeted people. The beneficiaries of the Gam scheme were not landless but successful pastoralists living in Botswana.. The failure of the Gam resettlement programme has occurred due to inept planning at national level. The major failures of the policy level are mentioned below:

- Uninformed decisions due to the absence of research undertaken prior to establishing a resettlement scheme in Gam. Words of caution and advice from other ministries did not influence the MLRR's decision. After research had been competently achieved after resettlement had occurred, there was a reluctance to consider and implement the recommendations and mitigating measures.
- The MLRR's lacked support for the programme from the allied ministries within the Namibian government (MLRR, 1994). This was due to due to differing ideals, lack of budget and inadequate staff capacity. The scheme therefore suffered from insufficient staff capacity within the coordinating ministry which became the major implementing agency.

- A lack of strategic planning for the area resulted in negative impacts to the wider environment, especially the Ju/'hoansi and wildlife. The Ju/'hoansi bands are being removed from their *n/loresi* at a continual rate (Botelle and Rohde, 1995), while wildlife stock is being reduced by poachers and hunters (Stander, pers, comm.).
- The resettlement scheme was implemented in an area which was considered inappropriate for resettlement purposes due to numerous reasons, namely:
 - the limitations of the environment, such as water supplies, grazing and the presence of poisonous plants;
 - the pastoralist livelihood practices of the Herero to which the natural resources are not suited;
 - the occurrence of existing plans by representatives of the San for a conservancy in the region.

Project level

Planning of the Gam scheme lacked the necessary and correct processes. Decisions were taken without proper consultation with experts which resulted in increased costs and time delays. Ineffective decisions that occurred due to the lack of a policy negatively affect the project level, such as an absence or shortage of infrastructure and services. Further incorrect planning decisions at project level are mentioned below:

- The major failure at the project level is the lack of participative planning between the beneficiaries and the implementing agency. Decisions are taken by the MLRR, in a top down manner from the central office in Windhoek. Resulting from this centralized approach is the lack of a fully representative body within the settlers and the inappropriate provision of services and infrastructure for the users. Certain settler needs are provided, such as permanent water supplies and large rangelands, yet, requirements in the social and health sector have not been adequately addressed. At present this lack of basic services is apparent and a cause for concern (Rudert, 1996).

- For the duration of the programme, a lack of consideration of the existing inhabitants of the area, the Ju/'hoansi, has been conspicuous. Their options and lifestyle appear to be negatively impacted by the resettlement scheme, yet no sincere attention is given to their current and future existence. This finding is based on the reduction of wildlife to the area (Stander, pers. comm.), the increased availability of alcohol in the region and the discriminatory manner in which they are treated by the Herero.

Conclusion

The scheme is a demonstration of ineffective planning and the negative impact of a resettlement scheme on the existing area. Yet the Herero and Mbanderu have been given the opportunity to return to Namibia, become Namibian citizens and practice their chosen livelihood. For this opportunity provided to the beneficiaries the MLRR should be commended. The Herero men interviewed were optimistic about their situation, and were determined to make the most of the resettlement scheme. They appeared motivated to make the Gam district a permanent home. The majority of women however, felt burdened by the physical effort and hardships in establishing new homes and consequently they had a less favourable outlook of their current situation. They fondly recounted their previous lives in Botswana where they were actively involved in local events and craft business. A feeling of isolation and lack of stimulation pervaded their lives in Gam.

The numerous hardships which settlers have endured in the Gam resettlement process has not deterred their objective of becoming Namibian citizens and practicing pastoralism. One feels that this determined group of people will succeed yet, it may be at the cost to the social and biophysical environments. The traditional inhabitants of the area, the San and the wildlife are already casualties from the scheme. The recommendation made by Botelle and Rohde (1995) that the Gam district should become part of the Omaheke region and separate from Bushmanland would seem to lessen the negative impact of the resettlement scheme on the area.

Chapter Seven

SOUTH AFRICAN
RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME



Mufengejo, John: *A Rich Man*, 1985

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOUTH AFRICAN

RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 7 examines resettlement processes and procedures in South Africa. A case study, Elandskloof, has been selected to illustrate implementation of the process and to serve as a basis for evaluation, based on the criteria developed in Chapter 5. The first section of the chapter outlines the South African resettlement process. Thereafter, the Elandskloof resettlement scheme is outlined and evaluated. The case study illustrates diverse programmes and processes within resettlement schemes.

7.2 RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME IN

SOUTH AFRICA

The issues covered in this section are the political and legal framework of the resettlement programme, state financial aid to assist resettlement and the selection of beneficiaries and projects.

7.2.1 Political and Legal Framework

The government of National Unity of South Africa, elected in the first democratic elections in 1994, has instituted a land reform policy that aims to redress the past injustices of the apartheid era.

The land reform programme consists of the following principal components:

- Land restitution which is aimed at restoring land rights and provide other restitutionary remedies to people dispossessed of land after June 19, 1913 and subject to other discriminatory laws and practices.
- Land redistribution which aims to make it possible for poor and disadvantaged people to buy land with the assistance of a Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant.
- Land tenure reform which aim to bring all people occupying land under a unitary, legally validated system of land holding.

The Land policy is formulated in a White Paper on South African Land Policy, published in January 1997, and sets out the vision and implementation strategy for the programme. In terms of the policy objectives are to be just, build reconciliation and stability within the society, contribute to economic growth and bolster household welfare with particular focus on addressing marginalised groups of people in need of land and to create equitable gender opportunities (Department of Land Affairs (DLA), 1997). The policy aims to be flexible within the framework of national norms and standards and takes into consideration the needs of beneficiaries. In an envisaged public participation programme, decisions are to be democratically taken at local levels. Projects are considered important if deemed to be economically viable and environmentally sustainable and implemented by appropriate mechanisms and structures.

In terms of the policy the land reform programme aims to establish the following conditions:

- An integrated approach to the delivery of land and support services in the institutional, financial and legal sectors. This requires the development of close working relations at all levels of and between government departments.
- Partnership agreements with the private sector, NGOs and community based organizations.
- Monitoring and evaluation systems that can track the progress of land reform.

The policy, administrative practice and laws of land development are aimed at encouraging principles upon which all future developments will be considered with reference to. These principles are formulated and published in the Development Facilitation Act, No. 67 of 1995. They are directed at:

- Encouraging integrated land use planning in which all sectors of the economy can contribute;
- Promoting sustainable developments with land uses being judged on their merits;
- Avoiding unnecessary exclusions of beneficiaries;
- Enhancing skills and capacity building of beneficiaries through assistance and training by the Department of Agriculture in co-operation with participating private sector institutions;
- Facilitating public participation to satisfy people's needs and facilitate actions to promote rapid developments on rural and urban lands in formal and informal, and old and new settlements;
- Discouraging the illegal occupation of land;
- Providing security of tenure and considering a range of tenure systems;
- Encouraging a land market based on open competition between suppliers and consumers of goods and services;
- Encouraging the diversification of projects that ensures that all regions, beneficiaries and land uses are considered.

These ideals can only be enabled within the framework of a national policy and a competent authority at national, provincial and local government levels that is committed to co-ordinating the interests of the various sectors involved.

The Development Facilitation Act, No. 67 of 1995, operates in parallel with existing land development and planning legislation. Its key implementation mechanism is the establishment of provincial development tribunals which are responsible for a number of tasks, such as government approval of land developments under the Act, faster decision making on relevant projects, conflict resolution between stakeholders and enabling greater community involvement. In terms of the Act, the National Development and Planning Commission are established to achieve two objectives: to continue investigation of new legislation and policy frameworks for land development and planning in South Africa and to advise national and provincial governments on future policies and laws dealing with land development procedures (DLA, 1997).

In terms of the policy and land reform programme, people may be resettled in one of two manners. Firstly, those who were dispossessed of their land may claim it back or be awarded an alternative piece of land through the restitution procedure. Secondly, land may be purchased by a group of individuals using a state financial grant of R 15,000 per household.

The government's restitution policy is based on provisions in the South African Constitution, Act 108 of 1996 and the Restitution of Land Rights Act, No. 22 of 1994. The Act provides for restitution to individuals and communities dispossessed of their land rights providing that dispossession took place after 19 June 1913 or land was expropriated under the Expropriation Act, No. 63 of 1975, or any other law referring to this Act. The Restitution of Land Rights Act also provides for the establishment of a Commission on Restitution of Land Rights and a Land Claims Court. The Commission is to investigate claims, provide an inventory of the land in question, negotiate the role of the disputes and facilitate Land Claims Court orders. In order to qualify for restitution claims must be lodged with the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights before 30 April 1998. The specialized Land Claims Court awards land claims and deals with potential disputes not resolved by the Commission (DLA, 1997).

If a restitution claim is successful, one of the following actions can be taken:

- Restoration of the land from which claimants were dispossessed;
- Provision of alternative land;
- Payment of compensation;
- Alternative relief comprising of a combination of the above;
- Priority access to government housing and land development programmes.

7.2.2 State Financial Aid

The government is committed to the programme of land reform on a 'willing seller-willing buyer' basis. Rather than becoming directly involved in land purchases, the government provides financial grants, subsidies and services to assist the needy with the procurement of land and the improvement of infrastructure. The three types of grants and a subsidy, outlined below, are provided by the government to each applicable in varying respects to the three principle programmes, namely restitution, redistribution and land tenure:

- A settlement or land acquisition grant. This provides eligible households with a maximum of R15,000 for the purchase of land directly from willing sellers (including the State), enhancement of tenure rights, investment in internal structure including infrastructure and home improvements according to beneficiary plans.
- A settlement planning grant. This provides a sum of 9% of the settlement/land acquisition grants to planners and other experts to assist beneficiaries in preparing project proposals and settlement plans.
- A district planning grant. This grant to District/Regional Councils enables planning of the district/region to provide an integrated framework within which resources for land reform and settlement can be allocated (ibid).

- A once off subsidy to eligible households, to a maximum R 15,000, enables individual farmers to acquire farmland.

7.2.3 Selection of Beneficiaries and Projects

The Settlement/Land Acquisition grant prioritizes the following groups of people:

- Beneficiaries of the restitution process;
- People involved in dispossession cases which fall outside the ambit of the restitution of Land Rights Act, No. 22 of 1994;
- People who are marginalised through lack of access to resources;
- Women;
- Farm workers and their families who wish to improve their settlement and tenure conditions;
- Labour tenants who wish to acquire land;
- People wishing to acquire land for agricultural production purposes.

Box 7.1: LEGISLATION RELEVANT TO SOUTH AFRICAN LAND POLICY

Source: Jensen, 1996

The Provision of Certain Land for Settlement Act (Act No. 126 of 1993) which provides for the designation of land for settlement purposes and financial assistance for settlement support.

The Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act (Act No. 12 of 1993) to be amended, which provides for the upgrading of various forms of tenure into ownership. The Act provides for assistance in identifying the rightful owner, mediating disputes, and surveying and transferring land.

The Restitution of Land Rights Act (Act No. 22 of 1994) provides for the restitution of rights in land to those dispossessed of land in terms of racially based policies of the past.

The Land Administration Act (Act No. 2 of 1995) makes provision for the assignment and delegation of powers to the appropriate authorities.

The Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Bill, No. G 16451 of 1994/5 provides for the purchase of land by labour tenants and provides subsidies to this end.

The Development Facilitation Act (Act 67 of 1995) promotes efficient and integrated land development by outlining general principles relating to land development.

The Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Bill, No. 101 of 1995 is a mechanism to protect people with insecure tenure from losing their rights to and interest in land, pending long term reform measures.

The Communal Property Associations Bill, No 103 of 1995 enables groups of individuals to acquire, hold and manage property under a written constitution.

The Land Restitution and Reform Law Amendment Bill, No. 38 of 1996, provides for extended powers of the Land Claims Court, the President and the Judges of the Land Claim Court.

7.3 ELANDSKLOOF RESETTLEMENT SCHEME

Elandskloof in the Western Cape provides a case study to assess the implementation of a restitution process. Planning for the resettlement of the people who were awarded their full land rights is currently underway. An outline of the resettlement scheme is provided below, including a brief history of the beneficiaries.

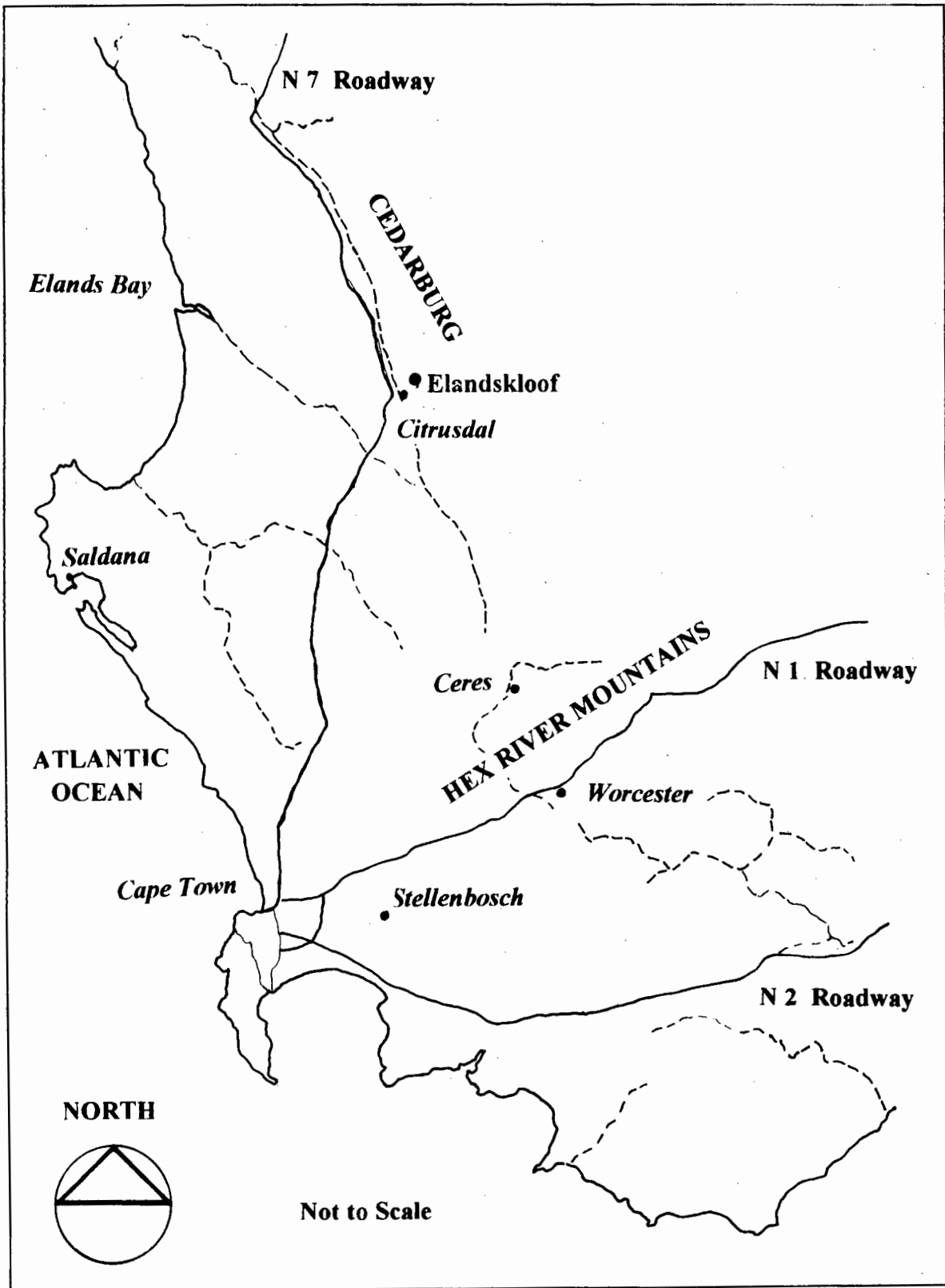
7.3.1 History of Elandskloof Resettlement Scheme

In the middle of the last century, a coloured community, all descendants of free slaves, inhabited land which forms part of the property currently known as the Farm Elandskloof No. 476, Division Clainwilliam. The farms covers an area of 7 179,237 hectares. On 12 June 1862, the land was sold to the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa by the State. The new owners established a mission station on the farm for the benefit of the coloured inhabitants and inhabitants of the local area. Twenty eight years later, on 23 February 1900, the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope transferred an adjoining piece of land, known as the Farm No 475, division Clainwilliam, covering an area of 24 208,378 hectares, to the Dutch Reformed Church. The transfer was subject to a title condition that stipulated that the land could only be used for mission purposes.

The community staying on the farm were mostly self sufficient farmers while a few people supplemented their farming with wage labour (Surplus Peoples Project (SPP), 1991). The mission station became less and less active as time went by and began to experience a shortage of funds. At the beginning of 1960, the Church decided to sell the farms. In order to sell the land for commercial farm use the title condition that farm No.475, requiring the land to be used for mission purposes, had to be canceled. This clause was canceled on 1 June 1960, by the then Governor-General of the Union of South Africa. The two farms were purchased by the brothers Johannes and Johannes Hendrik Smit for R 34,000, and were registered in their names on 12 October 1962.

Figure 7.1: LOCATION OF ELANDSKLOOF FARM

Source: Map Studio



The coloured community, living on Elandskloof farm, were known as independent thinkers and self-sufficient people who were not subject to semi-feudal dependency on white farm owners in ways in which neighbouring farm workers in the local area were. A memorandum drawn up at the time (1962) by white farmers, referred to the area as a 'black spot'¹ (SPP, 1991). At the time of sale of the property to the brothers Smit, the coloured community argued that they were entitled to live on and use the farms as they had been for the previous hundred years. Their pleas were however ignored. Instead they were subjected to harsh treatment including being locked out of their church and school, having their crops burnt, homes destroyed and livestock poisoned. They attempted legal redress, but to no avail and were forced to leave the farm in 1962 with only their personal belongings (ibid). In addition no compensation was awarded to the community for fixed improvements and houses which they had built themselves.

The majority of the community was scattered all over the Cape Province as they sought refuge with family and friends. A core group of 25 families settled on the adjacent farm, Allendale, for what was envisaged to be a period of 5 years until the government would provide alternative land. The arrangement at Allendale was made possible by the owner, Mr. du Plessis, who having attended the mission school at Elandskloof knew the community.

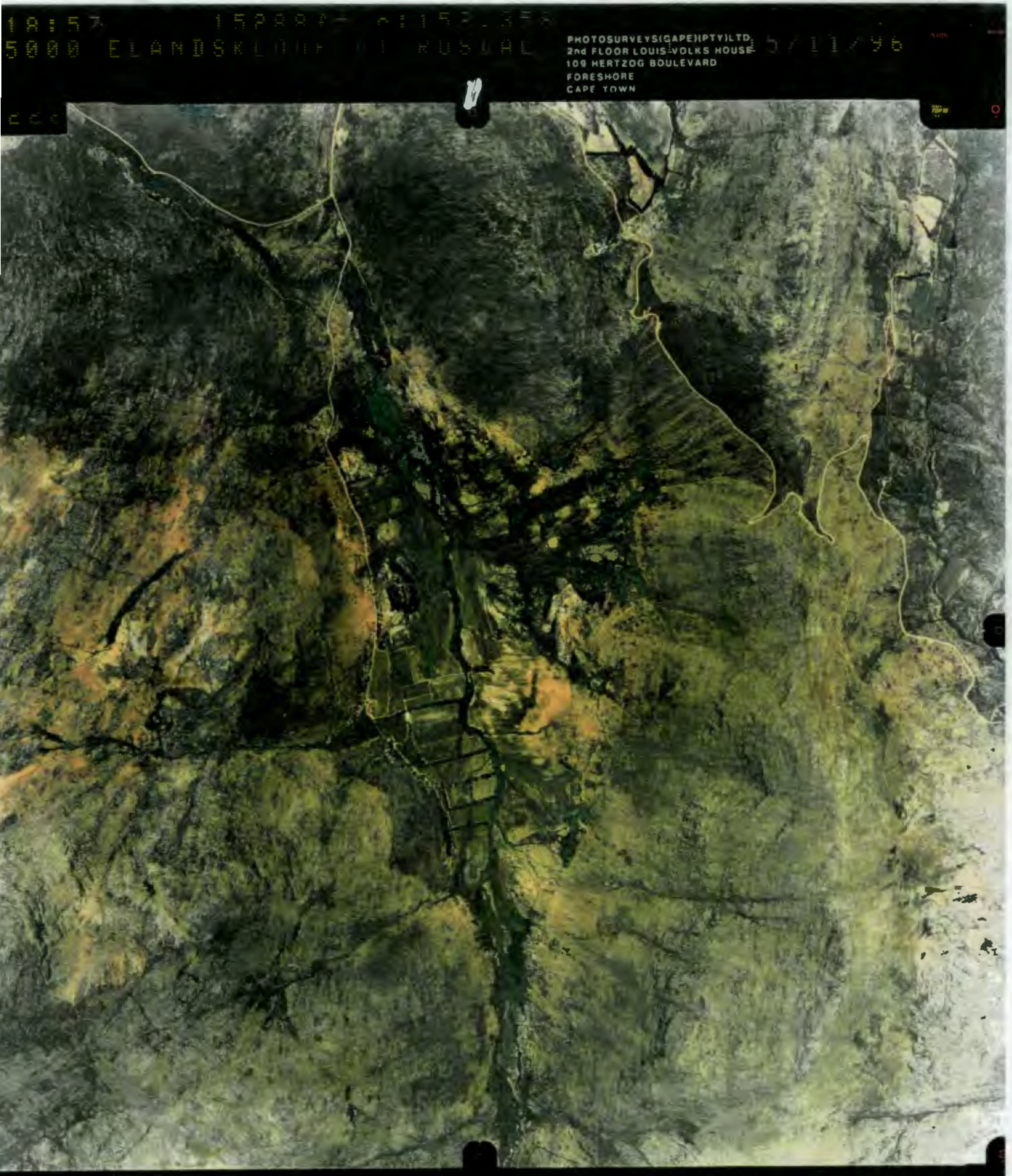
The new owners on Elandskloof turned the farm into a commercial fruit farm, and it became a 'white area', thereby making it illegal for the evicted community to return, even temporarily, for such tasks as visiting family graves.

The community continued to agitate over the years to the government, Dutch Reformed Church and the Elandskloof owners for the provision of compensatory land and the promised delivery of alternative land. Land alternatives proposed by government did however, not suit the community needs either inadequate water supplies, was a long distance from Elandskloof, or too small to establish a sustainable livelihood.

¹ A 'black spot' was generally conceived as an area where people of colour lived to the inconvenience of white people.

Figure 7.2: ARIAL MAP OF ELANDSKLOOF, 1:250 000

Source: Setplan



In response the Elandskloof community established an association known as the Elandskloof Association with the aim of lodging a claim for the restitution of their land rights in respect of the Elandskloof farms. The claim was the result of an agreement mediated by the Regional Land Claims Commissioner, between the Elandskloof Association, the current owner of the farms, Mr. Smit, and the Department of Land Affairs (DLA). The process of establishing the claim was long and drawn out process, due to lack of staff capacity within the DLA (du Toit, 1997). The agreement provided for the sale of the two farms (with the exception of a small portion, in extent 51,2 hectares) by the owner Mr. Smit for R50 000 and for them to be restored to the evicted community. The Department of Land Affairs bore the costs of acquisition. The owner, Mr. Smit agreed to accept R3 950,000 for the remainder of the land.

The Elandskloof land claim was successfully validated in the South African Land Claims Court on 15 October 1996 by Land Claims Court Judge Antonie Gildenhuys under the Restitution of Land Rights Act 1994 (SSP, 1991).

7.4 EVALUATION OF ELANDSKLOOF RESETTLEMENT SCHEME

Evaluation of the proposed resettlement at Elandskloof farm is based on the criteria developed in Chapter 5. In doing so the evaluation covers the phases prior to formalized resettlement occurring.

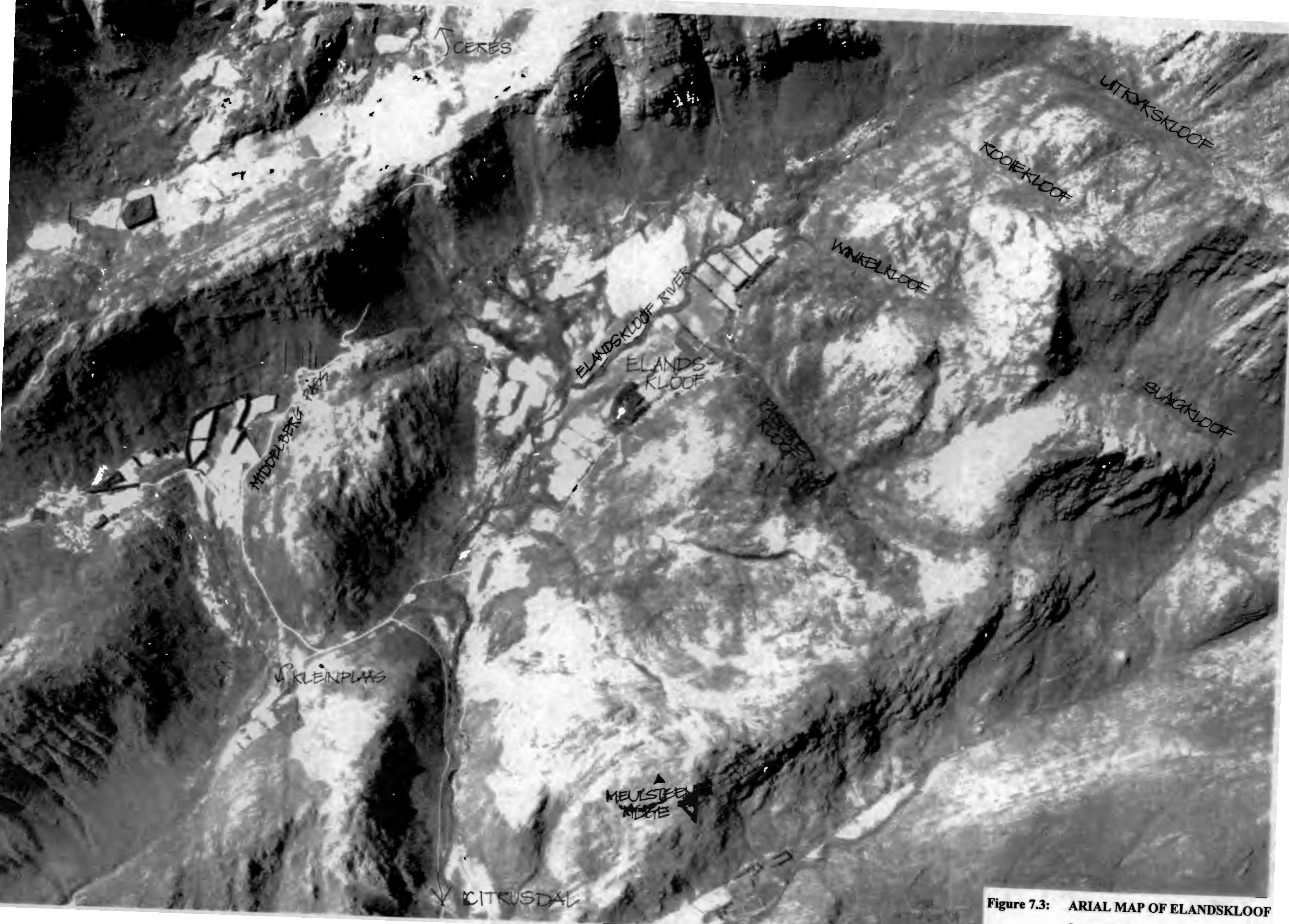


Figure 7.3: ARIAL MAP OF ELANDSKLOOF

Source: Setlur

7.4.1 Scale of Elandskloof Resettlement Scheme

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
<p>The scale of a programme does not determine its success or failure. Unless projects of all scales are effectively managed and implemented, the chances of failure are high.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The claimants number more than 308 families, with approximately 1500 people. The extent of people that wishing to be resettled shall only be apparent once resettlement occurs as many remain undecided. The consultants believe that a proportion of claimants would use their future homes on Elandskloof on a holiday basis (Mayson, pers. comm.). <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Considering the complexities of the beneficiary community and participatory manner in which planning is undertaken, the amount of people to resettle is large (Cronwright, pers. comm.).

7.4.2 Government Organisation of Elandskloof Resettlement Schemes

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
<p>(a) The success of resettlement schemes depends on a sound</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The policy objective of restitution of land rights to people unfairly dispossessed of their land due to legislation that promoted racial segregation, is considered sound and addressed within this resettlement scheme.

<p>government policy in place which is understood by all.</p>	<p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The policy is addressed by the restitution of land rights to the beneficiaries of Elandskloof.
<p>(b) Staff capacity within the implementing agency is needed to effectively implement resettlement programmes.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the initial stage of the project, prior to the claim being awarded, the DLA was not optimally effective, due to under staffing and staff working within an ambiguous and rapidly changing environment (du Toit, 1997). In the latter stages of planning, however, the capacity of DLA and the NGOs involved is considered sufficient (Mayson, pers. comm.). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff capacity has improved in the duration of planning the resettlement.
<p>(c) Sufficient budget should be available to implement, operate and maintain all required provisions.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The planning budget at 6% of the settlement grant (R 15,000 x 308), is considered insufficient for effective delivery of expertise and the long time the process has taken (Cronwright, pers. comm., Mayson, pers. comm.). The percentage has subsequently been increased to 9%. (Mayson, pers. comm.). Implementation of infrastructure and services is restricted to the household grant of R15,000, with the result that infrastructure, such as housing, shall be minimal to start and improved over time at the settlers expense. (Refer to figure 7.7 for house type options). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is sufficient budget to competently plan the resettlement.
<p>(d) Decentralized administration of resettlement schemes is needed to allow for a level of flexibility to suit local socio-economic and biophysical conditions.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government decisions on the project are generally taken in the regional offices of the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) and the regional Land Claims Commission in Cape Town, although advice was sought from their headquarters in Pretoria on numerous occasions (du Toit, 1997). The DLA mode of operation had characteristics of a centralized administration: it tends to be overly cautious, indecisive, rigid and insensitive to other negotiating parties and the Commission (ibid). It may be that officials find themselves in an unaccustomed position of serving as delivering agents instead of only as officers of a policy creating institution (Cronwright, pers. comm.). NGO organizations, such as the Surplus Peoples Project (SSP) and Legal Resource Center (LRC) are locally based and have been effectively involved from the early stages of the project.

	<p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A decentralized planning process has effectively occurred for Elandskloof resettlement.
(e) Effective management is needed to capably implement the resettlement policy.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representatives of beneficiaries are fully involved in all stages of the project. • No public forum was conducted with affected and interested parties of the surrounding settlements. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lack of broad public participation was held in the land acquisition phase.
(f) Transparency is needed in all government operations in order to reduce levels of corruption and inefficiency.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was a lack of transparency in government participation during the initial stage prior to the ratification of the claim (du Toit, 1997). • NGO personnel involved on the project appeared transparent in their dealing with the beneficiaries and supplied relevant material for this study. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The levels of transparency within government departments has increased to a sufficient level since the claim was awarded.
(g) Research should be commissioned by the government on all issues affected by resettlement schemes.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research on certain issues of Elandskloof have been and are being undertaken: <u>Preliminary soil survey</u> assessment titled "Suitability of the Different Land Forms on Elandskloof for Human Resettlement and for Irrigation" by the Department of Agriculture, Western Cape, published in October 1996 (refer to figure x); This study is presently being updated and is expected to provide valuable information (Mayson, pers. comm). <u>Cape Nature Conservation</u> involved in providing research to advise on plot clearing and establishing data on fauna in Elandskloof; species such as pourqupine and river rine rabbit have been observed in the area. An educational programme will also be established to protect these and other like species. Fynbos on the farm is also being assessed (Daniels, pers. comm.). <u>Socio-economic study</u> by the Surplus Peoples Project (SPP) was considered insufficient by its researchers who voiced the concern on achieving a worthwhile study with widely dispersed, future beneficiaries in the planning stage and the fact that personal details (incomes, employment) could largely change once settlement occurs (Mayson, pers. comm.). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although these studies are considered to be limited (Mayson, pers. comm.), they have been commissioned in good time in order to influence planning decisions.

(h) Monitoring procedures should be implemented prior to settlement and at regular intervals afterwards.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not applicable, as formal settlement has not occurred.
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7.4.3 Provision of Infrastructure and Services

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
(a) Provision of permanent water points supplying safe water for human and livestock consumption is necessary.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The main water source is the Elands River with the secondary sources being two tributaries, named Vioolsfontein and Pastorie Kloof. Prior to 1960, the water was supplied to the farm, via a stone masonry canal system which is now in a derelict state. • New external water supply system will be constructed consisting of a small weir to divert water from the Elands River to a 150mm diameter pipe, 3000m long, leading to a sand filter and a reservoir. A main supply pipe of 150mm diameter will distribute the water to within 200m of the dwellings, as is the maximum distance from households determined by RDP standards (Cronwright, pers. comm.). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Permanent water supply is provided in an equitable manner.
(b) Access roads passable by two wheel drive vehicles to enable access to other services.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existing roads from the nearest town Citrusdal, 12 km away, are in a satisfactory condition. <p>Conclusion</p> <p>There was no need to improve and create new road networks.</p>

<p>(c) Resettlement land is made productive for the purposes envisaged.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most arable land is presently under existing orchard trees and this primary agricultural use is envisaged to continue, as the revenue obtained enables further development of the farm. Additional arable land uses are to be jointly determined by the Department of Agriculture and beneficiaries. • Natural resource areas are to be conserved in a sustainable manner, such as mountain trails for outsiders and usage of buchu. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With the appropriate research underway and advice from personnel within the Department of Agriculture, it is probable that land will be made productive for the purposes envisaged.
<p>(d) Provision of agricultural and veterinary extension services for the upliftment of skills and to increase the potential for greater production of agriculture produce.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The State shall provides agricultural and veterinary extension services. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As extension services will be implemented after formalized resettlement has occurred, the extent and the quality cannot be presently assessed.
<p>(e) Provision of social services appropriate to the needs of the settlers.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beneficiaries can access social services, such as the health clinic, in the closest town, Citrusdal, 12 km away. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As it was considered that the existing social services in Citrusdal can accommodate the beneficiaries requirements during the initial phase of resettlement, it was thought unnecessary to implement new services at Elandskloof. If the needs of the beneficiaries increase at later phase, it is envisaged that a mobile or permanent service will be established (Cronwright, pers. comm.).
<p>(f) Provision of a health service in the form of a permanent or mobile</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A state health service from Citrusdal visits the farm at 6 weekly intervals (Cronwright, pers. comm.). • It is envisaged a satellite clinic will be established on Elandskloof in the future when needs require it.

<p>clinic to assist with sicknesses and health education.</p>	<p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An adequate health service is presently established at Elandskloof and can be expanded in the future if needs increase.
<p>(g) Provision of building materials and/or temporary shelter unit that address and optimizes local conditions.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A choice of three shelter types, that can be accommodated within the settlement grant, is presented to the Elandsklowers (Refer to figure 7.6). The houses shall either be build by an independent building contractor, a contractor amongst the Elandsklowers and/or the residents, currently being debated by the building committee. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The choice of shelter types is appropriate to the expectations of the beneficiaries, yet there appears to be lack of appropriate technologies considered.
<p>(h) Provision of formal education for beneficiary children and appropriate education facilities for adults in order to maximize opportunities to achieve a self sufficient lifestyle.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision is made for the establishment of a creche and primary school on the farm within the township area. Presently, children walk 6km to the neighbouring farm, Allendale to catch a bus to Citrusdal. • It is not envisaged that the population will increase to the extent of establishing a secondary school on Elandskloof as the school in Citrusdal can be used. • Fledgling women and youth groups are being established by the beneficiaries. It is envisaged the Department of Labour would offer training courses (Cronwright, pers. comm.). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adequate planning is made for the adequate provision of educational facilities for children. Only once resettlement has occurred that an assessment can be made on the provision of appropriate facilities for adults.
<p>(i) Provision of food aid to assist beneficiaries until a self sufficient livelihood has been established.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The provision of land for residential purposes is large and fertile enough to establish a 'kitchen garden' for subsistence needs of households. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is considered unlikely that the beneficiaries shall require food aid due to the allocation of fertile land for kitchen gardens and the present off farm employment held by beneficiaries.

<p>(k) Provision of credit facilities with advice on payback period, management of cash and marketing.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No special credit facilities are available. Beneficiaries may approach commercial banks and small business development institutions to apply for conventional credit assistance. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The provision of preferential credit facilities for the beneficiaries is considered unnecessary due to the fertility of land, ample water resources, off farm employment and the delivery of the household settlement grant.
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7.4.4 Gender Equity

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
<p>(a) Non sexist policy promoted and implemented by Government.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Constitution of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 promotes the non sexism in all spheres. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resettlement policy concerning the equal rights of women does not contradict the Interim Constitution.
<p>(b) Emphasis to sensitize males to the role and equity rights of women.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The constitution of the Elandskloof Association stipulates a minimum of 40% women to constitute their membership. This occurs within the context of a certain religious zeal of certain of the beneficiaries, believed to be a result of their common history of living within a mission station. The effect of this past is apparent on certain issues, such as views on unmarried mothers (Daniels, pers. comm.). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is an effort to sensitize the beneficiary men to the equal opportunities the women should be given at Elandskloof.

7.4.5 Local Level Representation

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
(a) Local representative body elected by the majority of adult settlers to represent the needs of the beneficiaries and organize operations of the resettlement once the initial phase of settlement is completed.	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> All persons above the age of 18 years can vote for the Elandskloof Association. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A local representative body is democratically elected by adult beneficiaries.
(b) Encouragement of settlers to partake in all matters affecting the scheme.	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regular workshops are held within the community and between the community and participating NGOs and government organizations. Issues such as beneficiaries rights, placement of housing, tenure systems, farming activities are discussed and decided upon at the workshops. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is encouragement by implementing agencies for all beneficiaries to partake in the decision making process.
(c) Representation by the elected body at the local political level in order to integrate the resettlement scheme into the region.	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Eligible beneficiaries can vote and stand for election in the Rural Council in the Clainwilliam District. Elandskloof is not considered a separate political entity. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elandskloof representative body can be involved in the local politics of the region.

<p>(d) Local level conflict body established to resolve difficulties amongst beneficiaries and/or neighbours that may arise.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elandskloof Association has made provision of an arbitration procedure to deal with conflict amongst beneficiaries. As access to legal bodies, such as the Legal Resource Centre (LRC), are well established, their advice could be easily gained. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is provision made for a conflict resolution body.
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7.4.6 Size of Allocated Land Holdings

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
<p>(a) Allocated land holdings suited to local biophysical and socio-economic conditions in order to accommodate the natural resources available and livelihood practices of all inhabitants.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topography and soil conditions are considered in the planning phase to make optimum use of the land (Daniels, pers. comm.). • Land holdings are not yet addressed in terms of being economically viable, as land usage is still to be fully determined. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hopefully, models of future agricultural produce, currently being researched by the Department of Agriculture, will consider the economic viability of the holdings.
<p>(b) Land allocated according to amount of family labour, farmer's</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plots of residential land, planned in clusters and ranging from 300 sq. m. to 750 sq. m. were chosen by the beneficiaries (Daniels, pers. comm.). At a beneficiary meeting, future land owners decided in which cluster they would prefer to live and thereafter, on which plot. The larger plots, involving greater service costs, were not chosen by poorer beneficiaries. If a plot

<p>managerial skills, machinery and capital stock available to beneficiaries.</p>	<p>was chosen by more than one person, historical rights were used to determine the future owner. Beneficiaries were encouraged to solve these differences themselves. If they could not, a number of 'deadlock breaking systems' were provided, such as pulling names out of a hat (Mayson, pers. comm.).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arable land for farming is allocated on a rental system to those who wish to farm commercially. Determining factors in this allocation are historical rights and respect for usage and necessary costs. Resources in the wilderness area (fynbos, buchu) remain a community asset and used as such (ibid). <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demarcated residential land was allocated between the beneficiaries themselves, who considered their resource base. Land which will be used for agricultural purposes will be allocated by implementing agencies and beneficiaries, and shall consider all resources held by potential farmers.
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7.4 7 Land Rights to Allocated Holdings

Land rights are presently being determined by the beneficiaries with assistance from consultants. The information provided in the below tables should be seen in this context.

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
<p>(a) Implemented land policy clearly applied to all affected people in order to reduce incorrect land usage</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Once determined by the beneficiaries, the tenure policy will be included in the Constitution of Elandskloof. There should be therefore be no doubt regarding the beneficiaries land rights. • Rights to residential plots, arable farm land and the wilderness area are to be different, yet conceived within the framework of being within one farm. • The boundaries of the settlement area will be cadastrally defined and settlement will mostly take place within the proclaimed

<p>occurring.</p>	<p>township, the remainder being on previously settled outlying areas.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All beneficiaries can apply for leasable rights to arable land. Farmland rights will be inextricably linked to water rights as all land will not be irrigated. • It is envisaged that the tenure system would encourage/reward joint ventures along commercial/productive lines (Setplan, 1994). • Within the controlled resource usage area, rights to use the resources (fynbos, buchu, wild flowers) will be strictly controlled to preserve the ecological, spiritual and economic importance of the reserves. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As the tenure system is determined in participation with the beneficiaries and would be enforced by them, there is likely to be clarity regarding the system.
<p>(b) No gender discrimination with respect to the allocation of land rights</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All Elandsklowers above the age of 18 years are eligible to access to land. The 200 allocated residential plots exceed the demand for plots. • No formal provisions are made in the outcome of divorce. If divorce occurs, an additional plot will be allocated to the family to accommodate their needs (Mayson, pers comm.). <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There appears to be no gender discrimination in the allocation of land rights, yet inadequate provisions have been planned for the outcome of divorce.
<p>(d) Flexible land tenure system incorporated in planning proposals in order to accommodate future unforeseen changes.</p>	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A flexible approach to land allocation is planned. In this regard, Elandsklowers will have the option of making application to the Association to extend the amount of residential plots should the need arise. It is envisaged the tenure system would encourage expansion of present orchards and provide incentives for individual farmers to pool their resources in joint ventures. • If the need arises for Elandsklowers to access finances and in doing so they experience difficulties in using a communal asset as collateral, pressure to modify the tenure system to allow for the optimum tenure arrangement system to suit the people may develop. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <p>A flexible approach to the allocation of land is planned by the implementing agencies and beneficiaries.</p>

(e) Land inheritable amongst family members.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land can be inherited between Elandsklower family members. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land is inheritable between Elandsklowers and their descendants, thus enabling cohesiveness with family structures.
(f) Provisions made for the rent, sale, transfer and subdivision of land among beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As arable land shall be rented from the Association, there is no need to rent land from other beneficiaries. • If a beneficiary wishing to leave Elandskloof does not leave his/her property to family members, the property would be sold to the Association, and not to non beneficiaries. In addition to being an undue expense, there is thus no need to register land holdings at the deeds office. • Land holdings may be subdivided with the permission of the Elandskloof Association. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provisions are made for the rent, sale and transfer of land between beneficiaries, yet not for non- beneficiaries.

7.4.8 Land Acquisition

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
(a) All affected parties identified and consulted in a public participation process.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The process of negotiation for the purchase of Elandskloof was undertaken on behalf of the claimants by the LRC, and the DLA. No broader consultation with neighbouring farmers and other interested and affected parties was undertaken. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was a lack of public participation in the land acquisition phase.

<p>(b) Credible land resource plans developed by the implementing agency to enhance the selection and usage of land.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land resource plans are currently being undertaken by the Department of Agriculture. Appropriate models of farming will be presented by the Department to the beneficiaries to determine future land uses. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appropriate land resource plans are currently being developed.
<p>(c) Procedures incorporated in the policy to encourage land owners to part with underutilized land (such as a land tax).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not applicable. The previous owner, Mr. Smit, was paid R 3 950,000 for Elandskloof. This amount was considered a market related price, yet excessive for certain people (Mayson, pers. comm.).

7.4.9 Suitability of Land Use

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
<p>(a) Land use resource plans developed by experts in consultation with local inhabitants.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Setplan, consulting planners and the Department of Agriculture are involved in determining land use plans (Cronwright, pers. comm., Mayson, pers. comm.). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The degree of local participation in the development of land use plans by experts is unknown.

(b) Land considered suitable for resettlement purposes.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The majority land use will be focused on agricultural produce, determined by the beneficiaries with guidance from the Department of Agriculture. <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Once land uses are implemented, the suitability of each can be assessed.
(c) Monitoring plans developed and implemented.	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Monitoring shall be achieved by extension officers of the Department of Agriculture, once the beneficiaries have established their agricultural land uses (Cronwright, pers. comm.). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The quality of the monitoring programme can only be assessed only once it is implemented.

7.4.10 Selection of Beneficiaries

This aspect of resettlement programme forms the crux of the planning and allocation of land in Elandskloof (Daniels, pers. comm.). In terms of the Elandskloof resettlement programme beneficiaries are divided into 3 groups: people:

(a) those evicted by the Dutch Reform Church evicted in 1962; (b) those evicted by the Dutch Reform Church prior to 1962; (c) those who left on their own accord (Mayson pers. comm.). Consideration is however, given to all parties. Certain secondary beneficiaries tend to be more skilled due to more exposure to education, and therefore are able to determine outcomes of decisions in their favour (ibid).

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
(a) Criteria for selection open to public debate.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not applicable
(b) Transparency inventories of resettlement beneficiaries available to the public.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not applicable
(c) Involvement of NGOs, and other related groups in the selection of beneficiaries.	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NGOs involved in the resettlement on Elandskloof are the Legal Resource Centre, the Surplus Peoples Project and Setplan. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NGOs are involved in the resettlement scheme.

(d) Beneficiaries to state their choice of area, production mode, skills, resources, family labour force.	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Beneficiaries are required to state their choices, expectations and resource base in the planning phases. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Beneficiaries are given ample opportunity to state their wishes within the planning process. Effort is made to accommodate expectations of the beneficiaries by the Elandskloof Association and implementing agencies.
(e) Level of flexibility in selection process.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not applicable.

7.4.11 Restrictions imposed on Beneficiaries

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
(a) No unnecessary restrictions made on the beneficiaries, such as crops grown, land dealings, manner in which crops are sold, homes built and, non farm employment, in order for beneficiaries to determine their lifestyle.	<p><i>Findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land use will be determined by the beneficiary community with the assistance of the Department of Agriculture. This will take into account wishes of the future farmers and the suitability of the natural resources. Restrictions on land use will in all probability be introduced. Homes may be erected on designated spots. In the future, permission must be obtained from the Association to change the building lines and bulk regulations. The building sub-committee are presently establishing bulk coverage of plots (Mayson, pers. comm.). As many people presently have employment on other farms, businesses and institutions, and revenue from these activities improves the financial sustainability of the farms. There are no restrictions regarding employment off the farm. <p><i>Conclusion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There are no unreasonable restriction placed on the beneficiaries of Elandskloof.

7.4.12 Pace of Implementation

OBJECTIVES	ELANDSKLOOF FARM
<p>(a) Pace should be determined by viability of schemes and productivity of the settlers, not by numbers of people settled.</p>	<p>Findings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The negotiation process has been subjected to many and repeated delays, which resulted in little progress being made between November 1994 and April 1996. (Refer to table 7.1). These delays caused the Regional Land Claims Commission much concern and have elicited much critical comment, particularly of the Commissions main partner in the restitution process, the DLA (du Toit, 1997). • The pace of planning is slow due to detailed consultative planning that is presently occurring and the difficulties in establishing a quorum over many issues within the beneficiary community (Daniels, pers, comm.). <p>Conclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although the pace has been slow, the participative planning process has not been subjected to unnecessary pressure to achieve consensus between beneficiaries and implementing agencies before it was able.

Table 7.1: NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE PURCHASE OF ELANDSKLOOF, AN OVERVIEW

Source: du Toit, 1997

Issues	4		QTR 3, 1994				Qtr 1 1995			Qtr 2 1995			Qtr 3 1995			Qtr 4 1995			Qtr 1 1996			Qtr 2 1996		
	09	10	11	12	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	01	02	03	04	05	06		
PHASE I																								
Minister visits Elandskloof	♦																							
First Valuation																								
Meeting at Allendale		♦																						
DLA Memorandum			♦																					
PHASE II																								
Community meets Minister							♦																	
Meeting at Riemvasmaak									♦															
PHASE III																								
Initial acceptance of determination																								
RLRC determination																								
Agreement at Allendale																								
Renewed Doubts																								
Memo to Legal Services																								
DLA approaches attorney																								
Elandskloof Committee requests meeting																								
DLA recommends that case is valid																								
DLA refers memo to Legal Services																								
Renewed doubts from DLA																								
Final DLA statement of case																								
PHASE IV																								
Meeting decides to request inventory																								
Valuation																								
Special LAB meeting																								
No DLA negotiator at Citrusdal																								
State makes an offer to Mr. Smit																								

Figure 7.4: DEGREE OF SUITABILITY OF LANDFORMS AND SOILS FOR HUMAN SETTLEMENT

Source: Setplan.

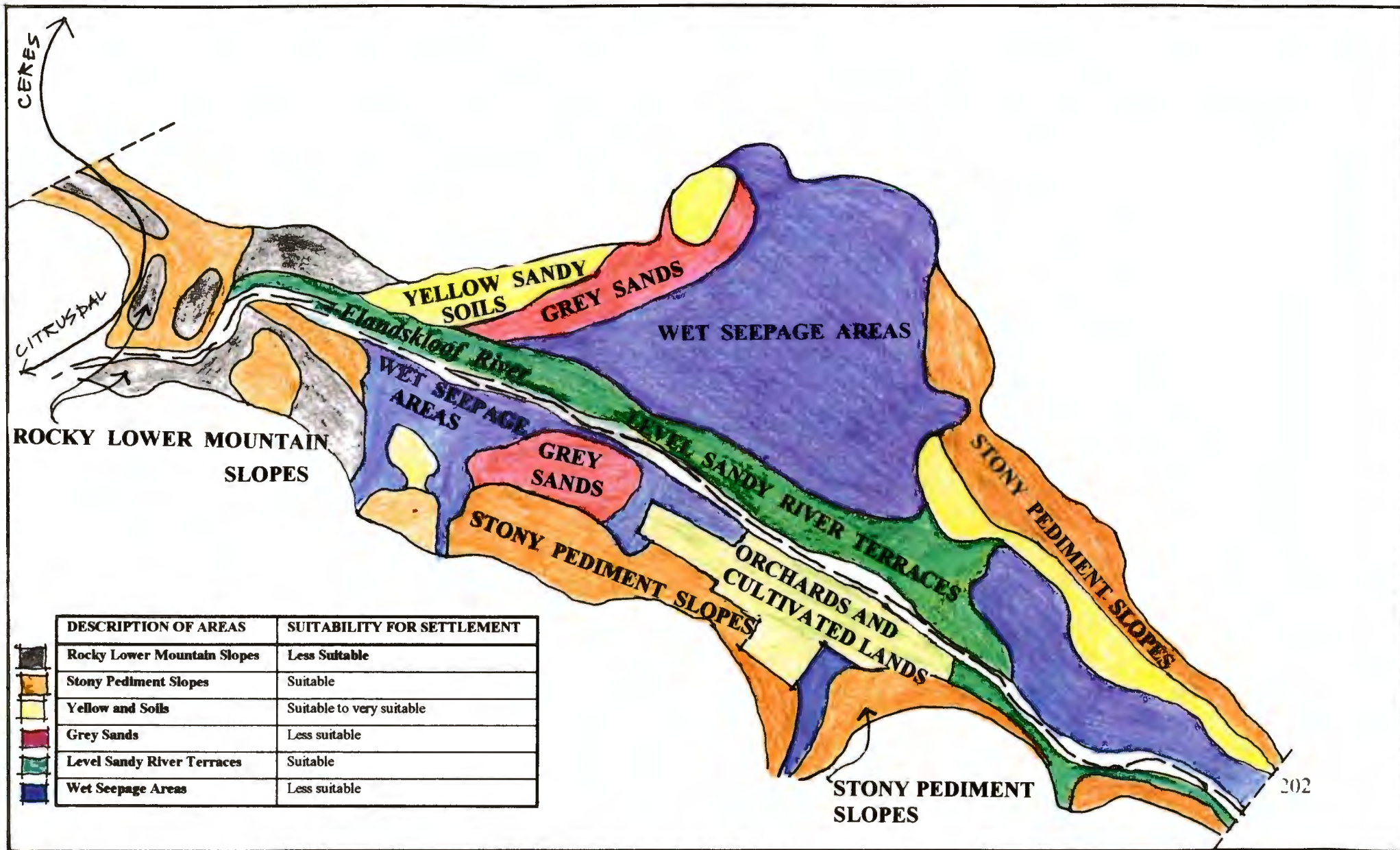
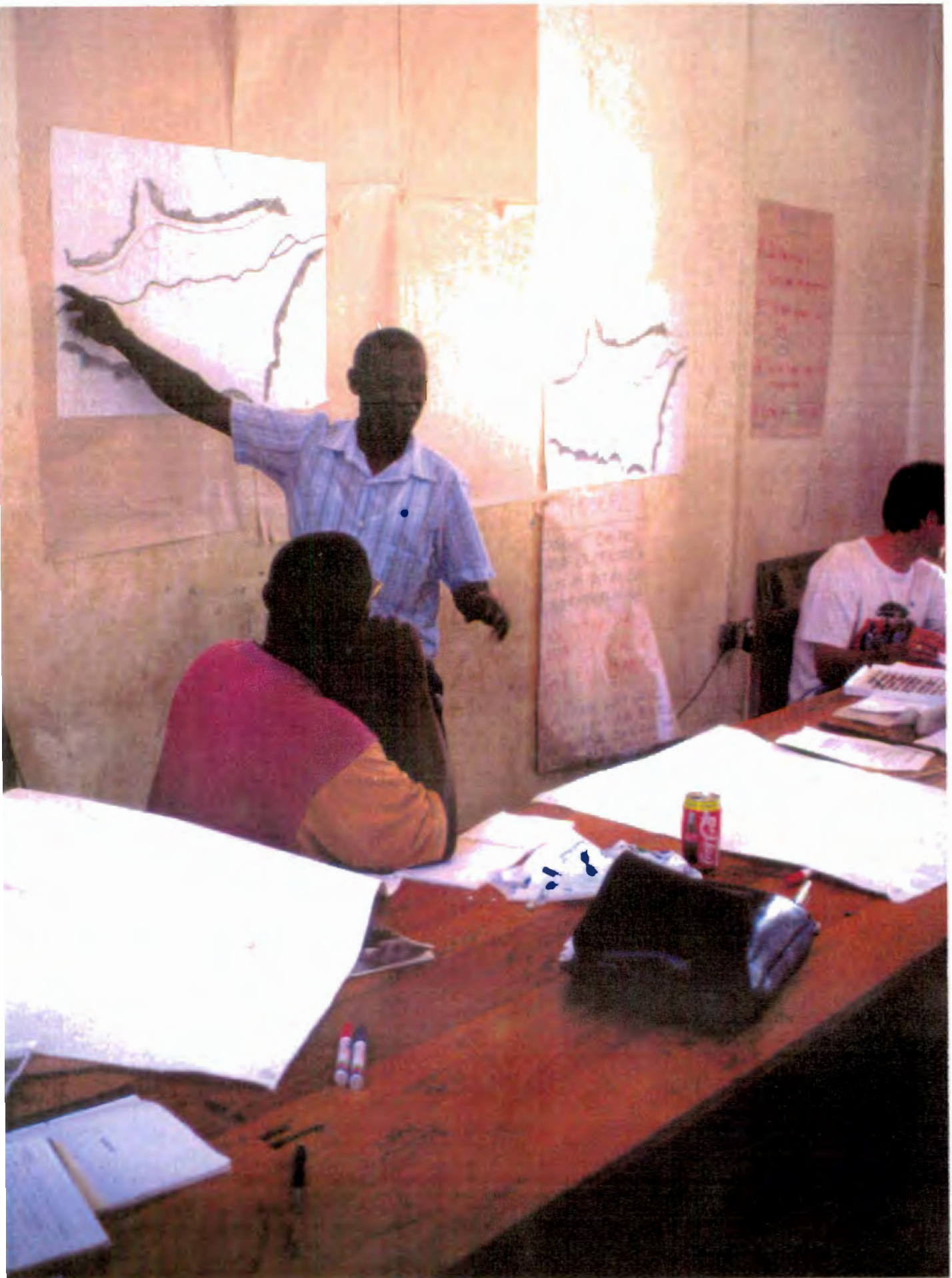


Figure 7.5: PUBLIC PARTICIPATION
Source: Setplan



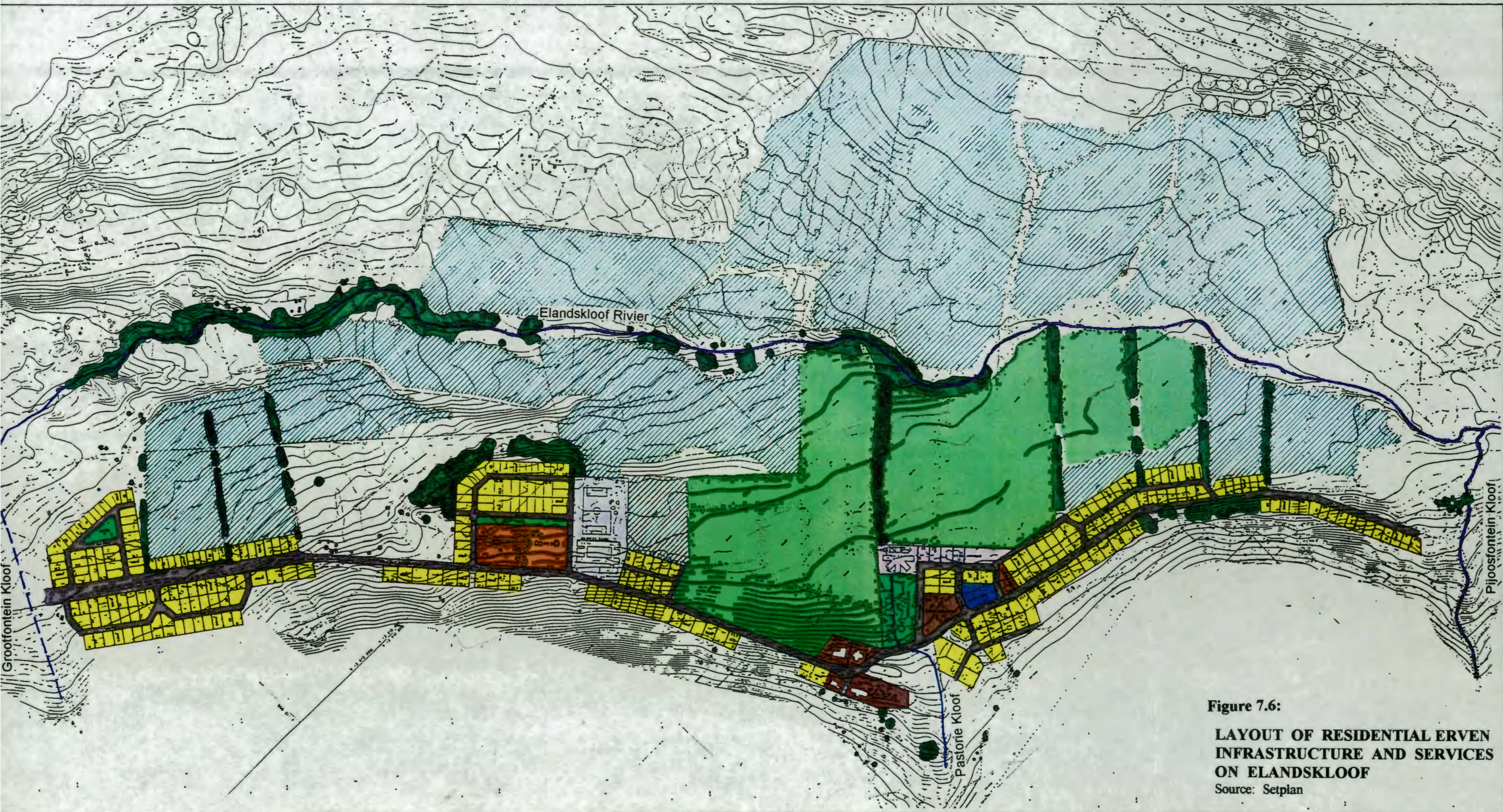


Figure 7.6:

**LAYOUT OF RESIDENTIAL ERVEN
INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES
ON ELANDSKLOOF**

Source: Setplan

setplan SETTLEMENT PLANNING SERVICES
 Posbus 3405 Kaapstad 8000
 Tel: (021) 221 946 Faks: (021) 24 3490

VOORGESTELDE ELANDSKLOOF DORPSTIGTING

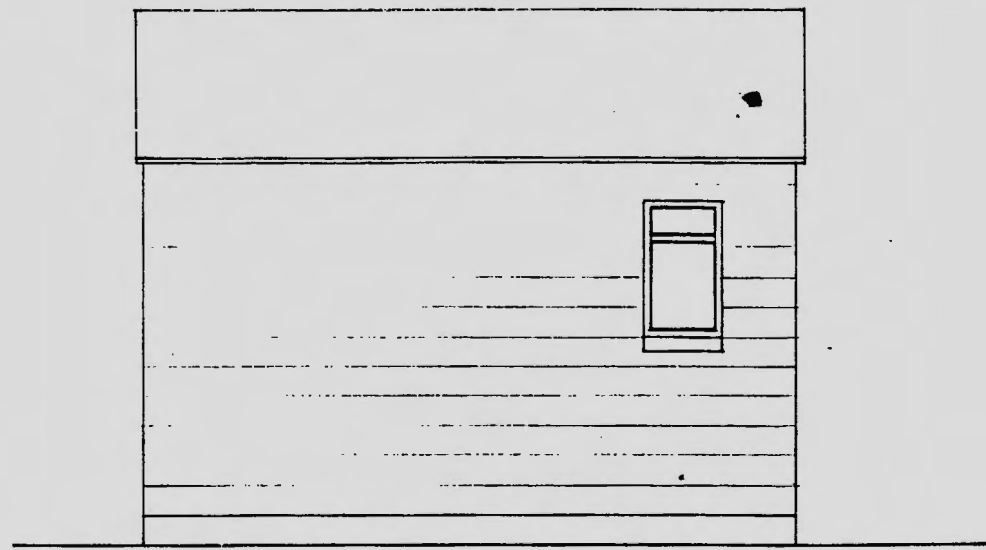
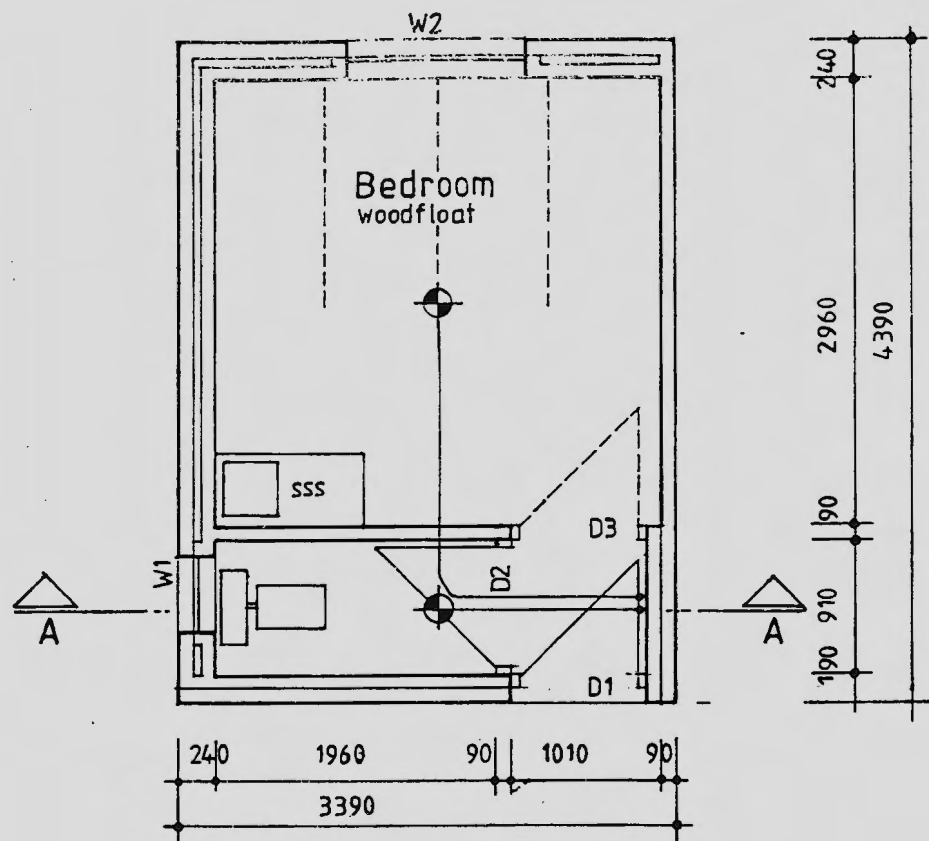
VOORGESTELDE DORPSUITLEG

Datum: Maart 1997 Skaal: 1 : 7042 Fig No: **2**

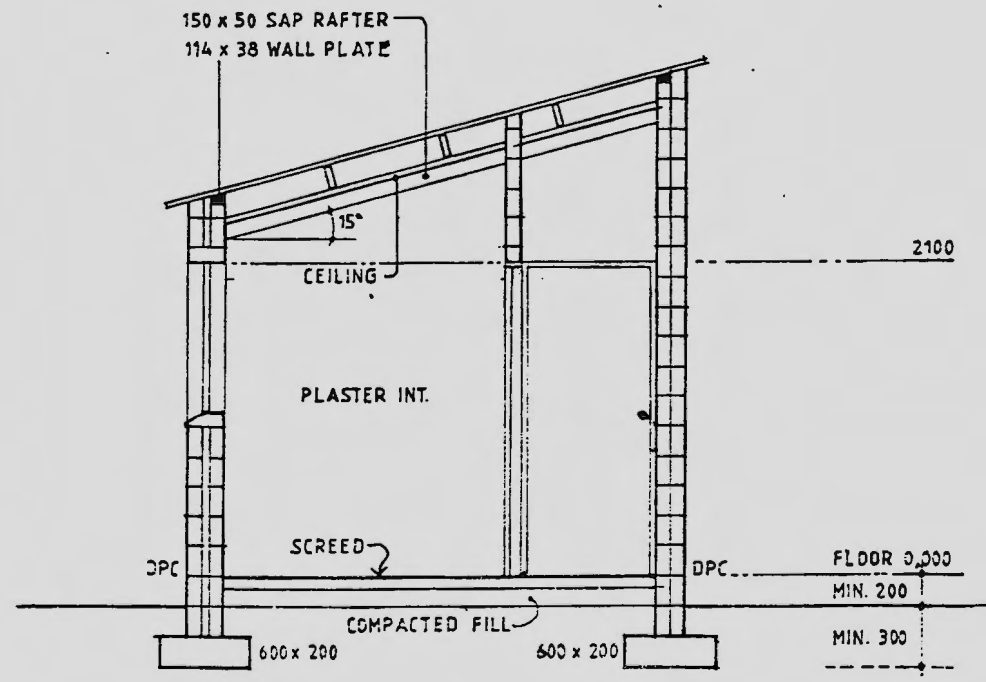
NOORD

0 100 200 300 400m

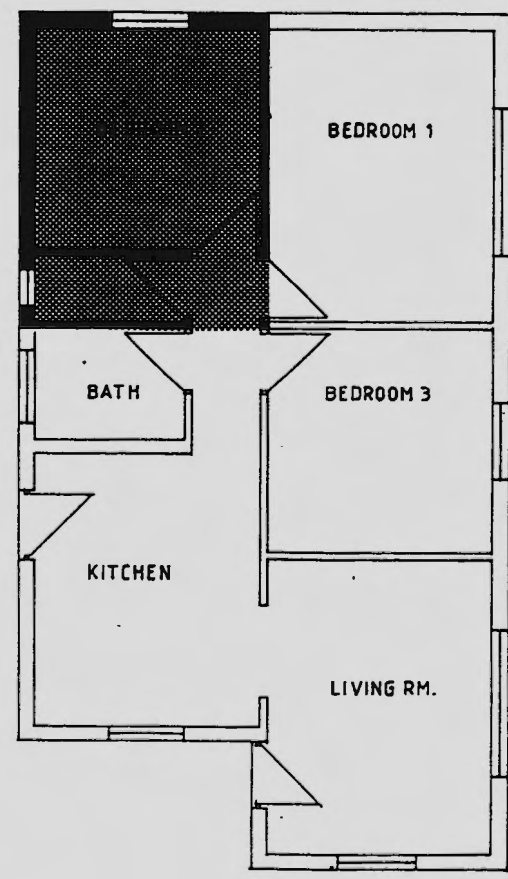
- | | |
|--|---|
|  Existing Fields |  Primary School |
|  Existing Fruit Orchards |  Public Open Space |
|  Residential Erven |  Workshops |
|  Community Facilities |  Business Area |
|  Graveyard |  Roads |



ELEVATION



SECTION A-A 1:50



POSSIBLE EXTENSION 1:100
Starter structure 14,80m²

FOUNDATION

600 x 200 mass concrete strip footing under all walls hand mixed to proportion 1:4:4. Founding level minimum 300 below natural ground level. Column bases to be 600 x 600 x 450 deep Top of base to be 150mm below floor level.

FLOORS

80mm concrete surface bed wood-foated smooth on 250 micron DPC on well compacted fill

WALLS

290 x 190 x 90 concrete blocks. One coat plaster internally where shown, otherwise bagged. Brick-grip DPC at floor level. Fill cavity below DPC with concrete. Lintels above all openings.

CEILINGS

6.4mm gypsum board on 38 x 38 brading at 400 centres. Standard gypsum coved cornice where specified.

ROOF

Corrugated iron sheeting on 150 x 50 rafters at max 1m centres fixed with safetop roof screws. Roof anchorage with 30 x 1.2mm hoop iron straps built in 600mm below rafters. No guttering, no bargeboards, no fascia.

DOORS

D1 = Press metal frame, double rebated and hollow-core flush door. 3-lever lock set.
D2 = Press metal frame, double rebated and hollow-core flush door. Bathroom lock set.
D3 = Press metal frame only

WINDOWS

W1 = 500 x 900 high obscure glazed timber window
W2 = 1000 x 1200 high clear glazed timber window
W3 = 1000 x 900 high clear glazed timber window
Plaster sills throughout.

Figure 7.7a:

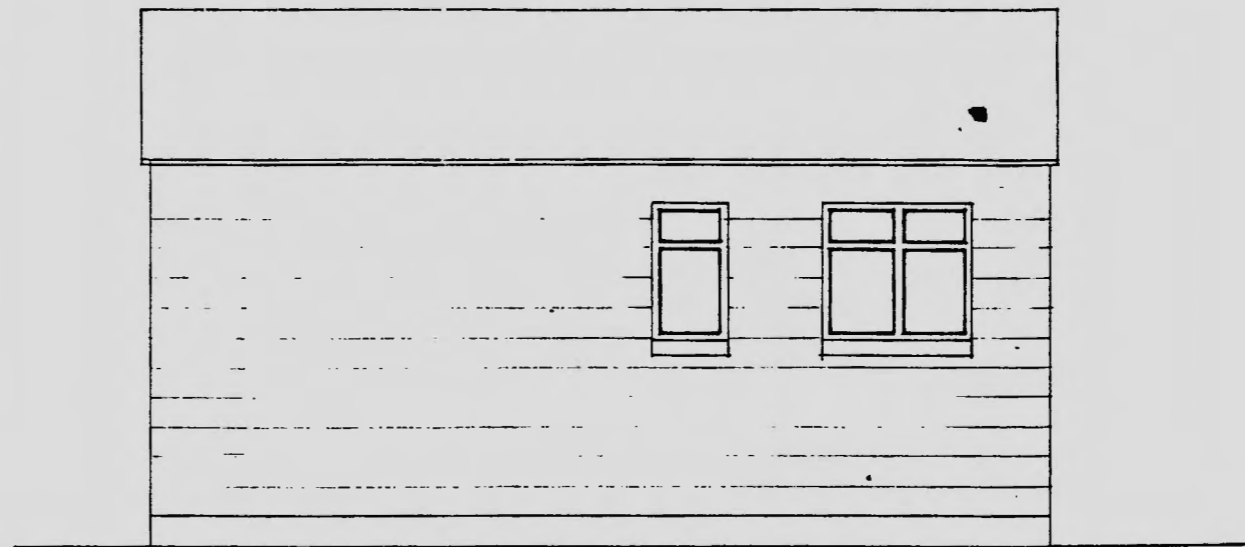
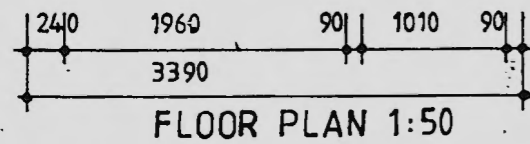
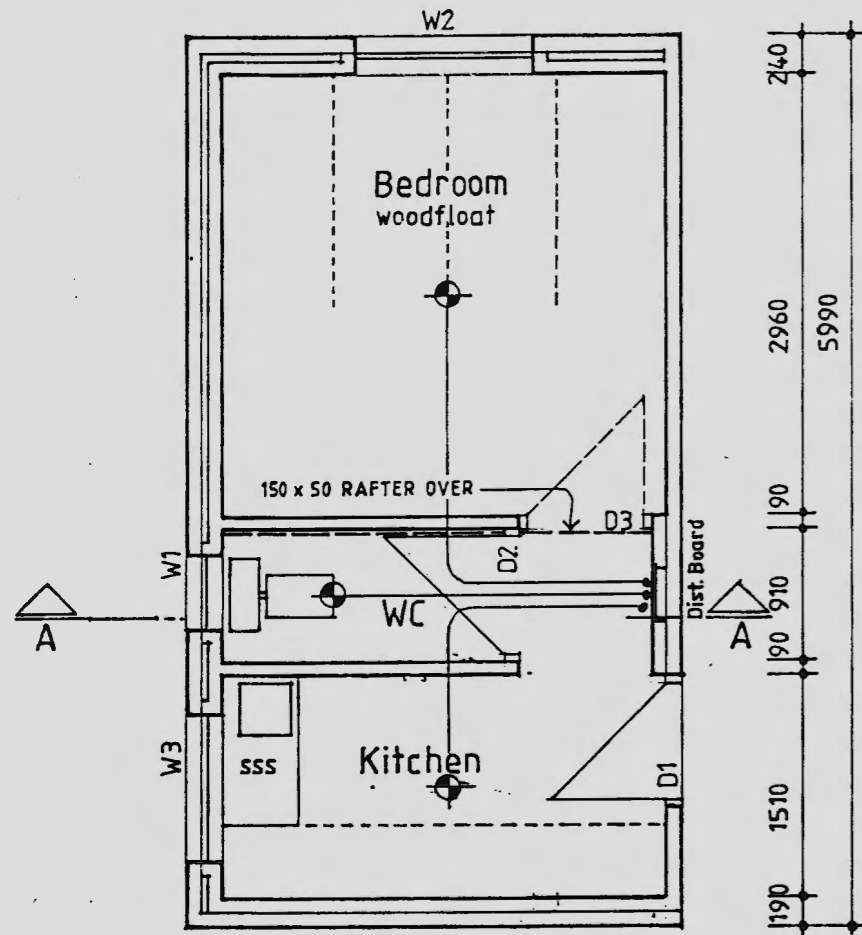
HOUSE TYPES AVAILABLE TO BENEFICIARIES

Source: Sertplan

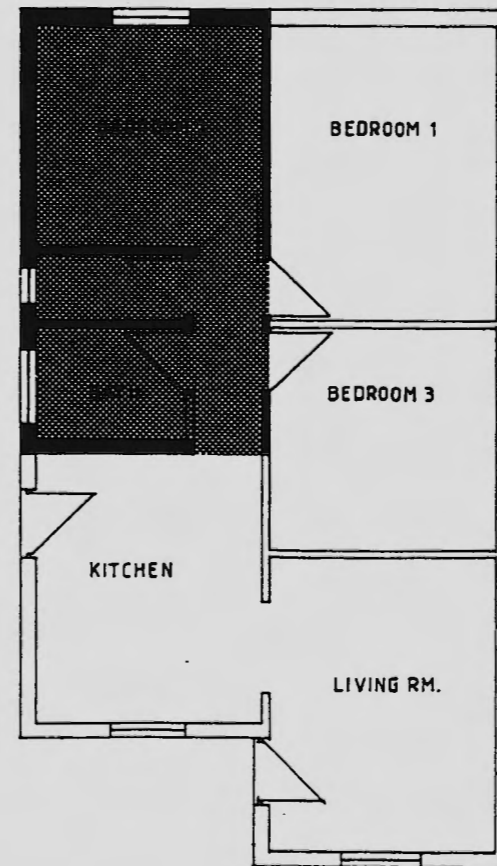
setplan SETTLEMENT PLANNING SERVICES
Consulting Town and Regional Planners,
Geologists, Economists & Environmentalists
PO BOX 3405 CAPE TOWN 8000
Tel: (021) 221946 Fax: (021) 243490

ELANDSKLOOF HOUSE TYPE - C1

	date:	scale:	drawing no:
	June 1997	1:50	1204/C1



ELEVATION



POSSIBLE EXTENSION 1:100
Starter structure 20,30m²

FOUNDATION

600 x 200 mass concrete strip footing under all walls hand mixed to proportion 1:4:4. Founding level minimum 300 below natural ground level. Column bases to be 600 x 600 x 450 deep Top of base to be 150mm below floor level.

FLOORS

80mm concrete surface bed wood-floated smooth on 250 micron DPC on well compacted fill

WALLS

290 x 190 x 90 concrete blocks. One coat plaster internally where shown, otherwise bagged. Brick-grip DPC at floor level. Fill cavity below DPC with concrete. Lintels above all openings.

CEILINGS

6.4mm gypsum board on 38 x 38 branderling at 400 centres. Standard gypsum coved cornice where specified.

ROOF

Corrugated iron sheeting on 150 x 50 rafters at max 1m centres fixed with safetop roof screws. Roof anchorage with 30 x 1.2mm hoop iron straps built in 600mm below rafters. No guttering, no bargeboards, no fascia.

DOORS

D1 = Press metal frame, double rebated and hollow-core flush door. 3-lever lock set.
D2 = Press metal frame, double rebated and hollow-core flush door. Bathroom lock set.
D3 = Press metal frame only

WINDOWS

W1 = 500 x 900 high obscure glazed timber window
W2 = 1000 x 1200 high clear glazed timber window
W3 = 1000 x 900 high clear glazed timber window
Plaster sills throughout.

Figure 7.7b:

HOUSE TYPES AVAILABLE TO BENEFICIARIES

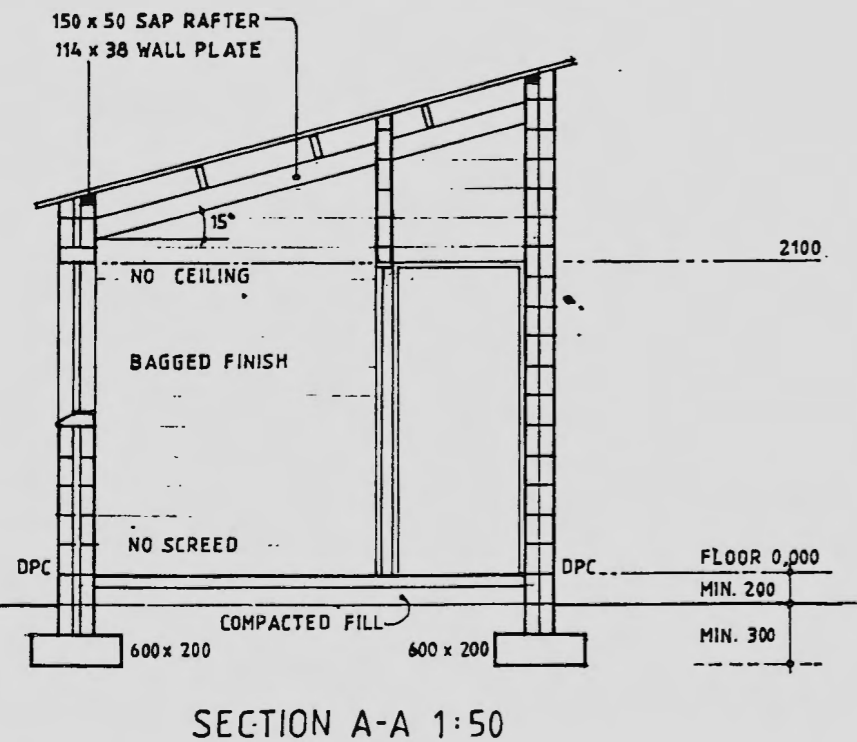
Source: Sertplan

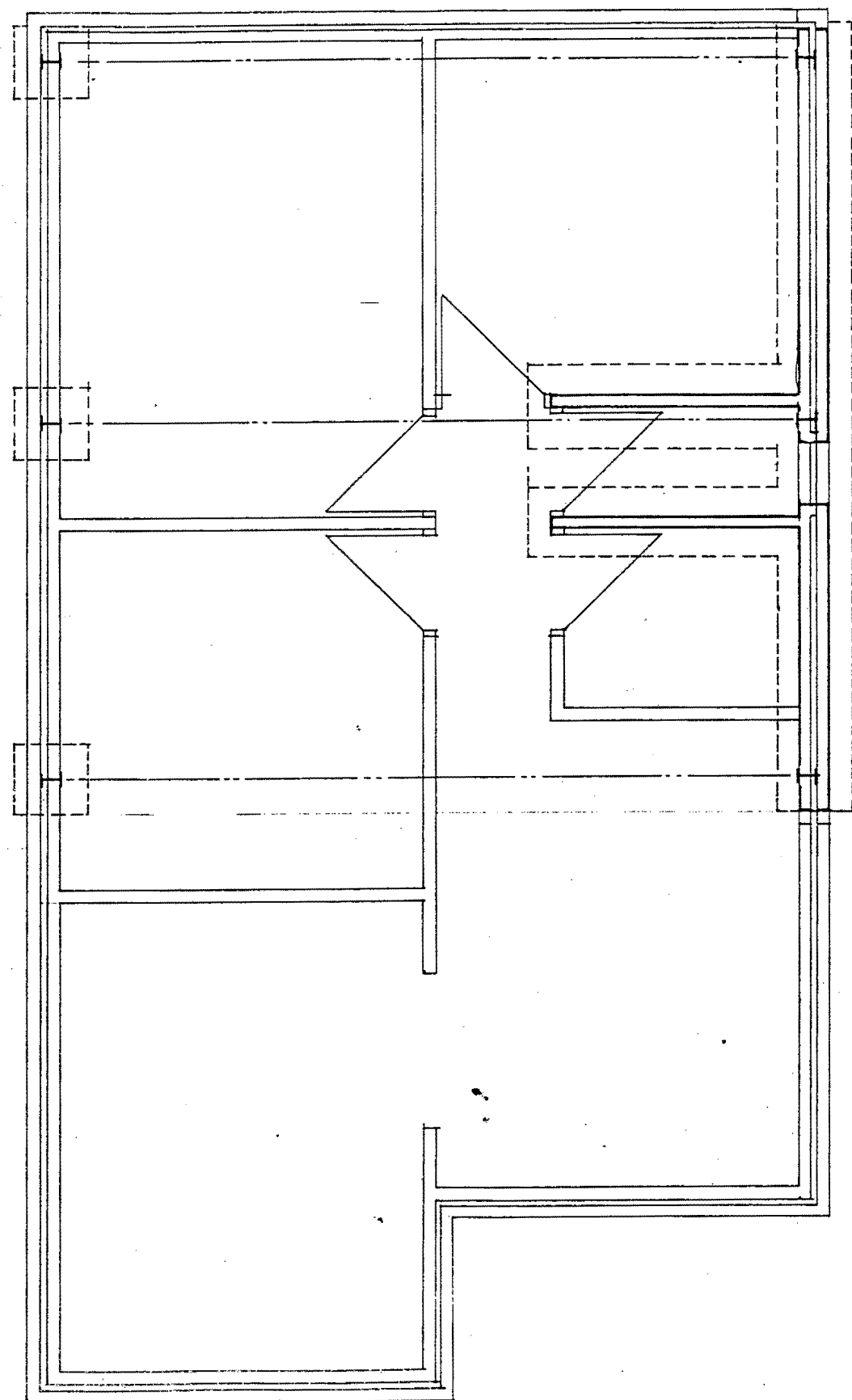


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ELANDSKLOOF
HOUSE TYPE - C2

	date:	scale:	drawing no:
	June 1997	1:50	1204/C2





FOUNDATION

600 x 200 mass concrete strip footing under all walls hand mixed to proportion 1:4:4. Founding level minimum 300 below natural ground level. Column bases to be 600 x 600 x 450 deep Top of base to be 150mm below floor level.

FLOORS

80mm concrete surface bed wood-floated smooth on 250 micron DPC on well compacted fill

WALLS

290 x 190 x 90 concrete blocks. One coat plaster internally where shown, otherwise bagged. Brick-grip DPC at floor level. Fill cavity below DPC with concrete. Lintels above all openings.

CEILING

6.4mm gypsum board on 38 x 38 branderling at 400 centres. Standard gypsum coved cornice where specified.

ROOF

Corrugated iron sheeting on 150 x 50 rafters at max 1m centres fixed with safetop roof screws. Roof anchorage with 30 x 1.2mm hoop iron straps built in 600mm below rafters. No guttering, no bargeboards, no fascia.

DOORS

D1 = Press metal frame, double rebated and hollow-core flush door. 3-lever lock set.
 D2 = Press metal frame, double rebated and hollow-core flush door. Bathroom lock set.
 D3 = Press metal frame only

WINDOWS

W1 = 500 x 900 high obscure glazed timber window
 W2 = 1000 x 1200 high clear glazed timber window
 W3 = 1000 x 900 high clear glazed timber window
 Plaster sills throughout.

Figure 7.7c:

HOUSE TYPES AVAILABLE TO BENEFICIARIES

Source: Setplan



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ELANDSKLOOF HOUSE TYPE - C3

	date:	scale:	drawing no:
	June 1997	1: 50	1204/C3

7.5 SUMMARY

The resettlement programme on Elandskloof in South Africa is a result of the restitution of land rights to the former inhabitants evicted from their land in 1962, as a result of racially discriminatory legislation. Prior to the eviction the inhabitants practiced subsistence farming, while after the eviction, they were forced to disperse around the western Cape to establish new livelihoods. The democratic election of a South African government in 1994 resulted in the promulgation of the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 1994, which enabled the disposed community to succeed in claiming their land back.

As the resettlement procedures at Elandskloof are presently in the planning stage, the scheme can only be evaluated on such. During the planning stages a considerable amount of effort was made by the implementing agencies determining decisions in participation with the beneficiaries of the resettlement programme. Although this participative process has resulted in a number of unforeseen delays and has required additional personnel, it has taken into account the considerations of all future users of the land.

A small minority of the beneficiaries of the resettlement programme on Elandskloof were landless, yet the aims and objectives of establishing a viable resettlement scheme remain. The crux of the matter of the Elandskloof resettlement programme is the determination of the beneficiaries and thereafter their rights in land usage. Primary and secondary beneficiaries exist, depending on their departure from Elandskloof. Certain families left Elandskloof 20 years prior to the forced eviction, and seventy two families were evicted in 1962. The present beneficiaries of Elandskloof number approximately 308 families (Cronwright, pers, comm.). The beneficiaries land rights therefore depend on their time of departure from Elandskloof. These decisions were achieved in a participatory manner, facilitated by the implementing agencies.

During the initial phase of the planning process the necessary skills were lacking from the beneficiaries by the understandable fact that they had never participated in similar procedures before with so much at stake. Personnel from the implementing agencies believe the process could be greatly assisted by preparing the beneficiaries, especially

the representative body, for the impending participatory process, as much time was spent equipping beneficiaries with the necessary skills. Within the constraints of the settlement planning budget, an effective participative will presumably be undertaken only by committed consultants.

Unless the planning procedures for resettlement are effectively implemented and the beneficiaries consider the decisions taken to be appropriate, Elandskloof could change from an asset, with established and productive orchards, to a liability for the new owners.

A concern that arises from this study is the financial capacity of the government to fund similar resettlement programmes. The settlement planning grant is not considered sufficient by consulting agencies, due to the complexity of projects and the manner of participate planning. If increased financial aid was available, additional consultants, such as agricultural economists, could assist the programme.

The resettlement scheme on Elandskloof is a unique development that will be repeated for other successful land claims. Valuable experience has been generated from the planning procedures that should aid future resettlement programmes.

Chapter Eight

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS



CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The important factors that need to be addressed within a resettlement programme are outlined in the conclusions below. The recommendations which follow are based on the guidelines developed from the criteria developed in Chapter 5. The development of a set of criteria in this study is for the assessment of the properties and qualities of resettlement schemes. The guidelines may assist in the process of planning and implementation of resettlement schemes. The guidelines are conceptually broad and should be fine tuned to each specific area on which a resettlement schemes is proposed.

8.2 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the study was to establish a set of criteria for assessing and planning resettlement programmes. In order to do that the study undertook to:

- Investigate and compare legislative and administrative requirements and constraints associated with resettlement programmes in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa;

- Identify and assess the socio-economic and ecological issues that need to be addressed within resettlement programmes;
- Evaluate and assess individual characteristics of various resettlement programmes;
- Identify and evaluate remedial measures that may be required to mitigate the negative impacts of resettlement schemes and identify measures to enhance positive impacts and opportunities.

The national resettlement policies of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa have much in common. The policies share the objectives to be just, foster reconciliation and stability within the societies, contribute to economic development and improve welfare. Particular focus is placed on addressing the needs of marginalised groups of people in search of land. The legislation in each of these selected southern African countries makes provision for the designation of underutilized land for settlement purposes, namely, Zimbabwe's Land Acquisition Act of 1992, Namibia's Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act of 1995, and South Africa's Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994.

The process of implementing resettlement schemes in Zimbabwe has been carried out since 1980 and valuable lessons can be learnt to assist the Namibian and South African resettlement programmes. In addition to the policies sharing similar aims and objectives, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa share a common history of colonial rule and minority led governments resulting in the unequal distribution of natural resources, including land. The socio-economic and biophysical environments also share similarities which, in turn, influences planning and implementation of resettlement programmes in each of these countries.

Yet, as discussed in the review of Zimbabwe's resettlement programme and the evaluation of the Namibian and South African case studies, it is in implementing the resettlement programmes that the countries differ.

The case studies chosen for the study show divergent planning approaches and differing approaches to addressing the socio-economic and biophysical issues. The Gam resettlement scheme in Namibia suffered from a top-down, non consultative process, characterized by a lack of participatory planning and consideration for the existing inhabitants in the area and the sustainability of natural resources. The proposed resettlement programme at Elandskloof in South Africa differed in that all decisions were taken in consultation with the beneficiaries of the scheme. Although this participative process has resulted in a number of unforeseen delays and has required additional personnel, it has taken into account the considerations of all the future users of the land.

Resettlement programmes are intended to benefit landless people in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. To achieve this they are designed to address socio-economic problems currently experienced by rural inhabitants, namely, hunger, declining productivity in agriculture, overcrowding and lack of employment opportunities. The programmes endeavour to address these problems by providing adequate access to natural resources and necessary inputs for agricultural production. Beneficiaries of the programmes are expected to become largely self sufficient in the production of basic food crops.

The findings of the study indicate that the creation of sustainable livelihoods in resettlement programmes requires effective institutional planning at a national level. The success of resettlement programmes requires the identification and implementation of the necessary procedures and processes. With effective planning, beneficiaries of the programme have a greater chance becoming self sufficient in the long term. This is further enhanced by decentralizing the responsibility for implementing resettlement programmes.

The significant components affecting the planning and implementation of resettlement programmes include:

- Choice and acquisition of land;
- Land tenure arrangements;

- Provision of infrastructure and services;
- Size and usage of land;
- Management of natural resources.

Each of these components influence the outcome of the resettlement programme. Unless the socio-economic and biophysical issues likely to be impacted upon by the proposed resettlement programme are addressed, the likelihood of achieving economic development and minimizing the impact on the biophysical environments are reduced.

The planning of successful resettlement programmes therefore requires consultation with experts and the beneficiaries of the programme. This involves identifying and assessing the relevant socio-economic and biophysical issues, such as the suitability of land and the impact on the existing inhabitants. The requirements of future beneficiaries, their practices and the land's ecological sustainability, all need to be appropriately matched. Unless the land and other natural resources can sustain the settlers in the medium (considered after 5 years when most government agencies wish to curtail their daily involvement) and long term, the project may fail in its primary objective, namely, an overall improvement in the welfare of marginalised communities.

The overall success of resettlement programmes is aided by appropriate inputs by the government. In order to encourage the development of small scale farmers on resettlement schemes, the necessary inputs supplied by government include suitable land, permanent water supplies, appropriate credit facilities, livestock, seeds, and extension services. The results of the study indicate that the majority of beneficiaries require this assistance to produce enough agricultural produce in order to become self sufficient. If the beneficiaries manage to achieve an acceptable level of self sufficiency, the resettlement programme's additional aim is for the small scale farmers to produce a surplus product for sale.

The involvement of stakeholders and affected people is important in determining the provisions of the resettlement programme. The implementing agency must ensure that the planning and process provides ample opportunities for the participation of beneficiaries both prior to and after resettlement has occurred. Both the implementing

agency and resettlement programme itself should be flexible and accommodate the needs of the people as their involvement enhances and enriches the process. Effective stakeholder involvement should result in the provision of appropriate services and infrastructure and the development of local representation and participation in the programme. The consequence of this involvement may however take additional time and financial resources and require the provision of alternative inputs, such as land.

The stakeholders also need to address the issue of gender equity and the access to natural resources in resettlement programmes. Consideration by planners and facilitators needs to be given to the existing social structure of the beneficiaries which may not recognize gender equity. In doing so, the planning and implementation of resettlement schemes should not perpetuate gender inequalities, but should address the needs and desires of women and determine a solution that enhances their capabilities. For 'outsiders' to forcibly change the make-up of a social culture, due to their subjective view, does not however provide a sound long term solution. Consultation with women, and the realization that not all women wish to change their traditional mode of existence, is therefore an important component of the programme. All procedures should promote the self determination of beneficiaries at a pace determined by themselves.

Identifying and assessing the benefits and costs of the resettlement programme are an important component of the process. Experience from the Zimbabwean resettlement programme exposes the lack of firm documentation on key points of contention, such as the actual performance of resettlement schemes and the extent of under utilization of commercial farmland. This lack of reliable data concerning these factors means that the economic consequences of resettlement programmes are unclear. Moyo and Skalkness (1989) contend that the broad land reform, of which resettlement programmes are a component, is of such strategic importance to newly independent governments of southern Africa that it should be lifted out of the narrow realm of short term gains and losses and rather be seen from the perspective of its potential contribution to the attainment of basic long term development goals that a country has set for itself. Resettlement schemes should, therefore be conceived in terms of their future benefits to the economy as a whole and it may be preferable to concentrate the analysis in terms of

the possible effects of a greater redistribution of assets on the country's mixed economy. This can only be achieved in the medium to longer term by the regular application of monitoring programmes.

Monitoring programmes of the affected areas and people should be established during the research studies undertaken during the initial planning stage, prior to resettlement. This provides baseline data for the monitoring programme. Once settlement and usage of the land has occurred, the monitoring programmes should be implemented. If unsustainable usage of resources is found to be occurring, mitigating measures should be identified and implemented.

The management of natural resources should capitalize on an effective blend of local and scientific knowledge. Certain restrictions on the beneficiaries of resettlement programmes are often required to ensure the sustainable use of the areas natural resources. These restrictions may include prohibitions such as poaching of wildlife and removing trees. The restrictions should be determined in consultation with the beneficiaries of the programme and should where feasible, provide incentives to promote the sustainable use of natural resources.

Once the implementing agency is no longer in daily contact with the resettlement scheme, it is important to provide an advisory and support service when and if required. Human and livestock numbers at resettlement schemes are likely to increase overtime. These increases need to be accommodated and place additional pressure on the resource base. Additional modes of operation therefore need to be considered for the longer term development of schemes. If a scheme can increase the level of agricultural production without severely impacting on the resource base, the chances of the settlement becoming a sustainable node of growth are greater. In this way, the younger generation has employment opportunities within resettlement schemes and the pressure of seeking employment in urban areas is reduced.

In summary, the findings of the study indicate that resettlement programmes in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa have achieved the aims of providing access to natural resources for marginalised people. It can however, only be ascertained in the

longer term if the beneficiaries of resettlement programmes are able to improve their welfare and contribute to the economic development within rural areas. The government can enhance these objectives by addressing the socio-economic and biophysical issues of all resettlement areas and permitting research findings to influence the planning and implementation procedures of resettlement programmes. There have also been various limitations to the study. The restricted spectrum of variables considered could have been expanded if time permitted the study of a broader range of literature and field work to additional resettlement schemes. Further research on resettlement schemes is needed. In this regard, specific issues such as the allowance for future growth in resettlement schemes and the achievement (or not) of sustainable resources need to be studied in more depth. This will require the implementation of a long term research programme. The effects of resettlement schemes on the beneficiaries lifestyle is also a topic for future study.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations outlined below can be used as guidelines for planning and implementing resettlement schemes. The recommendations are divided into four sections, namely, institutional planning, stakeholder involvement, ecological sustainability in resettlement schemes and the design of infrastructure and services.

Institutional Planning

- Resettlement policies drawn up by the government ministry involved in resettlement, should be flexible in order to accommodate socio-economic and biophysical differences associated with different schemes.
- The formulation of the resettlement policy should involve consultation with all interested and affected parties.

- Appropriate research should be commissioned by the government to enable the planners of resettlement schemes to implement appropriate development initiatives.
- Credible resource plans should be formulated by government through the use of the combined talents of the interest groups, local inhabitants, agricultural and technical ministries, NGOs and experts.
- A decentralized approach in planning and implementing resettlement programmes is needed in order to address regional and local issues. Regional offices should be self sufficient in its operations.
- Adequate management and staff resources must be allocated at the regional level. Regular contact should also be maintained between the central and regional/local offices.
- The implementing agency should ensure that the staff are adequately equipped to perform their tasks. Regular training workshops should be provided to upgrade skills, improve incentives and provide opportunities for learning.
- Advice to settlers on their agricultural practices by government should be available in the form of government extension services.
- Efforts should be made to incorporate the resettlement scheme into the region's political structures. Representatives from the scheme should partake in local politics so that their concerns and those of their neighbours are considered.
- There should be a degree of flexibility within the resettlement programme to accommodate beneficiaries needs and capabilities, and unforeseen changes such as increases/decreases in human and livestock populations and methods of agricultural production.

- The selection of beneficiaries should be flexible and accommodate the needs of the people. Assistance in the selection process for beneficiaries should be gained from agencies and relevant institutions, such as NGOs and agricultural colleges.
- There should be no institutionalized gender discrimination by the implementing agency. If it occurs within the settler social framework, women should be encouraged to participate in the decisions that affect their lives. The issue of equal rights for women should be addressed by all beneficiaries, as it is only through the effort and understanding by both parties that gender equality can become a reality.

Stakeholder Involvement

- All interested and affected parties should be consulted and encouraged to participate in the land acquisition process.
- Local level representation should be established as early as possible. Resettlement schemes should be designed to be self governed by beneficiaries after the initial phase of government control is completed.
- Representatives of the local governing body such should be democratically elected by the beneficiaries.
- Beneficiaries, and especially women, should be encouraged to participate in the decision making process regarding organizational and planning procedures affecting the scheme.
- A conflict resolution body, respected by the majority of beneficiaries, be established by the implementing agency to address differences between the beneficiaries and themselves and their neighbours.

Ecological Sustainability of Resettlement Schemes

- Base line data should be collected by researchers commissioned by the government before the resettlement programme is put in place. Accurate and reliable information is a necessity when allocating tracts of land for resettlement purposes and to predict the possible impacts of future developments.
- The collection of data concerning natural resources should be an ongoing procedure.
- Resource management should take into account local and expert knowledge.
- Land uses practices of the beneficiaries should be guided by the constraints imposed by the implementing agency of the biophysical environment and provisions implemented for the continued sustainable usage of natural resources.
- Monitoring programmes developed by researchers should be implemented by researchers and trained beneficiaries to ensure the continued sustainable use of resources. If unsustainable practices are being realized, mitigating measures should be identified and implemented to rectify resource usage and restore sustainable management of natural resources.

Design of Infrastructure and Services

- Long term strategy planning by the government is required for the provision of appropriate infrastructure and services.
- Financial budgets drawn up by government for the provision of infrastructure and services must include the operational and maintenance costs incurred during the initial start up phase.
- The activities of the implementing agencies involved in providing infrastructure should be co-ordinated to avoid duplication of work and services.

- Appropriate technology which is inexpensive, resource efficient and economical should be researched by planners and applied if suitable to the socio-economic and biophysical environments.
- Regulations, such as codes and standards, should be adjusted if necessary by government to suit the social, economic and biophysical environments.
- The ownership of infrastructure should pass from the government to the beneficiaries who should be trained in the operation and maintenance of infrastructure. A policy of 'user pays' should be implemented for all infrastructure costs once the settlers have established self sufficient livelihoods.
- Health services should be provided by the government health ministry, either as a mobile or permanent clinic to combat sicknesses and educate on health matters.
- If necessary, infrastructure should be implemented by the relevant government ministries in an incremental manner within a long term programme to suit the needs of the users and the affordability of the implementing agency.
- Advice on the sustainable use of local materials for building shelters and sources of other materials should be available from experts from government and/or NGOs. Information on construction methods and optimizing climatic conditions, such as solar power, should also be accessible to beneficiaries.
- Formal education facilities consisting of trained staff, schools and educational resources should be provided for children by the government education ministry. Appropriate educational facilities for adults should be provided by government and/or NGOs.
- Credit facilities which take into account the vulnerable and unpredictable earning capacity of the beneficiaries should be provided by government, in addition to advice and assistance on the management of cash resources.

The implementation of the recommendations outlined above will assist in achieving the objectives of the resettlement programmes.

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APPENDIX ONE

Zimbabwean Resettlement Programme Permits

MODEL A: PERMIT TO CULTIVATE

APPENDIX H (2) (Paragraph 8.2)

Permit Number

MINISTRY OF LANDS, RESETTLEMENT AND RURAL
DEVELOPMENT

PERMIT TO CULTIVATE

Issued by the LANDS, RESETTLEMENT AND RURAL
DEVELOPMENT (hereinafter referred to as "the MINISTER"),
in terms of section 6 of the Rural Land Act (Chapter 155) to
..... (hereinafter referred
to as "the HOLDER").

The MINISTER hereby permits the HOLDER to cultivate on
area of State Land, approximately hectares in
area, known as and as indicated on
the sketch plan attached hereto (hereinafter referred to as "the
HOLDING").

This permit is subject to the following terms and conditions:

1. In the event of there arising a dispute as to the boundaries or
location of the land which may be cultivated in terms of this
permit the decision of the MINISTER shall be final.
2. The MINISTER may renew this permit and, at any time
during the currency thereof, including any renewal, may,
without notice, replace it with some other form of agreement
on such terms and conditions as he may determine.
3. This permit may be revoked if, at his sole discretion, the
MINISTER decides that the HOLDER has failed to comply

4. The said site shall be used for residential purposes for the accommodation of the HOLDER and his immediate family only.
5. The HOLDER shall maintain the said site in a clean, sanitary and tidy condition and shall comply with any instructions that the MINISTER may issue for the upkeep of the said site and the prevention of nuisance and maintenance of sanitary conditions.
6. The HOLDER shall pay all rates, taxes or other charges which may be levied on the said site by competent authority.
7. The HOLDER shall not carry on or allow any other person to carry on any trading, commercial or industrial operations on the said site.
8. The MINISTER, or any person authorised by him, shall have the right, free of charge and without compensation, to lay, construct and maintain roads, boreholes, pipe-lines, electric lines, sewerage, drains and ancillary works upon or under the said site.
9. On the expiry or revocation of this permit no compensation shall be payable to the HOLDER for any improvements effected by him on the said site:

Provided that the HOLDER shall be entitled, within a period of three months after the expiry or revocation of the permit, to remove any buildings and improvements constructed or effected by him on the said site.

Any buildings or improvements that are not removed by the HOLDER within the said period of three months shall become the property of the MINISTER, who may deal with them as he thinks fit.

10. Any act required or permitted to be performed by the

MINISTER in terms of this permit may be performed on behalf of the MINISTER by such officer in the public service as he may designate.

11. If any permit issued to the HOLDER by the MINISTER permitting the HOLDER to cultivate or depasture stock on State Land is revoked, the MINISTER may, in his sole discretion, immediately revoke this permit.

Issued at this day of 19

(Designated Official)
for Director of the Department of Rural Development on behalf
of the Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development,
in terms of Statutory Instrument 247 of 1980.

with any of its terms or conditions or has failed to make proper use of the holding.

4. The MINISTER may, for any public purpose, revoke this permit at any time and under such conditions as he thinks fit on payment to the HOLDER of such compensation as the MINISTER may determine.
5. The holding shall be used solely for agricultural purposes for the HOLDER's exclusive benefit.
6. During the currency of this permit the HOLDER shall:-
 - i) personally, actively and continuously carry on agricultural activities on the holding to the satisfaction of the MINISTER;
 - ii) comply in all respects with the provisions of, and regulations made under, the Natural Resources Act (Chapter 150), the Animal Health Act (Chapter 121), the Noxious Weeds Act (Chapter 127), and all other laws relating to soils husbandry, farming practices and livestock management and shall further comply with all instructions which the MINISTER may issue for:-
 - a) the prevention of damage to the sources and courses of streams;
 - b) the prevention and control of plant and animal pests diseases;
 - c) the control or eradication of any plants harmful to crops and livestock;
 - d) the protection of the holding against soil erosion;
 - e) the carrying out of any other measures that the HOLDER complies with clause 6 (i) hereof.

7. During the currency of this permit the HOLDER shall permanently and personally reside on the residential site allocated to him by the MINISTER.
8. During the currency of this permit the HOLDER shall renounce and forgo all rights to cultivate any land or depasture cattle in any Communal Areas.
9. The HOLDER shall not construct or erect, not permit nor cause to be constructed or erected, any building or other structure on the holding.
10. The HOLDER shall pay all rates, taxes or other charges which are levied upon the holding by competent authority.
11. The HOLDER shall not, without the prior written consent of the MINISTER, engage in any other occupation or employment during the currency of this permit.
12. The HOLDER shall not carry on or allow any other person to carry on any trading, commercial or industrial operations on the holding.
13. The HOLDER shall permit any rights of way necessary to give access to other holdings should he be required to do so by the MINISTER.
14. The MINISTER, or any person authorised by him, shall have the right, free of charge and without compensation, to lay, construct and maintain roads, boreholes, pipe-lines, electric lines, sewerage, drains and ancillary works upon or under the holding.
15. Any act required or permitted to be performed by the MINISTER in terms of this permit may be performed on behalf of the MINISTER by such officer in the public service as he may designate.

If any permit issued to the HOLDER by the MINISTER permitting the HOLDER to reside or depasture stock on State Land is revoked, the MINISTER may, in his sole discretion, immediately revoke this permit.

Issued at this day of 19

(Designated Official)
for Director of the Department of Rural Development on behalf of the Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development, in terms of Statutory Instrument 247 of 1980.

Appendix IV

ANNEX C

MODEL A: PERMIT TO DEPASTURE STOCK

MODEL A: PERMIT TO DEPASTURE STOCK

APPENDIX H (1) (Paragraph 8.2)

Permit Number

MINISTRY OF LANDS, RESETTLEMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

PERMIT TO DEPASTURE STOCK

Issued by the LANDS, RESETTLEMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT (hereinafter referred to as "the MINISTER"), in terms of section 6 of the Rural Land Act (Chapter 155) to (hereinafter referred to as "the HOLDER").

The MINISTER hereby permits the HOLDER to depasture stock, not exceeding in number the equivalent of livestock units on the State Land known as (hereinafter referred to as "the said State Land").

First Column	Stock Column
Category of Stock	Livestock Units
Cattle under the age of 2 years	0.5
Cattle over the age of 2 years	1.0
Sheep and goats under the age of 1 year	0.1
Sheep and goats over the age of 1 year	0.2

This permit is subject to the following terms and conditions:

1. In the event of there being any dispute as to the total number of livestock units equivalent to the stock being depastured in terms of this permit the decision of the MINISTER shall be final.

2. The MINISTER may renew this permit and, at any time during the currency thereof, including any renewal, may without notice, replace it with some other form of agreement on such terms and conditions as he may determine.
3. This permit may be revoked at any time if, at his sole discretion, the MINISTER decides that the HOLDER has failed to comply with any of its terms or conditions or has depastured stock in excess of the number permitted.
4. During the currency of this permit the HOLDER shall comply in all respects with the provisions of, and regulations made under, the Natural Resources Act (Chapter 150), the Animal Health Act (Chapter 121), and all other laws relating to soil husbandry, farming practices and livestock management and shall further comply with all instructions in respect of the said State Land which the MINISTER may issue for:-
 - a) the prevention of damage to the sources and courses of public streams;
 - b) the prevention and control of animal pests diseases;
 - c) the control or eradication of any plants harmful to livestock;
 - e) the maintenance of livestock carrying capacity through grazing and livestock management;
 - e) the protection of the soil against erosion;
5. During the currency of this permit the HOLDER shall permanently and personally reside on the residential site allocated to him by the MINISTER.
6. During the currency of this permit the HOLDER shall renounce and forgo all rights to cultivate any land or depasture cattle in any Communal Areas.

7. During the currency of this permit he HOLDER shall not, without the prior written consent of the MINISTER, engage in any other employment or occupation.
8. The HOLDER shall not without prior written consent of the MINISTER, construct or erect any building or other structure on communal area.
9. The HOLDER shall not carry on any trading, commercial or industrial operation on the said State Land.
10. The HOLDER shall not by any act prevent or attempt to prevent any other person from exercising any right to depasture stock on the said State and.
11. The HOLDER shall not, without prior written permission of the MINISTER, cultivate, cut any trees on, or remove any timber, grass or other vegetation from the said State Land.
12. Any act required or permitted to be performed by the MINISTER in terms of this permit may be performed on behalf of the MINISTER by such officer in the public service as he may designate.
13. If any permit issued to the HOLDER by the MINISTER permitting the HOLDER to cultivate or reside on State Land is revoked, the MINISTER may, in his sole discretion, immediately revoke this permit.

Issued at this day of 19

(Designated Official)
for Director of the Department of Rural Development on behalf
of the Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development,
in terms of Statutory Instrument 247 of 1980.

APPENDIX TWO

Participatory Rural Appraisal

Borehole no 5

Date: 17/02/97

Participants: 6 women-all ages and 4 men

Borehole

Borehole drilled in 1993/1994 for quarantine camp;; pumps 0600-1300hrs every day; govt. supplies 210 litres per month; farmer believes pipes are too narrow (N1 pipe takes 7 hrs to fill tank whereas N3 pipe would take 3 hrs); diesel pump situated in corrugated clad structure; 2x15000 litre PVC tank on top of a 2m high metal support; washing basin and tap near structure; yield sufficient; rain water in pans used by livestock in season. maintainance: farmer is able and wishes to fix borehole but is threatened by jail if he does; on a previous occasion he fetched a man from Tmumkwe to fix breakage but he was unable.

Composition of inhabitants

(refer to map)

Households consist of a husband, his wife/wives and children and possibly other family members such as a grandmother, brother and sister. Two families are single parented by the father- the one wife lives in Gam and the other parents are separated by divorce. The average household number is 11; children of school going age live in Gam and attend the primary school.

Settlement

Settled at either April 1996 or November 1996; different families cohabit in settlement; 8 groups of dwellings belonging to families make up the settlement; women build the houses but have difficulty with earth homes in rainy season due to plaster peeling.

Health

Children suffer from colds; there is no malaria although it exists in the area and no TB)

Present difficulties in Gam

money still in Botswana/no pensions/no suitable grass for craftwork

Resources

Livestock 600 cattle(milk /sell for cash)
1000 goats(milk)
horses(transport)
donkeys (transport)
wild food food, medicine and beer brewing
food aid
wood fuel/homes
grass thatching(fetched from area near Gam)
garden none due to threat by rats

Expenditure

School(difficult)/ clinic in Gam/ food(difficult)/ clothing materials in Grootfontein

Resource utilization

Farming practices(info. from one person)the kraals are constructed from 1 type Acacia using uncut branches and renewed every 8 months; livestock spend nights in kraal and drink in early morning; young livestock separated to allow to milk for people; no 'gifblaar' in area.

Resource network

No people from other settlements use their water supply; resources such as food aid, are shared within the settlement with those who lost cattle.

Biophysical observation

Vegetation 60% grass to 40% bush; grass heavily grazed; shrubs lightly browsed; large amount of annuals with few perennials

Fauna leopard killed by farmers 3 days prior to our visit due to killing livestock

Organisations

water point committees are not yet in place but to be established (women not involved)

wife in Gaur
1 father
7 children

1 father
2 children

1 husband
1 wife
7 children

1 husband
2 wives
1 grand mother
7 children

1 husband
1 wife
1 husband
1 sister
11 children

1 husband
2 wives
16 children

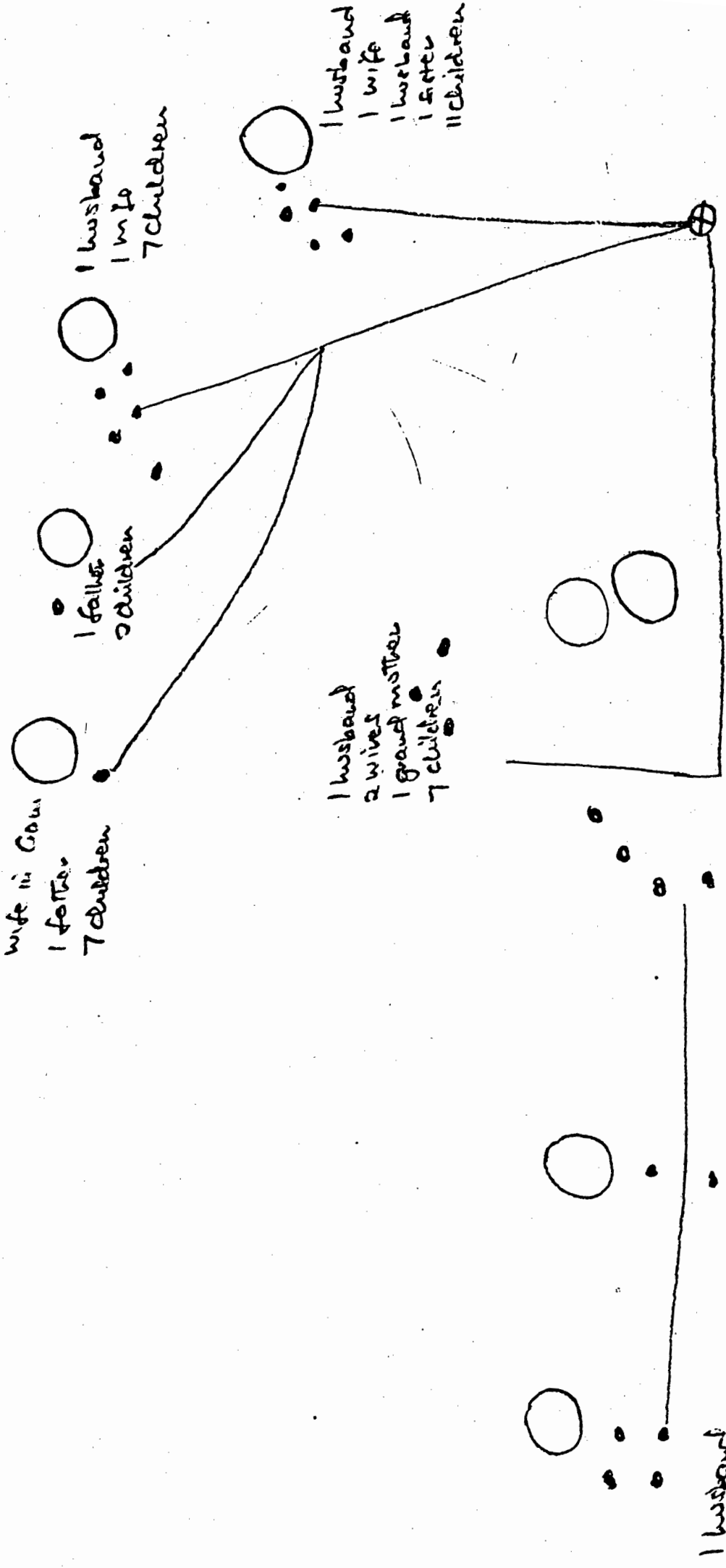
1 husband
1 wife
2 children

1 husband
4 wives
14 children

BOREHOLE

The borehole has enough water

In rainy season, catch via Fours as well.



Otjomihama

Date: 18/02/97

Participants: 13 women and 6 men

Borehole

First borehole to be drilled after Gam borehole; drilled depth 125m; good yield-3hrs to pump 30 000 litres; no shelter for pump; one point of source for humans and livestock - at trough which stands knee deep in water; farmer feels that 30 000 litre storage is insufficient; water levels are dropping :(in 1993-32mm pipes installed/ in 1994-35mm pipes installed and extended by 9m/1996-37mm pipes installed and extended by 6m); plastic resevoirs sit on a grid which is not a proper base as bulging and subsequent cracking occurs-1 tank already been replaced; maintainance by RWS but their slowness caused problems

Composition of inhabitants

All people originated from Botswana, fom different areas and belonging to different families; some knew each other previously; there is a strong sence of community within the members of Otjomihama; many children of 1-10yrs are present; 13 family settlements with 187 people comprising of 53 adults and 134 children; households comprise of a husbands, his wife/wives and their children; other family members include a divorced man and single women with her children; the average household number is 15.5 members.

Settlement

(refer to map)There are groups of family settlements approx. 50-100m from each other and situated 100-200m. from the borehole structure; dwellings are either tents supplied from the MLRR or new homes erected with a timber structure and walls of a combination of stones and mud 'patties' laid in a brick fashion; plaster using soil, dung and water is applied once the walling is completed; grass is used as thatching material.

Health

Outbreak of diarrhoea at present amongst young children; residents want mobile clinic service; they use medicines from indigenous plants; coughs,malaria, eye and skin sores are experienced amongst the children.

Resources

Livestock 1500 cattle(milk/sour milk/butter/sell to meatcor for cash)
donkeys(transport)
horses(transport)
sheep
(2000 livestock in total)

Food aid maize meal once per month shared amongst settlement

Cash from Botswana

Gardens recently established but threatened by rats

Expentiture

food/ clothing/ school/ medicine/ clinic

Resource network

(refer to resource network map)

Water obtained in need from Otjiserandu, Otangapeni, Otjzombani, Ominguindi and Otjibrinju

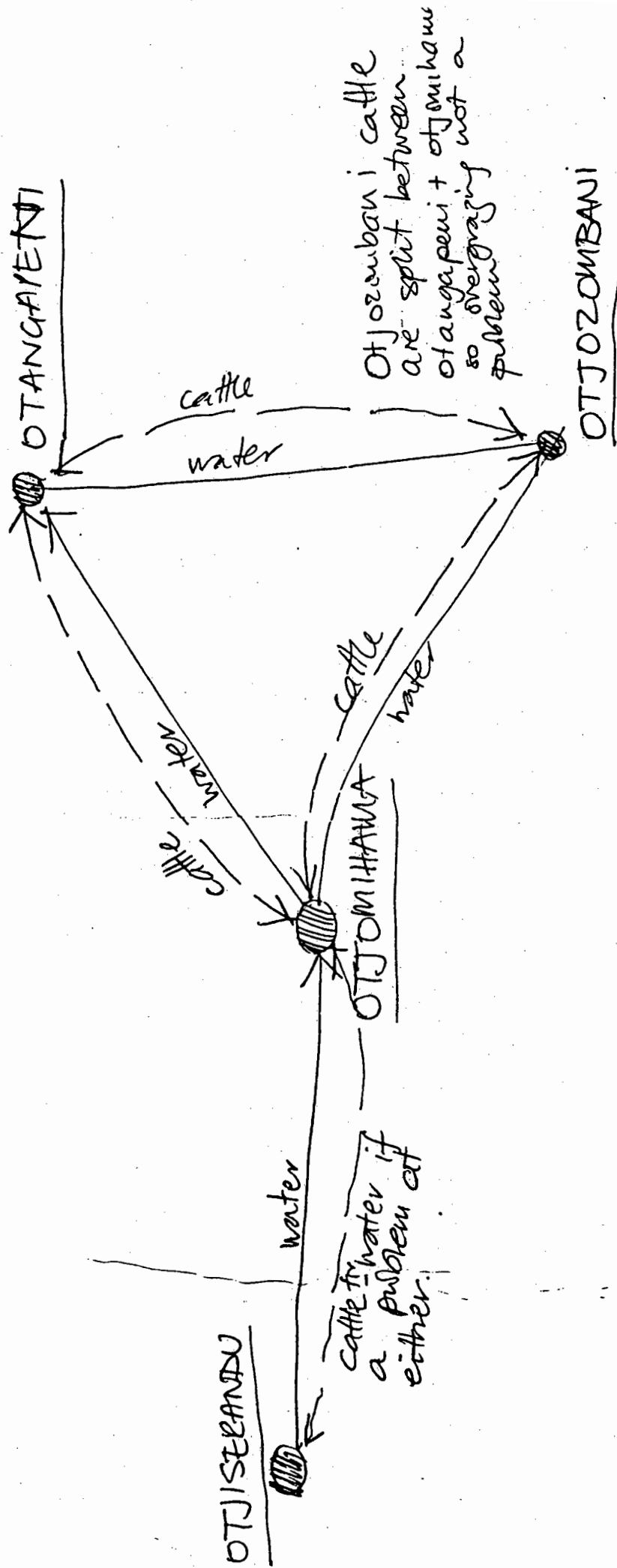
Biophysical observation

Vegetation farming practices-cattle drink in relays; veterinary services installed pen for vaccines which occurs once per year for blackfever; many cattle were killed from 'gifblaar'(poisonous plant)

Organisations

Water point committee has been set up

Vetinerary services visit

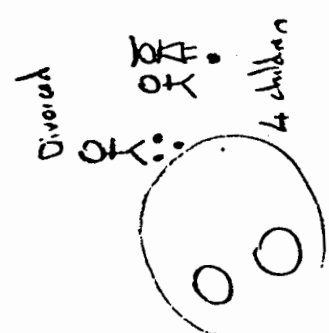
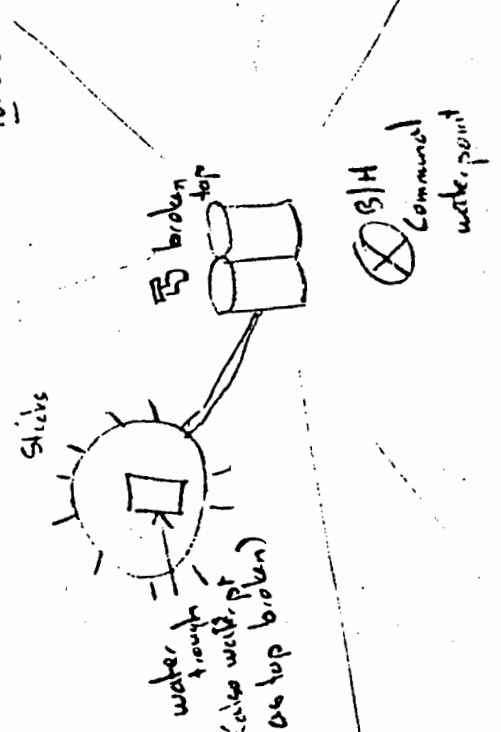
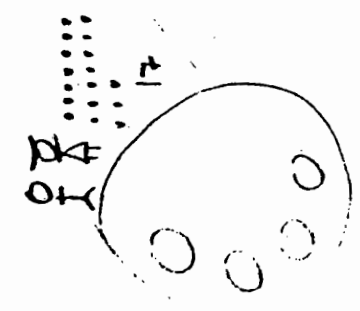
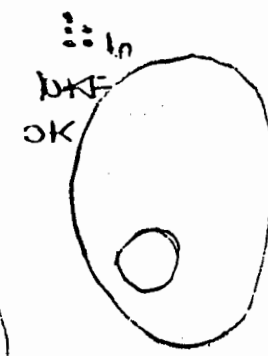
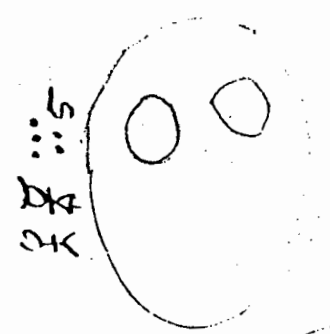
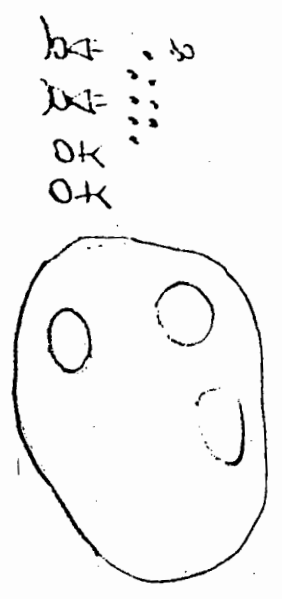
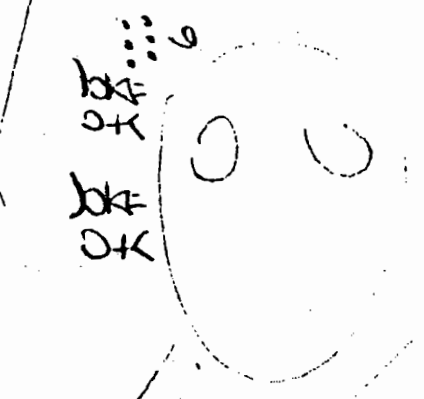
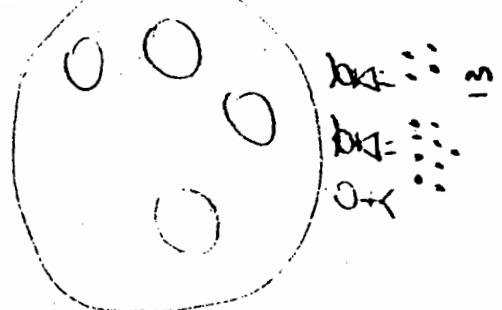
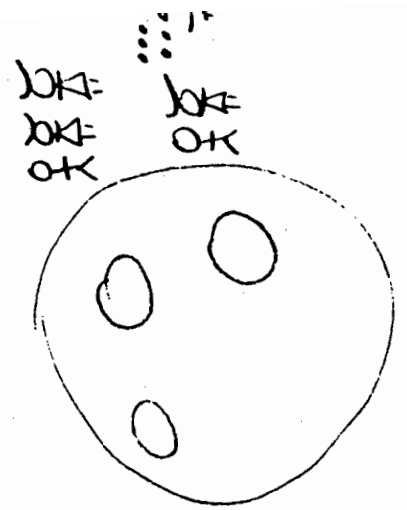
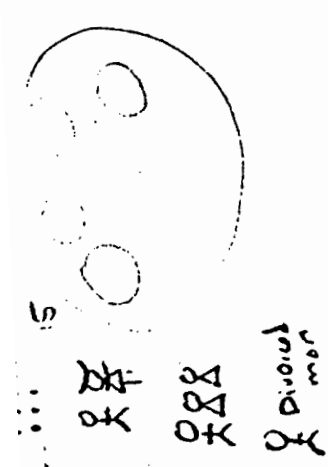
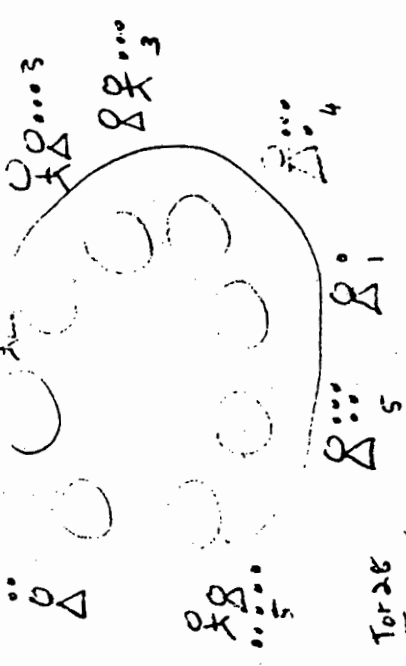


OTJOMIHAWA
EMERGENCY WATER NETWORK

grazing anywhere:
400-700 cattle is govt capacity - have 2000 So no new owners.

18.2.07

18/2/97
13 Women
Bridget
Wendy
Luzius



Divorced men

Divorced

Otjiserandu

Date: 17/2/97

Participants: 8 women and 3 men, farmers coming back from grazing areas and visitors aiding the participation at different stages.

Borehole

Lister engine sits underneath 2x15000 litre plastic resevoirs; planks installed under tanks to prevent bulging and cracking of tanks; pumps operational for half day; original pipes in borehole too small and have been replaced with larger ones (27mm); engine breakdown every 2-3 months; maintainance by RWS although reportedly with many delays.

Composition of inhabitants

Women, all wearing traditional clothes, were mostly in the age group 18-23 years with a few older women aged in their 40's ; younger women are well educated having completed Grade 8 in Botswana. The households consist of a variety of combinations such as:

- unwed women and their children,
- married couples and their children and
- single men and women, couples and children (refer to map)

58 adults and 184 children live at this settlement with the average household size of 14 people.

Settlement

17 minor settlements of 2-5 dwellings with each approx.100-200m.from the borehole; dwellings are either tents, timber structured and clad with corrugated iron or walling structured from mud packs and stones; women build the homes.

Health

Observation of strong lively children and strong adults; sicknesses mentioned are malaria, fever, diarrhoea, headaches and skin sores

Differences in Gam from Botswana

Could make and sell craft and participated in community projects eg. building a hall

Present difficulties

No work opportunities/ no fencing for small plots and gardens/ need materials (by women)for craft work eg. grasses for baskets as had in Botswana/ no literacy projects or tanning leather courses.

Resources

Livestock cattle (milk/meat if dies;sell in Gam; they previously used hides but no curing materials are available),
goats (milk for tea, meat, don't sell often due to low prices)
donkeys (transport, used for herding)
horses (transport)

Garden tried maize - unsuccessful due to damage by rats and cattle

Wild fruits food/ medicines(Devils Claw tree)

Aid from neighbours

wood (house structure/ fuel/ kraal fence)

grass (thatching)

stones (walling)

clay (plastering and constructing walls of dwellings)

Expenditure

Items ranked

Food, school, clothing, clinic

Resource network

(refer to network map)

Water obtained from Otjimihama, Otjozombani, Ondemapehi when in need; supplies from Gam

Biophysical observation

Topography flat land

Vegetation (differs according to distance from settlement)

-0-150 paces: heavily browsed bush/soil trampled/only annuals

-200 paces: browsing lighter,more annuals,60% cover

-300 paces bushes browsed,grass cover acceptable,1 species of annuals

-400 paces: increased bushes and Acacia,1 species annual,dead perrenial stumps

-500 paces: bushes less browsed,increased grass species but mostly annual

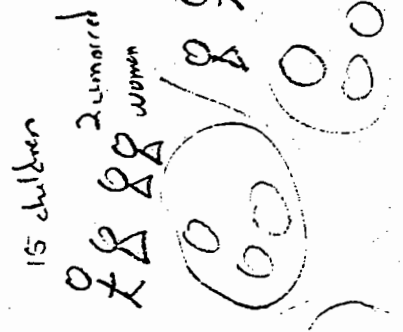
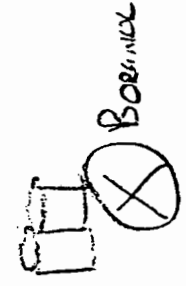
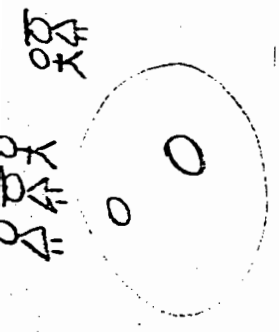
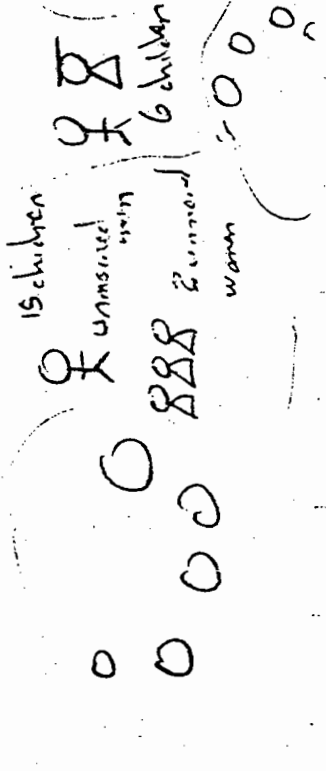
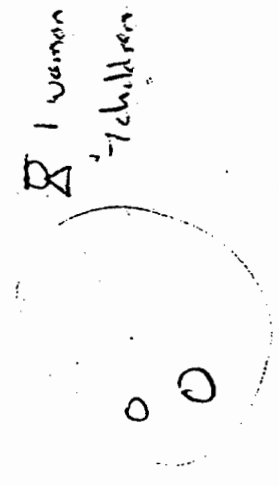
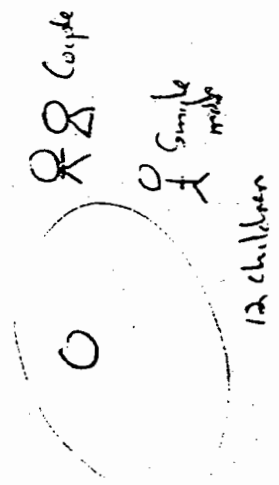
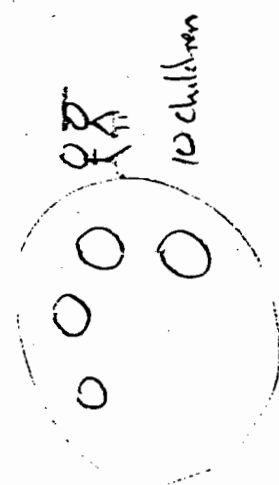
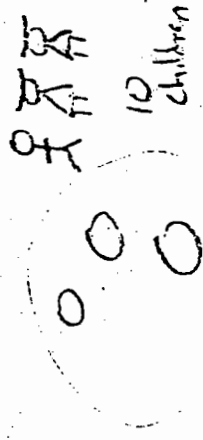
-600 paces:increased bush percentage/ other herbaceous plants; bush not heavily browsed

1

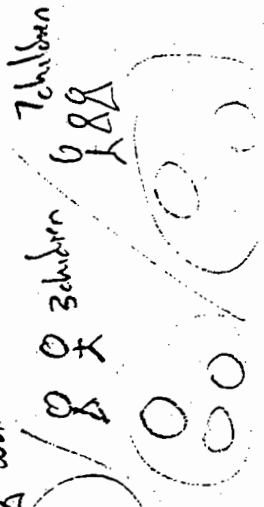
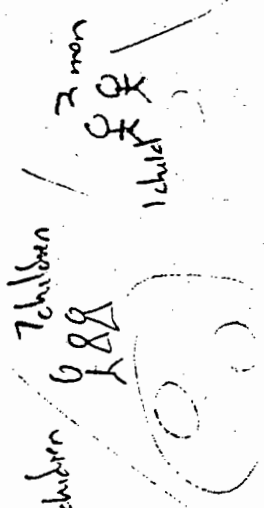
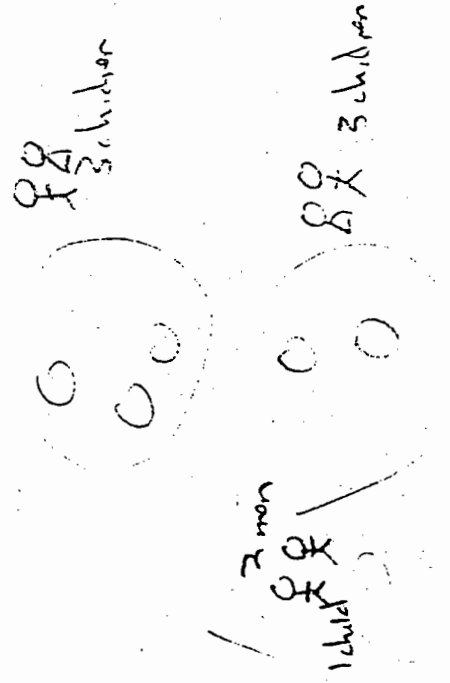
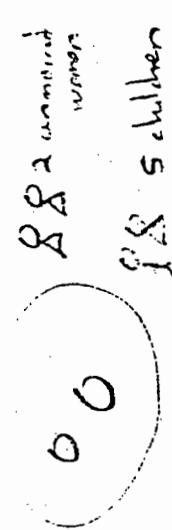
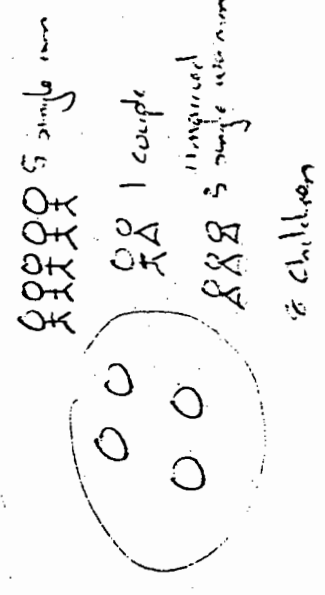
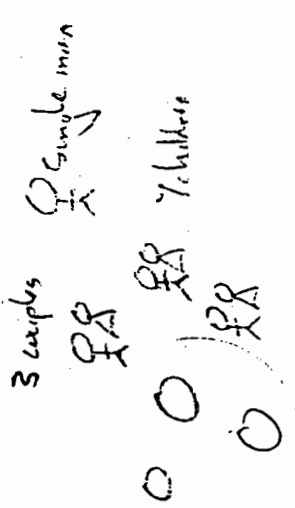
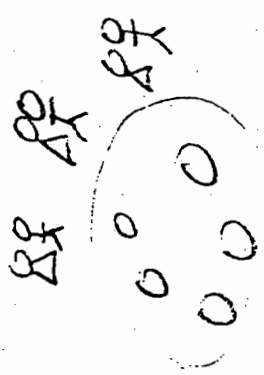
Organisations

Water point committee- been set up but people have little idea of what is to be expected;veterinary services visits are too seldom for the farmers

Two Hetero Women



of 150, and 10



DOISWAHATI

OTJIMIHAMA



emergency drinking water
people + animals

OTJOZOMBANI



emergency water for cattle.

OTJISEKANDU



visits

GAM



men + women shop + visit

drinking water collect in
trucks 2x per day
washing + clothes
trucks broken.

water for

cattle

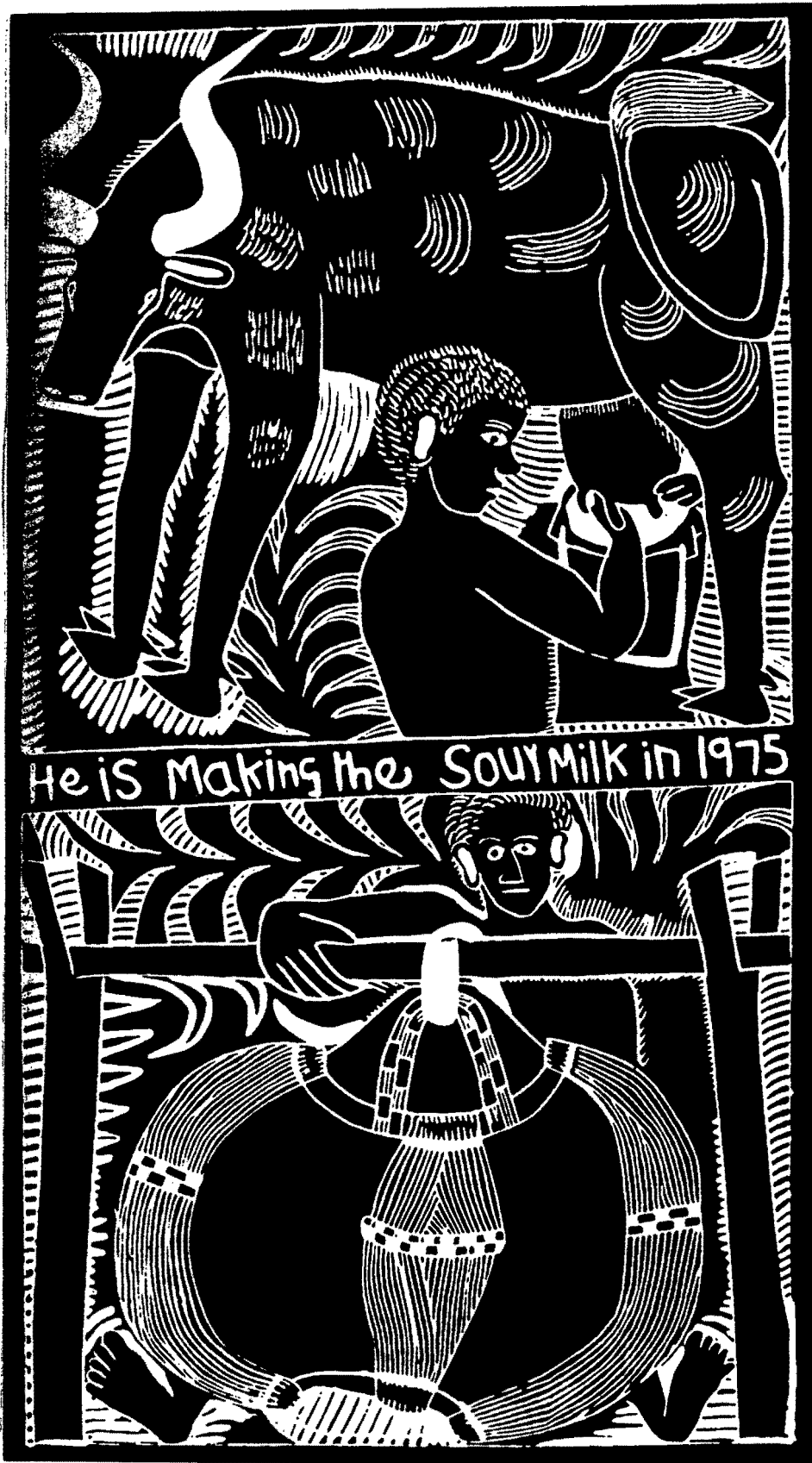
cattle



ONDEMAPEHI

OTJISEKANDU

NETWORK MAP



Maufengejo, John: *He is Making Sour Milk,* 1975