

TOWARDS SUCCESSFUL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION:

**A CASE STUDY OF THE NATIONAL RESETTLEMENT
POLICY OF NAMIBIA**

by
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of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Environmental Science

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...a spot smaller than a pinhead managed to explode and generate a mammoth universe of galaxies, not only suns and planets, but millions of bizarre life-forms on at least one insignificant planet - organisms which finally evolved into strange featherless bipeds capable of wondering how they got here and what it all means, if anything.

-Martin Gardner
in "The Night is Large", collected essays 1938-1995.

ABSTRACT

Resettlement, or the movement of people from one area with insufficient resources to another area of relatively greater resources which is likely to provide a more satisfactory standard of living, has been accepted by the Namibian Government as a suitable way of poverty alleviation. Since 1991, commercial farm land has been bought by the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation and been re-allocated to landless and destitute Namibians. In 1996, the National Resettlement Policy was approved by Cabinet. The current implementation of the resettlement policy is, however constrained by a number of variables which have been identified in the 'Retrospective Assessment of the Environmental Implications of Resettlement in the Oshikoto and Omaheke Regions of Namibia' (University of Cape Town, 1998).

The aim of this dissertation is to identify policy-scientific causes underlying the constraints to successful implementation, and give recommendations in order to improve the attainment of initial goals specified in the resettlement policy. To identify these policy-scientific causes, criteria were extracted from the theoretical policy making as well as from international experience with regard to policy implementation. Subsequently, the policy process of resettlement was assessed according to these criteria. This report presents the findings of the policy assessment of *the National Resettlement Policy* of Namibia.

Key findings

From the policy assessment, two main issues became apparent. **Firstly, it appears that too little attention has been paid to the implementability of the *National Resettlement Policy*.** A strong focus on the policy document, rather than on the feasibility of implementation, has taken place. The available resources, including financial, managerial, political and technical, available within the Namibian Government, are not sufficient to cater for a successful implementation. This underestimation of the costs of implementation is one of the main causes that led to the current constraints.

Secondly, aims and objectives of the resettlement policy have not been well adjusted to the needs and 'behaviour' of the target groups. This has led to a discrepancy between what *should* be happening according to the needs of the target groups and what *is* really occurring at the resettlement schemes. The underlying assumptions and theory on which the resettlement policy is based, appears not to be adequate.

Recommendations

Based on the key findings of this study, the following practical recommendations have been made to contribute to a more successful implementation.

A THOROUGH SURVEY OF THE AVAILABLE RESOURCES

To identify future potential with regard to improving the success of implementing the resettlement policy, it is strongly suggested that a thorough survey takes place of all the political, managerial, technical and financial resources available within all organisations involved in the implementation process. Institutions, such as the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit, could be such a possible agent to carry out such a study.

To facilitate the limited (financial) resources available, including those resources available to support an initial survey as recommended, **it should be considered to limited the survey initially to the key institutions involved, such as the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR), the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MWARD), the Ministry of Works, Transport and Communications, and Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET).** At a later stage, the survey could be extended to the other organisations and institutions involved.

DEVELOPMENT OF AN IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

Once the available resources for resettlement, have been identified, **it is suggested to develop an implementation plan which is in line with the nature of the resources available as defined by the survey.** This implementation plan requires the active input of all policy actors involved. Those ministries responsible, should have active participation to enhance the probability of full agreement, whilst promoting communication and co-operation between them. Furthermore, the target group should be recognised as a policy actor and subsequently requires an active participation programme, such as capacity building. **It is, therefore, suggested that the behaviour and needs of the potential settlers are re-investigated and incorporated into both the principles of the policy as well as into the structured implementation plan.** Benefits for the target groups should be promoted, and responsibilities allocated within the limitation demands of their resources. All policy actors should play a role in the gathering of information, thereby identifying those relevant actions at the appropriate levels (ranging from national to local resettlement scheme level), in addition to determining the responsibilities of those relevant actors in the implementation process (Mhlanga *et al*, 1998). To improve the accountability and the transparency of the policy process, choices regarding the implementation plan, should be motivated and substantiated.

The Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification can play an important role initiating and co-ordinating the establishment of the implementation plan. As an over-arching governmental organisation and initiator of the retrospective assessment, it plays a relatively neutral role with regard to interministerial tensions which had been acknowledged as a constraint to the current implementation of the policy.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CC	Carrying Capacity
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
EA	Environmental Assessment
EMS	Environmental Management System
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technologischen Zusammenarbeit
Ha	Hectares
I&APs	Interested and Affected Parties
LRAC	Land Reform Advisory Commission
MLRR	Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation
MPhil	Masters of Philosophy
NANGOF	Namibian Non-Governmental Forum
NAPCOD	Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification
NDP 1	The first National Development Plan
NEPRU	Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
SWAPO	South West African People's Liberation Movement
TCCF	Technical Committee on Commercial Farmland

FOREWORD

In 1995, after spending four months at Iscor in Vanderbijlpark, I realised that there was more in Environmental Management than had been experienced. This was, amongst others, an important deciding factor in my application to the Master of Philosophy course in the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science at the University of Cape Town.

In 1998, nearing the end of 18 months of intensive course work, group project and individual dissertation, I can look back at an unforgettable experience and a most instructive period. This dissertation is the final 'fulfilment of the requirements of a degree of Master of Philosophy in Environmental Science'. However, this dissertation means much more to me as I realise, that the value of it will be revealed in the years to come.

This dissertation is, furthermore, an attempt to break with the tradition to produce long and impractical dissertations. In this report, an attempt has been made to meet both the academic requirements for a dissertation, as well as those to write a concise, clear report aimed at assisting decision-makers and government officials. The use of simple language is promoted and extensive discussions, such as on research methods, are limited to a minimum to avoid a textbook approach. In this way, it is hoped that the accessibility to this report is increased.

In addition, the contents of this dissertation should be considered within a broader context, as both South Africa and Namibia make steady progress in the process of transformation. Having moved from the situation whereby 'the state' determined the needs of (a minority of) its constituency, both countries now face a situation whereby the people themselves will, increasingly with time and experience, determine their needs. This transformation process requires an enormous input from both the government as well as from the people. The importance of the general public in developing itself to be a 'watch dog' of

government, and finding the right channels to express its views and participate, need to be stressed. It is in this context, I think, academic institutions can and shall play an important role in two ways. Firstly, scientific research can fulfil a role in collecting and organising information on which democratic policy can be based. The behaviour and real needs of the constituency can be identified through continued research and the nature of policy, as a continually evolving programme of action, must acknowledge and encourage investigation and subsequently adjust. Secondly, academic institutions are suitable bodies to monitor state of affairs of a government. In my opinion, the MPhil course is an ideal tool which illustrates the need to comprehend, through investigation and application of theoretical knowledge, whilst understanding the realities, thereby fulfilling these two roles. It is in this light, that I chose to take a 'policy-scientific' approach for my dissertation.

Rene Nijenhuis

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I

INTRODUCTION SECTION

University of Cape Town

1. INTRODUCTION

In this first section the background to the research is discussed, including the aims, objectives and scope. Furthermore, the research methodologies and study approach are considered. Finally, the assumptions underlying the research and the limitations to the study are stated.

1.1 Background to this study

In 1990 Namibia became the final country on the African continent to receive its independence. With more than 100 years of colonial rule, initially by Germany and later by South Africa, many Namibians had been left poor and landless. The uneven distribution of land¹ was widely regarded as the root cause of poverty and economic inequality in the country. Land reform, and especially land redistribution, was accepted across the political spectrum as being necessary for socio-economic development (Werner, 1997). To address this problem of uneven distribution the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) was established in September 1990. The primary tasks of the MLRR has been in purchasing and allocating land, and, in co-operation with other Ministries, providing support services and infrastructure to this newly acquired land.

Up until 1997, thirty-nine commercial farms have been bought and the total land for resettlement covering an area of approximately 240 000 hectares (ha) (Werner, 1997). The purchase of land for resettlement took place on a rather *ad hoc* basis until in 1995 the *Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, No. 6 of 1995* was passed. This act provides a legal basis for the acquisition and redistribution of land for resettlement, and although all land bought prior to the Act's existence had been bought according to the principles of a "*willing buyer, willing seller*", the Act makes provision for expropriation, subject to compensation. One year after the promulgation of

¹ According to Werner (1997) in 1990 some 4500 commercial farmers owned about 43% of all the agricultural land, while more than 150 000 households had access to 42% of this land.

the Act, the *National Resettlement Policy*² was approved by cabinet. The main aim of the *National Resettlement Policy* is, as stated in the policy-document, to: "...uplift the living standards of all Namibians" (Republic of Namibia, 1996).

Little research has focused on assessing or evaluating the resettlement efforts of the Namibian Government. In 1996, Kunene Consultants were commissioned to do an assessment of resettlement in Namibia. This assessment was rejected by the MLRR and a new tender is expected to be put out (University of Cape Town, 1998). Furthermore, the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU) has published a working paper on Land Reform in Namibia since 1990 (Werner, 1997). Little research has been undertaken so far as the *National Resettlement Policy* is a relatively new policy and limited progress has been made since the acceptance of the policy-document in 1996.

In 1998, the University of Cape Town undertook a retrospective assessment³ of environmental implications of resettlement in the Oshikoto and Omaheke regions of Namibia (University of Cape Town, 1998). The Government of Namibia, as represented by the Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD) requested the University of Cape Town to assess the resettlement programmes. A group of six students of the 'Masters of Philosophy (MPhil) in Environmental Science' course undertook the retrospective assessment. This group project was a partial fulfilment of the MPhil course. The retrospective assessment was based on case studies in the Oshikoto and Omaheke regions. Five resettlement schemes were visited and the retrospective assessment further included, amongst others, a review of current policy and legislation. Figure 1.1 below, shows an overview of Namibia and the five resettlement schemes visited.

² National Resettlement Policy as approved by Cabinet in March 1996

³ The term 'retrospective' does not refer to an *ex post* evaluation of the resettlement schemes as they are still being implemented. Rather, it has been applied to distinguish from assessments which takes place *prior* to implementation or development, such as Environmental Impact Assessments, Strategic Environmental Assessments and Policy Analysis.

Furthermore, the following number of overarching and interlinking characteristics pertaining to the present implementation were identified:

- ◇ unclear co-operation and co-ordination with respect to the roles required by the different ministries;
- ◇ lack of communication between settlers themselves, settlers and authorities, different levels within the MLRR and between various ministries;
- ◇ limited settler participation due to top-down approach;
- ◇ limited levels of planning restrict a successful implementation; and,
- ◇ a lack of capacity of both settlers and government officials at the various levels (University of Cape Town, 1998).

The most logical and important step after identification of the constraints of successful implementation of the *National Resettlement Policy* is to investigate the causes of these factors.

1.2 Rationale for study

The impact of the assessment findings are currently limited to the people who have been resettled to date, in addition to the relevant government departments and their officials. Further progress and fulfilment of the goals of the resettlement programme is expected to be affected as well if no mitigation measurements are taken. Taking into consideration the pressure on the MLRR to 'deliver' being very high⁴, it is not unlikely that the implementation process of the *National Resettlement Policy* will result in the prioritisation of certain objectives, and subsequently the allocation of specified resources above others. The implementation of the recommendations as presented in the retrospective assessment report of the University of Cape Town could therefore compete directly with the objectives of increased purchasing and allocation of land as specified in the policy. In that instance, a substantial increase in the potential number of people anticipated to be affected than is occurring, could be expected.

⁴ In May 1997, the ruling party, the SWAPO, urged the MLRR to continue 'implement[ing] the land reform policies and programmes ...with a sense of urgency' (Werner, 1997). While in January 1998, a newspaper reported the President of Namibia, as saying to set the following targets; to acquire 20% of the required land by the end of 1998 and 80% by the end of the decade (*New Era*, 30-01-1998).

In a broader context, policy processes have been very weak in Sub Saharan Africa (SSA), but the severity of this problem varies from one country to the next (Gulhati, 1990). At this moment, only limitations or constraints to a successful implementation have been identified in the resettlement schemes of Namibia, rather than a complete policy failure. Therefore, the need for policy adjustments, based on policy-scientific causes are in place at this stage of the implementation process.

The policy sciences, such as policy analysis and policy evaluation, aim to establish, analyse, assess and re-align the procedures of government policies. A policy-process can, in general terms, be defined as the purposeful proceedings of formulation, implementation, and evaluation of the adopted intentions and guiding principles of a government as determined by public interest. Policy-scientific research is an established discipline in the industrialised world. Yet the application of this kind of research to developing countries has been relatively limited (Walt and Gilson, 1994). However, more recently there has been a noticeable increase in policy-scientific research being undertaken in the fields of economics, development, and health in developing countries in Africa, Asia and South-America⁵. Lessons can be learnt from this policy-scientific research with regard to the factors relating to the attempts to successfully implement policies.

The advantage of applying a policy-scientific approach to this study is embedded in the limited progress made to date by the resettlement programme. This provides an opportunity to adjust the implementation process to an improved efficiency level without fundamental alteration to resources already in place.

⁵ See, for example, Liddle R.W. "The politics of Development Policy", *World Development* Vol. 20. No. 6, 1992, pp. 793-807; Bery S.K. "Economic Policy Reform in Developing Countries: The Role and Management of Political Factors," *World Development*, Vol. 18, No. 8, 1990, pp. 1123-1131; Walt, G. and Gilson, L. "Reforming the health sector in developing countries: the central role of policy analysis," *Health Policy and Planning*, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1994, pp. 353-370.

1.3 Problem statement

The background to the study, as described in the paragraphs above, can be iterated as a single problem statement. This problem statement will set the scope of the study, as well as providing research direction. In addition, the problem statement includes the research contribution that has been made towards solving a perceived problem, that could otherwise be stated as the aim of the study. The problem statement defining this study is as follows;

The identification of the policy-scientific causes of the constraints to successful implementation and recommendations to improve the attainment of initial goals specified following the realisation of the National Resettlement Policy.

1.4 Aims and objectives

The study intends to contribute towards an overall improvement in the implementation process of the resettlement policy in Namibia. Improving the procedural process will enhance the likelihood of achieving the goals set by the resettlement policy. The following objectives have been identified as important in achieving the above stated aim:

- ◇ outline the general theory of policy processes;
- ◇ provide a general overview of practical experiences of policy-scientific research in both developed and developing countries;
- ◇ provide a brief summary of findings of the '*Retrospective Assessment of Environmental Implications of Resettlement in the Oshikoto and Omaheke Regions of Namibia*' (University of Cape Town, 1998) ;
- ◇ develop a set of criteria from the policy-theory and practical experiences in order to assess the Namibian resettlement policy process;
- ◇ critically assess the Namibian resettlement policy process;
- ◇ determine policy-scientific causes of the limitations of the resettlement process; and
- ◇ make practical recommendations that are likely to improve the resettlement policy-process of Namibia.

1.5 Definitions and terminology

To further define the study, and for the sake of clarity, the following definitions and terminology apply to this study;

Policy scientific: aimed at the working of policy processes of (mainly government or public) policies

Retrospective assessment: The study undertaken by the University of Cape Town in 1998 and represented in the baseline document 'A retrospective assessment of environmental implications of resettlement in the Oshikoto and Omaheke regions of Namibia'.

Policy process: the purposeful proceedings of formulation, implementation and evaluation of the adopted intentions and guiding principles as determined by public interest.

Environment: for the retrospective assessment a broad definition of the term environment had been applied. Environment thus refers to physical, ecological, social, economic, cultural, historical and political components.

1.6 Research methodology of group project and dissertation

The research methodology of the group project and the individual dissertation overlap due to the MPhil course structure. The majority of time was spent in the field and dedicated to data collection for the retrospective assessment. Primary data collection for an independent dissertation was, therefore, limited. However, the primary data collected for the group project does provide a substantial setting for the individual dissertation, with additional data collected through available documentation. Owing to the nature of the available information, no specific research in the decision-making process of the resettlement policy was undertaken.

1.6.1 Literature review

Various literature sources have been consulted in order to verify the information obtained. This literature includes legislation and policy documentation, academic papers, specialist literature and research reports (see *Reference list*).

1.6.2 Additional methods

During the retrospective assessment, the following research methods were applied for the collection of data⁶:

- a) case studies: five individual resettlement projects were visited to provide direct and detailed information;
- b) interviews: in-depth interviews with key persons from the government, non-governmental organisations (NGO), and settlers were conducted to gain as much information in a limited time frame;
- c) observations: visual and auditory observations were both used to obtain impressions or 'a sense of the environment' in which the research took place and to verify certain information gathered with other methods; and
- d) transects: as part of a larger study undertaken by the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) botanical transects were taken. These transects would further serve as baseline data for future research on vegetation change.

1.7 Assumptions and limitations

To obtain rational conclusions, it is important that assumptions underlying the research and limitations encountered during the research are made explicit (Van den Borne and Jansen, 1994). Principles underlying the study, such as transparency, accuracy, validity and reliability, are enhanced by stating the assumptions and limitations before hand.

⁶ An extensive description of the research methods is given in the retrospective assessment and most of the material has been appended to the baseline report: University of Cape Town (1998). *A retrospective assessment of environmental implications of resettlement in the Oshikoto and Omaheke regions of Namibia*. University of Cape town. Cape Town.

This study is primarily based on data collected for the retrospective assessment, and, therefore, it is assumed that the information presented in that assessment report is correct and accurate. The conclusions drawn in the retrospective assessment are assumed to comply with the criteria of validity. As a result of the relation between the group project and the dissertation, the assumptions and limitations identified for the retrospective assessment⁷, apply indirectly to this study (University of Cape Town, 1998).

This study is primarily concerned with the resettlement policy process in Namibia. Specific issues and considerations derived from this study are therefore not necessarily representative for other policy processes currently undertaken in Namibia. In addition, the content and justification of resettlement are not raised in discussion. Process and the content of policy may be recognised as strongly related, the assumption applied throughout this study is that resettlement is an accepted and legitimate approach to poverty alleviation.

Not all the data initially collected for the retrospective assessment might be fully applicable to this study. No additional primary data is collected for this research. The use of primarily secondary data may be interpreted as a major limitation for an independent research at Masters level. Based on the experience in the MPhil course, the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science still considers the approach whereby an individual dissertation is, to a certain extent, based on primary data collected for a group project as best, considering the structure of the course and the limited time frame of 18 months, to fulfil all course requirements.

This study has a strong relation with the retrospective assessment, however this report is designed to be read independently as it is the product of individual evaluation. This can be further upheld as it re-iterates findings of the retrospective assessment.

⁷ See University of Cape Town (1998): p. 13-15.

The retrospective assessment is based on criteria which are broader defined than the policy goals. In addition to the achievement of the goals set in the policy document, criteria have been developed to assess the long term sustainability of resettlement. The findings of the retrospective assessment, that form the basis of this study, are therefore not limited to the framework of the policy document. The broad approach of assessment does thus apply to this study as well.

Owing to time and financial constraints and subsequently limited data collection, this study does not provide a thorough assessment of the policy process of resettlement. In addition, the resettlement policy is still being implemented and therefore an *ex post* evaluation can not take place yet. A number of variables that can influence a successful implementation are recognised, however not taken into account in this study. These variables were not considered in this study because of limited data, time, finances and knowledge or familiarity of the researcher. The variables included, amongst others, economic developments at macro level, historical causes, the working of administrative staff, and the personal influences of politicians and other government officials. Certain theories that focus on the cultural, class or historical causes of policy failure, do not really address the question of causes (Liddle, 1992). The aim of this study is to pay a contribution to the improvement of the successful implementation of the resettlement policy. The outcomes of studies that focus on proximate causes that can be manipulated are more likely to serve reform minded politicians and government officials.

1.8 Structure of the report

A flexible and iterative research process is adopted in this study. Within the research process and the structure of the report a distinction can be made between five main parts:

Introduction section

- ◇ The first chapter introduces the background to the study, including aims, objectives and scope.

Theoretical section

- ◇ The second section of this report provides the theoretical background to this study. The theoretical framework of the study is presented in the second chapter. This framework places the study in a theoretical, and practical, context. The third chapter discusses the theory behind policy making. Firstly; the concept of 'what is policy' is explained, and secondly; the policy-cycle is discussed, including the elements that make up the policy-process. The next chapter reviews international experience with regard to policy-process in both developed and developing context. Experiences and lessons learnt from West European and North American, as well as African, Asian and South American countries are discussed. The chapters in this second part of the dissertation will form the theoretical foundation for the assessment part, where the policy-process of resettlement will be assessed.

Case study description

- ◇ The third part of the report elaborates upon the resettlement process in Namibia and describes the developments with regard to resettlement from independence until the end of 1997. Chapter 6 presents a summary of the findings of the retrospective assessment.

Assessment section

- ◇ This assessment (chapter 7) is based on 'criteria' derived from the theory of policy-process and international experience. This chapter includes a discussion on the overarching policy scientific causes that relate to the current constraint of the successful implementation of the resettlement policy.

Recommendations

- ◇ Recommendations are made in the last chapter, chapter 8. These recommendations are focus on the improvement of the policy process of the resettlement policy. The research process and structure of the report is represented in figure 1.2:

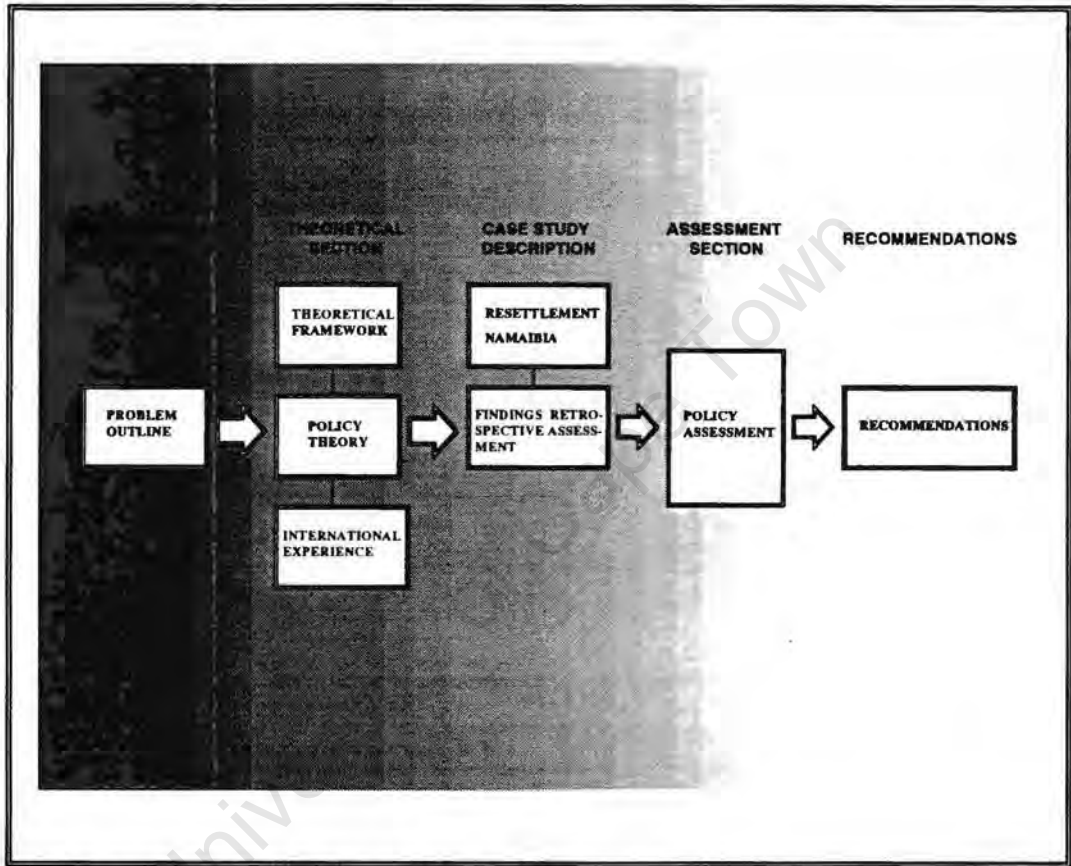


Figure 1.2 Study approach to research

In this section the scope and boundaries are set for the study. In the introduction the background to the study, a clear problem statement and a description of methodology, limitations and assumptions to the study have been given. The next section will focus on the context in which the study takes place, by providing a theoretical framework.

II

THEORETICAL SECTION

University of Cape Town

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In general terms, research evolves around a certain problem. The concept of problems and their subsequent norms is explained with reference to this dissertation. Furthermore, the theoretical context in which research, and especially this study, takes place is elaborated upon in the second half of this chapter.

2.1 The problem concept

A problem can be described as a discrepancy between a current situation and a desired situation (Glasbergen, 1994). The current situation is 'unwanted' according to certain standards, norms and ideals. These desired standards, norms or ideals form the evaluation criteria against which the current situation can be compared. Research fulfils the role of reducing or solving a problem, therefore, an analysis of the problem, with its subsequent norms and ideals, is required. This analysis took place in the 'background to the study' (see section 1.1) in which actors are identified along with the problem and all attempts made to acknowledge and deal with the problem.

This dissertation defines the current 'unwanted' situation in Namibia as an uneven distribution of both land and income, as have been specifically targeted by the implementation of the *National Resettlement Policy*. However, a number of factors limiting the resettlement aims and goals have been identified. These key findings and interlinking characteristics are taken as the fundamental criteria limiting successful implementation, as have been discussed in the retrospective assessment .

The desired norm used for this dissertation can be described as 'successful implementation of the resettlement policy'. 'Successful' implying the achievement of the aims and objectives as set in the *National Resettlement Policy*.

When the aims and objectives of the *National Resettlement Policy* have been achieved the current situation will have changed into the desired situation. In this situation the *National Resettlement Policy* would have been successfully implemented and land and income would be evenly distributed within Namibia. In the underlying figure the problem concept of this dissertation has been visualised (see figure 2.1).

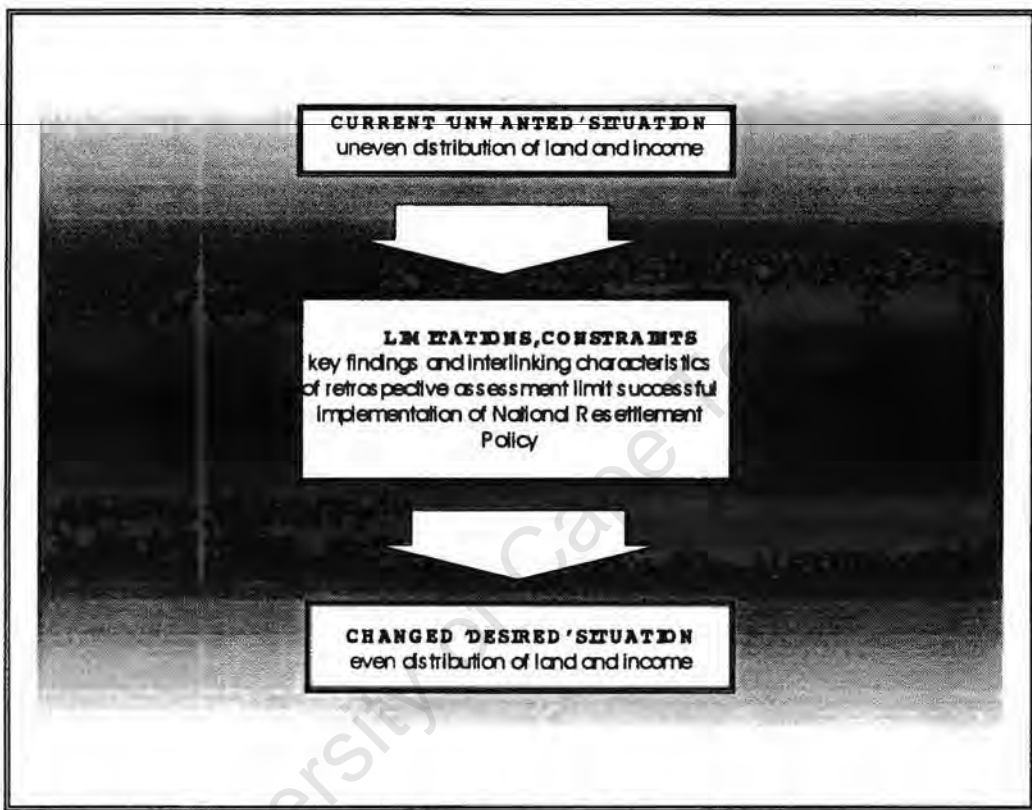


Figure 2.1 Visualisation of the problem concept

2.2 The research context

Research cannot stand alone and must be placed in context of a current reality. The purpose and results of this study form the context at a theoretical level. However, the research institute or the preferences of a client places the study within a more practical context.

2.2.1 The theoretical context

Two main characteristics of research are: (1) the purpose and intent of research; and (2) the results and application of that research. The purpose or aim of research can either be focused on the explanation of causes or on identifying solutions for a problem. These two orientations can form points on a continuum along which research can be placed (Udo de Haes, 1994).

The second general characteristic focuses on the results of research. A distinction should be made between research results with an '*ad hoc*' character which is usually directly applicable and research results providing general applicable methods, models or theories. This classification of characteristics however do not provide a single classification that can be applied rigidly. The continuum is a theoretical representation of the context, with overlap between purposes or results often occurring. The two aspects of research can be related to another, as is visualised in the following figure (see figure 2.2):

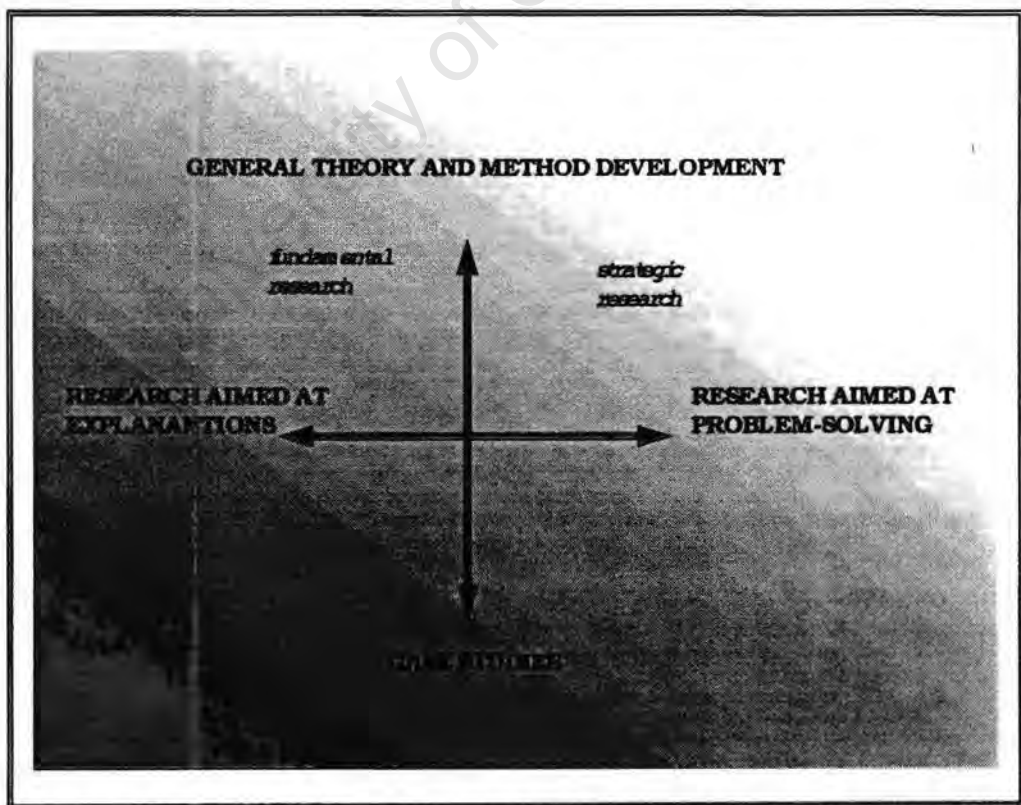


Figure 2.2 Visualisation of theoretical research context (Udo de Haes, 1994)

When applied to this study, it becomes apparent that the results are primarily based on a case study, namely the policy-process of the National Resettlement Policy. No general theory or methods will result from this study and the research takes place within an '*ad hoc*' context.

However, with respect to the purpose of this dissertation, no clear-cut classification can be made, although the aim of the research is focused on problem-solving. An objective of the study is the explanation of causes of the problem identified. The main aim is to contribute to an improved policy-process of resettlement. Recommendations will be made, though the policy-scientific causes will initially be identified. In figure 2.2, the context of the research will shift from the bottom left side, horizontally to the bottom right corner. Thereby showing that research is a dynamic and iterative process.

2.2.2 The practical context

Apart from the theory which informs research, there are some practical considerations which play an important role in this study. The practical context of research refers to the various factors and actors that relate to, and could possibly influence, research. This research is completed in partial fulfilment of the requirement of a Masters of Philosophy in Environmental Science of the University of Cape Town, and therefore, has to meet specific academic standards. The dissertation is based on a group project which has been funded by the Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification. In consultation with NAPCOD, it has been agreed that the dissertations of the individual students will relate to specific aspects of the group project. These dissertations are expected to be developed with more analytical rigour, and at greater depth and understanding than the initial retrospective assessment of the group project. The production cost of the individual dissertations have been funded by the Gesellschaft für Technologischen Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). Both the group project and the individual dissertation have been supervised by the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science, and external reviewers and examiners.

2.3 The concept of effectiveness

The successful implementation of the resettlement policy is constrained by specific characteristics of the policy. The retrospective assessment focused on the long term successful implementation or 'effectiveness' of the resettlement schemes. Saddler (1996) developed a framework to assess the effectiveness of Environmental Assessment (EA) which could be applied to this study. The framework is based on a model that has been widely applied in literature to compare the EA 'theory' and 'practice'. In other words, a comparison is made between what *should* be done according to established norms of law or science and what *is* done. Sadler (1996:39) distinguishes between three main components of an EA effectiveness study, namely;

- ◇ *procedural: does the EA process conform to established provisions and principles?*
- ◇ *substantive: does the EA process achieve the objectives set, e.g., support well informed decision-making and result in environmental protection? and*
- ◇ *transactive: does the EA process deliver these outcomes at least cost in the minimum time possible, i.e., is it effective and efficient?*

The relation between the retrospective assessment and this policy assessment study becomes clear in the following figure (see figure 2.3).

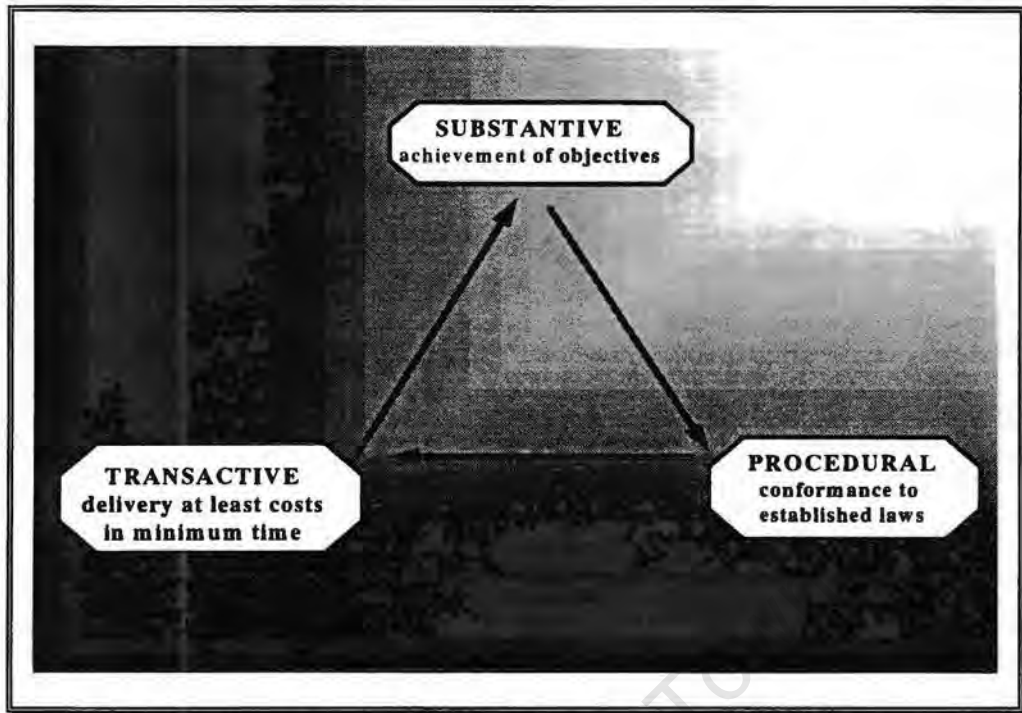


Figure 2.3 Effectiveness triangle (based on Sadler, 1996)

The retrospective assessment focused on the achievement of the objectives of resettlement. These objectives were complemented with long term sustainability criteria. The individual dissertation however, will focus more on the procedural aspects of the policy implementation and therefore forms part of the broader effectiveness context as laid out by Sadler (1996).

This section has provided the theoretical context of the study. The underlying problem is explained and both theoretical and practical research contexts are discussed. In the following section, the theory of policy making will be discussed in order to identify policy-scientific causes of the constraints to the resettlement policy.

3. THE PROCESS OF POLICY MAKING

Before the causes of the limiting factors of the resettlement policy can be identified, an understanding of policy making and the term 'policy' is required. This section aims to provide a short overview of the theory of the policy process. Firstly, the definition of policy is discussed. Thereafter, the policy cycle, with its elements, is introduced and explained in order to provide the necessary background.

3.1 What is policy?

Policy-sciences primarily investigate the mechanisms and systems of government policies. Some schools of the policy-sciences consider policy-making as a process, consisting of a number of sub-processes. However, before the policy-making process is introduced it is important to define policy. Many different definitions of policy exist and in the day-to-day spoken language, policy often refers to a policy document. In the first chapter, the policy-process was, in general terms, described as the purposeful proceedings of formulation, implementation and evaluation of the adopted intentions and guiding principles of a government as determined by public interest. In this section some scientific definitions of policy are discussed and common elements are highlighted to provide an introduction to the policy-process.

"Policy is all that governments choose to do or not to do" (Dye, 1975:1)⁸.

This definition of policy is very broad and could possibly include anything, thereby limiting its success as a practical definition. This definition illustrates that even though a (perceived) lack of vision does not prevent governments' 'doings' from being cited as policy.

⁸ As discussed in the profound works "Policy and Politics" of Van de Graaf and Hoppe (1996:42-78); Van de Graaf, H. and Hoppe, R (1996) *Beleid en Politiek, een inleiding tot de beleidswetenschap en de beleidkunde*. Coutinho, Bussum.

Another important issue tackled by Dye's definition is that a 'conscious' decision made by government *not* to take action, can be considered as policy.

Other definitions, however, consider policy as a process whereby certain choices, decisions, or abstract ideas are made and evolved into more practical measurements and direct actions. Some examples of definitions which take this approach are:

"A series of more or less related choices, including decisions not to take action, made by government institutions or government officials" (Dunn, 1981:61)⁹,

Policy is *"organised social control"* (Becker, 1972:26)¹⁰, and

Policy is *" a form of generalised decision-making, whereby numbers of decision and their context are considered collectively"* (Etzioni, 1968:252)¹¹.

These definitions can be added to Becker's definition, rather as it is stated as having a comparison. According to Becker's definition, policy making is not only limited to government or their officials. All these descriptions define policy as a process whereby choices are made continuously. The process of defining options and their subsequent results, involves the framework of understanding and conceptualising a desired situation. This desired situation is pursued by considering the consequences of current social developments and the turning of ideas and ideals into more practical objectives.

In addition, some definitions of policy emphasise the process of developing and implementing measurements or actions, and therefore, using policy as a plan of action.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ *ibid.*

Policy is “*a conscious and systematic course of action, applying the relevant instruments, with a clear political goal in mind which is gradually being achieved.*” (Kleijn, 1968:7)¹²

Policy is “*a system of chosen elements, of which each element relates to any of the other elements as goal to means or as means to goals.*” (Kuypers, 1980:19)¹³

Policy is “*the pursuing of the achievement of determined goals with selected means in a set time frame.*” (Hoogerwerf, 1989:20)¹⁴

A number of common elements become apparent from the last three policy descriptions:

- ◇ there is an aim or goal that needs to be achieved by the initiator of the policy; and
- ◇ to achieve this goal, a number of means or measurements needs to be developed and implemented.

The examples and discussion of the various descriptions and definitions of policy highlight a number of common elements. Nine elements have been developed that would apply to each definition of policy (Van de Graaf and Hoppe, 1996). Common elements of the definition of policy are stated below:

- ◇ *the distinction between ‘policy’ and ‘decision’*: A policy generally refers to a series of decisions. In addition, a decision usually involves a single actor, while policy involves the interaction between the various decision-makers and stakeholders;
- ◇ *no clear distinction between ‘policy’ and ‘management’*: Policy is made within the framework of management and is a summary of management activities;

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ As discussed by Bressers (1994) in “Environmental Policy-science”; Bressers, J.Th.A. (1994) ‘Milieubestuurkunde’: Boersema, J.J. et al (eds.). *Basisboek Milieukunde*, Boom, Amsterdam.

- ◇ *policy includes both 'actions' and 'intentions'*: Policy not only states, aims, objectives and goals, but also includes the way these aims and objectives are interpreted and exercised. The instruments of a policy can be defined as the mechanisms by which the declared goals and objectives can be reached;
- ◇ *policy involves 'actions' and 'non-actions'*: A government deciding not to take action can as much be considered as making policy;
- ◇ *policy has 'expected' and 'unexpected' results*: The impact of a policy is not only recognised by the attainment of the intended results, as unexpected may result and are related to a policy;
- ◇ *policy is purposeful actions, though additional goals and aims may be 'established' in retrospect*: When analysing a policy, interpretative goals can be determined after implementation and these goals are considered to be policy. The goal or objective of a policy can be defined as the 'wanted' or desired situation that must be achieved through implementation of policy. The goals that are identified after implementation, are often referred to as the 'implicit' goals of policy;
- ◇ *policy implementation implies co-operation between many stakeholders*: Not only the relation between the actors and organisation, but the bring about of these relations play also a role in policy. The establishment of relationships is an important aspect of policy making, and is crucial to its successful implementation. Such dynamics are necessary to enhance the structural and procedural changes that may result;
- ◇ *government does play a key role, but not an exclusive and independent role in government policy, and*
- ◇ *policy is defined subjectively*: To determine 'what' policy is, depends to a certain extend on the observer of the policy and the context in which it will be used.

It may be apparent from this section that there is no single definition of policy. The definition of policy as the purposeful proceedings of formulating, implementing and evaluating the adopted intentions and guiding principles of a government determined by public interest, is applied in this study. The following section focuses on this process of formulating, implementing and evaluating a policy.

3.2 The policy process

The policy process is a well-established feature in the policy-sciences. A rather abstract definition of the policy process has been given by Van de Graaf and Hoppe (1996), as "*a collection of sub processes intended to change that part of reality to the will of policy makers*". In countries like the United States and Western Europe, it is relatively easy to understand the political and institutional constraints that make certain courses of action possible, because so much is known and written about these matters. According to Bery (1990) there is no reason to think that the underlying processes in developing countries are different in nature or intrinsically less transparent; it is just that they are studied and written about less.

The three main elements or sub processes that can be distinguished in policy processes are:

- ◇ policy formulation -which consists of the preparation and the approval or determination of policy;
- ◇ policy implementation; and
- ◇ policy evaluation.

The policy process is initiated by agenda building, and is continued until the policy is terminated. This systematic approach identifies a number of elements or sub processes. These sub processes are interrelated to one another, though the relationship is not causal. Rather, the elements of the system relate in terms of as input-output. In this way, the output of the one sub process will form the input for the next sub process.

The actors -whether individuals or organisations- differ per sub process and are most diverse during the initial agenda building process. Subsequently, a shift in the nature of actors involved occurs. At the start of the policy process actors stem mainly from government institutes which operate as individual actors. Later in the policy process, it is the individuals within these government institutions, together with representative NGOs, that increasingly important play a role. In the process of implementation, a shift towards individual governmental organisation, takes place.

The model of the policy process is to provide an analytical framework. However, the transition points between the sub processes in the framework can be empirically observed. It is preferable that this observation takes place by means of written documents, such as policy papers and internal government documents. The most important point is during the transition from the formulation to the implementation of a policy. The process of policy implementation starts with the decision or approval of a government to adopt a policy. This approval is often presented in an official policy document. All government activities before the approval of a policy is considered to be part of the policy formulation process.

In figure 3.1 below, the policy cycle is presented. The model includes all the sub processes which are discussed in the following sections.

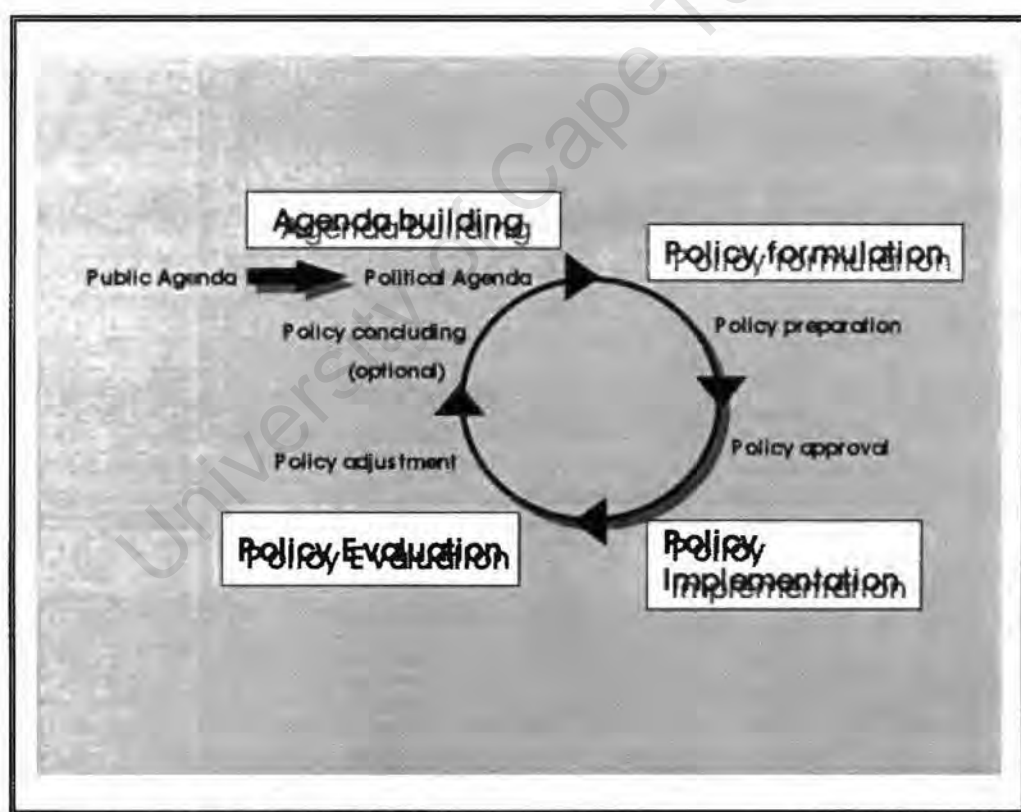


Figure 3.1 The policy cycle

3.2.1 The agenda building

The aim of government policy is to solve problems of its citizens. To do so a government must be aware that a certain problem is perceived as problematic before further action can be undertaken. The process of prioritising a problem is defined as agenda building. In general terms, an agenda is *"a list of issues which, at a certain point in time or during a certain period, attention is being paid to by an actor or group of actors in the policy field"* (Van de Graaf and Hoppe, 1996:181-182). With respect to policy making, a distinction can be made between three kinds of agenda's, namely, the policy agenda, the political agenda and the public agenda. Attention to issues, and policy currently being prepared or implemented, are therefore part of a policy agenda. The political agenda refers to the list of issues that politicians and government officials have outlined, but where no policy is prepared for or implemented. The politicians and government officials have acknowledged the specific issue as detrimental and have put it on their agenda. The last agenda is the public agenda, containing issues which (sections of) the general public perceives as disadvantageous and therefore demand the attention of politicians and government officials to change the current situation.

The process of agenda building refers to the way in which an issue reaches the policy agenda. Not all issues on the public agenda will reach the policy agenda. An important underlying principle of the process of agenda building is the level of democracy. The extent to which citizens or groups of citizens have the equal opportunity to ensure that issues receive adequate attention of their government, plays an important role. According to Cobb and Elder (1971), the broader the social support of an issue, the greater the chance that issue will reach the political agenda and, finally become an issue on the policy agenda.

3.2.2 The policy formulation

The policy preparation process and the policy determination/approval process together establish the policy formulation process. During the policy preparation process, a selection of options or alternatives to solve the issue, now placed on the policy agenda, are developed. These options should include the choice of instruments such as financial, communication and judicial, the time frame and the objectives. The policy options are analysed and *ex ante* -before implementation- evaluated. From the alternatives, the best options will be selected and proposed for approval. It is important to emphasise that the selection of the best policy option is not only limited to the criteria of efficiency or effectiveness. The decision-making depends on a numerous and varied information sources, of which all will have its own underlying interest. It is these interests which will ultimately affect the decision-making process.

The feasibility test and the policy analysis should both be part of the preparation process. A policy analysis "*determines which of the various alternative public or government policies will most achieve a given set of goals in light of the relations between the policies and the goals*" (Dunn, 1986:247). A policy maker will, in principle, pursue in his/her policy activities the simultaneous maximisation of the following three criteria with respect to the resulting policy:

- ◇ the demand for the best quality of policy as possible;
- ◇ consensus, with firm political and social support for the policy; and
- ◇ that the set time frames are upheld by public and political administration (George, 1980)¹⁵.

Policy making is an iterative and cyclical process whereby problems of the political agenda are solved by the nature of detailed investigation in the sub processes of the policy cycle. The policy actors within the policy cycle differ in each sub process. To consider 'the government' as a co-ordinated,

¹⁵ As discussed in the profound works "Policy and Politics" of Van de Graaf and Hoppe (1996:295-327); Van de Graaf, H. and Hoppe, R (1996) *Beleid en Politiek, een inleiding tot de beleidswetenschap en de beleidkunde*. Coutinho, Bussum

purposeful individual is a simplification, which could either clarify or darken. Government should therefore, be considered a system consisting of individual policy makers, small groups, big and complex bureaucracies, and only finally as the complete political system. The role of various actors implies that there is a shared responsibility for policy making. This shared responsibility requires, however, an increase in co-ordination and policy planning. Without this co-ordination and policy planning it is possible that overlapping activities and *ad hoc* activities are carried out by individual elements of the political system.

During the policy preparation, policy options are developed, and can include objectives and means or instruments. Means and objectives must be adjusted and related to each other in such a way that the instruments will have achievable objectives, and that the objectives defined will have practical instruments.

3.2.3 The policy implementation

The inception point of the implementation process is the approval of a policy. The transition from the policy formulation often takes place by means of the publication of an official policy document. The policy implementation, thus, finds a point of reference in that policy document (Faludi and Hamnett, 1978). Successful implementations are not guaranteed by the approval of a policy, and care must be taken to focus on the results of the policy document, and not the document, which is repeatedly regarded as the result itself¹⁶ (Van de Graaf and Hoppe, 1996).

The underlying assumption of the implementation process is that the transition between policy formulation and implementation recognisable and verifiable is. However, a practical complication occurs when applying this model to a situation of so called pseudo-policy implementation. Pseudo-policy making occurs when a policy has yet to be approved, and (parts of) the

¹⁶ Thomas and Grindle (1990) argue in their paper "*After the decision: Implementing policy reforms in developing countries*" that the process of policy making is often considered as being a linear, instead of a cyclical and iterative process. The decision (approval of the policy) is seen as the critical choice and becomes the focus of the policy maker. Implementation is either ignored or considered to be the problem of others, the implementors.

policy are already being implemented. Whether this is 'anticipated' policy implementation is defined as policy, depends on considerations such as whether parts or the whole policy -as a system- have been approved, and the obligation of a government to act carefully.

It has been acknowledged that the approval of a policy does not necessarily imply successful implementation. However, it is assumed that the government officials responsible for the execution and implementation of the policy support and are committed to the goals and intentions of the policy. The extent to which this commitment takes place reflects the loyalty to democratic elected politicians and appointed government officials. This assumption is referred to as the 'top-down' approach of policy implementation (Van de Graaf and Hoppe, 1996). Sabatier (1986) argues that the impact and role of other actors in the policy field are not reflected by the top down approach and it is not representative of the practical 'real-world' situation. In addition to this, the top-down approach would fail to react and account for unforeseen happenings and developments. The type and intensity of spin-offs from policies, are difficult to predict. However, certain spin-offs can be disastrous for the objectives of a policy.

As reaction to the top-down approach, a 'bottom-up' approach has been developed. The basis of the bottom-up approach is formed by the observations on what actually happens in the policy field. Instead of focusing on what should be happening according to the approved policy, the bottom-up approach focuses on the actors and their actual performance in the policy field. The actors in the policy field include the target group of the policy, policy implementors and policy formulators.

The acknowledgement of the target group as an actor in the policy field is emphasised. It is important to see members of a target group or 'clientele' of a policy as co-producers of the effects and performance achieved by the policy (Whitaker, 1980). Citizens and private enterprises are too often neglected by policy makers as having their own, unique and mostly independent, autonomous ways of operating and behaving. If a policy does not relate to these ways of operating and behaviour of the target group the potential for an unsuccessful implementation is possible.

The more actors involved in the policy implementation, the more complex the organisational structure of the implementation process becomes. Especially in such a complex organisation structure, it can not be assumed that approval or agreement will continue throughout the implementation process. In an analysis of projects of the American Economic Development Administration, Pressman and Wildavsky (1973)¹⁷ made a distinction between 15 important actors and 70 decisions. Based solely on statistical probability, they produced the following figures which illustrate the importance of limiting the number of actors and decision-points (see table 3.2):

(1) Probability of agreement of each actor with each decision	(2) Probability of agreement of all actors after 70 decisions	(3) Number of decisions after which (2) becomes smaller than 50%
80%	0.0000125%	4
90%	0.0644%	7
95%	0.395%	14
99%	48.9%	68

Figure 3.2 Probability of agreement of decision-makers (Pressman and Wildavski, 1973¹⁸)

3.2.4 The policy evaluation

An evaluation can be described as the assessment and comparison of activities and plans based on their performance, values and interests. A distinction can be made between evaluation *ex ante* and *ex post*. *Ex post* evaluation takes place subsequent to policy implementation. The *ex ante* evaluation takes place prior to the implementation process (see section 3.2.2).

¹⁷ As discussed in the profound works "Policy and Politics" of Van de Graaf and Hoppe (1996:353-379); Van de Graaf, H. and Hoppe, R (1996) *Beleid en Politiek, een inleiding tot de beleidswetenschap en de beleidskunde*. Coutinho, Bussum.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Policy evaluation is a critical aspect in the process determining the effectiveness of the policy. In the case of a failing policy, it needs to be clarified why no adjustments to the policy took place: e.g., if the controlling body, such as a parliament, was not informed and, identify the causes of failure. The principle of accountability for all policy actors plays a role in the outcomes of an evaluation.

Evaluation consist of three characteristics, namely information collection, assessment and learning points. An evaluation can furthermore focus on the process, the content and the effects or performance of the policy. The learning experience from an evaluation will be greatest when the evaluation takes place during the implementation process. It is during that stage that direct short term feedback is possible between the vision and aims and those goals that are being reached. The evaluation during the implementation process has the character of an 'early warning'.

Depending on the outcomes of the evaluation, politicians can decide to terminate a policy.

The theory applied to this study is explained in this chapter. The concept of what policy is, and how the process of policy making takes place has been discussed in this section. Based on case studies in both developing and developed countries, characteristics of policy that can influence successful implementation are identified in the next section. These characteristics form the basis of criteria to assess the resettlement policy process.

4. CRITERIA FOR SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION

To assess the resettlement policy process of Namibia, criteria must be identified. Surveys and case studies of policy implementation both in developed and developing countries allow for over-arching common characteristics to be outlined. In this chapter relevant experiences and lessons are discussed, and criteria for the assessment are identified.

4.1 Introduction

Political systems in the United States and in Western Europe differ substantially from these in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Characteristic differences between the political systems in the developed and the developing countries emphasise the remoteness and the accessibility of the policy making process to most individuals, in addition to the extensive competition engendered by widespread need and limited resources (Grindle, 1980). Therefore, it is important to discuss and draw lessons from experiences in developing countries with their own characteristics and from developed countries with a long history of policy implementation. Although limited literature is available on implementation issues of resettlement policy in developing countries, important common or general lessons could be drawn from other relevant policy fields such as land reform, health and housing policies.

4.2 Characteristics affecting successful implementation

Policy mistakes result from the pursuit of inappropriate models or from the failure to implement correct policies (Wuyts, 1992). In the literature on policy implementation a number of characteristics become apparent as affecting the successful implementation of a policy.

4.2.1 The policy contents

The technical features of the content of policy, such as innovative organisational forms, untried technology, extensive co-ordination or complicated methodologies, reduce the chances for successful implementation of a policy. Pyle (1980) argues that these variables influenced the outcomes of the Project Poshak in India. Project Poshak was an integrated health and nutrition project in the Indian state Madhya Pradesh, whereby the pilot project proved to be highly successful. A successful expansion or adoption on a permanent basis however was never achieved due to factors of complicated organisation, staging and supply lines (Pyle, 1980). The same experiences are again encountered in other community development projects in India. While the lesson from pilot projects 'to keep it simple' was evident, this was not applied in the national programme for community development (Sussman, 1980). Kirk (1998), when focusing on experiences of land reforms in transforming economies, argues that a (land) policy should be tied to existing socio-economic systems and based upon successful practices. If this is not the case, the likelihood of losing credibility is high. However, not only the technical content, but the administrative requirements of a policy can influence the successful implementation. If a policy does not require depth and continuity of administrative resources (or, in the case of a technical content, highly technical skills) to sustain it, the chances that the policy will be implemented as planned are more likely (Thomas and Grindle, 1990). From these experiences it becomes apparent that the complexity of a policy content is an aspect that affects the implementation.

4.2.2 The change from pre-policy status quo

Although strongly linked with the previous characteristics, the amount of change from the pre-policy status quo plays an important role in the successful implementation as well. All policies seek a change from a current and 'unwanted' situation to a desired and ideal situation. The amount of change is however of importance with regard to a successful implementation. When the Zambian president called for the massive formation of co-operatives in his country in 1965, he most probably did not expect it to fail.

The call for co-operatives was part of an ideological programme to promote a kind of 'Zambian Humanism'. However, due to the great change in administrative responsibilities for the Department of Co-operative Societies both human and financial resources were not prepared for this task (Quick, 1980). The sudden and rapid attempt to make the 'co-operative programme' known nationally discouraged policy implementors from focusing on the details and the amount of change realistically possible through the programme (Cleaves, 1980). A focus on an evolutionary process of change is also promoted by Kirk (1998) as being a prerequisite for a (land) policy that will create trust and stability. When the change sought is incremental, in comparison with the pre-policy status quo, the probability of a successful implementation is greater¹⁹. The amount of information required and the risk of errors are both smaller compared to a radical change from the pre-policy situation.

4.2.3 The actors involved

According to Cleaves (1980), the incidence of trade-offs and the cost of competence increases with the number of actors involved. Implementing organisations work with established standard procedures and routines. If a new policy requires a change in these procedures and routines, the probability of failure increases (Glasbergen, 1987). The establishment of a new organisation responsible for implementation does not overcome this problem. Such new organisations do not only need time to establish their own standard procedures and routines, but also requires time to find a place within the existing network of organisations by establishing relationships and channels of dialogue. If implementation takes place in an existing organisation, it should be determined which priority the policy implementation has among the other activities of that organisation (Mazmanian and Sabatier, 1981) The number of actors involved in the policy implementation should be limited. This implies that, during the policy preparation process the policy option or alternative with the least actors is preferred (Glasbergen, 1987).

¹⁹ Glasbergen (1994) argues in this respect that the adjustment of an existing policy has a greater chance of success than a policy that is presented as a new and radical change.

4.2.4 The number of policy goals

McClintock (1980) describes a case whereby peasants in Peru managed to alter the feasibility of an agrarian reform policy by minimising the negative effects in terms of their own goals. The argument here is that multiple goals complicate the implementation of a policy. In the case of more objectives, a priority should be given (Mazmanian and Sabatier, 1981). As not only explicit goals, but the underpinning implicit goals must be considered. Cleaves (1980) gives an example whereby the policy to increase the expenditure of health care for the urban poor might derive from various interests such as the promotion of the hospital construction industry or to give greater visibility to a new minister of Health. Quick (1980) sees multiple goals as one of the characteristics of 'ideological policies'. Ideological policies are expected "to realise a multitude of goals at the same time" (Quick, 1980:42).

4.2.5 The ambiguousness of policy goals

The clarity of goals and objectives has been pointed out in various case studies as fundamental to the implementation of a policy. Quick (1980) argues that it is one of the characteristic of an ideological policy to have unambiguous goals. No hierarchy exists between the numerous goals, and national elites do not have clarity as to what is required in order to move from the current situation to the new desired state. The lack of clearly stated goals has furthermore been a key limiting characteristic in the implementation of the Community Development Policy and the Poshak Project in India (Pyle, 1980; Sussman, 1980). In the case of rural electrification in the state Rajasthan in India, the clarity of objectives was singled out as one of the most important factors in determining the utility of the strategy of controlled decentralisation for successful policy execution (Hadden, 1980). Decentralisation of public administration is often considered to benefit participation, responsiveness and efficiency in government. The effects of decentralisation, with an emphasis on efficiency and local participation as a strategy for implementation on rural electrification was studied. The electrification programme was not sacrificed to participation and responsiveness because "*decentralisation was controlled*" (Hadden, 1980:172). This meant that higher level administrators established

enforceable criteria for programme participation that ensured that the programme goals would be met by controlling the allocation of funds to projects that did not fulfil the criteria. The agreement amongst most people is that policy goals is the best means and could almost be regarded as a prerequisite for controlled decentralisation to work.

Glasbergen (1987) refers in this regard to the communication process between the policy actors determining the policy and the actors responsible for the implementations. The frequency of communication and the clarity of the communication are important. If confronted with unclear or vague policy objectives the actor responsible for implementation might give its own interpretations to the policy, resulting in a different policy implemented than initially intended. Of further importance is, thus, the extend of detail or specificity of a policy. A policy needs to reflect clearly what is expected from the implementation actors. Therefore, a certain extend of detail is required. Too much detail, however, will limited the flexibility of the policy and leave little room for adjustment to unforeseen circumstances (Glasbergen, 1987).

Cleaves summarises the issues with regard to the goals of an policy by stating that *"if all other factors are equal, when many goals are pursued at once, or when goals are unclear, a policy has less of a chance for successful execution than when its goals are limited, explicit and mutually reinforcing"* (Cleaves, 1980:288-289).

4.2.6 The time frame of implementation

The time programmed for the implementation of a policy plays another role in the successful implementation of a policy. The first sub processes of the policy process are of crucial importance for the following steps. The implementation process is fed with the output of the preceding processes and, therefore, the preparation process should be run thoroughly to avoid a snowball effect of failures (Glasbergen, 1987). The longer an implementation takes, the greater the possibility of alterations of the goals by existing actors, for new actors to enter the policy field and for leadership to turn over (Cleaves, 1980). In other words, the shorter the execution period, a higher percentage of risk can be reduced to a minimum. In the case study of the

community development in India, the original pattern for implementation was abandoned due to causes related to such factors as timing (Sussman, 1980).

4.2.7 Sufficient resources for implementation

Glasbergen (1987) refers the 'ability' criteria to the availability of time, financial and human resources to implement a policy. Reforms call for political, financial, managerial and technical resources. With respect to the financial resources, Manzanian and Sabatier (1981) emphasise that the monitoring of the policy implementation requires financing and should receive a budget allocation. The 'ability' criteria plays a particular role in developing countries where financial and human resources are almost always by definition, limited. The limited capacity of human resources for policy work in many developing countries is seen by Gulhati (1990) as the legacy of colonialism. In his historical analysis of policy failures in Sub Saharan Africa, he argues that "*the stock of indigenous professionals to analyse economic problems, define policy options and manage the entire process of policy preparation was very low at independence*" (Gulhati, 1990: 1151). Bery (1990), on the other hand, claims that while the poor endowment of trained policy staff is indisputable, governments clearly had the possibility to use expatriate staff during the transitions. Botswana and many francophone countries elected to do this and according to Bery, the rejection of this is a political decision at heart. However, irrespectively of the (historical) cause, the resource implications of policy making should fit within the existing resource constraints of a country (Hall, 1998).

4.2.8 Political power

The 'willingness' to implement a policy does not only apply to the main organisation responsible for implementation, but to all the other organisations and institutes involved in implementation. As defined by the priority, other involved organisations might have other interests that contradict the goals of the policy and thereby affect the implementation. This could eventually result in purposeful delaying the implementation process and the withholding of crucial information (Glasbergen, 1987). In the case of urban water supply in India, public officials were able to remove the issue of user charges of the

policy agenda. The officials knew that the decision to collect user charges for urban water supply could not be implemented, perceiving it as 'unenforceable' (Thomas and Grindle, 1990). Both sanctions and incentives for the implementing organisation and the target group are required to improve co-operation (Manzarian and Sabatier, 1981). Implementation of the policy can best be allocated to an organisation which supports the objectives of the policy and is able to give it a high priority (Van de Graaf and Hoppe, 1996).

4.2.9 Underlying assumptions and the target group

Each policy is based on a number of assumptions with regard to the 'behaviour' of the target group. By implementing certain instruments, the target group is expected to change its 'behaviour' parallel to the desired direction. If the assumptions are incorrect a inconsistency between the means and the objectives of the policy occurs (Glasbergen, 1987). Therefore, the policy needs to be based on a valid causal theory (Mazmanian and Sabatier, 1981; Gulhati, 1990). The smaller or more identical the target group, the better this 'behaviour' and their reactions are to be assessed. The 'behaviour' of the target group includes the social needs. Wuyts (1992:282) argues that the state " *does not define public need for people on their behalf* ". Rather, public need is defined through active participation of various groups in a society. Nothing will be done for about the poor and the deprived if they are excluded from the processes which structure public need. A case study on the 'Kerala-experience' showed that, historically, large sections of the population in the Kerala state in India, came to participate in the definition of social needs and in assuring accountability in their fulfilment (Wuyts, 1992). In order for government action to be successful it requires popular participation. As in the case of Kerala, this participation does not come easily. It involves a long process of democratisation which transformed society and the public sphere within it.

4.2.10 The role of the target group

Winsemius (1986) emphasises the role of the target group in order for a successful implementation. He argues that a target group can never be forced to perform a certain 'behaviour'. To implement a policy, a target group needs more than just the 'do' and 'do not' provisions. Implementation, therefore, requires :

- ◇ maximisation of the benefit to the target group with the realisation of the policy objectives; and,
- ◇ maximisation of accountability of the target group (Winsemius, 1986).

4.2.11 The number of decisions points

The probability of a less successful implementation increases with the number of actors and the number of decisions. With each decision, the opportunity for no agreement or consensus to be reached increased, causing possible delays or barriers in the implementation process. Therefore, the number of decision points between the implementing actors need to be minimal (Van de Graaf and Hoppe, 1996). As much agreement as possible should be reached on the (sub)objectives and (sub)targets of the policy during the preparation process. When no consensus or agreement is reached during policy formulation, one of more decision will have to be made during the implementation process. Consensus in advance will assist in preventing a great number of 'decision-points'.

4.3 Criteria for the assessment

In both developed and developing countries the characteristics of a policy can influence its successful implementation. To find policy-scientific causes of the current constraints of the resettlement policy in Namibia, the common characteristics of policy should be applied. Therefore, the following policy assessment issues or 'quantitative criteria' have been identified and expanded in the table below.

CRITERIA FOR POLICY ASSESSMENT	
1	Policy contents and change
	This issue refers to the characteristics of innovative organisational forms, untried technology, extensive co-ordination and complicated methodologies. Strongly related to this, is the 'amount of change' that the policy will bring as compared to the old pre-policy situation. In the next chapter the resettlement policy of Namibia will be assessed on this criteria.
2	Policy actors and decision points
	As both the number of policy actors and the number of decision points in the implementation process affect a successful implementation, this has been chosen as an appropriate criteria.
3	Policy goals
	The assessment issue of policy goals is important for two reasons. Firstly, the contents of the policy goals, such as the ambiguousness and the clarity influence the implementation process. Secondly, the number of goals and the priority given to them is of importance as well.
4	Time frame
	The time frame of a policy process, in relation to other events such as new actors in the policy field is an important issue which could be a policy scientific cause in the Namibian resettlement case.
5	Resources for policy making
	Resources are fundamental to policy making, especially in developing countries. Therefore, it is of importance that this issue is taken into account as a assessment issue.
6	Political power
	The political power of not only determining the main implementing agents, but all actors in the implementing process, should be assessed to determine their roles in the resettlement process to date.
7	Target group
	The analysis of the 'behaviour' (including the identification of the needs) of the target group of a policy is of utmost importance for a successful and effective policy. The role the target group plays in the resettlement process will need to be assessed.

8 The policy process
The analytical framework of the policy process, as presented in the previous section, can not be used as a qualitative or prescriptive assessment issue on itself. Therefore, the process of the resettlement will also be analysed according to the framework to identify possible policy-scientific causes that relate to the policy process.

Table 4.1 Criteria for policy assessment

This section concluded with a number of criteria that will be applied in the policy assessment in chapter 7. The criteria were derived from case studies of policy implementation in both developing and developed countries. The next chapter will provide an introduction to resettlement in Namibia. A description of the events until 1997 is provided.

III

CASE STUDY DESCRIPTION

University of Cape Town

5. THE RESETTLEMENT PROCESS

This section summarises chronologically the events with respect to resettlement that have been undertaken by the Namibian government since independence in 1990.

5.1 Introduction

Since independence, the highly skewed distribution of land was regarded in Namibia as one of the root causes of poverty and economic inequality. Within the first month of Namibia's first independent National Assembly sitting, a motion was tabled requesting a National Conference to specifically questioning land use reform. The aim of this conference would be to identify a way forward in terms of land reform as a means to alleviate poverty and inequality.

5.2 The National Conference on Land Reform and The Land Question: 25 June-1 July 1991

The National Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question (also known as the "Land Conference") was held in Windhoek. The primary objective of this government-organised conference was to achieve the greatest possible national consensus on the land question, and to provide a solid basis for the formulation of a policy on land reform with a programme of action to implement the necessary measures and changes. However, more specifically, the land conference aimed to clarify the discussion on the land question;

- ◇ firstly, by presenting research findings and relevant experience from other African countries; and
- ◇ secondly, by providing a forum for interested and affected parties (I&APs) to discuss issues pertaining to the land question.

The Land Conference brought together various I&APs, such as marginalised communal farmers and prosperous, well-organised commercial farmers, both with a wide range of interest in the land question. Several issues concerning the ownership and utilisation of commercial farms were raised and discussed. The general consensus at the Land Conference, with regard to communal areas, was that these should be retained and developed. Furthermore, the issue of the rights of farm workers and women was addressed.

The Land Conference was of a consultative nature, and had therefore, no binding powers. In terms of one of the resolutions of the conference however, the Prime-Minister appointed the Technical Committee on Commercial Farmland (TCCF) to make recommendations in terms of the conference resolutions. The recommendations of the committee were guided by concerns to bring abandoned, under-utilised and unused land back into production by expropriating it, where necessary (Werner, 1997). A number of issues concerning management strategies for such redistributed land were also considered by the TCCF. In addition, various alternatives to land reform were considered in terms of relative costs and benefits, and equity and efficiency impact. However no specific recommendations with regard to land reform were made (Werner, 1997).

5.3 The Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act

In March 1995, the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, No. 6 of 1995 was gazetted. This Act had been partial based on the recommendations of the TCCF, and governed the acquisition of land for resettlement. The Act also provided for the establishment of a Land Reform Advisory Commission (LRAC) which would be responsible for advising the MLRR on the suitability of land on offer. The allocation and utilisation of purchased land should be based upon a land use plan. The LRAC was furthermore, expected to play an important role in the identification of settlers as well as recommend their land rights (Werner, 1997).

The report of the People's Land Conference, held under auspices of the NGO Working Committee on Land Reform, made the following comment on the policy development process:

"While the National Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question established a process of consultation on the land question, this process was not continued during the following years. Although the TCCF did invite submissions from the public, the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act was tabled in the National Assembly without offering stakeholders such as non-governmental organisations, trade unions, churches and traditional authorities an opportunity to consider the draft legislation" (Werner, 1997: 7).

The Namibian Non-Governmental Forum (NANGOF) organised the Peoples' Land Conference, in response to the general sense that progress on land reform was slow. At the Peoples' Conference the progress made up until that date was discussed, with recommendations on land policy and legislation put forward. According to Werner (1997), it would be too simplistic to attribute government's reluctance to consult the public on the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Bill to a general unwillingness by government to consult non-governmental stakeholders on policy-issues. Rather, the reason for government's reluctance to consult on the land issue have to be sought in the fact that the dispossessed and landless have not been organised in any coherent way and, thus, are unable to exert any political pressure. Those NGOs, which have taken up the cause for land redistribution, have had limited impact owing to the limited capacity to do advocacy work (Werner, 1997).

5.4 The National Resettlement Policy

After independence, the newly elected government established the Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR). The creation of the MLRR in September 1990 led to the establishment of an official government body responsible for addressing the problem of the numerous unemployed and

landless people. In practical terms, the MLRR has had to facilitate the resettlement, which has been defined as *“the movement of people from one area with insufficient resources, to another area which is more likely to provide a satisfactory standard of living”* (Republic of Namibia, 1996:5). The MLRR, through the Directorate of Resettlement and Rehabilitation, formulated a policy on resettlement, which, subsequent to Cabinet’s approval, was adopted as the Resettlement Policy of the Namibian Government. In March 1996, the *National Resettlement Policy of the Government of the Republic of Namibia* was published.

5.4.1 Aims and objectives

The National Resettlement Policy has a central aim of poverty alleviation and improvement of living standards in Namibia. *“It is the declared will of the Government of the Republic of Namibia to uplift the living standard of all Namibians”* (Republic of Namibia, 1996:1). According to the resettlement policy document, the aim of poverty alleviation is to be achieved by means of the following objectives (Republic of Namibia, 1996:3):

- ◇ *“to redress past imbalances in the distribution of economic resources, particularly land;*
- ◇ *to give some sections of the population an opportunity to produce their own food with a view towards self-sufficiency;*
- ◇ *to bring smallholder farmers into the mainstream of the Namibian economy by producing for the market;*
- ◇ *to create employment through full time farming;*
- ◇ *to alleviate human and livestock pressure in communal areas; and*
- ◇ *to offer an opportunity to citizens to reintegrate into society after many years of displacement by the colonisation process, war of liberation and circumstances”.*

5.4.2 The applicants

The MLRR has identified three categories of applicants for resettlement, as defined by their economic welfare. The following categories potentially qualify for resettlement:

- ◇ *“people who have neither land nor income nor livestock; or*
- ◇ *people who have neither land nor income, but have livestock; or*
- ◇ *people who have income or are cattle owners, who need land to settle on with their families, or to graze their livestock” (Republic of Namibia, 1996:3).*

Historical reasons relate that the MLRR has established an order of priority of beneficiaries in its Resettlement Programme. In this Resettlement Programme, the main target groups identified are the San, returnees, ex-soldiers, disabled, displaced and landless people. In order to reach the people who are really in need, a number of criteria have been drawn up to select potential beneficiaries. According to the policy-document, selection will take place by agents of the MLRR in co-operation with offices of the Regional Councils, the Regional Land Boards and with the assistance of the Land Use and Environmental Boards. The selection criteria as set out in the *National Resettlement Policy* are as follows:

- ◇ *“applicants shall be Namibian citizens above the age of 18 years;*
- ◇ *settlers should be prepared to relinquish all land rights elsewhere;*
- ◇ *settlers should have background in agriculture or other enterprises on which the resettlement project will be based;*
- ◇ *settlers should be prepared to hold land under leasehold tenure arrangement to be conferred after 2 years of probation;*
- ◇ *the applicant intending to engage in animal husbandry should own a number of livestock determined by the carrying capacity of each project;*
- ◇ *settlers should be prepared to support cost recovery measures whenever they are introduced; and,*
- ◇ *special care must be given to most disadvantage community, especially the San (Bushmen) “ (Republic of Namibia, 1996: 5).*

5.4.3 The resettlement schemes

The process for resettlement would follow the procedure stipulated below. After a two year probation, an applicant will be assessed according to productive land use and the purpose for which the applicant has applied. The land will then be provided on a 30 - 50 years leasehold which, will subsequently change to a free hold system. The leasehold, and later the free hold title, should be arranged so that it could be used as collateral to obtain loans from credit facilities, such as banks or co-operatives.

Two modes of operation have been identified by the Government, namely, the individual plot and the co-operative mode. Irrespective of the mode of operation, the Government of Namibia acknowledges that "*due to the poor living conditions of the people to be resettled, it is not enough to purchase land and allocate it to them...*" (Republic of Namibia, 1996:7). A living platform, consisting of, among others, water and housing, shall be provided covering the most basic needs of the settlers. Depending on Government budget and funding by donor agents, building materials and technical assistance will be provided so that settlers can built their permanent houses. The support of the Government to the resettlement schemes is restricted to an initial period of 0 - 5 years for each scheme. After 4 years, the settlers are expected to become increasingly more self-reliant and self-sufficient.

5.4.4 Other institutions involved

Although the National Resettlement Policy has been drawn up by the MLRR, the line ministry responsible for facilitating resettlement, many other institutions are mentioned in the policy-document to playing a crucial role. The following institutions that should play a role according to the *National Resettlement Policy* are:

- ◇ the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development;
- ◇ the Ministry of Environment and Tourism;
- ◇ the Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing;
- ◇ the Ministry of Works, Transport and Telecommunications;
- ◇ the Ministry of Basic Education and Culture;

- ◇ the Ministry of Health and Social Services;
- ◇ the National Planning Commission;
- ◇ the Namibia Development Corporation;
- ◇ AgriBank; and,
- ◇ NGOs.

5.5 Resettlement achievements

The First National Development Plan of Namibia (NDP 1) covers the period 1995/1996 - 1999/2000. This national development strategy officially specifies targets for land redistribution:

- ◇ *resettle 14 000 people to redistributed land by 2000; and*
- ◇ *acquire 150 000 ha by Land Commission by 2000 (National Planning Commission, 1995: 214).*

A magazine reported the aim of the MLRR as to resettle 22 000 people by the year 2000, with 4400 of these to be plot owners (Namibia Review, March 1995).

Between 1990 - 1997, a total of 39 commercial farms were bought by the MLRR on a "*willing seller, willing buyer*" basis. As from 1995, the resettlement programme appears to have accelerated in terms of land acquisition. During in the period 1990-1995, 17 farms were bought; whilst the period 1996 - 1997 saw the purchase of an additional 22 farms. The total land acquired since 1990 has a total surface area of approximately 240 000 hectares (Werner, 1997). This figure however, contradicts with other official figures quoted by the MLRR. In the budget speech of 14 April 1997, the Minister of MLRR was reported as saying that "*19 000 to 20 000 people benefit directly from 35 resettlement farms countrywide, covering approximately 1 362 743 ha of arable land in all areas*" (Werner, 1997:11). Recently, another 10 farms had been acquired, thereby bringing the total number of farms to 49 (University of Cape Town, 1998).

Confusion and uncertainty exist with regards to the exact number of people resettled. According to the MLRR, over 10 833 people have been resettled in the period from independence to March 1995 (MLRR, 1996). This figure was quoted in the 1995 - 1996 Annual Report of the MLRR (MLRR, 1996). According to a report in the *New Era*²⁰, the government had resettled 16 000 people on 17 farms purchased by April of the same year (Werner, 1997). The Quarterly Report of the Directorate of Resettlement and Rehabilitation²¹ states, however, that the resettled population as for the financial year 1996/1997 is 12 455 (MLRR, 1997). Estimations by an official of the MLRR at another opportunity reached as high as 20 000 - 30 000 people that should have been resettled to date (University of Cape Town, 1998).

Although it is not clear as to how many people have been resettled at any specific point in time since instigation of the resettlement programme, the figures seem to indicate that the resettlement programme is on track with the targets set in the National Development Plan. However, the targets in the National Development Plan have been criticised by Werner (1997) for being unrealistic. Firstly, the targets in the National Development Plan were set without any budget indications as no resettlement policy did exist; and secondly, Werner estimated the number of landless Namibians in 1998 at 90 000 compared to the MLRR figure of 10 000 to 20 000 landless people requiring resettlement.

This section provided a descriptive introduction to the resettlement process in Namibia. The National Resettlement Policy, The Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, and the achievements with regards to the number of resettled people have been discussed. The next section provides a brief summary of the findings of a retrospective assessment. This assessment was undertaken at five resettlement schemes in the Oshikoto and Omaheke regions in Namibia.

²⁰ *New Era* 18-24 April 1996

²¹ Quarterly Report of August-October 1997

6. FINDINGS OF THE RETROSPECTIVE ASSESSMENT

The findings of the retrospective assessment of environmental implications of resettlement in the Oshikoto and Omaheke regions of Namibia indicate that there are issues that negatively influence a successful implementation of the *National Resettlement Policy* (University of Cape Town, 1998). The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the key findings of the assessment.

6.1 The retrospective assessment

The retrospective assessment had adopted a broad definition of the term 'Environment'. Environment refers to "*physical, ecological, social, economic, cultural, historical and political components, so as to embrace the interconnectedness of these components*" (University of Cape Town, 1998:xvi). The criteria applied for the assessment were, therefore, not only drawn from the goals in the policy-document. Criteria, based on international experience and sustainability theory, were applied to assess the five resettlement schemes in the Oshikoto and Omaheke regions. In addition to these five farms, legislation and policy-documents were reviewed on content with the inclusion of an institutional review. The key findings of the assessment are presented below.

6.2 Review of policy and legislation

The contents of the *National Resettlement Policy* and the *Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act* have been reviewed in the retrospective assessment. *The National Land Policy* was, at the time of the assessment, still in the stage of a 'White Paper' and, therefore, not included as official government policy document.

With respect to the process, the selection criteria of the review identified the following concerns (University of Cape Town, 1998:46):

- ◇ *“the chronological order of the development of policy and legislation is flawed, and may be further reflected in the soundness of the legislation;*
- ◇ *the policy has an inherent contradiction, in that it has wide ranging aims of alleviating poverty, but a limited way of achieving the aim and does not recognise the diversity of the needs of the poverty stricken;*
- ◇ *the policy does not include many opportunities for participation in decision making, however, the LARC provides the potential for a discussion platform;*
- ◇ *the rigidity of the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act may serve to alienate the people it aims to help, for example the written application procedure is a limitation to those who are illiterate;*
- ◇ *applicants should ideally have agricultural experience;*
- ◇ *neither the policy nor the Act stipulate the criteria used to evaluate land to be acquired for resettlement, in light of international experience suggesting the unlikelyhood of marginal land to contribute towards a successful resettlement project, it is of concern that no mention has been made of identifying land which is characterised by favourable conditions;*
- ◇ *the “willing buyer, willing seller” approach has been criticised as being an inefficient way of acquiring land, and instead is more likely to result in degraded and marginal land being bought up than if the government targeted areas for resettlement;*
- ◇ *the policy’s approach to tenure security seems to be limited and inflexible;*
and,
- ◇ *the National Resettlement Policy does not seem to have benefited from thorough background research of international experiences of resettlement“*

6.3 Review of institutional issues

The assessment, not only intends to review the legislation and policy, but also examined the various bodies and institutions involved in the implementation of the resettlement policy. The resettlement policy document specifically identifies and states clearly what roles the various institutions

should play for implementing the place. Furthermore, the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act create the Land Tribunal and the LRAC which supposedly play an important role as well. In the table below (*see table 6.1*), the institutions involved, with their subsequent tasks are presented (*see also section 5.4.4*).

Institution	Role in Resettlement
Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Directorate of Resettlement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning and co-ordination of resettlement programmes • Implementation of projects • Supervision of resettlement projects • Monitoring and evaluation of projects
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Directorate of Land Reform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Registration of leases • Resource surveys and planning of proposed resettlement areas • Development of planning guidelines and training of planners
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surveyor General's Office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of mapping and photography at appropriate scales
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Registration of Deeds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Registration of leases and other real rights
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Directorate of General Services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial control • Planning and evaluation
Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MAWRD)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of veterinary services • Assistance in evaluation of farms • Provision of agricultural extension and training • Provision of credit facilities • Provision of water • Collection of grazing fees • Survey, installation and maintenance of water points • Support of co-operative schemes • Market development
Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) Directorate of Environmental Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assisting in planning of wildlife based resettlement schemes • Ensuring environmental soundness of plans
Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing (MRLGH)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proclamation of resettlement areas when essential

Ministry of Works, Transport and Communications (MWTC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of infrastructure in resettlement areas
Ministry of Basic Education and Culture (MBEC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of education, teachers and relevant materials
Ministry of Health and Social Services (MHSS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of health services
National Planning Commission (NPC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To advise on project planning issues and funding
Namibia Development Corporation (NDC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of credit to aspiring small scale farmers • Assisting in planning of schemes and training of settlers in relevant situations
AgriBank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of credit loans • Assistance in evaluation of application forms
Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning, extension services, materials input and training, where relevant
The Land Tribunal (est. Act 6 of 1995)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommendations to Minister in terms of the Act
Land Reform Advisory Committee (LRAC) (est. by Act 6 of 1995)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommendations to Minister on applications for resettlement, compensation for expropriated farms and other issues as outlined by the Act

Table 6.1 Roles of Institutions in Resettlement (University of Cape Town, 1998)

Through interviews with government officials and I&APs a number of concerns were identified that are likely to obstruct the successful and sustainable implementation of the resettlement programme in Namibia. These constraints are as follows:

- ◇ *“lack of capacity within the MLRR in terms of staff and skills;*
- ◇ *lack of forward planning;*
- ◇ *interministerial tensions, which include:*
 - ◆ *poor communication and transparency;*
 - ◆ *poor co-ordination and co-operation; and,*
 - ◆ *lack of participation “ (University of Cape Town, 1998:52)*

The lack of capacity is acknowledged both in the National Development Commission and the MLRR itself. Training of staff members is carried out with help of donor agents. However, the MLRR is still understaffed at both ministerial level in Windhoek as well as at regional level. The MLRR considers the understaffing at regional level is of particular concern as administration and management of the resettlement schemes takes place at this level.

Most issues pertaining to resettlement seem to occur on an *ad hoc* basis. A lack of forward planning owing to lack of co-ordination and communication within the MLRR, has been suggested by the MLRR as being the main cause. Land use planning is a relatively new activity within Namibia and is, therefore, not integrated into the planning strategy of resettlement. Interministerial tensions became apparent during interviews with various government officials. Constrained relationships between the ministries manifested themselves in a number of ways. Tensions included lack of communication and transparency, poor co-ordination and co-operation and lack of participation of I&APs. Particularly, clear and frequent communication on the progress of the resettlement seemed limited. In addition, sharing of information and co-ordination of activities between the ministries was limited, and a top-down approach to development by the MLRR was reflected in the domination of the schemes by authorities and project leaders.

6.4 Key findings of the retrospective assessment

A main part of the retrospective assessment was undertaken by visiting five resettlement schemes in the Omaheke and Oshikoto regions. When visiting the resettlement schemes, the extent of the manifestation of the resettlement policy became apparent with implementation at 'grass root level'. Based on observations, botanical transects and informal interviews with both settlers and government officials at the resettlement schemes, a number of issues pertaining to resettlement were identified. These issues were intricately linked and could be narrowed down to a number of common descriptive characteristics. It should be emphasised that issues and linkages between the following descriptive characteristics are by no means exclusive but have, for purposes of clarity, been set out as separate components.

6.4.1 Alternative income generating strategies

In addition to the income generation from communal gardens and small scale knitting and sewing projects, no income generating projects for individual gain are evident on the schemes. Settlers expressed their need for cash income for, among others, school fees, medical emergencies, transport, supplementary food and future financial security. The Food for Work programme of the MLRR, whereby settlers work in the communal garden for a monthly food package, limits the potential gainful employment of settlers and prevents them of becoming economically independent. Furthermore, apparent confusion by many settlers over the allocation of profits from the sales of the communal gardens results in mistrust and anger and ultimately, disinterest in maintaining the project.

6.4.2 Absenteeism

Absenteeism from working in communal gardens and from the resettlement schemes itself is often the result of maintenance of social links through 'visiting' family and/or part-time labour at neighbouring farms. It is often the women, children and old people who remain at the resettlement schemes and are 'left' with the communal work in the gardens. Problems identified due to this absenteeism included:

- ◇ *"a lack of labour for efficient production of the communal gardens;*
- ◇ *social tension between the settlers themselves as the ideals of communal labour are not met;*
- ◇ *fluctuating population numbers which is further linked to lack of administrative control and crime; and,*
- ◇ *change in role of the caretaker from administrator to supervisor"*
(University of Cape Town, 1998:143).

6.4.3 Dissatisfaction with and disuse or abuse of government provisions or services

No general trends were observed, although complaints on specific services and provisions were made by many settlers during the assessment. Examples of general dissatisfaction included insufficient food from the Food for Work programme, no provision of furniture for the houses, climatic and design problems of the houses and insufficient supply of diesel, water and transport. Examples of disuse and abuse of governmental services and provisions included the incompleteness of partially constructed houses, theft or damage of materials, equipment and infrastructure and the hunting or gathering of 'veld kos' as other means of food provisions.

Although the assessment could not determine the full rationale behind the above described circumstances, it was clear that the lack of tenure security and rights of ownership exacerbated the problems, often resulting in unwillingness to invest time and effort in activities on many of the resettlement schemes.

6.4.4 Exploitation of natural resources

The basic natural resources used at the resettlement schemes are: (a) wood, specifically for fuel, fencing and building materials; (b) water for consumption; and (c) pasture for livestock grazing. The dependence on wood is partly imbedded in the lack of income for alternatives, and the availability of wood. However, diminishing stocks of wood in the close surroundings are apparent on some resettlement schemes. No control or management of water usage is carried out nor the creation of awareness and education of sustainable use and, therefore, preventing the determination of sustainable use. Complaints on the availability of water were cited on various resettlement schemes as contributing to the failure of crops, as well as limiting the ability to be self-sufficient. Though the exceeding of the carrying capacity (CC) is occurring at certain resettlement schemes, it did not seem a limitation to resettlement to date. However, with regards to the determination of the CC, the information on the number of livestock at the resettlement schemes was not readily available, or inaccurate.

6.4.5 Settler dependency

An underlying concern of the above described characteristics is the continuing dependency of settlers on the government. This is in direct opposition to the policy's aim of creating self-sufficiency within a set period of 4 - 5 years with the majority of settlers on the schemes being still dependent on government provisions, such as food and clothes. At some of the resettlement schemes the stage self-sufficiency was not reached after a period of more than 7 years. Dependency on the government provisions and services is strongly interlinked with issues, such as participation and capacity-building, which are more indicative as over-arching trends pertaining to the resettlement.

6.5 General over-arching trends

Often, no single underlying cause can be identified due to the complex and interconnected nature of the issues. As with all development processes, the underlying assumption is that the existing situation is inadequate. Therefore, it serves no purpose to blame cultural and social deficiencies constraining those involved. A number of over-arching trends presently pertaining to resettlement could however be identified.

6.5.1 Co-operation and co-ordination of institutions

It becomes apparent both from the institutional review and the visits of the resettlement schemes that the degree of fulfilment of formal activities outlined in the *National Resettlement Policy* is unclear. Co-operation at regional and local level between the various line ministries seem to exist, however, responsibility and accountability is not held by all ministries involved. Where co-operation does occur, it appears to yield positive results.

6.5.2 Communication links

During the assessment communication problems were encountered at all levels. Among settlers, between settlers and authorities at local, regional and national levels, between the directorates and different levels within the MLRR, as well as between the various line ministries. Poor communication at the resettlement schemes often involves linguistic, social, cultural and economic differences. In addition, cultural and gender insensitivity worsens the communication problems between settlers themselves, as between settlers and authorities. Negative attitudes contributing to communication problems are evident in over-simplified justifications often given by authorities for the failure of government-run activities on the schemes. Settlers are often described by officials as being lazy and ungrateful, in particular, the San settlers are perceived as simple, traditional and, therefore, incompetent.

6.5.3 Consultation and participation

A change in the top-down approach by the MLRR is evident on the more recent resettlement projects, however activities of settlers are often prescribed with strict control over certain of these activities being maintained by the MLRR. These prescribed activities include agricultural methods, income activities, housing design and the marketing of products. Settler participation in any of the decision processes at the resettlement schemes is rare. Although a change is evident, the major limitation of the resettlement remains. There is little choice for alternatives to poverty alleviation other than agriculture. The current situation at the resettlement schemes shows that the coping strategies of settlers are focused on meeting short term needs and, therefore, the potential to develop opportunities to meet future, longer term needs, is neglected. In this way, settlers seem to stay trapped in the same powerless situation, whereby, no control over the destination of their lives is gained.

6.5.4 Limited levels of planning

Owing to the urgent call for land reform many resettlement activities seem to be implemented on an *ad hoc* basis. The *Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act* and the *National Resettlement Policy* have actively encouraged more structure and transparency into the resettlement process. Planning of the resettlement schemes -with one exclusion- however, still takes place without proper management plans with longer-term, yet flexible objectives.

6.5.5 Capacity enhancement

The lack of capacity has been acknowledged and the MLRR is implementing capacity-building programmes with help of foreign aid organisations. These programmes, however, seem to focus primarily on the middle and top management levels within the MLRR. Human resource skills, as well as technical skills, are urgently required for both settlers and government officials at the resettlement schemes.

The findings of the retrospective assessment form the basis of the policy assessment in the next section. The criteria from chapter 4 are applied to assess the resettlement policy process.

IV

ASSESSMENT SECTION

University of Cape Town

7. POLICY ASSESSMENT OF THE RESETTLEMENT POLICY

The aim of this section is to identify a number of policy-scientific causes of the constraints of resettlement. The first part of this section assesses the resettlement policy process to identify these possible causes. The second part will discuss the conclusion of this study.

7.1 Assessment of findings

In this section, the theory of policy making and the lessons learnt from policy implementation in other countries amalgamate with the case study of resettlement in Namibia. Links are established between the resettlement policy process (*see chapter five*), including the findings of the retrospective assessment (*see chapter six*), and the theory of policy making (*see chapter three*) and lesson from international experience with policy implementations (*see chapter four*).

In the following table (*see table 7.1*), the findings of the policy assessment are presented. For each criteria, a number of shortcomings or causes have been listed.

Table 7.1 Assessment of findings

Criteria	Cause/Shortcoming
policy process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ No clear inception point of policy process There is no clear inception point of the policy process. The issue of land distribution was one of the motivations during the war of liberation (TCCF, 1992) and immediately after independence the land issue was put on the policy agenda. The agenda building process, therefore, took place during the struggle for liberation.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No clear distinction between formulation and implementation Another issue that comes out of the policy process of the resettlement policy is the unclear transition point between policy formulation and policy implementation. While resettlement programmes started as early as 1991, when at least 11 farms had been acquired²² no formal policy had been established. There are several considerations to these proceedings. Firstly, it is not clear whether the purchase and allocation of land prior to the approval of the National Resettlement Policy can be considered as being policy. Apparently no formal guidelines did exist and no political decision with regards to resettlement had been taken. Secondly, the decision in 1996 to approve the National Resettlement Policy can be regarded as a pseudo-decision as 'implementation' had already been taken place for several years. In other words, the chances that the National Resettlement Policy would be rejected were very questionable. The undermining of democratic principles in this case is alarming as government institutions were granted responsibilities without having proper guidelines or a democratic authorisation to act. • Limited transparency and accountability In the policy sciences, Acts and other regulations are considered to be judicial instruments or means to achieve the goals in the policy. In relation to the point made above, the Agriculture (Commercial) Land Reform Act was promulgated before the approval of either the Resettlement Policy or the Land Policy. This emphasises the fact that within the Namibian government, certain decisions with regard to land reforms had already been taken, hereby contravening underlying principles of democracy such as transparency and accountability.
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²² This figure is based on a table of all commercial farms bought by the MLRR from 1991 to 1997, published by Werner (1997) based on information of the MLRR.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Importance of formulation process neglected During the policy formulation process, decisions are made that will affect all the other policy sub processes. Therefore, the formulation process is of utmost importance. The effects of policy mistakes during the formulation process will become apparent in the implementation process. Strategic decisions are supposedly made on various policy options and the instruments applied in these options. Criteria, such as the cost-effectiveness of resettlement, alternatives for poverty alleviation such as controlled urbanisation, should be considered during this policy formulation process. Other stakes of politicians and government officials play an important role during this stage. The perception of effective leaders, moving upwards in their careers, acquiring greater resources for their agencies or creating greater efficiency in their work are a number of stakes cited by Thomas and Grindle (1990) that could influence the decisions made during the policy formulation process.
<p>policy content and change</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resettlement policy promotes a radical change The contents of the National Resettlement Policy can be characterised as being a radical change from the previous 'apartheid' systems of land allocation in Namibia. Focusing on only a small part of society, a change is made towards a focus extending to include the entire society of Namibia. However, the indisputable need for land reforms, the amount of change required for the National Resettlement Policy to be implemented successfully is enormous and with that, creating resistance to its implementation. • High technical and administrative contents The technical or administrative content of the policy require new organisational forms, such as the MLRR and the LRAC, extensive co-ordination, such as between the various ministries involved, and the concept of voluntarily

	<p>resettling people as a poverty alleviation measurement, is new for Namibia. Furthermore, administrative task, such as registration, selection and allocation of land to settlers require specific skills. As the administrative and technical demands are 'high', the implementation depends on the competence and support of a bureaucracy. The co-ordination efforts of government officials and institutions must be adequate to ensure that the policy is carried out as planned.</p>
<p>actors and decision points</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Great number of actors and decision points As stated in the National Resettlement Policy, over 15 different institutions, both public and private, are involved in the implementation of the resettlement policy. The implications of such a high number of policy actors are a high level of co-ordination and an increased chance of disagreement on crucial decisions during the implementation. To play a role in the implementation, institutions need a budget to cater for the necessary actions. These, and many other decision have to be taken by all the different actors, thereby, placing pressure on the probability of full agreement on implementation issues. • (Dis)advantage of establishment of the MLRR The establishment of the MLRR does not mitigate the effects of the change in procedures and working routines of existing organisations. The MLRR needs time to find its place in the policy field with existing organisations and establish new relations with them. On the other hand, the MLRR's main focus is on the facilitation of resettlement and therefore no competition with other aims and objectives occurs within the organisation.
<p>policy goals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General agreement on overall goal On the overall aim of the resettlement policy to " uplift the living standard of all Namibians " (Republic of Namibia, 1996:1) not much less than full agreement is expected. Such an aim does not differ from formal policy goals in

	<p>other Sub Saharan African countries. However, the operational significance of such statements is extremely limited (Gulhati, 1990).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No operational context of policy objectives The six main objectives of the resettlement programme are vague in a way that it is unclear when these objectives will be achieved. Although the National Resettlement Policy is a strategic document and therefore not too specific, no reference is given to the operationalisation of the objectives. An implementation strategy, plan or programme on how, when and by whom these goals should be achieved does not exist. In addition, no hierarchy exist between the objectives and no priority is assigned to them. Tension between objectives, in the absence of clear guidelines, is left to government officials to be resolved (Hall, 1998). • NDP goals are clear Although the goals as set in the National Development Plan²³ and the goals reported in "Namibia Review"²⁴ contradict one another, they are explicit and operationalised. To what extent these goals are set as part of the Resettlement Policy, which was approved only after publication of these goals, is however, unclear.
time frame	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Long time span for implementation As the resettlement policy does not clearly operationalise its objectives, it is hard to determine when these objectives have been achieved. So far, the 'implementation' has been carried out since 1991 and only in 1995 a speeding up in the process seemed to occur. The shorter an implementation period takes, the more risks can be reduced. It is, hereby, assumed that the

²³ National Planning Commission, 1995, *National Development Plan 1*. Vol. 1 and 2, Government of Namibia, Windhoek

²⁴ Namibia Review, March 1995

	<p>policy in itself is correct (Wuyts, 1992). As the number of landless people is estimated at 90 000, with only 10 000 people having been resettled in the past seven years, it seems like the implementation period will last for a relatively long period.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pressure on delivery increases Politicians can pressure the time frame applied by implementors. This has been the case with the MLRR when the President of Namibia set the tasks of acquiring 20 % of the required land by the end of 1998 and 80 % by the end of the decade (University of Cape Town, 1998). Time pressure is one of the three general dilemmas of management. The quality of the policy, the time pressure and the necessary support form three criteria which require simultaneous maximisation. • Blurred policy process will affect <i>ex post</i> evaluation The 'implementation' of resettlement took place during the first five years without an official guideline such as the <i>National Resettlement Policy</i>. In the policy process, outputs from the implementation process will form the input for the following -evaluation- process. Whether these first ad hoc years are to be considered as part of the implementation will definitely influence the outcomes of an ex post evaluation of the resettlement policy.
resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insufficient resources for implementation The resources required for a successful implementation of the <i>National Resettlement Policy</i> are not sufficient. There is a managerial, financial, political and technical 'underdevelopment' of resources. It can be assumed that no feasibility study was undertaken prior to the implementation and approval of the policy. Hall (1998) argues that the result of an ambitious policy with high resource implications, which the resettlement policy certainly is, and insufficient state capacity to implement

	<p>the programme to its full extent, results in gradually diminishing optimism on resettlement.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social costs for destitute and landless The retrospective assessment of environmental implementations of resettlement was based on criteria from international experience, sustainability and the resettlement policy itself. Externalities, the costs of social problems carried by them who are supposed to benefit from the resettlement programme, will increase as the time pressure on 'delivery' increases. The policy goals, often expressed in the amount of land redistributed and the number of people resettled, could outweigh the long term, sustainable implementation of the resettlement policy.
political power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only commitment by MLRR is insufficient On the one hand, the commitment and the 'willingness' within the MLRR is undoubtedly very high, however, many other organisations are also involved in the implementation process. These organisations have their own priorities given to resettlement which can be reflected in withholding of information, insufficient budget allocation and purposeful delays. The influence that the political power has on the successful implementation is related to other issues, such as the number of actors and decision points. The advantage, however, of having one organisation responsible for resettlement is the full commitment it can give to the resettlement. The primary objective of the MLRR is to facilitate the resettlement process.
target group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No public involvement at lower levels The target group of the National Resettlement Policy -all Namibians- is large and very diverse. For practical reasons and by the force of circumstances inherent in the limitation of means, help is only provided on a basis of priority and proportional to the needs of potential

	<p>beneficiaries (Republic of Namibia, 1996). Six different target groups have been identified, namely the San, returnees, ex-soldiers, disabled, displaced and landless people. As Werner states, the "<i>dispossessed and landless are not organised in any coherent way</i>" (Werner, 1997:8-9) and, therefore, participation requires a proactive approach from the side of the government. The Land Conference did cater for active participation at a strategic level, however public involvement is lacking at lower levels of policy making. Maximisation of both the own benefit and the accountability of the target group is not seriously pursued due to a rather rigid top-down approach to implementation of the MLRR.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No hierarchy or guidelines for target groups Although six different target groups have been identified out of the whole Namibian society, no priority or hierarchy occurs between them. Competition between these target groups can occur and solutions are left to the implementors, as no current guidelines exist.
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7.2 Discussion of findings

According to Wuyts (1992), there are two general causes of policy mistakes. Firstly, the model that is pursued is wrong, and secondly, the implementation fails to implement a correct policy. In the findings of the retrospective assessment of environmental aspects, some of the underlying assumptions of the resettlement policy have been questioned. The findings or 'constraints' identified by the retrospective assessment might originate in one or more of the identified policy-scientific causes. Although it is not possible to give clear and single causal relationships in such a complex situation whereby many variables play a role, this discussion attempts to link the concluding policy-scientific causes with findings of the retrospective assessment of environmental aspects. In this section, both the descriptive characteristics, or key findings, and the over-arching characteristics of the retrospective assessment are discussed in light of the policy-scientific causes.

The main underlying policy scientific cause that becomes apparent from this study, is the fact that little attention has been paid on the actual implementability of the resettlement policy. 'Implementation' started directly after independence and only 5 years later was a guideline -by means of the resettlement policy- approved by Cabinet. Another crucial underlying policy scientific cause that can be identified is the lack of background research that should have occurred to identify the 'behaviour' and needs of the target groups.

7.2.1 Limited research on the target group

The ongoing dependency on government provisions, the need for alternative income strategies, and absenteeism are both prime examples of cases whereby the need and 'behaviour' of the target groups are not adequately identified and, therefore, contradict the goals and expectations of the resettlement programmes. The resettlement policy is not rooted in a valid causal theory that settlers will gain independence with regard to their on food production after a four to five year period. Assumptions on their self-sufficiency have proven not to be true.

Top-down approach

The top-down approach applied by the MLRR for implementation does not promote accountability and responsibility among the settlers themselves. At this stage they are perceived as being a part of the problem, rather than being a part of the solution. If settlers are being seen as co-producers of the effect and performance achieved by a policy, then they should be given appropriate responsibilities. They can only be held accountable if they active participate in the implementation process. The poor and destitute were trapped in a dependent position whilst the resettlement policy aims to lift them out of such dependency position, rather than maintaining their current situation.

Absenteeism, and abuse and disuse of government facilities

The hunting or gathering of 'veld kos' as alternative food provisions, and absenteeism, caused by, among others, the maintenance of family links, are examples of behaviour that counter the goals of resettlement. This contradiction could have been identified if the behaviour of target groups was investigated more thoroughly prior to implementation. Neglecting thorough study of the target groups and their expected behaviour within resettlement has resulted in the application of the wrong causal theory and model (Wuyts, 1992). According to Whitaker (1980), a policy should relate to the ways of operating and behaviour of a target group. Citizens and private organisations are too often neglected by policy makers who believe them not to have their own, unique, and mostly independent and autonomous modes of operation and behaviour (Whitaker, 1980). For example, the model of a communal garden does contradict the behaviour of the target group, leading to conflicts amongst the settlers, as well as between settlers and government officials. The rather technocratic assumption, that when initial provisions such as tenure and food were provided, the target group will become self-sufficient, did not become reality.

7.2.2 Too little focus on implementation

Many policy making processes are too strongly focused on the production of a policy document, rather than focusing on the implementation of the policy (Thomas and Grindle, 1990; Van de Graaf and Hoppe, 1996). The limited focus on the implementability of the resettlement programme has led to a too ambitious policy which can not be implemented within the constraints of existing resources. The goals in the National Development Plan are criticised by Werner (1997) as being unrealistic. The goals were not realistic because they were produced "*in the absence of a land policy and with no clear indication of how much money government was prepared to commit to land reform*" (Werner, 1997:11).

Limited resource capacity

However, it is not only the financial resources that affect a successful implementation of a policy. Managerial resources, political and technical resources, all have an influence on the implementability of the resettlement policy. The MLRR acknowledges its limited capacity of human resources to implement the resettlement policy (University of Cape Town, 1998). With help of foreign aid, programmes are run to enhance the technical skills of officials of the MLRR, especially with regards to planning. A feasibility study during the policy preparation process could have identified the resources required to implement the resettlement policy and determined shortcomings or 'under development' of resources.

Political power and decision points

The impact of this resource shortage is multiple. Many actors are supposedly responsible for implementation according to the policy. A lack of managerial capacity however limits the necessary co-ordination and co-operation between these actors. This issue is further linked to the number of actors and the number of decision points in the implementation process. To reach consensus during this implementation process requires highly skilled management. Other organisations involved in implementation might have other priorities given to resettlement depending on other tasks they have to perform. The *Namibian Resettlement Policy* is approved by the Namibian Cabinet, and all involved ministries have a shared responsibility with regards to the successful implementation. Shared responsibility does however imply a shared accountability which seemed to be ignored by the other ministries. The findings of the institutional review, namely interministerial tensions, poor communication and a limited level of planning, can all be linked directly to limited resource capacity, and the number of actors and decision points within the implementation process.

Pseudo decision-making

The pseudo-decision making process played a role here as well. The approval of the resettlement policy was almost 'a must' as 'implementation' was taking place for more than five years. The political stakes of disapproving the resettlement policy were very high. A policy was accepted with responsibilities for many ministries in the Namibian Cabinet, and it can be questioned if the implications thereof have been fully understood by the relevant ministries.

Management of natural resources

The lack of control on the carrying capacity and water usage is also interlinked with the constraints of a limited resource base. Knowledge on the carrying capacity and sustainable water usage are limited among responsible officials and finance for research, capacity training and materials necessary to overcome this fundamental constraint are limited also.

Furthermore, the lack of focus on implementation has affected the level of planning. So far, most planning with regard to resettlement has taken place on an *ad hoc* basis, with no guidelines for implementation existing. This results in the implementors, with their limited capacity of resources, being left with the obligation to solve problems resulting from this lack of planning.

Although no full rationale can be provided for the dissatisfaction, and disuse or abuse of government provisions and services, it can be perceived as an overall result of policy mistakes. It provides a strong warning to all actors in the policy field that the policy process should be adjusted to cater for more successful implementation. In the next section recommendations will be given outlining what further improvements can be made to salvage the resettlement policy process.

V

RECOMMENDATIONS

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8. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of the assessment in the previous chapter recommendations are given which could contribute to a more successful implementation of the resettlement policy.

8.1 Introduction

The recommendations given in this section are based on the study as described in this dissertation. This dissertation focused on the policy process of the resettlement policy. Strategic questions with regards to climatic suitability, urbanisation as policy option, the cost-benefits of resettlement and the 'suitability' of San for this kind of resettlement are not considered in this study. Although these topics are not within the scope of this study, they are however dealt with in other individual dissertations based on the retrospective assessment²⁵.

8.2 Recommendations

An attempt has been made to give practical and implementable recommendations that are adapted to the current situation of the Namibian Government. The resource capacities and co-ordination shortcomings are taken into account while drawing up these recommendations. Furthermore, to promote the clarity of the recommendations, only few recommendations are given. The nature and findings of this policy assessment result in recommendations that focus on the two major findings. A list of recommendations which does not relate directly to the major findings of this study, has been avoided.

²⁵ See Hansen, G. (1998) *The Sustainability of Agriculture as a Development Tool in Namibia*. University of Cape Town, Cape Town; Liber, B.F. (1998) *Urbanisation and the Environment in Namibia: Policy Implications of the Rural-Urban Relationship*. University of Cape Town, Cape Town; and McLean, B. (1998) *Resettlement and Namibian San Communities: Prospectives for Sustainable Community Development Through Empowerment -with a Case Study from the Omahekle Region*. University of Cape Town: Cape Town.

#1 A thorough survey of the available resources

The retrospective assessment has identified a number of shortcomings with regard to the successful implementation of the resettlement policy. A number of these shortcomings can be related to the limited capacity of resources within the Namibian Government. **To identify what future potential with regard to the further implementation is, it is strongly suggested that a thorough survey takes place of all the political, managerial, technical and financial resources available within all implementing organisations.** This survey or analysis should preferably be carried out by an independent organisation, i.e., not by a particular ministry. The surveyor should, however, be familiar with the organisational structures of the Namibian Government. **Institutions such as the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit could be suitable to carry out such a survey as this.**

As apparent from the retrospective assessment, the main institutions and organisations involved in implementing the *National Resettlement Policy* are the:

- Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation;
- Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development;
- Ministry of Works, Transport and Communications; and,
- Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

To facilitate for limited (financial) resources available, including those resources available to support an initial survey as recommended, **it should be considered to limited the resources survey initially to these, identified as crucial, institutions.** At a later stage, the survey could be extended to the other organisations and institutions involved.

#2 Development of an implementation plan

When the available resources, with respect to resettlement, have been identified, it is **suggested to develop an implementation plan which is in line with the nature of the resources available as defined by the survey.** This implementation plan requires active input of all involved policy actors. Those ministries responsible should have active participation to enhance the probability of full agreement, and promote communication and co-operation between them. Furthermore, the target group should be recognised as a policy actor and subsequently requires an active participation programme. **It is, therefore, suggested that the behaviour and needs of the potential settlers are re-investigated and incorporated into both the principles of the policy as well as into the structured implementation plan.** Benefits for the target groups should be promoted, and responsibilities allocated within their resource constraints. All policy actors should play a role in the gathering of information, thereby identifying relevant actions at the appropriate levels (ranging from national to local resettlement scheme level), in addition to determining the responsibilities of those relevant actors in the implementation process (Mhlanga *et al*, 1998). To improve the accountability and the transparency of the policy process, choices regarding the implementation plan, should be motivated and substantiated.

NAPCOD can play an important role initiating and co-ordinating the establishment of the implementation plan. As an over-arching governmental organisation and initiator of the retrospective assessment, it plays a relatively neutral role with regard to the interministerial tensions, which had been acknowledged as a constraint to the current implementation of the policy.

Operationalisation of the resettlement policy

The formalised environmental management systems (EMS) approach, which was first developed for private sector to manage their environmental aspects, can provide a useful framework for implementing governmental policies (Laros and Kilian, 1998). In the formalised environmental management systems approach, procedures and instructions are developed, plans,

programmes, and where applicable, pilot-projects are instituted to implement a policy. In this context, a plan can be defined as a “*purposeful, forward looking strategy or design, often with co-ordinated priorities, options and measures, that elaborates and implements policy*” (Sadler, 1996:28). A programme refers to “*an coherent, organised agenda or schedule of commitments, proposals, instruments and/or activities that elaborates and implements policy*” (Sadler, 1996:28). The implementation of the resettlement policy can benefit from an operationalisation of the six policy objectives. Procedures and structures should be identified by developing plans and programmes. The implementation plans should contain measurable objectives, allocate responsible functions, a reasonable time frame and the instruments on how the policy objectives are to be achieved. Specific attention should be paid to the co-ordination between the various policy implementors.

Many variables play important roles in the implementation of a policy. Therefore, a successful implementation of an abstract ideal and a desired situation allows no guarantee to be made to attain that desired situation. Implementation of the recommendations given in this final section are, however, expected to contribute to a more successful implementation of the *National Resettlement Policy of Namibia*.

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