COMMON PROPERTY REGIMES AND LAND REFORM IN NAMIBIA: A CASE STUDY OF SKOONHEID, OMAHEKE REGION

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in
the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science,
University of Cape Town

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July 1998

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

This dissertation is concerned with the question of local resource use. It explores this question and more specifically common property resource management regimes using Skoonheid Resettlement Project in the Omaheke Region in Namibia as a case study. This study was born out of a Retrospective Assessment of the Environmental Implications of Resettlement in Namibia, commissioned by the Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD) through the Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET).

Methodology

Methods used to gather information included the following:

- Literature review;
- Interviews with key stakeholders and informants, including relevant informants from the government and non-governmental organisations; and
- Fieldwork which included observations and informal interviews with settlers in the case study area.

Aims and objectives of the study

The main aim of this dissertation is to seek a new balance in the use of both "scientific" and "traditional' management. Specifically, the dissertation explores the appropriate role of local, community-level institutions in the management of communal resources in Namibia. This is unearthed by looking at the challenges faced by the community at Skoonheid. The following objectives have been identified as important in achieving the above stated aim:

- to provide a conceptual framework for, and understanding of, common property regimes and their implications for sustainable use of local communal natural resources;
- to provide an overview of trends in natural resource management in southern Africa, and more specifically Namibia, as part of the Southern African Development Community (SADC);
- to provide a brief overview of the Namibian policies that support local resource management in communal areas;
- to provide a profile of Skoonheid as a case study and to provide a review and analysis of the current situation regarding local resource management in Skoonheid through a discussion of issues of resettlement which have influenced the exploitation of natural resources; and,
- to make practical recommendations that are likely to improve local resource management in Namibia.

Theoretical context

A key feature of this dissertation is its emphasis on common property resource management regimes as the vehicle for community resource management in the Skoonheid Resettlement Project. The notion that national, even regional governments in the SADC countries can effectively manage local resources is lacking empirical and historical support. Contrary to many of the views expressed in recent decades about indigenous common property regimes, this study argues that these regimes are both economically rational and socially equitable. They offer the poor a safety net, which is now in danger of disappearing.

Of relevance to this dissertation is the regional and national contexts for sustainable management of natural resources. A review of relevant literature shows an increasing recognition, at policy level of the importance of local resource management, and specifically the central role of "community involvement". For instance, the SADC countries, including Namibia, recognise that one of the prerequisites for sustainable management of natural resources such as land, wildlife,

grazing and water, requires putting policies in place that address the key constraints facing the resource users. Policies and institutions are formulated and set up with the aim of improving the conditions of the disadvantaged rural communities who have been marginalised by the previous colonial government. Community involvement and participation are seen as cornerstones to sustainable management of natural resources in the SADC.

Key findings

One of the key findings of this assessment was that Skoonheid was the only farm with explicit evidence of natural resource exploitation. The assessment also found the following:

- A lack of clear ownership rights to resources and land contributes to major problems in resource management. Without secure tenure, natural resources are regarded as government property. This contributes to the settlers' lack of incentives and opportunities to manage resources in a sustainable manner. Settlers are unable to deny other people either the right to grazing on surrounding land or to the use of boreholes. In the study area, dependency on the government seemed to frustrate settlers especially with regard to the delays experienced in borehole maintenance.
- Planning for the Skoonheid Resettlement Project was short-sighted and ineffective, generally lacking guidelines or any indication of a move towards integrated regional development. In addition, no consideration was given to the development of a holistic land-use plan for the region, and no guidelines were provided to contribute to the sustainable use of the natural resources upon which the project's success is entirely dependent.
- Sectoral policies which address the management of natural resources are uncoordinated, thereby giving conflicting messages to local communities. If the management of natural resources is to be sustainable, this problem should be addressed.

- The absence of community involvement, disregard of local knowledge and lack of co-management of communal resources appears to be impeding efforts by the government to create water supply partnerships with the local communities, such as the first phase of the Cost Recovery Policy for operation and maintenance of boreholes, as envisaged in the Ministry of Agriculture Water and Rural development (MAWRD).
- Lack of institutional support and political commitment are evident, particularly with respect to environmental degradation in the study area, due to livestock practices. No active steps have been taken by the Namibian Government to halt these processes.
- The influx of newcomers with their livestock and lack of control over resources also needs to be addressed. This was particularly true in Skoonheid where weak leadership structures exist. There is no control over the numbers of newcomers and the size of their herds. This result in competition over, and pressure on scarce resources and provides a disincentive to manage these resources sustainably.

The problems described above are by no means mutually exclusive. For instance, tenure reform as it relates to natural resources can not occur without inter-sectoral co-ordination at the national, regional and local levels. Neither can inter-sectoral co-ordination occur without adequate human resources and capacity thereof.

Conclusions and Recommendations

From this study a number of conclusions, in the form of constraints, were obtained and various recommendations provided for the future.

Constraints to community management and control of natural resources at Skoonheid, were found to include:

- problems with community representative decision-making and leadership structures;
- inadequate institutional capacity at the community and government level;

- lack of sectoral co-ordination;
- lack of commitment by those involved in both the government and the community; and,
- the lack of clearly defined rights and authority over natural resources.

Recommendations have been made based on the conclusions reached in the study. These could contribute to the long term success of land resettlement in Namibia. It is recommended that:

- Every development plan, policy and programme should be assessed at a strategic level in terms of its impact on the environment.
- Effective co-ordination is required for government policies at national, regional and local levels.
- A flexible approach to land tenure needs to be adopted that will enable constituted communities and groups to exercise joint ownership rights over land. Community tenure will be central to the success of this policy for community ownership of natural resources which need to be managed collectively.
- Although the community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) currently only applies to the rights over wildlife, this concept should arguably be extended in the future to include rights over, or ownership of, other natural resources such as water, grazing and wood.
- One possible solution is to introduce common property regimes to restore control over resources, that are currently open to all, owing to ineffective state control.
- Currently, no charge is attached to the use of most natural resources on communal land. This encourages unsustainable use as there is no cost attached to using resources. A natural resource user fee would reduce levels of utilisation - for example, stocking rates - by imposing a cost on users and help to redistribute resources to poorer communal farmers who use less land and water. A natural resource user fee collected at the community level should be introduced.
- Developing the human resources to carry out all of the diverse actions required to manage Skoonheid's environment and natural resources sustainably is a major challenge. Education, training and capacity building at all levels, from central

government to grassroots resource users, is required. Environmental education, broadly conceived, should give the Skoonheid community not only the awareness and knowledge needed for making sustainable environmental choices, but also the skills, options and motivation to do so.

- The carrying capacity of the Skoonheid Farm should be ascertained and reviewed on a regular basis. The carrying capacity should be an integral part of a management plan, informing both the type and extent of activities of the scheme. This will facilitate the effective management of natural resources on this farm.
- The complex socio-economic conditions on Skoonheid Farm demand innovative management at the local, regional and national level. Such partnership arrangements must provide an enabling, facilitative and supportive role for the state rather than one that replaces or undermines local institutional capacity.

Given the range and challenges facing the Namibian Government and Skoonheid settlement, a variety of measures need to be put in place to ensure that policies supporting local resource management are translated into practical and sustainable actions. Although the above recommendations are based on the situation in the Skoonheid Resettlement Project, most may generally be regarded as applicable to developing countries.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADMADE	Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Managemnt
DEA	Directorate Of Environment
DRWS	Directorate of Rural Water Supply
DWA	Department of Water Affairs
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRN	Government of the Republic of Namibia
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit
I&AP	Interested and Affected Parties
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation
IUCN	World Conservation Union
l.s.u.	Large Stock Unit
LIFE	Living in a Finite World
LIRDP	Luanga Integrated Resource Development Project
MAWRD	Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MLRR	Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation
MPHIL	Master of Philosophy
MRLGH	Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing
NANGOF	Namibian Non-Governmental Forum
NAPCOD	Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification
NDP1	First National development Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations

NRM	Natural Resource Management
NRMP	Natural Resource Management Programme
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SARDEP	Sustainable Animal and Rangeland Development Programme
SCP	Selous Conservation Programme
SEA	Strategic Environmental Assessment
SSD	Social Science Division
s.s.u.	Small Stock Units, 6 s.s.u. = 1 l.s.u.
UCT	University of Cape Town
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Darryll Kilian, for the help, advice, support and encouragement he offered me for the duration of this project. I am particularly grateful to him for sharing his knowledge, experience and friendship.

Shirley Churms of the Writing Centre also provided valuable supervision in all the stages of this research for which I am grateful. Shirley's contagious enthusiasm has been a great inspiration and I am indebted to her for sharing her passion on the subject and for giving her time so freely.

Kevin Winter also provided useful input and valuable support during the course of this study which is appreciated.

I am most grateful to the people of the Skoonheid Resettlement Project for enabling me to share their experiences of the resettlement programme in Skoonheid. This research would not have been possible without their support, and I learnt a great deal from working with them.

The financial assistance of the Centre for Science Development, South African Breweries and UCT Postgraduate Scholarship is greatly appreciated.

A final word of thanks goes to my mother, Mrs Makondelele Josephine Mafune and family for their support and for the interest they have shown in my work.

And above all, I would like to thank God, the Almighty, for being so kind to me and seeing me through this work. I would not have been able to do it without Him.

Finally, this dissertation is dedicated to Mr Joseph Luvhengo Rambau of Thohoyandou, Block P, Venda, who is my founder and education mentor.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to this Study

This dissertation has as its point of departure a Retrospective Assessment of the Environmental Implications of the Resettlement Programme in Namibia, commissioned by the Namibian Programme to Combat Desertification (NAPCOD), through the Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET). The need for this research was derived from the lack of information on the cost and benefits, including environmental, of different tenure systems and land-use options for resettlement. The research was further motivated by the need for baseline information necessary for the establishment of a programme to monitor resettlement. The report was written for the Government of Namibia with the aims of assessing the environmental implications of resettlement and of recommending any changes and improvements that are necessary. A team of six postgraduate students from the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science at the University of Cape Town undertook the study. The author of this dissertation was a member of this team. The Environmental Evaluation Unit (EEU) has provided supervision throughout the research at the University of Cape Town.

The fieldwork was conducted during the period from November 1997 to February 1998. The group spent approximately four weeks in Namibia conducting research, with the time divided between Windhoek and each of five chosen case study areas namely Excelsior and Tsintsabis areas, which fall within the Oshikoto region, and Drimiopsis, Skoonheid and Vasdraai areas, which fall within the Omaheke region. It became clear during the course of the study that Namibia faces a number of environmental threats. The term *"environmental threat"* is used

here to mean an unsustainable environmental trend, caused by human activities in an arid and highly variable environment, which leads to the degradation or depletion of valuable natural resources (Byers, 1996). Particular root causes of environmental threats in the Assessment were observed. Figure 1.1 represents general threats to Namibia as described by Tarr (1997). The highlighted threats are of particular importance to this study and are discussed below:

- Population growth in Namibia is rapid, and the demographic momentum of its relatively young population will inevitably cause the population to grow much larger. Because people require resources in order to live and develop, population growth is an ultimate root cause, a driving force, of the overexploitation of natural resources and environmental degradation.
- The knowledge needed to manage resources sustainably is still lacking in some cases. The role of applied social and economic research in management of sustainable natural resources has been under-appreciated for far too long. It is now beginning to receive some of the attention it deserves, but there is a great lack of information and capacity in this area.
- Overgrazing and unsustainable range management practices result in losses of ground cover, of species diversity and of the ability of plants to tolerate heavy grazing and droughts, and deterioration of the physical, chemical and biological properties of the soils, due to the effects of the wind or water.
- It is generally agreed that one of the most critical shortcomings of the Government of the Republic of Namibia (GRN) in general is the lack of cross-sectoral planning. Policies are set in one Ministerial sector without considering their impact on another, throughout the economy and especially with respect to the use of natural resource. Therefore policy failures occur resulting inadvertently in land degradation.

- Currently, control over access to resources such as land, water and grazing is blurred between traditional leadership and representatives of central government. Absence of any form of land tenure or long-term planning seriously complicates efforts of the growing number of people in the region to achieve control over their livelihoods. To ensure the sustainable use of natural resources, rights to resources must be defined.
- Overexploitation of water resources due, in part, to the Department of Water Affairs policy of meeting water demand rather than managing and reducing it; the existence of state subsidies for water is another of proximate causes that lead to overexploitation of water resources.
- Environmental degradation occurring in Namibia can be attributed partly to the misuse or breakdown of traditional common-property resource-management practices. In general, a breakdown in traditional, flexible management institutions and practices has taken place, and no modern procedures that are equally adapted to Namibia's arid and variable environment have replaced them.
- Given the diverse actions that are required to bring about sustainable development, lack of capacity and human resources is another important root cause of the many environmental threats facing the country.
- Inadequate public participation in natural resource management has meant that water, land and renewable resources have not been used sustainably.
- Namibia's protected area network was not planned explicitly to represent or conserve biodiversity, and many ecosystems with the highest productivity and species diversity have little or no representation in protected areas. If biodiversity conservation is to occur here, it must occur outside of protected areas, making use of other forms of conservation such as conservancies.

(MPhil, 1998; Byers, 1996; MET, 1995)

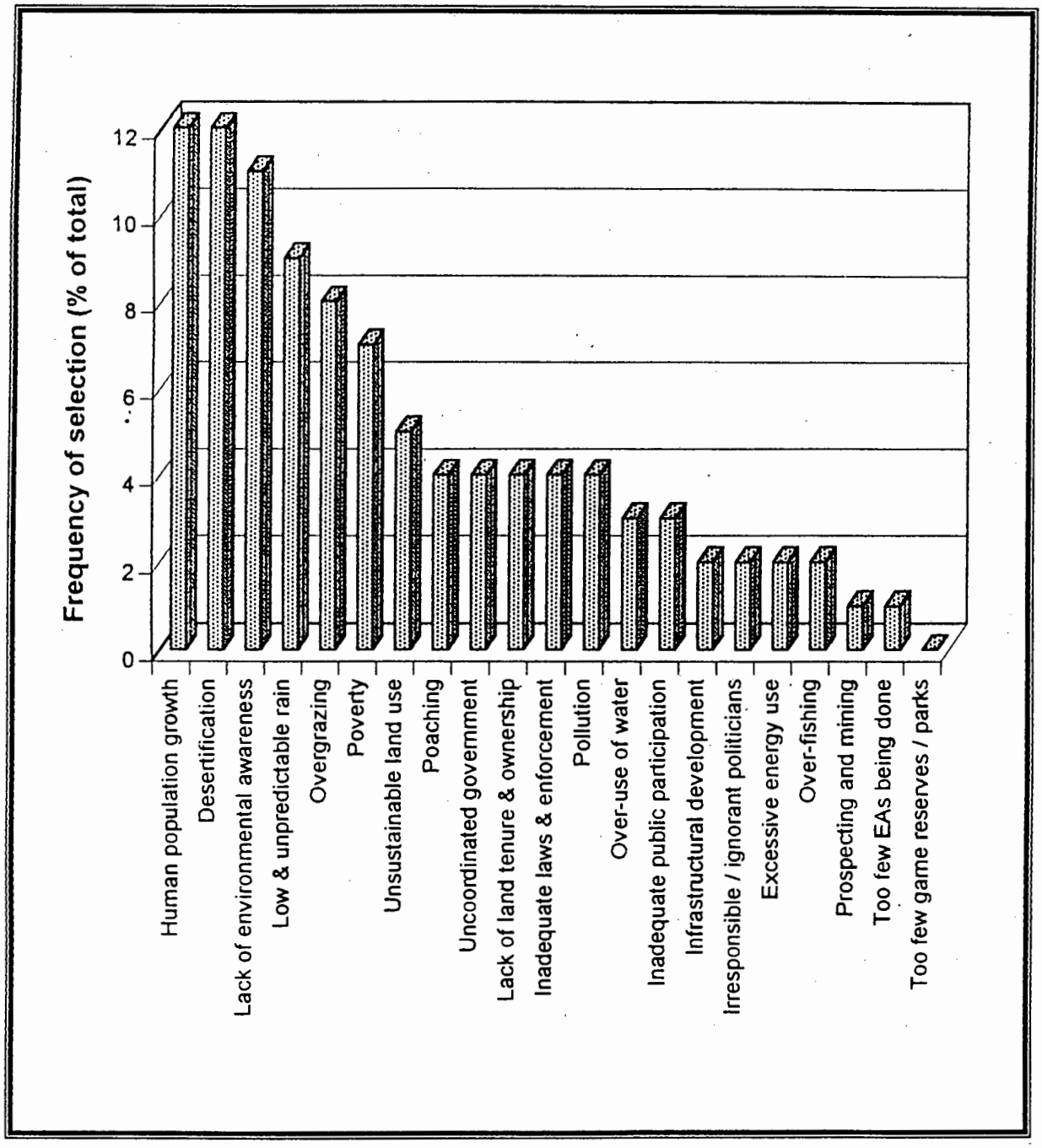

Figure 1.1: Root causes of environmental threats in Namibia (Source: Tarr, 1997: Unpublished Data)

In the light of the environmental challenges identified by the Retrospective Assessment, there is a need to briefly present some background information on resettlement policy in Namibia.

1.2 Namibia and Land Reform

Given the environmental threats identified in section 1.1, coupled with the extremely uneven distribution of land and wealth in Namibia, the issue of land is of major social, political and economic importance. After the war of independence, Namibia was faced with numerous unemployed and landless people. In September 1990, the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) was brought into existence to redress this problem, principally by purchasing and allocating land and providing support services and infrastructure to the destitute and landless. However, the progress of the Resettlement Programme in Namibia since 1990 has been slow (Werner, pers.comm. 1998). Since the promulgation of the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, (Act 6 of 1995) and the National Resettlement Policy of 1996, a legal basis has been provided, with the aim of accelerating the resettlement programme (MPhil, 1998). Land reform is envisaged as the driving force of rural development in general. It is also seen as proceeding in tandem with the restructuring of agriculture to open opportunities for black producers and for small-scale farmers in particular.

Resettlement schemes elsewhere in Africa have had a negative image despite evidence that, where they are not attempts at social engineering, they have been quite successful (Binswanger and Kinsey, 1996). World-wide there is substantial evidence that land reform can play a significant role in development. Valuable lessons have been gained from experiences of land reform in other African counties such as Zimbabwe, Kenya and South Africa. However, Namibia differs

climatically from these examples, due to its aridity and the lack of suitability of most areas of the country for crop production (MPhil, 1998).

The resettlement programmes in Namibia aim to provide secure access to natural resources and infrastructure for landless people within rural areas, in order for them to achieve self-sufficient livelihoods through agriculture. Resettlement programmes are a development initiative and a component of rural development. In order for the resettlement programme to be a positive contributor to rural development and especially to economic development, improving the welfare of the beneficiaries, the correct procedures need to be followed in the planning and implementation stages. However, unless effective planning, which takes into consideration the socio-economic and biophysical environments, including local knowledge and bottom-up processes of management of resettlement areas, is introduced, the objective of resettlement programmes practising sustainable resource use will not be achieved.

1.3 Rationale of this Study

The Retrospective Assessment found that the Skoonheid Resettlement Project, in the Omaheke region of Namibia, relies on wood, water and pastures as its main resources. Most significantly, all these resources are renewable and show characteristics of common property. However, clarity on and control of the rights to these resources remain problematic (MPhil, 1998). Currently Skoonheid is totally overgrazed as a result of Herero pastoralists illegally occupying six of its seven water points (MPhil, 1998). In fact local government in rural areas in Namibia does not yet have the resources to service dispersed rural settlements effectively.

A review of literature on sustainable management shows that strategies associated with the use of common property are as diverse as the social,

cultural, and ecological contexts in which they are practised. Those practices emphasise respect, responsibility, and stewardship and are highly participatory. The planning and management of resources held as common property is carried out by those directly affected by such decisions, which are designed to contribute to the continuing sustained use of the living resources. These practices emphasise local control, self-management, and to the extent possible, self-sufficiency (Swift, 1995; Lawry, 1990; Berkes and Farvar, 1989).

The international evidence is emphatic that natural resources which are communally used are best managed at village level (Ostrom, 1990). This dissertation suggests that effective management of natural resources at Skoonheid Resettlement Project requires localised institutional management rather than the existing statutory framework that local government provides. The present work thus addresses the question as to how these local or village-level resources (as contrasted with global commons) can be most efficiently and equitably managed. In other words, can we find guidelines or sound theoretical principles for an optimal long-term exploitation of local resources (water, pastures, wood, etc.)?

1.4 Statement of the Problem

Community management is viewed as the key to sustaining the supply of services to the poor (UNDP, 1990, cited in Sekhesa, 1997). However, for such institutions to manage their resources sustainably, they must have secure tenure of the land and the resources, and the benefits of management must be perceived to exceed the costs (Murphree, 1993). In addition, such local-level institutions must work within a framework that is socially and culturally acceptable, that takes into account existing social organisations and cultural attitudes (Botelle and Rhode cited in Sekhesa, 1997).

In Skoonheid Resettlement Project, the lack of security of land tenure and access to natural resources, inadequate mechanisms to implement policies at the local level and inappropriate institutional and social organisation arrangements could hamper any efforts for sustainable management of natural resources.

The land on which communities in resettlement projects live belongs to the State, affording resident communities little or no security. Local communities do not have the right to exclude "outsiders" and regulate use of the resources. Without powers to exclude "outsiders", who do not contribute to upkeep of natural resources, successful management of the local ecosystem becomes difficult. Moreover, this lack of secure tenure of natural resources acts as a disincentive to sustainable management of water, vegetation, wood and grazing land.

This dissertation, therefore, analyses the policy, legal and institutional framework in Namibia as they directly affect the management of natural resources in the Skoonheid Resettlement Project. It will examine whether legislative or statutory structures are appropriate and mechanisms are in place to support local resource management at Skoonheid and possibly in other resettlement projects in Namibia.

1.5 Aims and Objectives of the Study

Until recent years, scientists and policy-makers knew little about traditional management systems and accorded them little importance. The main aim of this dissertation is to seek a new balance in the use of both "scientific" and "traditional' management. Specifically, the dissertation explores the appropriate role of local, community-level institutions in the management of communal resources in Namibia. This is unearthed by looking at the challenges faced by the community at Skoonheid. The following objectives have been identified as important in achieving the above stated aim:

- to provide a conceptual framework for, and understanding of, common property regimes and their implications for sustainable use of local communal natural resources;
- to provide an overview of trends in natural resources management in southern Africa, and more specifically Namibia, as part of the Southern African Development Community (SADC);
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- to make practical recommendations that are likely to improve local resource management in Namibia.

1.6 Description of the Study Area

Skoonheid Resettlement Project falls within the Omaheke region, situated in the eastern part of Namibia, and borders the Otjozondjupa region, and the Hardap region (refer to Figures 1.2 and 1.3). Skoonheid is situated on the Kalahari Sand Plain. The topography is characteristically flat with regional slopes ranging from 0 to 2 %. Depressions in the sand plain contain shallow calcrete outcrops in certain areas (MAWRD, 1997).

The area has a "subtropical savannah" climate with the rainy season occurring between October and April. No rainfall records are kept on the farm. Gobabis, which is considered representative of the farm, has an average annual rainfall of 401.2 mm (Huesken *et al*, 1994). The amount and the distribution of rainfall are

the determining factors for the agricultural potential of the farm. The average growing period is very short, between 61 and 90 days, and is considered dependable. Crops planted between November and January are most likely to have a successful growing period (MAWRD, 1997).

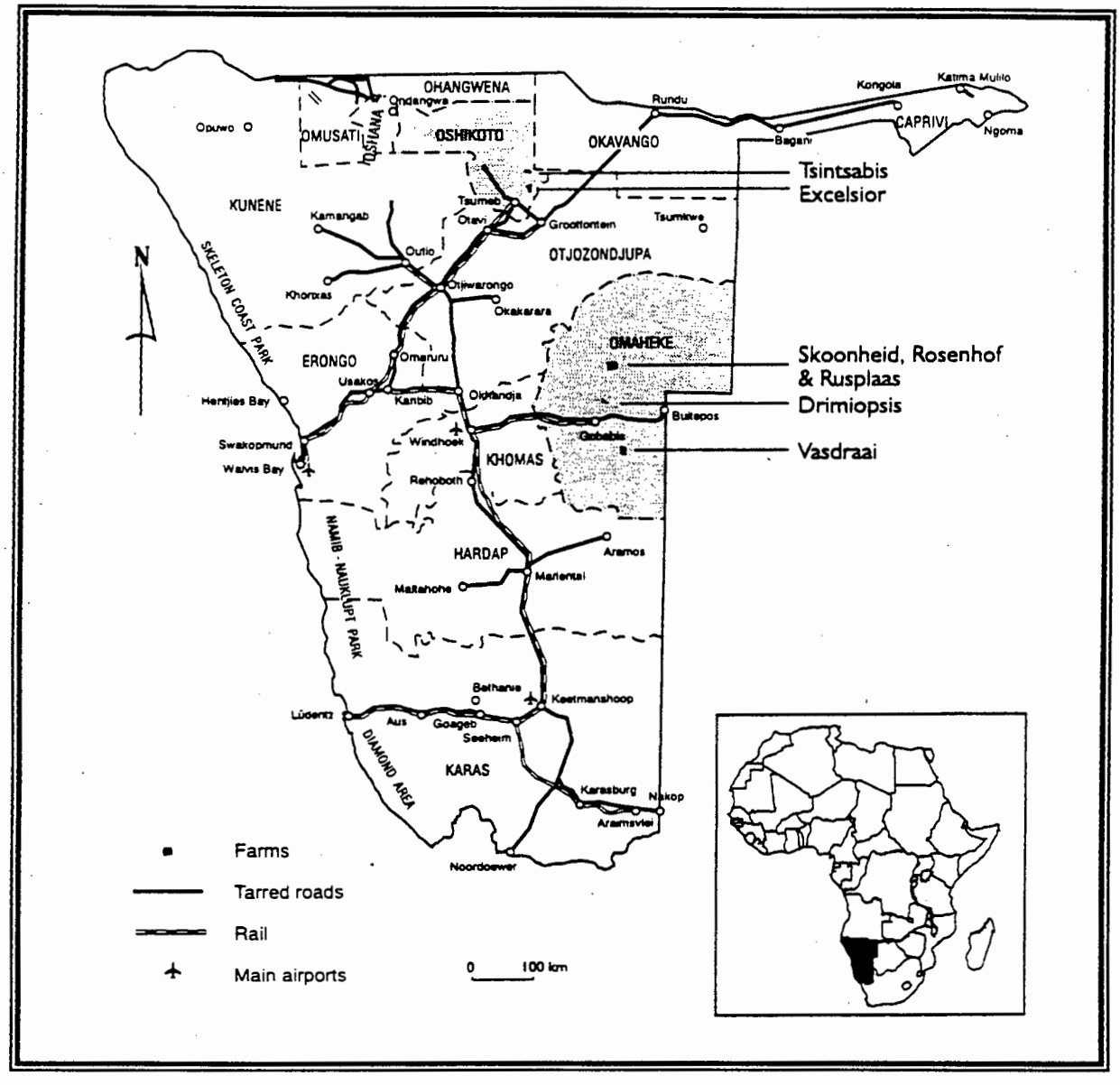

Figure 1.2 Location of Skoonheid Resettlement Project in Namibia

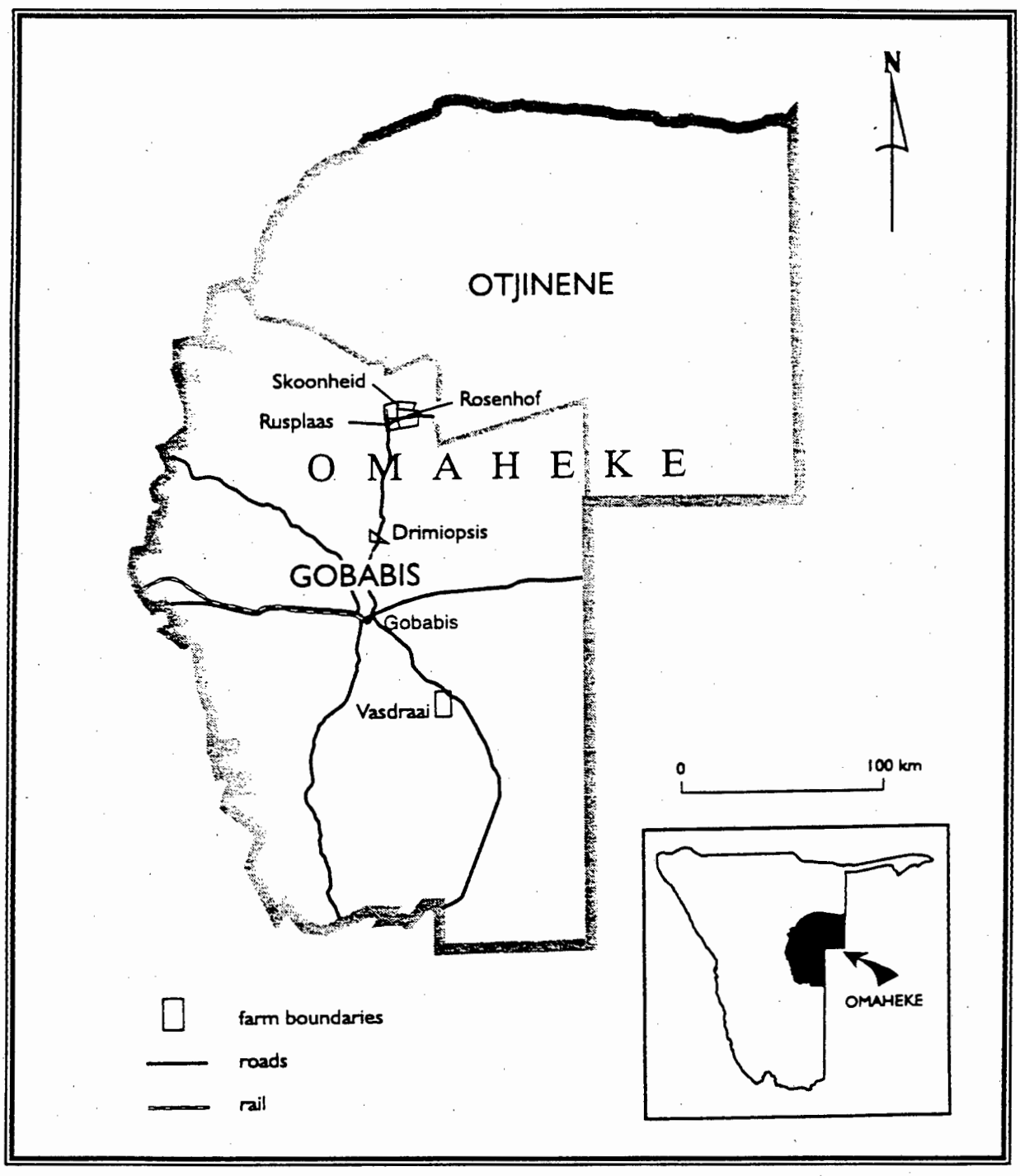

Figure 1.3 Location of Skooneid Resettlement Project in the Omaheke Region

The farm is approximately 110 km north of Gobabis and is 14 825 ha in size. Skoonheid farm (farm # 735) is one of the three farms, including also Rusplaas (farm # 692) and Rosenhof (farm # 685), which are managed by the MLRR as one farm, commonly referred to as "Skoonheid". Skoonheid was bought by the MLRR in the early 1990's after the previous owner was forced to sell for financial reasons. Resettlement on this farm began in 1993 (MPhil, 1998).

Most of the settlers live in brick houses clustered nearby the old farmstead of Skoonheid. This area is referred to by the settlers as "*die lokasie*," (the location). A few brick houses are located further away (approximately one km) from the main settlement and are inhabited by the local authorities of the farm. The old farmstead is used as accommodation for the MLRR representative as well as office space. The frequency with which the farmstead is used is, however, unclear. Around most houses, small plots are used for individual vegetable gardens, most of which contain maize. Two communal gardens are situated behind the old farmstead (MPhil, 1998).

According to the Food Agricultural Organisation (FAO) Soils Unit, the two dominant soil types are modal sandy soils (Arenols Hapliols), and soils with very poor capacity to retain nutrients, (Ferralic and Arenosols). Both soil types have a low capacity to provide nutrients to plants. Ferralic Arenosols are acidic. The Agro-Ecological Project of the Ministry of Agriculture Water and Rural Development (MAWRD) suggests livestock grazing as the most suitable agricultural activity (MAWRD, 1997).

1.7 Methodology

1.7.1 Approach to Baseline Report

Due to the multi-faceted nature of the study, a variety of methods were used to gather information. These are listed in this section:

- **A preliminary one week visit to Namibia**

  In November 1997, members of the study team visited Namibia and held discussions with key stakeholders to determine the scope of the study.

- **Literature review**

  Prior to the field visit in Namibia, conducted during January 1998, members of the study team undertook a comprehensive literature review on Namibia in order to understand the nature and range of issues that were to be addressed in the study.

- **Interviews in Namibia**

  The study team undertook a series of interviews in Namibia with key stakeholders and relevant informants in government ministries and departments, non-governmental organisations, academic institutions, aid agencies, private agencies, and independent consultancies. All interviews were carried out between November 1997 and February 1998.

- **Field work**

Fieldwork in the five case study areas in Namibia was carried out as follows:

(a) Visual and auditory observations were used to collect data and obtain impressions or a sense of the environment in which the research took place. Observations ranged from physical evidence on environmental degradation, such as the occurrence of erosion gullies and the state of maintenance of boreholes and fences, to behaviour of settlers and governmental officials during interviews.

(b) All interviews conducted with the resettled people were informal in nature, and approximately 20% of the interviews with women took place with the aid of an interpreter. Afrikaans was the main medium of communication. A conscious effort was made to limit the number of researchers engaging the settlers in order to personalise the interviews, reduce intimidation and encourage open exchange. The common procedure followed to initiate an interview was for individual members of the study team to approach either individuals or households rather than holding a group meeting. The rationale underlining this was that a more representative scope of views would be obtained. A question schedule was used as a guide to the researchers.

- **Transects**

Botanical transects were undertaken to establish baseline data as a reference point for future research on vegetation change. Results from the transects were further used to compare regional vegetation differences both

within and between the case study areas and regions. This information formed part of a larger study to determine the environmental effects of activities carried out on resettlement projects. The Directorate of Environmental Affairs (DEA) undertook this study.

1.7.2 Approach to the dissertation

This dissertation draws on the information collected for the Baseline Report. During the fieldwork the author collected additional information pertinent to this dissertation, and interviews were conducted in Namibia with government officials in different ministries. The government officials included senior officers in the Directorate of Environmental Affairs and Water Affairs and the Director and other officials of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation in the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation of Namibia. The implications of the National Resettlement Policy for natural resource management in resettlement areas were discussed. In addition to these interviews, an extensive literature review has been undertaken.

In order to provide the rationale for local-level involvement in common property resource management, this dissertation has applied a conceptual framework on common property management and the role of local institutions in natural resource management. Relevant policies are critically analysed in order to determine how they influence the effectiveness of local institutions in managing natural resources in Skoonheid. Socio-economic conditions of communities in Skoonheid have also been considered since they directly affect resource management. The dissertation draws on experiences from other southern African countries in order to provide some lessons for Namibia.

1.8 Assumptions and Limitations

This dissertation assumes that policies supporting local-level involvement in common property management can lead to equitable and sustainable management of natural resources. However, if adequate mechanisms and appropriate institutional arrangements that support implementation of these policies at the local level do not accompany the involvement of local-level institutions, sustainable management of resources may be difficult to achieve.

This dissertation has used some of the information contained in the M.Phil. Baseline Report (1998). It is assumed that information in the Baseline Report is a true reflection of the situation in Skoonheid and in Namibia in general. Moreover, it is assumed that there were no misinterpretations by the study team or the translators during the fieldwork.

A number of practical problems were encountered in the course of the research, many of which were directly related to time constraints.

Although the field trip to Namibia took place over a period of a month, only two days of this period was spent in the study area itself. Lack of time, organisation and transparency on the part of various institutions served to limit information acquired at the local and regional levels. This applied notably to topics such as the accuracy of current demographic trends and livestock numbers on the resettlement projects and precise details of how many people have been or are still waiting to be resettled, as well as the particulars of budget allocations for the resettlement process.

Language and interpreter bias are further problems encountered in any interview situation conducted where the medium of communication is not common to both

parties. In general, language did not prove to be a serious stumbling block with interviews conducted in Afrikaans as the majority of researchers had at least a basic understanding of the language. However, inability to elaborate did, on occasion, serve to limit dialogue somewhat.

Validation, cross-referencing and follow-ups of the diverse opinions that are inevitably obtained in such a qualitative study were limited due to time constraints. Where information gained from settlers and officials was contradictory, an attempt was made to determine the reasons behind the opposing views. However this was not always possible in the case of individual differences. The follow-up of institutional issues was often hindered by the absence of relevant personnel.

1.9 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is presented in six chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the preparation of the Baseline Report and the dissertation. The aims and the objectives of the dissertation as well as methods used in compiling the Baseline Report and the dissertation are outlined. Assumptions and limitations are then detailed.

Chapter 2 provides a conceptual framework for common property resource management and the rationale for supporting its introduction in new contexts such as resettlement in Namibia. Different natural resource regimes are also described in this chapter.

Chapter 3 provides the regional context to an understanding of natural resource management by looking at recent trends in southern Africa including Namibia as part of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Policies and legal

and institutional framework which supports local resource management in Namibia are also outlined.

Chapter 4 provides a regional profile of the case study, Skoonheid.

Chapter 5 provides a discussion of issues pertaining to resettlement in Namibia, as identified at Skoonheid as a case study.

Finally in chapter 6, conclusions and recommendations are made based on the findings in chapters 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 2

COMMON PROPERTY RESOURCES: SOME CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL FALLACIES

2. COMMON PROPERTY REGIMES: SOME CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL FALLACIES

2.1 Introduction

The common property regime for managing natural resources is frequently misunderstood. Many planners or other development administrators observe a situation in which there is no management regime in place and conclude that it is a situation of "common property" (Bromley and Cernea, 1989). They may even cite the logically contradictory aphorism that "everybody's property is nobody's property" When resource degradation is obvious, this will seem to corroborate the "inevitable tragedy of the commons" and the misconstrued picture is complete (Cousins, 1995).

The consequences of this inadequate diagnosis are very serious since it further invites inappropriate policy recommendations and misguided operational decisions.

For purposes of this discussion, common-property (or communal-property) systems will include all community-based resource-management systems. To avoid some of the anthropological complications, "community" is defined as "resource community" – the group of people that uses a certain resource. "Traditional" is defined here to denote practices which have had historical continuity among a group of people. Resources involved in common-property systems may be communal property or those which, although not legally owned by the community, are managed in accordance with community-based norms and rules (Berkes and Farvar, 1989).

Property rights, in turn, are defined as a set of rights and obligations governing the access of an individual or group to the stream of benefits which can be derived from a resource. Property is thus a concept determined by social relationships; it is not a physical commodity such as land or water. Similarly, resources are defined in terms of their utility and the regime controlling them (Bromley and Cernea, 1989).

This chapter provides a background to the debates on common property management and local-level involvement in common property resource management. The rationale for supporting the introduction of common property regimes in new contexts, such as resettlement programmes in Namibia, is outlined in this chapter. The different "resource regimes" are also discussed.

2.2 Natural Resource Management Regimes

The essence of the common property concept is tenure: the terms and conditions on which land and other natural resources (such as water and trees) are held and used. Analysts have identified four regimes in categorising these arrangements. These are state property; private property regimes; common property regimes and non property regimes or situations of open access. A resource regime is a "structure of rights and duties characterising the relationship of individuals to one another with respect to that particular resource" (Bromley and Cernea, 1989).

The differences between all these regimes can be clearly understood only in terms of the basic features of all property regimes: property is by definition a structure of rights and corresponding duties, and these imply a set of legal entitlements enforced by a system of authority. Table 2.1 summarises the characteristics of the four basic property types.

Table 2.1: Four types of property regimes

Regime	Conditions
State property	Individuals have duty to observe use or access rules determined by controlling agency. Agencies have right to determine use and access rules.
Private property	Individuals have right to undertake socially acceptable uses and have duty to refrain from socially unacceptable uses. Others (called "non-owners") have duty to refrain from preventing socially acceptable uses and have a right to expect that only socially acceptable ones will occur.
Common property	The management group has the right to exclude non-members, and non-members have duty to abide by exclusion. Individual members of the management group or co-owners have both rights and duties with respect to use rates and maintenance of the thing owned.
Non-property	No defined group of users or owners and so the benefit stream is available to anyone. Individuals have both privilege and right with respect to use rates and maintenance of the asset. The asset is an open access resource.

Source: Bromley (1989 cited in Cousins, 1995: 484).

These four resource management regimes are discussed further below.

2.2.1 State property regimes

In a state property regime, ownership and control over use rests in the hands of the state. Individuals and groups may be able to make use of the resources, but

only with the permission of the state. National forests, national parks, and military reservations are examples of state property regimes. Shifts from state property regimes to other types, or vice versa, are possible. For instance, the 1957 nationalisation of Nepal's village forests by the government converted a common property regime at the village level into a state property regime. The state may either directly manage the use of the state-owned natural resources through government agencies or lease them to groups or individuals who are given usufruct rights over such resources for a specified period of time. An interesting example is seen in the tree growing associations created experimentally in West Bengal and elsewhere in India, consisting of groups of landless or marginal farmers who are given a block of marginal public land for tree-planting. The members are not granted titles in the land, but the group is given usufruct rights on the land and ownership rights of its produce (Cernea, 1985, cited in Bromley and Cernea, 1989).

2.2.2 Private property regimes

The most familiar property regime is that of private property. While most think of private property as individual property, it should be noted that all corporate property is private property, although administered by a group. There are also pervasive duties that attend the private control of land and related resources; few "owners" are entirely free to do as they wish with such assets.

A few comments on private property seem appropriate in this context. Private property confers the legally and socially sanctioned ability to exclude others. It allows the fortunate owner to force others to go elsewhere. However, those who see all ultimate wisdom in private property alone must answer for several phenomena. Firstly, the world's landlessness is not attributable to an absolute physical scarcity of land but rather to the concentration of its ownership in the hands of a few powerful families. This is especially prevalent in large parts of

Namibia. Secondly, we often hear that private property leads to the highest and best use of land. Large segments of Namibia's best agricultural land are devoted to cattle ranching, while food crops exist on poorer lands. Sceptics should be excused if they challenge that particular belief. Private property is not necessarily - as Proudhon (1989) puts it - "theft", but a good deal of theft has ended up as private property, especially in the western world where European colonisers appropriated vast expanses of terrain originally inhabited by tribal peoples (cited in Bromley and Cernea, 1989).

The best land in most settings has already been privatised and the worst has been left in the "public domain", either as state property, common property, or as open access. Private property regimes appear to be stable and adaptive because they have the social and legal sanction to exclude excess population, and effectively to resist, through the power of the state, unwanted intrusions. These powers have been eroded for common property regimes. If private property and associated fences prevent the traditional movements of a people and their livestock it is hardly legitimate to blame these people and their property regime for the degradation of the limited areas of land available to them.

2.2.3 Common property regimes

The third regime is the common property regime. Common property represents private property for the group since all others are excluded from use and decision-making. Those individuals comprising the group have rights and duties in a common property regime (Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop, 1975). In one important sense then, common property and private have a similar feature, namely the exclusion of non-owners. Common property is therefore corporate group property. The property-owning groups vary in nature, size, and internal structure across a broad spectrum. They are also social units with: defined membership and boundaries; certain common interests, at least some interaction among members; some common cultural norms, and often their own endogenous authority systems. Tribal groups or sub-groups, or sub-villages,

neighbourhoods, small trans-human groups, kin systems or extended families are all examples of this regime. These groupings hold customary ownership of certain natural resources such as farmland, grazing land and water sources.

It is worth mentioning the incentives that commonly exist in a common property regime. This is important in view of a widespread fallacy that the only incentive of a common property regime is to pillage and plunder natural resources. To the contrary, a common property regime is controlled by group ownership in which the behaviour of all members of the group is subject to accepted rules and open for all to see. In many cultures the necessity for conformity with group norms at the local level is an effective sanction against anti-social behaviour (Bromley and Cernea, 1989). A viable common property regime thus has a built-in structure of economic and non-economic incentives that encourages compliance with existing conventions and institutions. Unfortunately, in many settings, those sanctions and incentives have become inoperative or dysfunctional, largely because of pressures and forces beyond the control of the group, or because of internal processes that the groups were not able to master. However, that does not undermine the essential point that in a social setting in which individual conformity to group norms is the dominant ethic, common property regimes have a cultural context compatible with and indeed vital for effective performance.

Essential for any property regime is an authority system able to ensure that the expectations of rights holders are met. Compliance, protected and reinforced by the authority system, is a necessary condition for the viability of any property regime. Private property would have been weakened without the requisite authority system which makes certain that the associated rights and duties are adhered to. The same requirement exists for common property. When the authority system breaks down, then the management or self-management of resource use cannot be exercised any longer and, for all practical purposes, common property degenerates into open access.

It is not just the property regime alone that explains compliance and "wise" natural resource use. The common property regime as a system is broader than the set of possession entitlements that is its core. It also includes use rights, exchange rights, distribution entitlements, a management subsystem, and authority instruments as a means of management. When any part of this complex system is undermined or annihilated, the entire system malfunctions and eventually ceases to be what it was. It is indeed the management sub-system, with its authority mechanisms and ability to enforce operating rules and system-maintenance provisions, that ensures that the particular property regime is adhered to, and that its systemic integrity or system equilibrium is well protected. This enables it to operate in a well balanced manner.

This, in principle, is not different from the way in which other property regimes operate as systems. For instance, in private property regimes the owner/manager also relies on the authority of the state and its coercive power to assure compliance and to prevent intrusion by non-owners. If this or any other authority were not exercised, the private property regime would collapse and become open access.

In short, the rationale for supporting the introduction of common property regimes into resettlement projects such as Skoonheid in Namibia is as follows: common property arrangements are potentially equitable, economically efficient and ecologically appropriate and sustainable. This is not to say that problems of resource management cannot arise. It is important, however, to recognise that common property is a viable regime with particular advantages in poor communities like Skoonheid (Swift, 1995; Runge, 1986).

2.2.4 Open access regimes

Finally, there exists an open access situation in which there are no property rights. To return to the earlier discussion of legal stipulations, open access regimes allow individuals or groups to make use of scarce resources without regard for the interests of others who may also seek to make use of the same resources. Under open access, the first individual to make use of the resources becomes the beneficiary of the benefit stream arising from the resource. There are no property rights in open access regime; there is only the rule of first capture. Because there are no obligations owed to others, all individuals or groups in an open access regime enjoy equal privileges. However, since each individual is able to make use of the resource without regard to the costs imposed on others, this situation of ubiquitous privilege means that each individual experiences simultaneously a situation of no rights (Runge, 1986).

Unlike property regimes where individuals and groups have both rights and duties, open access regimes are fundamentally situations of no law. Everybody's access is nobody's property; a resource under an open access regime belongs to the first party to exercise control over it. Whether it is a water point, grazing forage, or fuelwood, a resource under an open access regime will belong to the party to first exercise control over it. The investment in, or improvement of, natural resources under open access regimes must first focus on this institutional dimension. If property and management arrangements are not determined, and if the investment is in the form of a capital asset, such as improved tree species or range revegetation, the institutional vacuum of open access ensures that the rate of use will eventually deplete the asset.

Open access results from the absence or the breakdown of any management or authority system whose very purpose was to introduce and enforce a set of norms of behaviour among participants with respect to the natural resource. When valuable natural resources are available to the first party to effect capture,

it is either because those natural resources have never before been incorporated into a regulated social system, or because they have become open access resources through institutional failures that have undermined former collective or private property/management regimes.

Today, open access regimes extend over large areas of Namibia. In law, however, it would be argued that probably the entire surface of the continent is somebody's property. In Namibia the state has declared ownership of all of the land, including resources which fall under the jurisdiction of common property regimes. Article 100 of the Constitution states the following: "Land, water and natural resources below and above the surface of the land and on the continental shelf and within the territorial waters and the exclusive economic zone of Namibia shall belong to the state if they are not otherwise lawfully owned" (Namibian Constitution, undated: 53). Nevertheless, where the state lacks resources for the effective management of all the land it owns, such as at Skoonheid, *de facto* open access has prevailed.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced four general types of resource management regimes. The understanding that property regimes – whether private, state property or common property – are complex constellations of rights, duties, privileges and exposures to the rights of others is central to the prospects for a careful formulation of natural resource management policy in Namibia. Similarly, a clear understanding of property regimes also helps to clarify the confusion that often results in common property regimes being equated with the free-for-all situation more properly understood as an open access regime.

As has been shown above, common property regimes provide fundamental advantages over other regimes for the management of natural resources. For

instance, common property regimes can provide security of tenure to the users of resources, equity amongst these users, economic efficiency and ecological sustainability. This is particularly significant in the high-risk marginal environments which are widespread in Namibia. Community management of natural resources is a crucial component of equitable and efficient development. Given the complexity of situations and variability of resources, however, combinations of common property, private or state regimes may be necessary. The common property regimes may need to be co-ordinated with other regimes because, in reality, few resources are ever managed under one regime (Sekhesa, 1997).

Now that a background to the debates on common property management and local-level involvement in natural resource management has been provided, the next chapter will explore recent trends in local resource management in the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

CHAPTER 3

RECENT TRENDS IN NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT: POLICY AND PRACTICE IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC)

3. RECENT TRENDS IN NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT: POLICY AND PRACTICE IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC)

3.1 Introduction

In the past southern Africa's natural resource management policies have been severely regulatory and interventionist. Colonial conservation policies and projects blundered in their logic and practice by adopting an exclusionist approach which set aside areas and resources in reserves, and ignored their importance to rural people's survival. Severe discord between various land uses and land users was thus established. Removal of local people from "protected" land and the withdrawal of their rights to make use of ecological resources - for fuel, food, medicine - instantly set them in conflict with the protection of these resources.

Policies were therefore badly conceptualised in ways that did not encourage symbiosis between the two sectors. Instead they spurred much resentment from indigenous communities. Rather than aiding the conservation of natural resources, policies led to massive poaching of wildlife and uncontrollable destruction of other resources vital to local people's subsistence. As Mpinga (cited in Meintjies, 1995) commented: "orthodox conservation policies can be hopelessly out of tune when hungry people living adjacent to a vast source of

meat and other resources are barred from harvesting it". In addition, during colonial times biases favouring particular sectors, usually powerful sectors such as commercial interests, were prevalent.

Thus, the imposition of environmentally ill-informed, socially unjust policies on those less powerful, especially the poor, has undermined rural people's commitment and initiative towards natural resource conservation. There is an increasing recognition, however, at least at policy level, of the importance of local control and encouragement of local initiatives for effective natural resource management, and southern African environmental action plans make a point of stressing so-called "community involvement". This chapter sets out to examine post-independence attempts made by southern African countries to address their colonial legacies, and to identify both successes and challenges in natural resource management policy and programmes around the region.

The purpose of this chapter is to furnish policy-makers with a basic understanding of regional experiences. It is believed that Namibia could benefit from more detailed exploration of the achievements of specific programmes and projects. Once developments elsewhere in the SADC have been outlined, this chapter will turn to a brief exposition of the policy, legal and institutional frameworks which aim to empower local communities in Namibia.

3.2 Regional Co-operation on Natural Resource Management

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is a co-operative inter-governmental organisation that has as its main aim the integration of southern Africa in order to achieve regional economic development and independence (Meinjies, 1995) (see Figure 3.1). One of its sectors of interest and activity is focused on the achievement of sustainable development of food security, agriculture and natural resources (FANR) in the region, and as such, has

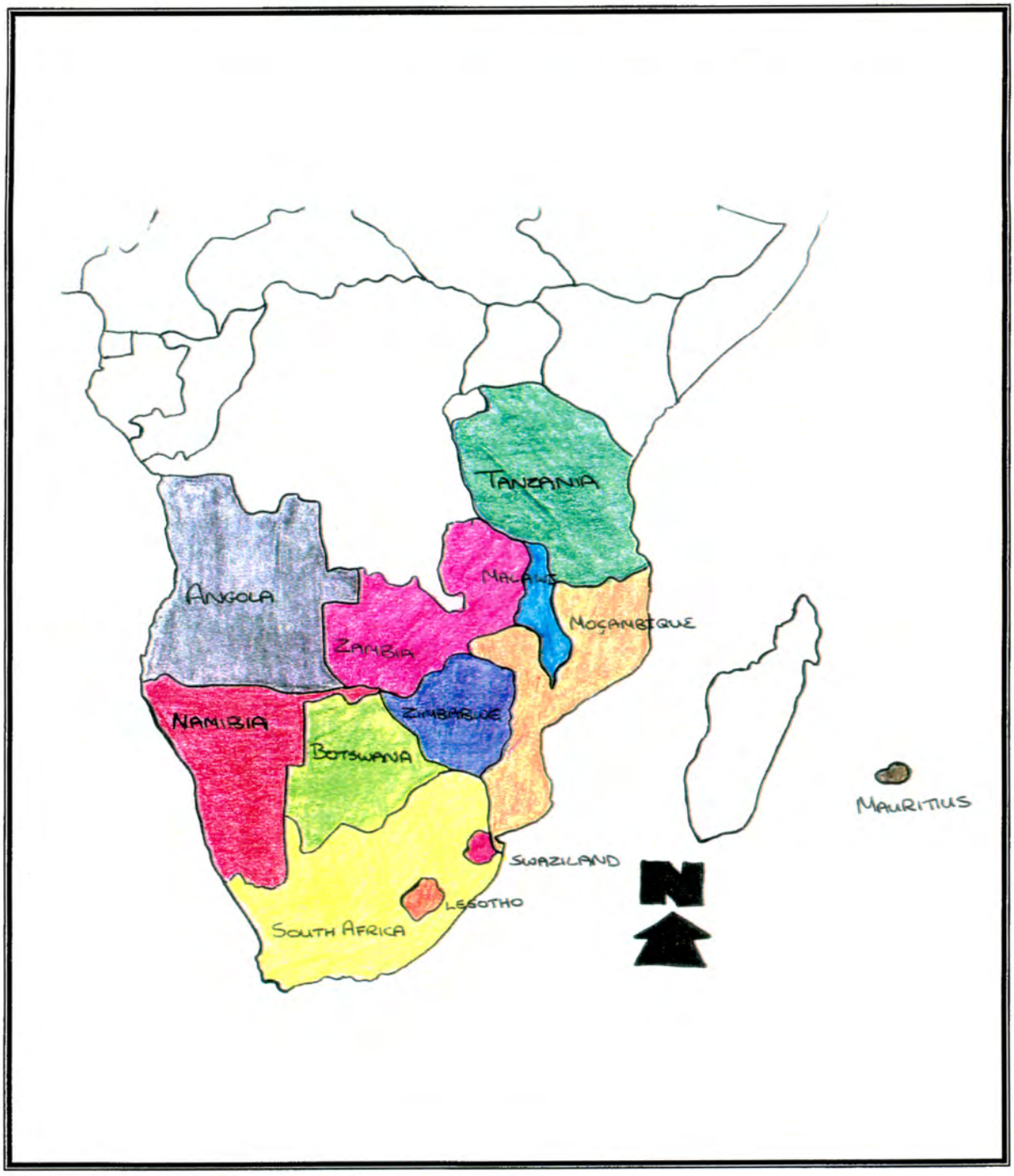

Figure 3.1 Member Nations of the Southern African Development Community cited in Raphaely, 1997

developed an overarching framework from within which pragmatic policies are expected to function. The sector is further divided into a set of eight sub-sectors - Environmental and Land Management, Forestry, Fisheries, etc. - each of which has responsibility for the development of equitable management policies for the resources within its designated realm. SADC bodies, therefore, attempt to co-ordinate regional policy in such a way that member states have harmonious approaches to, among over things, natural resource management.

3.3 Core Principle of Current Natural Resource Management

In practice, however, southern African states have followed a variety of routes to the formulation of natural resource management strategies, and have often developed policies in accordance with donor- rather than SADC - requirements. The result is that specific environmental policies and practices differ considerably from country to country in southern Africa. Nonetheless, national natural resource management strategies are founded on the same few basic principles. These on the whole are coherent with Agenda 21 principles that emerged at the Rio Global Environmental Summit in 1992.

At the core of current processes is the concept of sustainable development, defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987, as "meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". Essentially this entails a rejection of exclusionist approaches to natural resources, in favour of a focus on the integration of environmental, social and economic concerns at the level of both formulation and implementation of policy in order to achieve equitable and sustainable use of natural resources. As noted earlier, when the variety of competing interests within and between different groups in society is considered, this is an extremely complex goal.

3.4 Natural Resource Management by Sector

In this section, sectors of relevance to this dissertation are examined. They are: wildlife and protected areas; forestry and woodlands; land use management and water management. It will highlight policy making and practical projects. We turn now to an examination of attempts around southern Africa to embark on this process.

3.4.1 Wildlife and Protected Areas: the Conservation of Biodiversity

3.4.1.1 Policy patterns

In recognition of the destructive friction arising out of exclusionist and protectionist approaches to conservation, a new holistic, regional thrust of community-based management attempts to reconcile these conflicts, and achieve a situation where local people and natural resources can jointly benefit. Countries throughout the southern African region are experimenting with the implementation of locally-based conservation approaches which facilitate varying degrees of management and benefit, including access to useful resources, or natural resources in protected areas.

3.4.1.2 Implementation of community-based management

Zimbabwe is the forerunner in experimenting with community-based wildlife management. The Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) arose as an attempt to replicate impressive conservation successes achieved by the 1975 Parks and Wildlife Act, legislation which put ownership of wildlife resources on commercial farms in the hands of private landowners. Emulating this shift in ownership, an "Appropriate Authority"

status was conferred upon authorities in communal areas. This devolves management authority over wildlife resources and a proportion of revenues garnered through the exploitation thereof, from central government to district council level. District councils are the bodies mandated to control wildlife conservation, and to distribute to member communities the benefits therefrom. The Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management and various NGOs provide necessary technical and management support. Thus, an incentive of immediate and tangible benefits is provided to communities who protect and sustainably utilise their wild living resources.

In Kanyura in the Guruve district, the CAMPFIRE approach has achieved a fair amount of success. A locally elected Community Wildlife Committee, has demarcated among others separate living, farming and conservation areas, and formulated plans to control local hunting. Within two years of the start of the programme, not only is the relationship of the locals with wildlife much improved, but significant financial returns have resulted in the building of a clinic and a school, as well as the distribution of substantial household dividends. A possible reason for the success of the programme could be that the district council has apparently allowed the Wildlife Committee a free reign at decision-making level. Indeed, success seems greatest in districts where the district council has devolved authority, management and benefits to community levels.

Similar projects are being initiated around southern Africa. Prime examples of these are: CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe, the Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas (ADMADE) in Zambia, Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) in Namibia, and the Natural Resource Management Programme (NRMP) in Botswana, with co-ordination from a regional office in Malawi (Turner, pers. comm., cited in Meintjies, 1995). These programmes are funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Other projects include the Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRDP), and the Wetlands

Project (ZWP) in Zambia, the Selous Conservation Programme (SCP) in Tanzania, and the Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) initiative in Namibia. All have had varying degrees of success, their failures mostly resulting from issues such as excessive and/or inefficient administrative structures, lack of local institutional capacity building, a tendency for education not to address the community's real needs, and inefficient government commitment.

3.4.2 Forestry and Woodlands

Given the large scale deforestation throughout southern Africa which has been brought about by urban population needs, there is a move to initiate local woodland management approaches. Deforestation has a major impact on rural people because they become increasingly deprived of food, fuel, building, fodder, medicinal and other resources. This is a major concern in southern Africa (IFAD, 1993).

3.4.2.1 Some policy and project patterns in southern Africa

It has been claimed that one of the central causes of deforestation in southern Africa is the clearing of land for cultivation, a process advanced by Ministries of Agriculture around the region, and by SADC FANR (Leleka, pers comm, cited in Meinjies, 1995). At this stage there do not appear to be any state-supported initiatives aimed at changing this pattern, presumably due to a primary regional focus on achieving food security (SADC, 1994). Any move to alter this priority will receive severe criticism from agricultural sectors throughout SADC. This sets forestry and agricultural policy in conflict with each other. Without addressing the contradictions between priorities and agendas of the relevant government departments, it will be difficult to alter deforestation trends, or any other natural resource degradation for that matter.

With respect to large scale afforestation, countries in southern Africa are on the whole disallowing further land clearance for plantations (SARDC, 1994). Rather they are advocating sound re-afforestation procedures, which is solid, sustainable practice. Instead of expanding large-scale commercial forestry, timber companies around southern Africa are rapidly restructuring to focus on small-grower schemes. These company-backed schemes provide incentive for good tree management practices since they enable small farmers to benefit from their own small plantations right from the planting stage (Mentjies, 1995).

South Africa is presently the only country in the region that allocates land for afforestation by a permit system based on water consumption. Here, as elsewhere, there do not appear to be any large afforestation schemes being implemented. Other countries have adopted more haphazard allocation mechanisms, often based on general land-use policy.

One of the most common approaches taken by countries in the region to combat rural woodland degradation has been the institution of community woodlots. These have generally been a failure, which success can be attributed to inappropriate standards being imposed by outside agencies. This has resulted in unsuitable choices to cultivate exotic trees , lack of clarity over their maintenance and use, problems with distribution of benefits and, in particular, resentment over the loss of precious grazing land without compensation that is deemed adequate For example, in Lesotho, the burning of woodlots set up by the Farm Improvement with Soil Conservation (FISC) programme is seen as a vehement expression by locals of their anger at the changes, restrictions and control of their land use practices (SARDC, 1994).

Further, in other parts of southern Africa, planting of woodlots is often intended to provide fuelwood for rural people. In some rural areas, however, where fuelwood can be gathered gratis from open spaces, there has been rational resistance to

the concept of investing time and resources into such mono-purpose projects (Meintjies, 1995).

3.4.2.2 Emerging trends in local management of woodlots and forests

In southern Africa the greater proportion of woodlands do not consist of single species planted for commercial purposes. The issues of mixed tree management and sustainable use of wood resources are therefore crucially important to policy formulation. Community woodlots can be successful when community members generate the idea, and set in place an appropriate institutional framework to manage them. More recent policies are beginning to advocate multi-faceted approaches to woodland and forest management. In particular, the concepts of "social forestry" and "agroforestry" are being promoted as the partial solutions to the region's rural wood supply and wood-related ecological problems.

Social forestry is a practice generally applied by rural people and is "concerned with the planting and/or management of trees in populated environments, by local communities, groups or individuals to meet local needs whether for produce, income or environmental improvement" (Christie and Gandar, 1994). Agroforestry is an incentive land-use that integrates agriculture and tree planting, and builds on the symbiotic benefits that each can offer the other. Growing appropriate trees among appropriate crops results in ecological benefits which include better soil conservation and increased crop-yields. In other words, such land-use practice confers both economic and ecological advantages.

Both social forestry and agroforestry, if practised in suitable areas, enable multi-purpose land-use that is more able to support people in its diversity. Trees can provide fruit, poles, thatching, shade for crops and people, fodder, live fencing, fuel, and so on. On the whole, such land-use is more economical and more

sustainable. In addition, if suitably supported it can encourage effective conservation or planting of trees by locals.

Unfortunately, southern African policy-makers, although seemingly supportive of the concepts, do very little to enable their implementation. Overall, national forestry laws and practice are extremely restrictive and are imposed by central government. Where governments claim to operate social forestry systems, these tend to function from within a state-owned framework of reserves (IFAD, 1993). What is needed is the devolution of control over woodland management from the state to communities and individuals with secure rights, and the replacement of forestry departments' policing role by one that is more supportive. Without these enabling changes in national structures, it will be difficult for social forestry practices to develop into extensively functioning systems.

3.4.3 Land Use Management

Various countries in the SADC have begun to experiment with new approaches to rangeland management in an attempt to rectify the breakdown of grazing systems. Essentially most new schemes endeavour to restructure grazing strategies in such a way that they resemble those of the past, but still adhere to the present policies with regard to administration. For example, in Lesotho, projects which establish "Rangeland Management Areas" (RMAs) have been set up by the USAID in a few communal lands (most notably in Sehlabathebe). membership - which permits grazing of livestock, provided a fee has been paid - is monitored by a local level Grazing Association, as is the rotational grazing system institutionalised by the establishment of the RMA. While the system is definitely not unproblematic, it has achieved a certain degree of success in the incorporation of local people at the management level, and does appear to have had some effect on improving the quality of the rangelands (Ivy *et al.*, 1995). Similar schemes exist in Swaziland, where they are called Rangeland

Demonstration Areas (RDA). In most cases these schemes have ensured the participation of local people in the planning as well as management stages (Mamba and Khumalo, 1991).

3.4.4 Water Management

At current population growth rates and with existing water pricing and allocation patterns, it is estimated that southern Africa will experience a chronic water shortage by 2030 (SARDC, 1994). Yet nowhere in the region is water conservation and management a systematic practice. Even at policy level, few well-developed strategies exist. This situation is gradually being recognised. Namibia and South Africa, for instance, are currently engaged in processes to develop water management policy. Nevertheless, water management policy and practice is a haphazard affair. As Easles, Forster and Du Mhango (1994, cited in Meintjies, 1995) point out about the region, a lack of resources, skills and finance "has led to water management strategies based on survivalism, sometimes at the expense of the environment and economic development' (cited in Meintjies, 1995).

There are two components to the implementation of rural water schemes: firstly, the establishment of a scheme within a community, and secondly, the development of local capacity to operate and sustain the scheme. It is at this second level of implementation that programmes in the SADC have commonly been found to collapse and fail. Governments have tended to concentrate on the installation rather than practical maintenance aspects of supply systems, with the result that even where supply points exist, they are often non-functional with no local skill available to repair the system.

Referring to the installation of schemes which are insufficiently participatory, Easles, Forster and Du Mhango (1994) (cited in Meintjies, 1995) note an

obstacle to their continuing functioning. Unless community members have some sense of ownership over the scheme, it is unlikely to be properly valued. Instances where levies are not paid, water is wasted, or apparatus is vandalised, are most evident where top-down government projects have been imposed.

Lesotho's water authority, which has a fairly well functioning rural water supply network, insists that communities organise their own water committees, funding and labour before governmental personnel will assist with planning, installation and capacity building for supply schemes. This results in a well developed and committed system of village water committees that have a fair amount of say in future developments. There is, however, a disadvantage to the system – villages are organising themselves faster than government can train, so that the focus, at least in practice, remains on installation rather than building skills for maintenance (EPE, 1994, cited in Mentjies, 1995).

Botswana has a very effective approach to rural water management, that other states in the SADC, e.g. Namibia and Swaziland, are also beginning to consider. The Botswana Water Corporation is a national parastatal set up especially to manage the country's water. It has been suggested that the reason this is especially effective is that Botswana Water Corporation operates outside of government bureaucracy, with an independent authority over decision-making that would not be possible within government (Meintjies, 1995).

There are clearly a number of lessons to be learned from the experiences of SADC countries in the management of communal natural resources at community level. Having established this by an overview of local resource management initiatives in the SADC, this chapter now turns to an exploration of local natural resource management in Namibia.

3.5 Policy, Legal and Institutional Framework for Management of Natural Resources at Community Level In Namibia

Namibia joined the SADC in 1990. As a member of the SADC, Namibia also participates in a number of projects involving natural resource management at community level. In parallel to, and occasionally conflicting with, the privatisation of communal resources many government ministries are encouraging management of natural resources at community level. For instance, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development runs the Sustainable Animal and Range Development Programme (SARDEP) and the Communal Areas Water Supply. The Ministry of Environment manages the wildlife focused Community Based Natural Resource Management Programme and the Community Forest Reserves.

This section outlines the policies, legal and institutional framework for natural resource management at community level in Namibia. The purpose is to illustrate the approaches of the various sectors within the Namibian Government, highlighting those policies that are supportive of strategies that empower common property institutions (see chapter 2).

3.5.1 Ministry of Agriculture Water and Rural Development (MAWRD)

The Sustainable Animal and Rangeland Development Programme (SARDEP) of the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MAWRD) aims to support farmers' organisations in identifying their problems and assisting them in creating a supportive policy framework. As such it has been involved both in collaborative research with farmers and in organising activities which aim to assist farmers in presenting their case for change to government. One notable example of such a presentation was the 1996 Farmers' Conference, which brought together representatives of farmers' organisations to exchange

experiences, to help service organisations orientate themselves to better meet farmers' needs, and to provide recommendations for changes in policy and actions by government and other institutions.

The MAWRD's policy on community management of rural water supply has recently been finalised after an extensive consultation process. This policy makes provision for the management of every water-point in the country's communal areas by the community surrounding it, with the intention of achieving full cost recovery within ten years. The Directorate of Rural Water Supply (DRWS) aims to move away from being a provider of water towards being a facilitator, in a similar way to agricultural extension officers. A notable feature of the policy is the legal status that is afforded to communities, who are empowered to punish people who do not abide by commitment to cross-subsidisation of the poorer members of the community. Control of water-points is a powerful way of controlling land, and therefore this policy is of great significance. At present the first phase of a strategy aimed at capacity building and building awareness within communities is under way. From August 1998 onwards communities will start to take responsibility for operating and maintenance costs, and from 2003 communities will also assume responsibility for capital costs. In the long run it is anticipated that the rural water extension officers will fall under the jurisdiction of the Regional Council (Draft chapter on communities and access to resources in rural Namibia, 1997).

3.5.2 Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET)

The Ministry of Environment and Tourism's (MET) Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) Programme devolves rights to wildlife to communities, and is arguably the most radical in the SADC. This programme, like CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe, aims to devolve the same rights to communities that commercial farmers have, namely hunting rights and exclusive tourism rights.

These community-based institutions, called conservancies, have only recently been registered and therefore it will be some years before the contribution to community development can be fully assessed. However, it is already clear that the process is extremely democratic, involving the registration of all members of the community, the development of a constitution which provides for equitable distribution of benefits and negotiation concerning boundaries with neighbouring communities (MET, 1995)

The MET's Directorate of Forestry also has plans to hand over management of forests to community control in the near future, and is currently finalising the enabling legislation. The provisions for the governance of these areas are similar to the wildlife conservancy legislation.

3.5.3 Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing (MRLGH)

The Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing is pioneering co-ordination of development efforts by all stakeholders through "Integrated area based programmes". The longest running programme has been managed by the Uukwaluudhi District Development Committee since 1991. Attempts to co-ordinate development at a sub-regional level are likely to be strengthened by the ministries' process of decentralisation. In so doing, the staff of line ministries are made more accountable to the communities they serve rather than the hierarchies of the ministries in Windhoek.

An important feature of the decentralisation policy is that the functions that will be decentralised first to Regional Councils are "Rural water development; Management and control of communal lands; Conservation; Forest development and management" (Draft chapter on communities and access to resources in rural Namibia, 1997).

3.5.4 Other Relevant Ministries and Policies

Several other government ministries are also involved in initiatives aimed at involving community management of natural resources. The Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources is drawing up a White Paper on Inland Fisheries, which makes references to management of fish resources by communal area residents. A key central objective of Namibia's National Development Plan 1(NDP1) is to democratise environmental planning and management, and promote integrated planning and management of land, forestry and other natural resources with increased involvement of rural communities, women and local institutions (Byers, 1996). Policies such as the National Land Policy attempt to redress the land inequalities of the past by improving access to land and tenure security for the majority of Namibians living in rural areas (cited in Sekhesa, 1997).

3.6 Conclusion

The SADC countries, including Namibia, recognise that one of the prerequisites for sustainable management of natural resources such as land, wildlife, grazing and water is putting policies in place which address the key constraints facing the resource users. As noted in this chapter, policies and institutions are formulated and set up with the aim of improving the conditions of the disadvantaged rural communities who have been marginalised by the previous colonial government. Community involvement and participation are seen as cornerstones to sustainable management of natural resources in the SADC, including Namibia.

This chapter looked at a number of regional initiatives and briefly outlined the policy, legal and institutional mechanisms in Namibia. This dissertation now turns to the presentation of the case study, Skoonheid Resettlement Project, situated in the Omaheke region, Namibia.

CHAPTER 4

A PROFILE OF THE SKOONHEID RESETTLEMENT PROJECT

4. A PROFILE OF THE SKOONHEID RESETTLEMENT PROJECT

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the Skoonheid area to present information for the discussion that follows in chapter 5. A brief history of the Skoonheid area and a biophysical profile are presented in the introduction to this dissertation (see chapter 1). In this section, a social profile is also presented; this covers settlement patterns, leadership structures and local economic systems. Some of the information is derived from interviews during the visit to the Skoonheid Project.

4.2 Population

The population of Skoonheid is reported to be 229 settlers (MPhil, 1998). However, in interviews with the settlers and the administrative clerk the current population was estimated to be 107 and 137 people respectively. These conflicting results may be due to fluctuations caused by visitation of family and friends, or by part time employment obtained by the settlers elsewhere.

The majority of settlers on Skoonheid Farm are of Ju'/hoansi origin. The remainder of the settlers includes approximately seven Nama-Damara speaking people and two Herero households located on the Rosenhof part of the farm. The Deputy Director of Resettlement settled the Herero households there in 1992/93 as a temporary drought relief measure. The study findings confirmed, however,

Photograph 4.1: Skoonheid Committee

Although the role of local authority has been undermined, the local committee members are still generally consulted in disputes. Their effectiveness is limited, however. For instance, the system is unable to prevent newcomers moving into a particular area. (MPhil, 1998).

that human migration with livestock into the area continues. This puts increasing pressure on existing natural resources including water, soil and vegetation. Movement into the area was found to have taken place in response to factors such as employment, visiting of family members, water shortages and grazing (MPhil, 1998). People have settled on an *ad hoc* basis. There is an absence of clear legislative control or regulation of this type of settlement because there is no "traditional" land allocation in place.

4.3 Institutional Characteristics

Administration of Skoonheid by the MLRR has only recently been transferred to Fredericka Uanivi after the death of the previous administrative clerk, Fillomina Tsavo, in January 1998. The MAWRD is responsible for the maintenance of boreholes on the farm. An NGO, Health Unlimited, is involved with regular health services to the residents on the farm.

A community committee, under the leadership of Frederic Langman, has been formed at Skoonheid to facilitate communication between government authorities and settlers (Photo. 4.1). The committee consists of six members, both men and women. However, a member of this committee has argued that the committee is not representative of the community at Skoonheid. Furthermore, the committee is perceived to have been imposed on the settlers. The MLRR wished to have a committee to communicate with the settlers on the farm and therefore the committee was initiated.

The observation has been made that there is very poor communication between institutional hierarchies at the local, regional and national levels. It has been suggested that as a result of a top-down approach and a lack of public participation, politicians make promises which are not practical at ground level and often do not cater for the needs of settlers, thus creating unrealisable expectations among settlers.

The lack of clear and effective leadership structures and of co-ordination of government institutions and policies in the area, as well as a lack of community ownership and often less than clear community definition, allows for situations where outsiders can move on to land and benefit from the infrastructure and resources such as water and grazing, without necessarily contributing to management or maintenance, and at the expense of existing beneficiaries. The Herero farmers with large herds from other areas have access to Skoonheid, which is occupied by farmers with small herds, thus competing inequitably for water and grazing and furthermore increasing pressure on vulnerable resources, resulting in subsistence and livelihood losses to the community and putting further pressure on other sectors.

Communal resources in Skoonheid are theoretically open and accessible to all communal residents. Rights of access and rights of exclusion are generally absent. Accommodation has been generally the norm, and refusals few, despite protestations by the original settlers (MPhil, 1998).

4.4 Agricultural description

In May 1994, the Land Use Planning Unit of the Land Reform Division carried out an agricultural potential assessment of Skoonheid. The objective of this survey was to make an inventory of the soils, vegetation, water resources and fencing conditions in order to assess the broad agricultural potential of the farm. The main findings of this report are summarised below:

- Skoonheid was overstocked by 250 % in 1994 and signs of overgrazing were present. It was recommended that the condition of the veld could be maintained only if the stocking rate was limited 1 l.s.u. :15 ha, implying that each borehole will accommodate 300 large livestock units if it is managed on a rotational grazing system.

- The resettlement process on the farms should be based on extensive grazing with irrigated crop production as an additional land use on a subsistence level. Rain-fed crops should be avoided; however, small gardens under irrigation are possible on the loamy soils of the lower lying areas and the depressions (Huesken *et al*, 1994).

4.5 Social Characteristics

4.5.1 Income

The settlers continually raised the lack of a formal monetary income as an issue. Only ten people receive a regular state pension and have direct access to cash money. The lack of money was expressed in various ways, by stating that there was no money to buy clothes or to pay school fees for the children.

The lack of income was blamed on the "food for work" programme run by the MLRR as a temporary measure to provide the settlers with food until the yield of the individual or communal gardens is enough for self-subsistence. Settlers are required to work in the communal garden in order to receive the monthly food package. The food rations consists of 12,5 kg maizemeal, 750 ml cooking oil, 1 kg salt, 1 kg sugar, soap, 1 kg of dried beans and a bag of powder soup. One of the settlers, expressing the need for cash, stated that it was better to work as a farm worker for a white farmer, as in this case they earned a salary and they were provided with more food than is currently included in the "food for work" package. The settler stated that, by working for a commercial farmer, farm labourers would receive weekly the equivalent amount of food, including meat, that they currently received in a month with the Food for Work Programme (MPhil, 1998).

There appear to be some settlers in the resettlement scheme who do earn a monetary income. A Damara-speaking settler claimed that he earned a monthly salary income of approximately N$3000 from various projects like woodcarving and selling alcohol. This is contrary to the application criteria for resettlement whereby a yearly income of less than N$6500 is required. The control over these, most probably informal incomes, is not very strict. This lack of control results in instances whereby "better-offs" benefit at the cost of "worse-offs".

Some women had started a knitting project under the previous administrative clerk whereby knitted hats, together with produce from the communal garden, were sold in town by the caretaker. Due to the lack of access to cheap transport the settlers could not reach the market themselves and were dependent on the caretaker. The profit made from selling was deposited into a bank account. The knitting project had run until 1996, but the women did not know how much money was in the bank account and how to get access to it. When the current caretaker was interviewed in this regard, she replied that the previous caretaker had not informed her about this and that the family of the previous caretaker had taken all her belongings after her death in January 1998. The lack of communication between the previous clerk and her assistant and the settlers is clear from this case.

A reliance on livestock, an absence of diversification in the local economy and a shortage of alternative skills characterise the community of Skoonheid. Employment opportunities are limited. Labour on commercial farms provides some employment opportunities. Casual labour consists of minor jobs such as repairing kraals and fences, and looking after livestock. Private enterprises such as selling wood, repairing donkey carts and retail trading make a significant contribution to the local economy. Alternative forms of income are limited.

4.5.2 Ethnic tensions

Many of the San settlers mentioned a fear of domination by Herero settlers. The two Herero households who are resettled at the Rosenhof farm are alleged to have been resettled without consultation with those already resettled near the Skoonheid farmstead. As the caretaker is also Herero, favouritism and further influx of Herero were feared.

During the survey, it was observed that many non-San settlers and the clerk had a derogatory view of the San. The San settlers were referred to by an Oshiherero speaker as "*lazy, stubborn and stupid*".

The ethnic perception problems, resulting in fear of domination by the various groups, are very serious. When resettling various groups on the same farm, with compulsory integration, one should be aware of the differences in the cultural background of these groups.

4.5.3 Education

The children from Skoonheid attend the school at Drimopsis. The school fees at Drimopsis, which are N$92 per term, including hostel fees, are supposed to be paid by the MLRR (pers.comm. Ms McLeod, 1998). However, both the settlers at Skoonheid and teachers at Drimopsis school reported that these fees were outstanding and children had been sent home due to lack of non-payment of fees by the MLRR.

This case is a prime example of lack of communication. The government official in the regional office is not aware of the problems that the Ministry in Windhoek is causing and cannot take any actions in this regard. The reason behind the non-payment of school fees by the MLRR is unclear.

4.5.4 Lack of Capacity

Observations on the farm and interviews with the clerk revealed a number of other issues. One of these was the lack of appropriate training for administration of the farm. The highest qualification of the caretaker was that of high school education and no specific training for management or agricultural production had been undertaken. However, the recommendations of the Land Use Planning Unit of the MLRR on the agricultural potential of Skoonheid included, among others that "*it is recommended as a matter of urgency that a qualified manager, who is knowledgeable in range management in semiarid areas, will be appointed and placed on the farm to monitor and control grazing.*" (Huesken et al, 1994).

It is most probably due to this lack of capacity that recommendations made four years ago have still not been implemented. Although the MLRR is implementing a training programme for its employees, the need for a specific training programme and minimum job requirements for clerks at the farm is apparent.

4.5.5 Agriculture

When the caretaker was asked whether she was aware of the carrying capacity of the farm she answered that she did not know the number and that grazers could decide for themselves where they would graze their livestock. This was another breach of the recommendations to apply rotational grazing and appropriate rest periods, accompanied by a strict control of the livestock numbers. The caretaker counted livestock numbers at least once a year. It was apparent at the last count that the carrying capacity as suggested by the Land Use Planning Unit has been exceeded by 50 %. As stated in the agricultural potential report, Skoonheid is suitable for extensive grazing and only small, irrigated gardens for home consumption could be viable.

Livestock farming is the major economic activity of the area. Although traditionally hunter-gatherers, virtually the majority of the Skoonheid families now practise livestock farming, particularly with goats and cattle, as a form of subsistence and livelihood.

4.5.6 Water

Sixteen boreholes on the farm, operated either by diesel engines or windmills, supply water to the various camps and water points, and the communal garden (Photo. 4.2). However many of these are not functioning.

In the 1994 agricultural potential assessment it was suggested that the broken boreholes should be cleaned and tested and that the underwater reserves should be monitored carefully in order to ensure sustainable use of the farm. At the time of our visit only one of the six boreholes on the Skoonheid part was working and no monitoring was taking place. The clerk had apparently requested that the broken boreholes be repaired, but nothing had yet been done. The women who had to collect the water from the only working water point, near the old farmstead complained that there were no working water points close to the houses, and appropriate means of carrying the water, like buckets or cans, were not available either.

Two hundred litres of diesel per month are supplied by the MLRR for the pump and tractor. The settlers complained that this amount was insufficient for their operation. The caretaker stated that the supply of diesel had been reduced to the absolute minimum as it is had previously been taken by the settlers and sold. Only 200 litres were therefore provided, irrespective of how many boreholes were in working condition (Fredericka, pers.comm., 1998).

Photograph 4.2: Water Points and Borehole in Communal garden at Skoonheid

4.6 Summary of Descriptive Characteristics of Skoonheid Project

The features of the Skoonheid Project highlighted in this chapter are summarised below:

- Shortage of water; most of the boreholes are broken and at the Skoonheid part only one of six water points is in use.

- Overgrazing and unsustainable range management; recommendations made by the Land Use Planning Unit of the MLRR with regard to livestock carrying capacity and rangeland management are neglected and ignored.
- Capacity problem at project level.
- Lack of secure and exclusive tenure.
- Poor communication and co-ordination between institutions.
- Lack of participatory decision making.
- Lack of transparency and accountability.
- Lack of intersectoral co-ordination.
- Misuse or breakdown of traditional common-property systems.

4.7 Conclusion

The environmental policy directive in the Namibian Constitution states that:

> "The State shall actively promote and maintain the welfare of the people by adopting, *inter alia*, policies aimed at the following:
>
> ... (1) maintenance of the ecosystems, essential ecological process and biological diversity of Namibia and utilisation of living natural resources on a sustainable basis for the benefit of all Namibians, both present and future..." (Article 95(1)).

In accordance with this directive, the resettlement programmes should aim at being sustainable. During this study, it was found that the programme at Skoonheid did not consider aspects of sustainability.

The descriptive characteristics summarised in 4.5 reveal that the programme has been implemented with little or no reference to long-term planning policies, needs

assessment or environmental assessment. People who are most affected have not been involved in decision-making, and there seems to be a lack of inter-disciplinary collaboration and cross-sectoral thinking.

Rights over natural resources and land are not clear, and people are not empowered to take control. Communities cannot control individuals or communities who infringe on their traditional rights. Thus, people may seek to maximise short-term benefits as they are disempowered.

A general lack in planning, combined with inappropriate considerations regarding resource use, makes resettlement programmes economically unsustainable. At Skoonheid the consequence of the lack of holistic thinking regarding the use of natural resources in conjunction with land use planning will certainly be environmental unsustainability. Unmonitored exploitation of ground water is occurring which could be unsustainable in the long term. Pressure on rangelands has been increased, overgrazing and soil degradation are occurring, and adaptive farming strategies have been limited (Shuuya, 1998; Suzman, 1995). The unsustainability of resource utilisation will increase susceptibility to future droughts and is likely to lead to desertification.

The issues briefly mentioned in this conclusion are further explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION OF ISSUES PERTAINING TO RESTTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA AS IDENTIFIED IN SKOONHEID AS A CASE STUDY

5. Discussion Of Issues Pertaining To Resettlement In Namibia As Identified In Skoonheid As A Case Study

5.1 Introduction

The primary natural resources upon which the Skoonheid Resettlement Project depends are wood, water and pasture. Chapter 4 revealed that there is inappropriate management of these resources. There are many facets to this issue. From a purely technocratic view, there is a general absence of monitoring, evaluation and control of natural resources. Access to these resources also involves complex socio-political issues such as:

- Lack of security of tenure;
- Lack of inter-sectoral co-ordination (unco-ordinated government management);
- Type of organisation and administration;
- Participation: the vital thread throughout;
- Local knowledge: an aid to sustainability;
- Lack of institutional support;
- Lack of political commitment; and,
- Community co-management of communal resources.

5.2 Discussion of Issues

5.2.1 Lack of security of tenure

According to the National Resettlement Policy, the land acquired for resettlement purposes is provided to settlers on leasehold for from 30 up to 50 years and then

on a freehold system. However, settlers are given two years' probation to prove that they will utilise the land productively and for the purpose for which they requested it (National Resettlement Policy,1996). The settlers in Skoonheid Resettlement Project, who are still on probation, have not yet received any contracts specifying their legal status or rights according to the resettlement scheme. The majority of settlers expressed uncertainty over their future on the land. "I think the aim of government has not been reached. Because if it were, then we would have had some proof with regards to land. A paper which will indicate that we are lawful owners. At present we can be evicted easily. If we have some proof we will be in a position to defend our case. But now we have nothing" (MLRR' s Video, 1997).

Land tenure is a fundamental issue for natural resource management in Skoonheid Resettlement Project. Security of land tenure, together with access to and control over resources, are important issues affecting people's ability to manage their environment effectively. Important among the resources are boreholes, which provide benefits and access to other resources such as grazing, and therefore people need to be able to manage these effectively.

There are numerous arguments that surround the question of tenure security. One argument (which is used in the National Resettlement Policy) is that a document such as a lease agreement establishes the legal right to that piece of land and can be used as collateral when applying for credit. However, Christensen (1997) argues that it is a common misconception that secure tenure leads to access to loans by using the subject land and improvements as collateral. For the majority of the poor, the lack of formal employment or regular income serves to prohibit them from accessing loans, and therefore this is not an issue (Christensen, 1997).

Another argument is that "tenure security is a state of mind" and has a bearing on the way in which people use the land that they occupy. The theory is that people will invest more of themselves if they feel secure on that land. From the point of view of the poor, Christensen argues that their first priority is the knowledge that they will not be evicted without compensation (Christensen, 1997). The continuous and unchallenged use of land is a critical measure of tenure security – a certificate or a document is an affirmation of this but does not create it. Both arguments are equally important; however, the National Resettlement Policy only addresses the issue of secure tenure as a means of accessing credit.

International experience shows that poor definition of land rights, with the withholding of title or documentation of usufruct rights, results in difficulty in accessing credit and a lack of investment. This happened in the case of Burkina Faso and Paraguay, where no title deeds were given to settlers for 20 years. Kenya and Thailand both managed to grant titles even although their agricultural sector was comprised of a large number of smallholdings (Binswanger and Kinsey, 1996; Anderson and Grove, 1987).

Furthermore, the National Resettlement Policy does not describe whether tenure will be on a communal or individual basis, or a combination of the two. While individual tenure at the level of homesteads and crop fields is appropriate, there are certain resources, such as grazing and water, that are not only better managed communally, but are also more equitably used on this basis (NANGOF, 1997).

A lack of clear ownership rights over resources contributes to major problems in resource management. Without secure tenure, natural resources are regarded as government property. This contributes to the settlers' lack of incentives and opportunities to manage resources in a sustainable manner. Settlers are unable to deny other people either the right to grazing on the surrounding area or use of

the boreholes. In the study area, dependency on the government seemed to frustrate settlers, especially with regard to the long delays experienced in the maintenance of boreholes.

There is currently no global policy document on land allocation or natural resource management. The 1991 National Conference on Land Reform and Land Question made a number of recommendations but these have not been formally accepted as government policy (Dewdney, 1996). The MLRR recognises that this is a problem and has announced that it wishes to undertake a consultative National Policy formulation process. A draft National Land Policy has been released for discussion (Republic of Namibia, 1996).

The absence of overall policy framework is a serious constraint on planning and development within resettlement projects and thereby encourages short-term overuse of resources, leading to desertification. A clearer statement by the government of the expected extent and nature of tenure reform could help to reassure settlers and encourage them to use their grazing and other natural resources more sustainably.

The present lack of secure tenure is clearly an obstacle to sustainable management and a contributing factor to land degradation in Namibia. There is little incentive for long term planning and sustainable resource management, and this is compounded by the fact that communities are unable to control access to, and use of, their resource base and have no means of redress in this situation. Natural resource tenure, therefore must be a key area of reform (Dewdney, 1996).

5.2.2 Lack of inter-sectoral co-ordination (unco-ordinated government management)

> *"The ongoing debate over tenure of natural resources reflects how sectoralised decision making is within Namibia. Resources in communal areas mainly fall under three ministries: The Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MLRR) is the lead ministry with responsibility for land issues including registration, taxation, tenure and dispute resolution; water supply and agricultural extension (including programmes that support rangeland) fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MAWRD); Forests and wildlife as well as the environment generally fall under the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET"*
>
> (Draft chapter on communities and access to resources in rural Namibia, 1997: 10).

It is generally agreed that one of the most critical shortcomings of the GRN in general is the lack of cross-sectoral planning. Policies are set in one Ministerial sector without considering their impact on another Ministerial sector, throughout the economy generally and especially with regard to natural resource use. Therefore policy failures occur, inadvertently causing land degradation (Byers, 1996).

Developing inter-sectoral, integrated solutions to environmental problems at the local level, such as at Skoonheid, requires communication and co-operation between sectoral ministries at the national level (e.g. MET, MAWRD, MLRR, MLRR, and MRLGH). Relevant ministries must work together to create the enabling environment needed to bring about integrated, holistic resource management on the ground (Byers,1996).

Given the diverse actors in the field of land-use planning, and their differences in mandate and goals, it is evident that if land-use planning cannot be co-ordinated and remains *ad hoc* and fragmented, natural resources, including land in Skoonheid, will continue to be used in an unsustainable manner. This will in turn hinder development and economic growth will not be sustainable, owing to its dependency on natural resources (Byers, 1996).

While the National Resettlement Policy sets out the roles and responsibilities for the relevant institutions such as the MLRR, MAWRD, MET and MRLGH, it became very clear through the interview process that there are a number of constraints, which have limited the implementation of these responsibilities. These constraints are as follows:

- Lack of capacity within the MLRR in terms of staff and skills;
- Lack of forward planning; and
- Interministerial tensions which include-
    - poor communication and transparency;
    - poor co-ordination and co-operation; and
    - lack of participation.

Good management and administration are important for achieving the objectives of a resettlement programme. Oberai (1988) argues that it is essential for the organisation or department entrusted with the implementation to be able to harness the help and assistance of other government departments.

5.2.3 Type of organisation and administration

The factors discussed in the previous section show that in the resettlement process in Skoonheid a very top-down approach has been adopted, with few opportunities for participation from potential settlers and other I&APs. The policy

does not seem to have incorporated international experience in terms of the devolution of power to lower levels of government. Although the Namibian Government has a policy of decentralisation that is currently being implemented, no provisions have been made for this in the National Resettlement Policy. The centralised power structure that emerged from the liberation struggle resists local authority or control over land and resources, partly because it fears a reversion to the tribalism and fragmentation favoured by the previous regime (Hangula, 1996). Indeed, at the moment, there is probably a stronger feeling of ownership of the projects by the Government of Namibia and the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation than by the settlers for whom the project was designed. The management and direction of the project are influenced by providers of funds (i.e. MLRR), not the beneficiaries, who should determine the direction and control of the project for their own interests.

International experience suggests that a "bottom-up" approach to decision-making should be promoted, with settlers making decisions for themselves rather than having limited choices imposed from above (Binswanger and Kinsey, 1996). It has been shown internationally that a top-down approach to the administration of resettlement projects tends to result in paternalism by government officials towards settlers. This system has been used in many countries such as Indonesia, Zimbabwe, Guatemala and Burkina Faso, although its effects have been felt most acutely in Ethiopia, where settlements were centrally administered. Nelson (1973) (cited in Binswanger and Kinsey, 1996) conducted a study of 24 Latin-American resettlement schemes and found that the directed settlement projects had the poorest performance record. In Indonesia, the performance of resettlement programmes improved when the administrative powers were devolved to the provinces and local authorities. Kenya managed to avoid some of the problems of centralised administration by maximising the involvement of existing local institutions and using a short-term task force

approach toward each project, with temporary staff seconded from other institutions (Binswanger and Kinsey, 1996).

A centralised, top-down approach towards administration of resettlement schemes has thus generally been found to impede good performance. Devolving power to local authorities and institutions improves performance.

An example of this is afforded by the problem of borehole maintenance in the Skoonheid Project. As has been mentioned (see section 4.4.6) five of the six boreholes on the Skoonheid farm were not functioning at the time of our visit. It was reported that technicians from the Department of Water Affairs usually take a long time to repair the broken boreholes since they have their own departmental duties to attend to (Confidential, pers.comm, 1998). Such delays exacerbate land degradation around functioning boreholes. In addition, settlers were not given relevant training to foster sustainable use of local resources, such as borehole maintenance. This, as already mentioned, partly added to a tendency to regard boreholes as government property and a consequent lack of motivation for sustainable use.

Oberai (1988) argues that to be successful, resettlement operations require a transfer of responsibilities from the government to the settlers themselves. Otherwise a dangerous dependency may arise, with negative effects on the resources. Action should be taken from the outset to prepare for the transfer of management responsibilities to the settlers. If the government were to overcome the tendency to retain decision-making and managerial functions and encourage the emergence of recognised leaders, this would stimulate local initiatives and greatly facilitate the transfer of responsibilities.

5.2.4 Participation: the vital thread throughout

As has been shown in chapter 4, decision-making with regard to resource management in Skoonheid takes place in a top-down manner. Participation structures are not in place, except for the committee, the representativeness of which is questioned by the settlers and which was perceived to have been imposed on the settlers (see section 4.2). With regard to the allocation of land to the Herero grazers for drought relief, settlers complained that no consultation had taken place (MPhil, 1998).

Community participation is now well recognised as vital to achieving sustainable development. Participation is a tool for empowerment and the establishment of democratic structures, which are necessary for sustainable use of natural resources (Sewell and O'Riordan, 1976). This view is supported by the "African Charter for Popular Participation in Development" which was adopted in 1995 by the Arusha Conference in Tanzania – a conference convened by the United Nations. This charter identifies the prime reason for Africa's economic, social and environmental decline as the lack of democracy and participation in decision-making (Singh and Titi, 1995 cited in De Wet, 1997). Participation, therefore, is a key to facilitating development which is environmentally, socially, and economically sustainable (Singh and Titi, 1995 cited in De Wet, 1997).

As has been noted in chapter 3, there was a tendency for natural resource management programmes in the past to be designed by foreign experts who took minimal consideration of local priorities, knowledge or perceptions. Many recent studies have identified this lack of involvement by beneficiaries of projects as the major reason for the consistent failure of natural resource management programmes (Reij, Turner and Critchley, 1995; IIED, 1994). Indeed, research indicates repeatedly that management, conservation and production need to be integrated in order to achieve truly effective results in each. Unless there is some

incentive for communities to manage resources sustainably, it is senseless to expect them to invest time, labour and other valuable resources in order to do so. By ensuring local participation in all aspects of natural resource management, such that there are direct benefits for people's efforts, the likelihood of adaptive and sustainable development is increased. This is the reason for the paradigm shifts towards the incorporation of these principles that have become apparent in recent policy formulations and project implementations in southern Africa (see chapter 3).

However, the concept of the participatory approach can not be romanticised as a simple uncomplicated solution to all resource management. In their comprehensive study of participatory projects, the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) (1994) argues that the "range of different participatory approaches... can be viewed as a continuum, ranging from limited input into decision making and control (passive participation) to extensive input into decision-making and control (active participation)". In other words, there is a spectrum of perceptions and attitudes ranging from "communities are the threat" through "communities can not be ignored", to "communities control the resource" (IIED, 1994: 18).

5.2.5 Local knowledge: an aid to sustainability

> *"First indigenous people are the sole guardians of vast, little disturbed habitats that modern societies depend on more than they may realise – to regulate water cycles, maintain the stability of the climate and provide valuable plants, animals and games. Their homelands may harbour more endangered plant and animal species than all the world's nature reserves. Second, they possess, in their ecological knowledge, an asset of incalculable value: a map to the biological diversity of the earth on which all life depends. Encoded in indigenous languages, customs and practices*

may be as much understanding of nature as is stored in the libraries of modern science"

(Durning, 1992: 6-7, cited in De Wet, 1997).

Although this quote may have a slightly condescending tone, it indicates a significant change in developmental thinking. Well-developed participatory approaches respect the importance of local knowledge in the development and maintenance of appropriate natural resource management. As noted earlier, there is much value in the incorporation of local and traditional knowledge and practices into management projects. The point can be emphasised further by recent experiences of groundwater development projects in Botswana. Inappropriate regulations and institutions imposed by government broke down quickly. Instead, a more suitable management system was instituted by users as "part of a much more sophisticated reality of seasonal and spatial dynamics in overall water use" (IFAD, 1992: 53). In other words, local users had far more insight into the local environmental, political and social fluctuations and hence were able to design management strategies that would operate efficiently. Thus, local knowledge is at the core of well-planned natural resource management strategies (Falux and Talbot, 1993; Barbier, 1990).

Indigenous people such as the San in Skoonheid often have a long history and relationship with the land. An appreciation for sustainable resource use has been gained, often by necessity, over generations of dependency on these natural resources. In addition, natural resource management may be affected through a range of traditional customs, laws, practices and/or religious observance (Van Der Zwaag, 1992).

From the pragmatic point of view, indigenous people or local people are often in the best position to oversee the implementation of practices and laws which promote sustainable development. Furthermore indigenous people and local

communities are, as in Namibia, frequently directly dependent on the resource base and, therefore, have a significant vested interest in the maintenance of environmental integrity through the implementation of sustainable practices.

Because of these factors, resource management plans in Skoonheid should be designed by local people or at least be compatible with the traditional practices of those people who will, in the final analysis, determine their success or failure. If the implementation of sustainable development is not cognisant of, sensitive to, or perhaps entirely based on the practices, traditions and knowledge of local and indigenous people it is unlikely to be embraced by these people.

The growing awareness of the importance of indigenous, traditional and local knowledge has allowed communities to appreciate their own knowledge base (Harsch, 1995). Consequently, communities are often now in a position to choose between modern and traditional knowledge. The result in many cases has been that communities are able to mix both forms of knowledge, thus combining a legacy of experience on the land with opportunities and insights provided by western science (Harsch, 1995; Spiegel and Boonzaier, 1988).

Acoording to the Associates of Rural Development (1992), the management of natural resources capitalises on local knowledge or an effective blend of this with scientific knowledge (ARD,1992). Thus, for example, if communities in Skoonheid were in a position to decide on the siting of boreholes, they could contract in the expertise of geohydrologists, if they deemed this to be necessary. The result could be an optimal outcome obtained from the integration of an in-depth knowledge of local conditions and needs and the services of the science of hydrology. The definition of optimum might be not unifactorial, such as the best geohydrological siting, but may be multifactorial – a siting that best fits the array of community needs, local conditions and geohydrological considerations (De Wet, 1997).

However, before such integration of knowledge with local resource management occurs, the appropriate framework for meaningful participation and empowerment of local communities in resource planning and management must first be in place (Vivian, 1992).

5.2.6 Lack of institutional support

As indicated by the case study presented in chapter 4, the failure of natural resource management strategies is often coupled with a lack of suitable institutional structures in Skoonheid. Without appropriate institutional support at all levels, natural resource management projects can easily crumble. Given that the Namibian Government does not generally have the capacity to be integrally involved in projects on the ground, it often fails to ensure that there are suitably equipped organisations that are able to take responsibility for project maintenance (Meintjies, 1995).

5.2.7 Lack of political commitment

Good practices and progress on the ground are only plausible where government is committed to processes of equitable, sustainable development.

The example of Namibia's water resource management (refer to section 3.4 4) is a case in point. Another powerful instance of how government's attitude shapes the ecological status of a country can be seen in the present state of implementation of Namibia's First National Development Plan (NDP1), which professes commitment to most of the current trends in environmental thinking – including, the sustainable development of the natural resource base. In reality, however, many of the principles are not upheld, monitored or enforced by government authorities. A lack of political will is evident, particularly with respect to environmental degradation in resettlement areas such as Skoonheid, due to livestocking practices. Overstocking and overgrazing practices increasingly

degrade large areas of land, but, no active steps are being taken by the Namibian Government to halt these processes. It is interesting to examine the situation more closely. As Muller (1995) points out, this situation is a prime example of "the negative environmental outcome that takes place when there is no commitment from government to follow an integrated approach to economic and environmental challenges" (Muller, 1995; Williamson, 1994).

5.2.8 Community co-management of communal resources

> *"Not all bottom-up projects based on community participation succeed, but almost all top-down projects that exclude community involvement fail"*
>
> (Strum, 1994 cited in De Wet, 1997)

In the context of communal land tenure and communal resources, community co-management is, therefore, increasingly being seen as the method of choice to achieve inclusion of local and indigenous knowledge into resource management.

In the contemporary state-orientated political order, government does also undoubtedly have responsibilities, as discussed in section 2.2.1, to promote national interests, ensure equality between resource users and ensure sustainable use of resources for the benefit of the nation as a whole.

Community co-management is not a rigidly defined term, but essentially denotes the sharing of power and responsibility for management between the government and the community through various levels of integration of local-level and government –level of management. This may range from tokenism on the part of the government, to full empowerment of the community to make decisions and be partners in the management team. Figure 5.1 describes several levels of community involvement as rungs of a ladder.

It can be contended, on the basis of the foregoing discussion, that co-management is only effective where there is significant and meaningful devolution of power, as defined by level 7 on this ladder of participation – "Community control and partnership". Effective community co-management however, requires effective government participation in the process of development and resource management. The role of government is to ensure that national legislation and policies work to facilitate and not frustrate local resource management schemes.

In co-management it is recognised that government and community are partners in resource management. The partnership is characterised by mutual dependence – each party needs the other and each party has a valuable contribution to make to the partnership.

Government is dependent on local-level management for:

- an understanding of local needs, aspirations and conditions in management decisions;
- indigenous and local knowledge in the information base informing management;
- day-to-day custodianship of resources and implementation of environmental management plans;
- day-to-day resource and environmental monitoring.

Local management systems need government as a partner because:

- local management systems need to be enabled by legislation;
- government is in a position to see the "bigger picture" of national issues – be they economic needs and trends, environmental problems such as desertification or other elements which have a bearing on local activity;
- government has the responsibility of co-ordinating with other national interests and other citizens' interests;

- national policy will influence local management - government needs to be informed by local-level management so that national policy can be designed to assist and not to frustrate local initiatives; and
- local-level management may benefit from input of scientific knowledge as much as government needs the input of local knowledge.

Thus co-management is a resolution of the conflict which may arise where the two levels of management meet. The outcome is mutually beneficial and can result in a more effective management system and one which is more appropriate and sustainable.

Co-management is also politically favourable. In many ways it addresses the imbalance of power between central government and local communities. It may also provide better economic returns through improved management of the resources and, therefore, a degree of economic autonomy for local communities depending on the nature and extent of the resources involved.

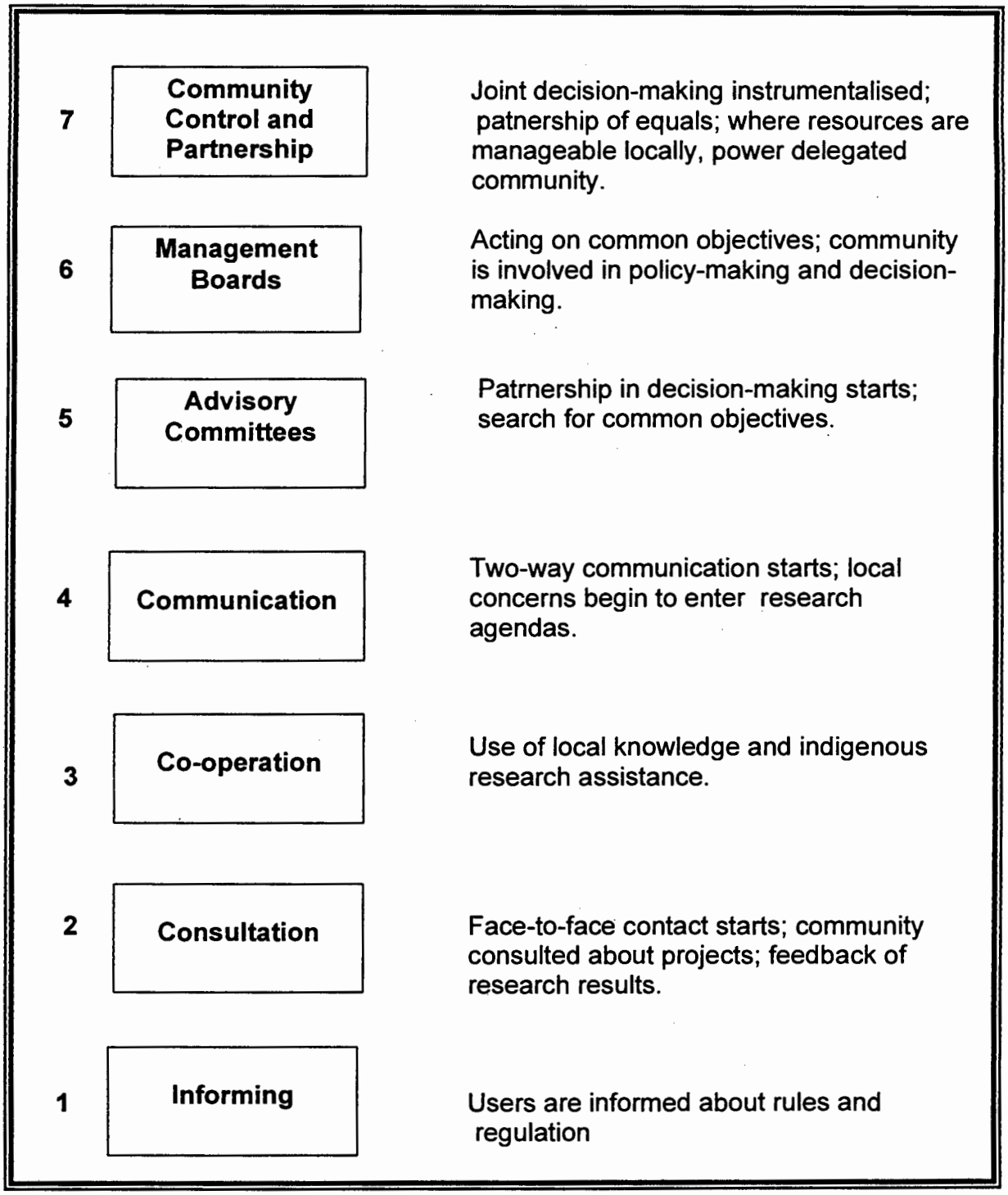

Figure 5.1: Levels of community involvement leading to co-management (Berkes, George and Preston, 1991, cited in De Wet, 1997)

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the importance of: security of tenure; inter-sectoral co-ordination; political commitment and indigenous knowledge in preserving the social and ecological variability of customary systems of resource management. Without security of tenure in the Skoonheid Resettlement Project, the incentive and opportunity to manage natural resources in a sustainable manner is significantly reduced. The key to this happening effectively is a strong government commitment to appropriate institutional development (with supporting policy in such areas as local government and land tenure) and capacity building among local communities to enable them to co-manage communal resources.

In the following chapter conclusions are drawn from the findings of this dissertation and recommendations are made that are intended to enhance the strengths and mitigate the weaknesses of the resettlement programme, as identified by the discussion of issues in terms of local resource management that have been discussed in this chapter. While these issues have arisen from a consideration of the problems observed in the Skoonheid Resettlement Project, as a case study, the conclusions and recommendations may be regarded as generally applicable to the management of natural resources in resettlement areas.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusions

The general perception in Namibia is that resettlement projects lack substance and, that at present it is unlikely that many of them will succeed. However, this dissertation has illustrated that common property regimes are in fact key institutions for sustainable management of communal property resources. This can only be achieved, however, if they are supported by effective policies, capacity, and resources, adequate mechanisms and appropriate institutional arrangements that support local-level management (Sekhesa, 1997). The Skoonheid Committee and other committees envisaged by MAWRD and MET, discussed in chapter 3, can become vehicles for promoting sustainable use of natural resources in Skoonheid given an enabling environment. The lack of among others things: secure and exclusive tenure; participatory decision-making; and consideration of sustainability attributes in implementation of policies at the local level, together with the misuse or breakdown of common-property systems is hampering the effectiveness of the community in Skoonheid to manage their natural resources sustainably.

6.2 Recommendations

The following section makes recommendations that, if implemented, could improve the effectiveness of both the Skoonheid Committee and the community at large. The recommendations include:

- Securing community tenure over all natural resources;
- Instituting a "user pays" option as a sustainable principle;
- Ensuring intersectoral co-ordination;
- Introducing a common property regime;
- Developing co-management arrangements between the Skoonheid Community and the Government;
- Capacity building and community participation;
- Undertaking environmental assessments for all resettlement programmes in Namibia; and,
- Improving carrying capacity.

Each of these recommendations is discussed in more detail below.

6.2.1 Securing community tenure over all natural resources

The introduction of secure, exclusive tenure at the community level is a critical policy reform needed to prevent land degradation. In other words, a flexible approach to land tenure must be adopted to enable legally constituted communities and groups to exercise joint ownership rights over land. Community tenure is therefore central to the success of the policy for community ownership of natural resources which need to be managed collectively. Only if communities can reap the benefits of sustainable management of their natural resources, will they have an incentive to do so. As long as outsiders continue to use resources in Skoonheid with impunity, wise management will be undermined. This change does not infringe the constitutional right to movement within resettlement areas: there is a world of difference between free access and free use of resources.

Communities have managed these resources for hundreds of years and need to be encouraged to continue to do so. Communities have also negotiated with others about access to resources and this too should continue, but with the

support of the State where tenure rights are not respected. Communities need to have clearly-defined user rights over all their natural resources in order to be able to plan their development in a meaningful way. For example, as stated in section 5.2.1, it will be pointless to grant exclusive tenure over rangeland while allowing open access to all livestock at water points or vice versa (Dewdney, 1996).

The recent "conservancy" initiative under MET's Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programme - where communities are given user rights over wildlife on the condition that use is sustainable – represents a useful role model for the development of community tenure. This framework could be applied in Skoonheid to encourage sustainable management of natural resources. Grazing and water rights in Skoonheid should to be allocated to resident families to prevent over-utilisation of these communal resources. This will require capacity enhancement within the community and the creation or strengthening and support of strong community based-organisations.

The "conservancy" policy and legislation currently apply only to rights over wildlife in communal areas. Extending the conservancy approach to include rights over, or ownership of, key resources such as water and rangelands for grazing should be considered. Before this can be achieved, however, tenure reform is needed in order to move toward sustainable management of natural resources that is integrated and inter-sectoral.

The Namibian Government, NGOs, donors and other development partners should all encourage this process of integrated resource tenure reform to include water, rangelands and forests. Conservancy-like institutions would be needed at the local level to manage natural resources within their area.

6.2.2 Instituting a "user pays" option as a basic sustainability principle

The concept of "user pays" should be investigated as a principle to promote sustainability. Although it is in effect being implemented by the Department of Water Affairs (DWA) , its applicability to water supply and grazing in communal areas should be fully investigated.

Grazing is probably the most important resource in this context. Grazing fees have two theoretical advantages:

- They place a cost on the holding of livestock and therefore encourage destocking - essential where overgrazing is causing land degradation.
- They provide an income source for local development.

However, any grazing fee should be collected, managed and spent by the community - not regional or central government or Land Boards. Experience elsewhere in the SADC strongly suggests that if grazing fees are imposed on the community from outside – and not voluntarily collected and managed by communities – the system will collapse due to non-compliance.

The Namibian Government should continue its investigation into identifying options for the collection of grazing fees and how it can support rural communities in doing this (NAPCOD, 1996).

6.2.3 Ensuring inter-sectoral co-ordination

Developing inter-sectoral, integrated solutions to natural resources problems at the local level, such as those experienced in Skoonheid, requires communication and co-operation between sectoral ministries at the national level (e.g. MET, MAWRD, MLRR, and MRLGH). As indicated in the case study (see chapter 4) such communication and co-operation is at present mostly ineffective. Relevant

ministries must work together to create the enabling environment needed to bring about integrated, holistic resource management on the ground. To effect this change, the following are needed:

- policies, legislation and institutional development;
- extension and technical support capacity; and
- monitoring and research capacity.

In the analysis of the causes of problems in natural resource management, presented in chapter 5, it became clear that many different threats are linked by common causes. Because of the links between root causes of problems affecting the Skoonheid Resettlement Project and projects in Namibia as a whole, addressing these problems will require integrated, cross-sectoral planning and management.

6.2.4 Introducing a common property regime

This dissertation has argued that a common property regime is a viable system for managing natural resources in the Skoonheid Resettlement Project. It is therefore recommended that such a system should be introduced. It is the right time for this change as the communal system of resource management in the Skoonheid Resettlement Project has broken down as a result of the influx of Herero grazers and State policies that undermine the ability of both local-level committee and community to assert control over all resource users. Resources such as water, pastures, forests and land that are common property have increasingly become accessible to all, with resultant resource degradation

As stated in chapter 2, communal management of natural resources would possibly allow for more equitable use of resources and provide a safety net for the poor sections of the community who would otherwise be marginalised under

any other form of resource management. Through communal management, community groups will be able to enter into agreements with one another to negotiate access to resources, such as grazing and water, in a situation where one group has a surplus and the other a resource deficit. The scarcity of resources such as water and grazing in Skoonheid Farm demands that they are used communally, and therefore communal management becomes the most appropriate management option (Sekhesa, 1997).

Implementation of a common property regime would restore control over resources, which are currently open due to ineffective state control. The long-awaited National Land Policy briefly discussed in section 3.5.4 should be used as a vehicle to achieving communal tenure in communal areas.

6.2.5 Co-management

The complex socio-economic conditions on Skoonheid Farm, (see chapter 4), demand innovative management at the local, regional and national level. Such partnership arrangements must provide an enabling, facilitative and supportive role for the state rather than one that replaces or undermines local institutional capacity (Sekhesa, 1997). For instance, as stated in chapter 5, government could help to create conditions conducive to the functioning of the Skoonheid Committee and other envisaged committees, by assisting with enforcement of rules which have broad support in the community. This is especially pertinent where the Skoonheid Committee does not have authority to control "free riding" and where conflict exists among users. Enabling legislation and good extension service need to be established by government. The Skoonheid Committee must have legal powers to decide how communal resources are to be used and their decisions must be legally binding to the resource users. Without a clear mandate, the Skoonheid Committee is likely to fail in implementing their decisions. Legislation mandating devolution of decision-making powers to the Skoonheid

Committee as envisaged in the Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing (MRLGH) must therefore be enacted so as to empower this committee and other envisaged committees to have legally recognised decision-making powers.

It is also important that these committees be fully involved from the outset of any development initiative, since their exclusion could jeopardise the legitimacy and final implementation of programmes such as the cost-recovery programme of rural water supply envisaged in MAWRD. Through their involvement, these committees can solicit commitment from the community (Sekhesa, 1997).

6.2.6 Capacity building and community participation

Plans, policies and programmes should be directed at enhancing and building capacity – from individual rural communities to top government levels. This can only be achieved by assisting in the promotion of self-sufficiency and dignity and increasing productivity and creativity among local communties themselves. Decision-making in the implementation of development plans, policies and programmes should be a co-operative effort between Government and local communities.

Both formal and informal education should play an important role in empowering people to have the relevant knowledge, awareness, attitudes and necessary skills to adapt to aridity. Large-scale training of extension workers will contribute to changing people's attitudes in rural areas, with a focus on land in arid areas. As stated in chapter 5, it is important that indigenous knowledge should be used and that existing community capacity and resource use should be recognised and incorporated into policies and programmes.

Developing the human resources to carry out all of the diverse actions required to manage Skoonheid's environment and natural resources sustainably is a major challenge. Education, training and capacity building at all levels, from central government to grassroots resource users, will be required. Environmental education, broadly conceived, should give the Skoonheid community not only the awareness and knowledge needed for making sustainable environmental choices, but also the skills, options and motivation to do so.

The Omaheke Regional Office in Gobabis must have the capacity, in terms of human, financial and material resources, to enable it to function efficiently and effectively. Central government must be committed to relinquishing power to the regional office, as envisaged in the Constitution, on matters related to the budget, staff appointments and expenditures.

6.2.7 Strategic environmental assessment

Development plans, policies and resettlement programmes should be assessed at the strategic level in terms of their impact on the environment and on the community who are the recipients of such interventions. Both benefits and impacts need to be assessed to determine the feasibility of any programme. It is at this level that cumulative impacts of programmes and a succession of such programmes need to be studied and addressed.

6.2.8 Improving carrying capacity

As shown by the case study, recommendations made by the Land Use Planning Unit of the MLRR with respect to livestock carrying capacity and rangeland management have been neglected and ignored in the Skoonheid Resettlement Project. It is strongly recommended that that the carrying capacity of Skoonheid

Farm be ascertained and reviewed on a regular basis. This will facilitate effective management of natural resources on this farm. Livestock control will be much easier to enforce if the carrying capacity is properly determined. The manager or supervisor of the farm should therefore have some basic ecological knowledge (MPhil, 1998).

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Helmut Woehl (26/11/97) GTZ.

Rob Blaikie (26/11/97) DEA.

Lazarus Hangula (2/12/97) SSD, UNAM

Bertrus Kruger (2/12/97) SARDEP

Barney Karuumbe (13/1/98) NANGOF

Mukwaita Shanyengana (14/1/98) Director, Division of Resettlement

Simeon Kanyemba (14/1/98) Deputy Director, Division of Resettlement

Thokhoza Imene (14/1/98) Control Officer, MLRR

Andrew Vergotine (14/1/98) Control Officer, Division of Resettlement

Lisa McLeod (2/2/98) Clerical Assistant, MLRR, Regional Office Gobabis

Raphael (2/2/98) SARDEP, Gobabis

Versveld (3/2/98) Chief Extension Officer, MAWRD, Gobabis

Antonia Sechogele and Ennus Kgosireleng (3/2/98) teachers at Moganedi Thabanello High School, Drimiopsis

Nikki and Ewald (3/2/98) Teachers at Drimiopsis Junior Primary School.

Frederick Langman (4/2/98) Tradional Authority, Skoonheid

Fredricka Uanivi (5/2/98) MLR Clerk, Skoonheid.