

Computer-Assisted Analysis of Namibian Land Reform Policy

Uzochukwu Godsway Ojo Okafor



Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Public Administration
at the University of Stellenbosch

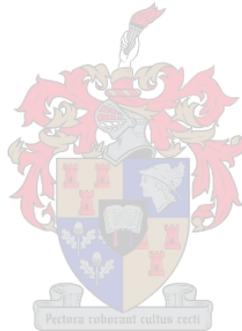
Supervisor: Professor Fanie Cloete

April 2006

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature..... Date.....



ABSTRACT

The focus of this research is on the analysis of Namibian land reform policy. The primary objective is to identify the prevailing values behind the land reform, formulate precise objectives that reflect the inherent values, and analyse the existing options with a view to identifying the delivery mechanism(s) most appropriate to meeting the land reform objectives and to delivering the desired outcomes in a sustainable way.

Namibia inherited skewed land ownership. The land reform debate focuses mainly on the redistribution of commercial farms, which are mostly owned by whites, and the tenure reform in the communal areas. The Namibian land reform rests on a tripartite scheme: Resettlement, Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) and the Development of Communal Areas (DCA). These approaches are governed by a number of policies and laws.

Land reform is a very complex and emotion-laden phenomenon with multiple dimensions, which include moral, historical, social, economic, environmental and technical aspects. The land question in Namibia is a race question. While politicians argue publicly that land reform is important to boost the economy and reduce poverty, in reality the focus is on having more black Namibians own more of Namibia's commercial farmland. This discrepancy between public pronouncements and actual motive may be responsible for the lack of clear objectives for the land reform policy. The analysis of Namibian land reform policy will require formulation of precise objectives.

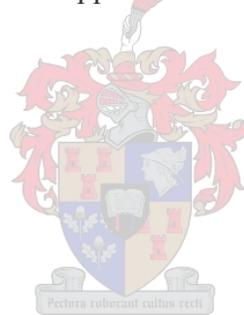
Because Namibia is the driest country south of the Sahara, sustainable management of land is imperative. Finding ways of achieving a politically acceptable racial balance of commercial land ownership and sustainable utilisation of redistributed land within an optimum time span is a challenge. The formulation of Namibian land reform policy was not preceded by any attempt at prior policy analysis. An ad hoc and crisis-management approach prevailed.

A policy issue analysis approach has been used in this study. It is based primarily on a literature review augmented with questionnaires and interviews with selected key stakeholders. A stratified sampling technique was applied in the selection of the key stakeholders. The three groups identified were the policy-formulation and implementation group, the commercial farmers and

the emerging farmers. VISA, a multi-criteria decision analysis package, was used to analyse and compare the three land reform approaches, while PolicyMaker software was used to analyse political actors and suggest strategies that can enhance the policy's feasibility.

The literature review and questionnaires revealed that the objectives of the land reform policy include correcting the skewed ownership of commercial farmland to reflect the demography of Namibia, alleviating poverty and achieving social and economic equity for all citizens. The programme should be sociologically, economically and environmentally sustainable.

Combining all these objectives as criteria for evaluation, VISA demonstrates that the affirmative action loan scheme has the greatest potential for meeting the objectives followed by resettlement and development of communal areas respectively. Using the PolicyMaker software, stakeholders were categorised into supporters, opponents and non-mobilised; opportunities and obstacles were identified and strategies devised to harness opportunities and diffuse opposition.



OPSOMMING

Die fokus van hierdie navorsing is op die analise van die Namibiese grondhervormingsbeleid. Die primêre doelwit is om heersende waardes agter grondhervorming te eien en presiese doelwitte te formuleer wat die inherente waardes weerspieël. Bestaande opsies sal ook geanaliseer word met die oog op die eiening van die mees gepaste leweringsmeganisme(s) wat voldoen aan die grondhervormingsdoelwitte en die verlangde resultate volhoubaar lewer.

Wat grondbesit betref, het Namibië 'n skewe stelsel geërf. Die grondhervormingsdebat fokus hoofsaaklik op herverdeling van kommersiële plase, waarvan die meerderheid in blanke besit is, en die eiendomsreghervorming in gemeenskapsgebiede. Grondhervorming in Namibië staan op drie bene, te wete Hervestiging, Regstellende Aksie Leningskema (AALS) en die Ontwikkeling van Gemeenskapsgebiede (DCA). Hierdie benaderings word deur 'n aantal beleidspunte en wette beheer.

Grondhervorming is 'n uiters komplekse en emosiebelaaide verskynsel wat veelvoudige dimensies inkorporeer, insluitende morele, historiese, sosiale, ekonomiese, tegniese en omgewingsaspekte. Die grondkwessie in Namibië is 'n rasseprobleem. Hoewel politici in die openbaar te kenne gee dat grondhervorming noodsaaklik is om die ekonomie te stuur en armoede te verlig, is die fokus in werklikheid daarop dat meer swart Namibiërs 'n groter deel van die land se kommersiële landbougrond moet besit. Hierdie teenstrydigheid tussen openbare uitsprake en die werklike motief is waarskynlik verantwoordelik vir die gebrek aan duidelike doelwitte vir die grondhervormingsbeleid. Die analise van die Namibiese grondhervormingsbeleid sal inderdaad die formulering van presiese doelwitte verg.

Volhoubare bestuur van grond in Namibië, die droogste land suid van die Sahara, is gebiedend noodsaaklik. Die vind van maniere om 'n polities aanvaarbare rasse-ewewig t.o.v. kommersiële grondeienaarskap en volhoubare gebruik van herverdeelde grond binne 'n gunstige tydskedule te bereik, is 'n uitdaging. Die formulering van die Namibiese grondhervormingsbeleid is nie voorafgegaan deur 'n aanvanklike beleidanalise nie. 'n Benadering wat ad hoc en driftig was, het geheers.

Die beleidsaak analise-benadering is toegepas. Dit was in hoofsaak gerig op 'n literêre oorsig aangevul met vraelyste/onderhoude aan/met uitgesoekte, vername belanghebbendes. 'n Meerlagige steekproef-tegniek is toegepas in die keuse van die vername belanghebbendes. Die drie groepe wat geïdentifiseer is, was die beleidformulering en toepassing-groep, die kommersiële boere en die opkomende boere. VISA, 'n multi-kriteria besluit-analise pakket, is aangewend om die drie grondhervormingsbenaderings te analiseer en vergelyk, en PolicyMaker-sagteware is gebruik om politieke rolspelers te analiseer en strategieë voor te stel wat die beleid se uitvoerbaarheid sou kon verhoog.

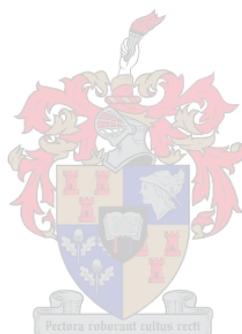
Die literêre oorsig en vraelyste het getoon dat die doelwitte van die grondhervormingsbeleid ook insluit om die uitgediende eienaarskapstelsel van landbougrond te herstel sodat dit die demografie van Namibië weerspieël, om armoede te verlig en om maatskaplike en ekonomiese billikheid vir alle burgers te bewerkstellig. Die program behoort uit 'n sosiologiese, ekonomiese en omgewingsoogpunt volhoubaar te wees.

Met al dié doelwitte saamgegooi as kriteria vir evaluering, toon VISA dat die regstellende aksie-leningskema die grootste potensiaal het om die doelwitte haalbaar te maak, gevolg deur onderskeidelik hervestiging en ontwikkeling van gemeenskapsgebiede. Deur PolicyMaker aan te wend, is belanghebbendes gekategoriseer in ondersteuners en opponente, nie-gemobiliseerde geleenthede en struikelblokke is geëien en strategieë is bedink om geleenthede te benut en teenkantiing te demp.

CONTENTS DECLARATION	i
ABSTRACT	iii
OPSOMMING	v
LIST OF TABLES	x
ACRONYMS	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 <i>BACKGROUND</i>	1
1.2 <i>RATIONALE</i>	7
1.3 <i>RESEARCH PROBLEMS</i>	9
1.4 <i>RESEARCH OBJECTIVES</i>	10
1.5 <i>RESEARCH DESIGN</i>	10
1.6 <i>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY/METHODS</i>	11
1.7 <i>OUTLINES OF CHAPTERS</i>	12
1.8 <i>CHAPTER SUMMERY</i>	12
2.1 <i>INTRODUCTION</i>	14
2.2 <i>POLICY ANALYSIS</i>	14
2.2.1 Policy Design.....	17
2.2.1.1 Problem identification and agenda setting.....	18
2.2.1.2 Generation, analysis and prioritisation of alternatives.....	21
2.3 <i>INTERNATIONAL LESSONS</i>	25
Resettlement Models.....	41
2.4 <i>LAND REFORM IN NAMIBIA</i>	46
2.5 <i>CHAPTER SUMMERY</i>	52
CHAPTER 3: DATA CONSTRUCTION AND MODELLING	54
3.1 <i>INTRODUCTION</i>	55

3.2	<i>QUESTIONNAIRES/INTERVIEWS</i>	55
3.3	<i>DECISION SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF ALTERNATIVE OPTIONS</i> 60	
3.3.1	VISA (Visual Interactive Sensitivity Analysis).....	62
3.3.2	PolicyMaker	65
 CHAPTER 4: COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW AND MODELLING DATA		70
4.1	<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	70
4.2	<i>ANALYSIS OF OPTIONS USING VISA</i>	71
4.2.1	Evaluation of the Selected Options.....	73
4.2.1.1	Combined criteria.....	73
4.2.1.2	Feasibility criteria	74
4.2.1.3	Sustainability criteria	74
4.2.1.4	Performance criteria.....	75
4.3	<i>APPLYING POLITICAL ANALYSIS USING POLICYMAKER</i>	76
4.3.1	Policy Content.....	76
4.3.2	Players.....	76
4.3.3	Opportunities and Obstacles	80
4.3.4	Strategies.....	83
 CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND ASSESSMENT OF FINDINGS		86
5.1	<i>PROBLEM AND GOAL ANALYSIS</i>	86
5.1.1	Problem Analysis	86
5.1.2	Goal Analysis.....	87
5.2	<i>EVALUATION OF OPTIONS</i>	87
5.2.1	Affirmative Action Loan Scheme	87
5.2.2	Resettlement.....	88
5.2.3	Development of Communal Area	91
5.3	STRATEGIES.....	92
5.4	CONTRIBUTION OF VISA AND POLICYMAKER.....	92
5.5	CAVEAT	93
 CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS		95
6.1	<i>CONCLUSION</i>	95
6.2	<i>RECOMMENDATIONS</i>	96
 REFERENCES		99

APPENDIX..... 106
QUESTIONNAIRES..... 106



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Research design model (Helm, 2002)	11
Figure 2: The agenda funnel (in: Meyer & Cloete, 2000: 111)	21
Figure 3: Model of a Decision Support System ((Khorshid, 2004:9).....	61
Figure 4: Model for option analysis.....	63
Figure 5: Ranking of Options with respect to All Criteria.....	73
Figure 6: Comparison of options with respect to feasibility.....	74
Figure 7: Comparison of Options with respect to Sustainability.....	75
Figure 8: Comparison of Options with respect to Performance	75
Figure 9: Position Map: Current Positions on the Entire Policy.....	78
Figure 10: Position Map: Current Positions on Equitable Distribution of Land	79

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Criteria for evaluation	23
Table 2: Choices facing evaluators (Cloete & Wissink, 2000: 214)	24
Table 3: Criteria and Weights (0-100)	71
Table 4: Weighting (Influence) of Land Reform Policy Options on Selected Criteria	72
Table 5: Main criteria	72
Table 6: Policy Content Report	76
Table 7: Potential obstacles and measures to overcome the obstacles	81
Table 8: Opportunities that can be exploited	82
Table 9: Summary of PolicyMaker Strategy	83

ACRONYMS

AALS:	Affirmative Action Loan Scheme
CBA:	Cost benefit analysis
CEA:	Cost effectiveness analysis
DCA:	Development of communal area
DSS:	Decision support systems
ANC:	African National Congress
ARISP:	Agrarian Reform Infrastructure Support Project
DANIDA:	Danish International Development Agency
DLA:	Department of Land Affairs
EGSMS:	Environmental and Geographical Science Masters students
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
IBRD:	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ILC:	International Land Coalition
LRAD:	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
LRAN:	Land Research Action Network
MAWRD:	Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development
MCA:	Multi-criteria analysis
MCDA:	Multi-criteria decision analysis
MLR:	Ministry of Lands and Resettlement
MST:	Movimento dos trabahaldores sem Terra (Movement of the Landless Rural Workers)
NGOs:	Non-governmental agencies
NLP:	National Land Policy
NRP:	National Resettlement Policy
PCA:	Policy consequence analysis
PDA:	Policy determinant analysis
PLAAS:	Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies
PTT:	Permanent Technical Team on Land Reform
RoN:	Republic of Namibia
SIDA:	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SLAG:	Settlement and Land Acquisition Grants
VISA:	Visual Interactive Sensitivity Analysis



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Namibia, like South Africa and Zimbabwe, has the unfortunate legacy of skewed land ownership. It is therefore not accidental that access to land was a major incentive in the liberation struggle of these three countries. At independence (MLR, 2002:7) “white commercial farmers who comprised less than 2% of the total population owned some 45% of the total land area and 74% of the potentially arable land.” This remaining 26% of potentially arable land supports about 95% of the population.

The SWAPO government, on assuming power in 1990, expressed its commitment to transferring land to 'the landless majority' and agreed to a constitution in which the property of citizens could not be taken without just compensation (Adams, 2000). A national consultation on the land question, culminating in the National Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question, was held in Windhoek in June 1991. A significant development from this conference was the decision that restoration of ancestral land rights is not an option. The Conference highlighted the complex and competing claims for land ownership that could not be harmonised, hence, the decision that land would not be specifically returned or distributed to those directly affected by colonial land grabbing (Hunter, 2004:3). Some other important resolutions taken at that conference include (Geingob, 2000: 13¹):

- ***Injustice***: There was injustice concerning the acquisition of land in the past and something practicable must be done to rectify the situation;
- ***Foreign-owned farmland***: Foreigners should not be allowed to own farmland, but should be given the right to use and develop it on a leasehold basis in accordance with Namibia's 'open door' policy towards foreign investment;
- ***Absentee landlords***: land owned by absentee landlords should be expropriated, but that there should be a distinction between Namibian and foreign owners;

¹ Hage Geingob was the Prime-Minister of Namibia from independence in 1990 to 2002.)

- ***Farm size and numbers***: large farms and ownership of several farms by one owner should not be permitted and such land should be expropriated;
- ***Land tax***: There should be a land tax on commercial farmland to generate revenue for the state from the wealthier section of the farming community;
- ***Access to communal land***: Communal areas sustain the great majority of Namibian farmers, especially the poor subsistence farmers. Therefore, communal areas should be retained, developed and expanded where necessary.

A major feature of independent Namibia is the commitment of the SWAPO government to national reconciliation. This foreclosed the possibility of forceful seizure of land for the purposes of land redistribution. The SWAPO government, while still very committed to land redistribution to address the acute imbalance, chose to do so under the famous “willing seller willing buyer” principle. This type of reform relies on voluntary and negotiated transactions between willing buyers and sellers. To this end, the government over the period provided yearly, out of its lean resources, the sum of N\$20 million for land purchase. This amount was increased to N\$50 million in the 2003/04 fiscal year. Land acquired with this fund is used to resettle persons mostly referred to as the poorest of the poor. In addition to this measure, the government provides low-interest loans to emerging formerly disadvantaged farmers to purchase farms for their own use on the open market.

Land reform is generally accepted to mean the redistribution and/or confirmation of rights in land for the benefit of the poor (Adams, 2000). Land reform in Namibia adopts a three-pronged approach: redistribution, an Affirmative Action Loan Scheme and the development of the resettlement projects in communal areas (Hunter, 2004:3). The land reform debate focuses on the redistribution of commercial farms, which are mostly owned by whites, and on tenure reform in the communal areas (Adams, 2000).

Rights to land commonly exist under four categories:

1. State land, used for nature conservation, game parks and military bases;
2. Townland, where standard concepts of state, municipal and private ownership apply within proclaimed boundaries;

3. Commercial farmland, which consists of all freehold agricultural land; and
4. Communal land, which refers to all land used by indigenous Namibian communities. The constitution at independence transferred all ownership of communal lands previously vested in a governmental authority (including second-tier authorities) to the government of Namibia.

The land reform programme in Namibia is governed by a number of policies and legal frameworks. The legislation and policies that have an impact on land reform include:

- a) The Constitution of Namibia, which states that acquisition and ownership of property is a fundamental human right and that just compensation should be paid in case of expropriation of property. While the constitution contains no specific elements for land reform, the provision for just compensation has far-reaching implications for expropriation and forecloses the possibility of forceful seizure of land without compensation. Expropriation is therefore not likely to reduce the cost of purchase compared to land available through the “willing seller willing buyer principle.”
- b) The Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act of 1995 provides the legal framework for land reform in the commercial areas. It gives the government the right of first refusal whenever freehold agricultural land becomes available for purchase. It includes procedures for land assessment before acquisition, its subdivision after acquisition and the subsequent allocation to beneficiaries. A Lands Tribunal resolves disputes between government and seller. The Act restricts acquisition of farms by foreign nationals.
- c) The Communal Land Reform Act of 2002 deals with access to rural land in communal areas. It provides for customary land ownership and inheritance. The 99-year lease provided for by the Act has enhanced the chances of using such land as collateral for credit facilities. It provides for the establishment of Land Boards, which administer the allocation process.
- d) The National Land Policy (NLP) of 1998 provides the policy framework for land reform. It provides for equality of land rights, sustainable use of land and natural resources, a unitary land system, land taxation, expropriation of under-utilised land and rights of women to own land.
- e) The National Resettlement Policy (NRP) of 2001 has the overall objective of uplifting the living standard of all Namibians. Resettlement is envisaged to address the following:

- Poverty alleviation;
- self-sufficiency within five years;
- Access to land by redressing past imbalances;
- Employment through full-time farming;
- Integration of settlers into the market economy;
- Access to credit via documentation of secure tenure;
- Alleviate pressure of humans and livestock on communal land.

The policy identifies three categories of potential beneficiaries:

- i) People who have neither land, nor income nor livestock;
- ii) People who have neither land nor income, but have livestock;
- iii) People who have no land but have income or are cattle owners, but need land to settle on with their families, or to graze their livestock.

The policy also identifies five specific target groups, in order of priority (RoN, 2001:3-5):

- The San community;
- Ex-soldiers;
- Displaced, destitute and landless Namibians;
- People with a disability; and
- People from overcrowded communal areas

The linkage between resettlement objectives and land reform are not specified and the size of the target group defined (243 000) is so large that the actual accomplishment of resettlement to date is insignificant, given the budget and resource constraints. More realistic projections and alignments to land reform are urgently needed.

- f) The National Land Use Planning Policy (GFA Terra Systems, 2003:12) “contains a summary of relevant legislation and objectives of land use planning... contains little information on how land reform should be conducted in the communal or commercial area so as to optimise the use of land.” The purpose of the Land Use Planning Policy is to

- ✓ guide the formulation of rural land development plans to ensure optimum beneficial use of scarce and fragile natural resources; and
- ✓ prepare plans for specific land use options and to co-ordinate future land use planning in the country.

Given the potential conflicts that could arise between customary and leasehold claims in the communal area and subdivided land in the commercial area, the omission of clear guidelines on potential land uses is inimical to sustainability. An environment as fragile as Namibia's needs clearly defined and enforceable land use planning.

The availability of relevant policies and legislation is just one side of the coin. Tensions and constraints may arise during implementation. The implementation of the land reform programme has to overcome institutional tensions, environmental constraints and political and ethnic tensions.

Institutional Tensions

The passage of the communal land bill was delayed by, among other things, the failure to resolve questions over who should allocate land and for what purpose. The resettlement policy targets the landless or those with little or insufficient access to land and who are not in formal employment or engaged in non-agricultural business activities. These people are normally resettled on acquired commercial farms. The Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MAWRD), on the other hand, focuses on increasing productivity by assisting private farmers to improve technical efficiency and maximise profit (Adams, 2000). Government essential services are concentrated on the non-freehold or communal areas "where their socio-economic impact is likely to be greatest" (RoN, 1995b:9). This conflicts with the policy of settling landless poor on state-owned land, sustained by public services.

Environmental Constraints

Namibia can be divided into three main ecological zones, the Namib Desert (covering about one-fifth of the country and stretching along the South Atlantic coast), the central plateau (covering about half the total area of the country and rises from 3000 to 9000 feet above sea level) and the Kalahari desert (characterised by thick layers of terrestrial sand and limestone, with scanty

rainfall) make up the eastern side. Namibia has a very fragile ecosystem and so needs to be managed with extreme care. Fertile land is also scarce. According to Esterhuysen and Le Roux (in Breytenbach, 2004:47), fertile land comprises about 1% of the available land. The agro-ecological conditions are therefore not conducive for smaller holder farming, particularly not in the drier commercial areas. This has a significant implication for the land reform process.

Most agricultural land can only be used for animal grazing and browsing. “Annual rain-fed cropping is only possible in the northern and north-eastern parts of the communal areas and in the Otavi-Tsumeb-Gootfontein triangle (the so-called golden triangle),” (GFA terra Systems, 2003: 4).

Political and ethnic tensions

Political and ethnic tensions manifested themselves during the Land Conference and they have not completely abated. In Namibia there is what is known as the red line. This line defines the boundary between stock allowed for export and that not allowed for export. It is no coincidence that this line separates the communal areas from the commercial farming areas. The area north of this land historically belonged to the Owambo, the Kavango and the people of Caprivi, where no land alienation took place. Land south of this red line belonged historically to the Herero, Damara and Nama. This division manifested itself during the Land Conference as those south of the red line who were actually dispossessed of their land argued that land should be returned or redistributed in favour of those who were actually dispossessed of their land. The Herero have still not given up this demand. Their Chief, Chief Ruruako, has remained adamant that such land is to be returned to the Hereroes or that they should be compensated for the loss.

The challenges to Namibia’s land reform programmes are summarised in Adams (2000):

- Finding harmonious solutions in the context of the political and ethnic divisions inherited from the colonial and apartheid past;
- Devising solutions to land-use problems posed by the need to achieve land reform in a semi-arid pastoral environment;
- Overcoming the institutional tensions:

- obtaining agreement on land policy (economic production versus poverty alleviation) in the communal and commercial areas;
- deciding what should be the role of stakeholders (national, regional, traditional leaders, local users and occupiers); and
- deciding in whom land rights and decision making should be vested and who should enjoy the benefits.

1.2 RATIONALE

Land reform has remained one of the most provocative and emotive issues in Namibia. It has the potential to destabilise the political and economic stability currently enjoyed in Namibia. Tension is beginning to mount, especially among the restive unemployed and some militant trade unions. The government itself is beginning to express frustration with the snail's pace at which the "willing seller willing buyer" principle is proceeding. Namibia's former president, Sam Nujoma, threatened to encourage the landless in Namibia to do what the war veterans have done in Zimbabwe if white farmers continue to be unwilling to put productive land onto the market (Breytenbach, 2004:59). According to Sherbourne, (2004:1), "If land redistribution is defined as the transfer of commercial farmland from whites and foreigners to black Namibians, the available evidence suggests that present policies are leading to about 1% of commercial land being redistributed every year." At this rate, it will take another 40 years before half of Namibia's commercial land lies in black hands. This leisurely pace of change means that the "land question" is unlikely to be resolved any time soon and will continue to hold back national economic development by aggravating racial tension and creating uncertainty.

One of the trade unions attempted to invade 15 white-owned farms on 6 November 2003. Fortunately, the SWAPO government acted swiftly and decisively to abort such illegal actions. Sachikonye (2004) quoted a report that read "Namibia's ruling SWAPO party stopped a planned invasion of 15 white-owned farms by the farm workers' union yesterday by threatening to use the security forces to get them off the land. A five-member SWAPO delegation led by Vice-President Hifikepunye Pohamba met a delegation from the Namibian Farm Workers Union (NAFWU) and the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUWN) at the party headquarters in Windhoek and told them that any invasion would be met with force." While the current

government disposition favours controlled land distribution, some few years down the line land evasions could be used as a rallying point to mobilise political support, if SWAPO's hold on power is threatened. The need to speed up the land reform process is therefore becoming more urgent to avoid disrupting and reversing the little progress that has been made so far in land distribution.

Speeding up land redistribution, Sherbourne (2004:1) warns, should not entail throwing existing policies out of the window. The Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS), he asserts, has already led to more than three-and-a-half times more land being redistributed than has occurred under government purchases for resettlement, and he suggests greater use of market mechanisms within a clear overall framework in which all parties make a contribution. In the race against time, which is what land redistribution in Namibia represents, using a combination of alternatives will be worth exploring to avoid a reenactment of the Zimbabwean scenario in Namibia.

The current land reform process concentrates on redistributing commercially owned farms. A controlled and sustainable redistribution process could also displace more people than are resettled. The guideline put forward by the Land Advisory Commission envisages at least 1000 ha for one person in the central area and 3000 ha in the more arid south. This is in contrast to the currently situation, with 850 ha of freehold firmly supporting one farm worker (Werner, 2004:20). By solving one problem the government may therefore create another. A study of the consequences of existing policy dynamics is therefore necessary.

Namibia went to the polls in November 2004 and now has a new president, who assumed office on March 21 2005. This is therefore an appropriate time for a re-evaluation of the land reform programme, just when a new government is coming in. This process will include identifying the problems and bottlenecks, exploring options and suggesting alternatives and their consequences to the incoming government. Being a new government, it could be more receptive to suggested reforms in land reform policy and programmes.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEMS

Land reform as a topical issue predates Namibian independence. It was a key theme of the liberation struggle. The perception is widespread that, until land reform succeeds, the liberation struggle will continue. There is currently a crescendo in the call for speeding up the land reform programme, especially with the developments in the Zimbabwean land reform programme.

Land reform is a very complex phenomenon with multiple dimensions, including moral, historical, social, economic, environmental and technical aspects. Proponents of land reform emphasise different aspects depending on their interests. The process is therefore prone to conflict and could lead to instability with no winners but all losers. The land question in Namibia is also a race question. While some politicians and trade unionists have publicly tried to argue that land reform is important to boost the country's economy and reduce poverty, deep down most people know that the land question is about race: "black Namibians should own more of Namibia's commercial farmland. In reality everything else – agricultural output, the treatment of farm workers, poverty reduction, environmental sustainability – is very much secondary" (Sherbourne, 2004:1). This discrepancy between public pronouncements and actual motive may be responsible for the lack of clear objectives for the land reform policy. Assessing progress made in the land reform process is therefore difficult.

The Namibian environment is fragile both physically and demographically. Because Namibia is the driest country south of the Sahara, sustainable management of land is imperative. The land reform programme needs to be all-inclusive to accommodate divergent interests to avoid the unpleasant consequences evident in Zimbabwe. Finding ways of achieving a politically acceptable racial balance of commercial land ownership and sustainable utilisation of redistributed land within an acceptable period of time is essential.

The land reform policy never underwent the normal process of prior policy analysis. Although there was a land conference, the discussions were neither synthesised nor analysed.

The research problem could therefore be summarised as follows:

Which delivery mechanisms are most appropriate to meeting the land reform objectives and delivering the desired outcomes in a sustainable way?

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Land reform is a complex process and presents problems arising from its volatile, cyclical and politically sensitive nature. Its implementation should therefore be preceded by meticulous analysis. The objectives of the research are therefore to:

1. determine concrete objectives of the land reform;
2. identify and analyse the most feasible land reform strategies;
3. explore possible outputs, delineate their possible outcomes and rank them with respect to each evaluation criterion.

1.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

Public policy, according to Heywood (2002:400), is best understood as the linkage between intentions (what government says it will do), actions (what government actually does) and results (impact of action on government). The research design will be based on a policy analysis framework involving three steps. These steps are (Helms, 2002):

- Analysing the problem to determine what is wrong and why, and what needs to be achieved;
- Assessing and selecting options; and
- supporting and evaluating the policy choice. The research design will be a qualitative research project based on policy evaluation.

The model framework to be used is shown in Figure 1.

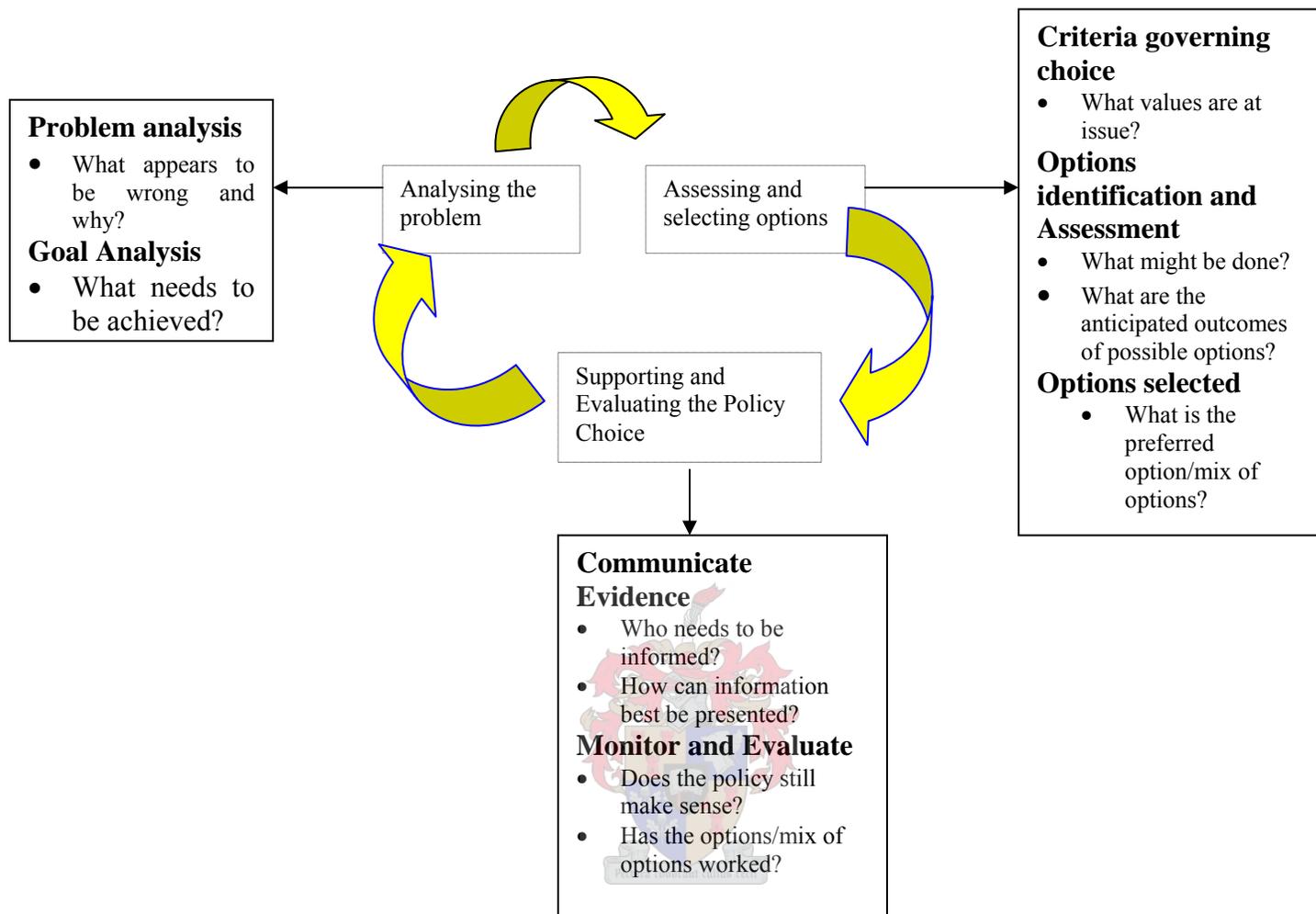


Figure 1: Research design model (Helm, 2002)

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY/METHODS

This study was based primarily on a documentary review augmented with interviews with the key stakeholders based on questionnaires. An assessment of policy options was conducted using decision-support systems in the form of PolicyMaker and VISA (Visual Interactive Sensitivity Analysis) software tools (Reich, 1996). Public policy analysis confronts at least three methodological problems, viz. complexity, uncertainty and effectuality (Nagel & Teasley, 1998:507). Complexity stems from the problems of multiple conflicting criteria and multidimensional measures required by the diverse criteria that are applicable. An effective policy analysis and assessment must be comprehensive enough to include a wide variety of

criteria. These criteria could involve financial costs (both direct and indirect costs), non-financial costs (e.g. time, environmental, opportunity, etc.) and benefits (poverty reduction, psychological satisfaction, political support). Analytical tools used in this case were documentary reviews of local and international literature and interviews. These tools were used to identify the problems, what could be done and the anticipated outcomes of possible options.

The identification of objectives and value preferences was based on existing reports and administration of questionnaire/interviews. The questionnaire was administered to officials of three selected groups, implementers, commercial farmers and potential beneficiaries.

1.7 OUTLINES OF CHAPTERS

This thesis consists of six chapters, and a reference and an appendix. Chapter 1, the introduction, gives the background to the study and indicates the rationale, the research problems, objectives, design and methodology. The theoretical framework and literature review are covered in Chapter 2. It gives an overview of policy analysis, international experiences and summaries of selected studies of Namibian land reform. Chapter 3 presents the data construction and modelling technique used in the study. The content and preliminary findings of the interview are also discussed here. This chapter concludes by giving a summary of the two decision-support systems used in the analysis and their respective applications. The comparison and analysis of the interview and modelling data form the subject of Chapter 4. Chapter 5 contains the summary and assessment of findings. This is followed by Chapter 6, which consists of the conclusions and recommendations.

1.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Namibia is characterised by a skewed ownership of commercial agricultural land. The SWAPO government, in fulfilment of its election promise held a national land conference in Windhoek in June 1991. This conference addressed several important issues, which include injustice in land acquisition, absentee landlords, farm size and numbers, land tax and access to communal land. Land reform has therefore remained in the front burner.

The land reform is governed by a number of policies and legislations. These include the Constitution of Namibia, Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, Communal Land Reform Act, National Land Policy and National Resettlement Policy.

Tension is beginning to mount and threats of land invasion becoming louder. The politicians and trade unions have variously expressed their frustration with the slow pace of land redistribution. The research problem is to determine the delivery mechanisms that are most appropriate to meeting the land reform objectives and sustainability delivering the desired outcomes.

This study was based primarily on a documentary review, augmented with interviews with the key stakeholders and based on questionnaires. An assessment of policy options was conducted using decision-support systems in the form of PolicyMaker and VISA. The identification of objectives and value preferences was based on existing reports and administration of questionnaire/interviews. The study commenced with an acquaintance with existing relevant literature.



CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This study drew on diverse approaches to public policy analysis and its application to land reform in Namibia. Land reform is a very emotive issue full of complexities. Discussion of the topic often comes from the heart rather than from the head. A mishandled land reform process in Namibia could have consequences worse than those that currently prevail in Zimbabwe. In addition to disastrous political and economic consequences, the environmental damage could be irreversible. Because Namibia is the most arid country in Southern Africa and has a very fragile ecology, land reform needs to be managed with extreme caution.

Land reform has historical, political, economic, social and cultural dimensions with a significant inherent value. The perceived success of the Namibian land reform policy has more to do with these inherent values than with anything that lends itself to quantitative analysis. According to Hunter (2004:4), “the Namibian debate on land is determined by two different lines of argumentation: equality and justice on the one hand and the productivity of the agricultural sector on the other. The implications of commercial land reform for socio-economic development of Namibia as a whole are believed to be minor ... the economic considerations turn out to be irrelevant in comparison with the psychological dimensions.” Land reform policy analysis should therefore take account of these inherent values. The analysis of land reform policy should therefore employ policy analysis techniques that accommodate the complexities inherent in the land reform programme. The PolicyMaker and VISA software tools are well suited for this task.

2.2 POLICY ANALYSIS

Dunn (1981:35) defines policy analysis as an “applied science discipline, which uses multiple methods of inquiry and argument to produce and transform policy-relevant information that may be utilized in political settings to resolve policy problems.” Nagel and Teasley (1998:507)

define public policy analysis as “the study of the nature, causes, and effects of alternative public policy choices ... It entails defining a set of goals, determining the alternative strategies in order to choose the alternative or a combination of alternatives that will best achieve common goals.” Fritschler and Wilson (1981:363) refer to studies that determine a given policy’s major characteristics as “policy determinants analysis” (PDA) and the technical procedures to assess the impact of public programmes as “policy consequences analysis” (PCA). This study leans more towards the second approach, the PCA, while not losing sight of policy determinants such as political, economic, historical and environmental factors. Advice on preferred policy options will be more effective if the consequences of each option are analysed and presented.

The works of Lerner and Lasswell show that most social problems cannot be separated from their political, economic, social and cultural environments (deLeon and Overman, 1998:476). Land reform policy can also not be isolated from all these factors. Policy analysis should also incorporate normative aspects. Lindblom and Amy (in: deLeon and Overman, 1998:480-481) had argued in favour of value free analysis. A value-free analysis of land reform policy will be wide off the mark. The perceived success of the Namibian land reform policy has more to do with inherent values than anything that lends itself to objective analysis.

Policy is not only the product of government, but reflects the influence of a range of actors. Each actor has his or her own goals, which are pursued in the policy-making process. Understanding these goals is essential in understanding what a particular policy aims to achieve and which actors or stakeholders do or do not benefit from a policy (Carnegie, Roos, Madolo, Moahloli and Abbot, 2004).

Behn (in: Bayat and Meyer, 1994:304) maintains that a good policy analyst must be able to:

- Identify the conflicting values that affect a policy option;
- Develop creative alternatives;
- Specify what uncertainties exist about the possible future or consequences of various policy actions;
- Develop outcome measures or appropriate surrogate measures so that actions can be evaluated and redesigned; and

- Build strategies for political adoption and organisational implementation.

Behn's list has omitted one important element, that is, identifying the policy problem. According to Dunn (1981:44), the provision of information about policy problems is the most critical task of policy analysis, since the way a problem is defined governs our ability to search out and identify appropriate solutions. He went on to suggest the following five types of policy-relevant information:

- A policy problem: an unrealised value, need or opportunity which, however identified, may be attained through public action;
- A policy alternative: a potentially available course of action that may contribute to the attainment of values and, hence, the resolution of a policy problem;
- A policy action: a move or a series of moves guided by a policy alternative that is designed to achieve valued outcomes;
- A policy outcome: an observed consequence of policy actions;
- Policy performance: the degree to which a given policy outcome contributes to the attainment of values.

There are several approaches to policy analysis, depending on the focus of the analysis. Some of these include policy content analysis, policy systems analysis, policy issue analysis, policy outcome analysis and policy value analysis (Cloete and Wissink, 2000:71). Policy issue analysis is more relevant in the context of this thesis and is briefly described below.

Policy issues can be classified in a hierarchy that reflects their complexity. The hierarchy of types is (Dunn, 1981:102):

- Major issues, such as questions of the nature and purpose of government departments;
- Secondary issues, such as the setting of target groups and beneficiaries, for example, land reform beneficiaries;
- Functional issues such as budgeting and procurement; and
- Minor issues, such as operational procedures and working conditions.

Public policies often require advance (*ex ante*) and subsequent (*ex post facto*) policy analysis. The *ex ante* analysis is usually carried out to justify a particular policy option. Policy advocacy is a usual candidate for policy issues analysis. This policy phase (Barrie, 1990:15) “uses a methodology of firstly a problem structuring phase, followed by defining alternative options for solving the policy problem, forecasting their effects and impacts on the community, and on this basis, selecting the most desirable option.” The *ex post facto* analysis, on the other hand (Cloete and Wissink, 2000:73) is “where policy analysts in the bureaucracy monitor the implementation of the policy and evaluate its impact on the proposed recipients of the service or benefit.”

2.2.1 Policy Design

Public policy analysis is the study of the nature, causes and effects of alternative public policy choices and entails defining a set of goals and determining the alternative strategies in order to choose the most applicable (Nagel and Teasley, 1998:59). Cloete (2003:15) identified two broad analytically distinct phases of public policy process. These are:

- **the design phase**, which consists of “policy issue review and awareness, issue structuring and prioritisation, as well as policy agenda setting, option generation and assessment, and culminating in decision-making on a preferred policy”; and
- **the implementation phase**, which transforms the design into reality.

The process of policy design assists in formulating precise objectives and evaluation criteria. This is made possible by the rigorous process of analysis and measurement of the possible cost during the identification of alternatives (Roux, 2000:119). The statement of objectives should include *inter alia* (Henry, 1989:186) an accurate understanding of the intended benefits, how many of those objectives are expected to be attained, identification of possible recipients that may be adversely affected and important qualitative features, and it should also account for multiple objectives that may conflict with each other or, conversely, be in support of one another. Analysing future policy is described as a treacherous business as it requires estimates of what will occur in the future, including both estimates of the expected future costs and future outcomes of each policy or programme option (World Bank, 1997:15). The analyst should, therefore, set out the policy problem in a way that separates the problems into discrete matters which can be addressed (Hughes, 2003:119). This takes the form of problem structuring.

Problem structuring “relies essentially on procedures of classification that permit the analyst to speculate about potential solutions for a problem” (Dunn, 1981:39). The methods that can be used include the development of ‘social indicators’ and various types of needs analysis, demand forecasts, technological forecasts, etc. (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984:7). An effective solution to a problem will depend on the correct diagnosis of the problems and the proper identification of the values espoused by the majority or those with enough muscle to derail the process.

Three major forms of policy analysis are distinguished by Dunn. These are (Dunn, 1981:51) prospective, retrospective and integrated analysis. The prospective policy analysis takes place more within the ambit of policy design, since it usually involves the collection and analysis of data with a view to highlighting the implications of different alternatives.

Policy design thus includes:

- Problem identification and agenda setting;
- Generation of alternatives;
- Analysis of alternatives based on chosen criteria;
- Prediction of consequences of each alternative; and
- Prioritisation of alternatives and identification of the preferred choice.

2.2.1.1 Problem identification and agenda setting

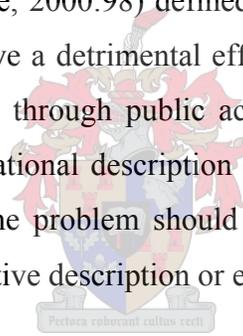
The policy maker is not only faced with multiple problems, but has to choose the most feasible solution to a problem. To arrive at the most feasible solution, a policy analyst needs to carry out a problem analysis. According to Parsons (1995:87), the genesis of a policy involves the recognition of a problem and what counts as a problem, and the way a problem is defined depends upon the way in which the policy makers seek to address an issue or an event. A problem analysis consists of problem orientation, problem delimitation and problem definition (CoastLearn) The problem orientation elucidates the problem and addresses *inter alia* the following (CoastLearn):

- the causes of the problem;
- the historic background;
- who put the problem on the agenda;
- what are the interests at stake (user functions);

- who are involved in the decision-making;
- which aspects are relevant; and
- what are possible (directions of) solutions.

Problem delimitation defines the boundaries of the problem. This helps to identify key stakeholders precisely. To define the problem adequately it is important that all relevant stakeholders are involved in the definition of goals, evaluation criteria and the standards to be achieved. This is very important in policy issues such as land reform, where values and beliefs may vary widely. Problem definition is partly driven by individual or group values and self-interest, hence the need to ascertain the way different stakeholders perceive a problem (Queensland Government, 2004).

Fox and Meyer (in: Meyer and Cloete, 2000:98) defined policy problems as “those needs and non-use of opportunities that may have a detrimental effect on at least one segment of society and may be constructively addressed through public action.” As the statement of the policy problem requires a detailed and operational description of the difference between the existing situation and the desired situation, the problem should be presented as concretely and in as much detail as possible using quantitative description or else qualitatively (CoastLearn).



During the problem definition causal linkages between policy issues that cause the problems which are detrimental to certain causes and stakeholders are established in order to structure the problem (a need, an opportunity, a challenge or a threat) (Meyer & Cloete, 2000:99). At the end of this process, the following questions must have been addressed (Project Citizen):

- ✓ Is the problem an important one to the community and why?
- ✓ What level of government or governmental agency is responsible for dealing with the problem?
- ✓ If a policy does exist, answer the following questions:
 - What are its advantages and disadvantages?
 - How might it be improved?
 - Does this policy need to be replaced? Why?
 - What disagreements, if any, exist about this policy?

The existence of a problem does not guarantee that it will receive attention. The problem must not only make it onto the agenda, but also rank high on the agenda. There are different factors that determine the inclusion and ranking of problems on the agenda. Some of these factors include (Meyer & Cloete, 2000:101-102):

- The problem has reached crisis proportions or poses a threat either to the society or the state and can no longer be ignored. Inequity in land ownership and limited access to land pose such a threat. Hence its high ranking in the policy agenda of government.
- The policy problem must achieve particularity. The land question is a peculiar and high-profile problem that no government can ignore.
- The policy items have emotive aspects, which attract media attention. No problem is as emotive as the land question in Namibia. The generally held perception among the majority that the liberation struggle was about land is indicative of the highly emotive nature of the land question.
- The issues must have a wide impact. The hunger for land is widespread among the majority of the population. Solving the problem could therefore have a wide impact.
- The issues raise questions about power relationships in society. Ownership of land has significant influence on power relationships. Those with resources, money and knowledge are likely to have more leverage and bargaining power as agenda setters.
- Some issues are fashionable for government to address. The land question is a fashionable problem in Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. It could be used to reverse the waning popularity of a government. The relationship between issues and agendas is illustrated by Janson (in: Meyer & Cloete, 2000:111) in the form of a funnel (Figure 2).

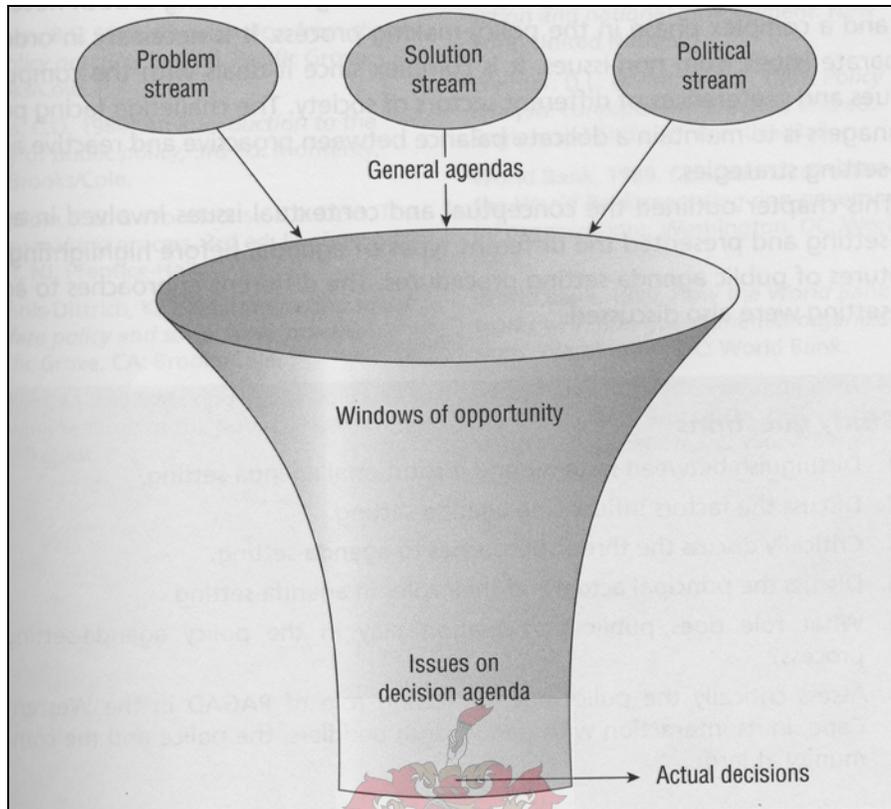


Figure 2: The agenda funnel (in: Meyer & Cloete, 2000: 111)

2.2.1.2 Generation, analysis and prioritisation of alternatives

Information gathered during the problem identification stage will be very useful in generating alternative solutions. By combining a consideration of the causes of the problems with the values, one is able to formulate alternative policies. “A policy alternative is a potentially available course of action that may contribute to the attainment of values and, hence, the resolution of a policy problem” (Dunn, 1981:45). This exercise can be daunting and costly since information is usually scanty and values can change with time.

The public policy process is a very complex process requiring the generation and processing of both qualitative and quantitative information. This complex character of public policy engenders the generation of several alternatives to solving a particular problem. There are many complexities and intricacies in selecting a preferred policy. Some of these problems are (CoastLearn):

- 1) Many problems in the public sector have multiple facets. Policies are designed with multiple goals or objectives. There may be no dominant objective, or several objectives may be in conflict.
- 2) There are multiple criteria to take into account - technical, economic, political and administrative, but who decides which is the most important?
- 3) Not all important considerations can be quantified, for example, in dollar values.
- 4) The difficulty in deciding on the proper criterion to use: greatest net present value? greatest internal rate of return? largest benefit-cost ratio?
- 5) There is often a lack of agreement beforehand on decision rules, or which rules to apply.
- 6) Even if each decision criterion is optimised separately, there may still be a sub-optimal choice at the end (a camel is a horse designed by a committee).

One thing that is constant in all governments is the limited funds available to government to pursue the ever-increasing demands of the society. Policymaking is therefore confronted with choosing from among competing social objectives, alternative ways of reaching the objectives, while giving full consideration to the principles of justice, equity and political reality (Henry, 1989:183). Governments are therefore required to make rational decisions in choosing between problems to tackle. The policies to be pursued should therefore be determined through a process that will, bearing cost in mind, maximise societal benefits. The process at this stage is what Henry (1989:194) refers to as front-end analysis, where evaluation research is conducted to determine the feasibility of a policy and its possible consequences. According to Henry (1989:194), it produces data for planning and later evaluation, and measures ongoing problems and the progress of programmes that have been conducted in the past. Strategic management envisages that managers in the public sector gather relevant information, synthesise them and extract appropriate information needed to predict the consequences of available options. Walter Williams (in Dunn, 1981:51) succinctly outlines this scenario when he defined prospective policy analysis as “a means of synthesizing information to draw from it policy alternatives and preferences stated in comparable, predicted quantitative and qualitative terms as a basis or guide for policy decisions...”

Prospective analysis will require establishing evaluation criteria early enough. The diverse criteria elicit diverse questions and values. Some popular criteria are suggested by Dunn (1981:343) and Nagel and Teasley (1998:65-81). A modified version of these criteria that reflect Namibian values is shown in Table 1.

TYPE OF CRITERION	QUESTIONS	ILLUSTRATIVE CRITERIA
Effectiveness	Is a valued outcome likely to be achieved?	Units of service
Efficiency	How much effort is likely to be required to achieve a valued outcome?	Unit cost, net benefits, cost-benefit ratio
Equity	How far does the option redistribute land from former White owners to Blacks and do more people have access to and ownership of land?	Demographic ownership
Responsiveness	Can policy outcomes satisfy the needs preferences or values of particular groups?	Consistency with citizen surveys
Appropriateness	Are desired outcomes (objectives) actually worthy or valuable?	Public programmes should be equitable as well as efficient
Political feasibility	Are policy directions politically expedient for the government?	Public programme should not damage the political credibility of politicians amongst their valued constituencies
Environmental friendliness	Will the implementation of the option damage the environment and how significant is this damage?	The fragile ecology of Namibia demands that very serious consideration be given to environmental factors
Resources	Will there be adequate resources to kick-start and sustain the programme?	Land reform is a long-term programme that will require significant deployment of resources over a long period
Economy	The contribution of the programme to the GDP and poverty reduction is crucial	The sustainability of land reform hinges on poverty reduction and contribution to economic growth

Table 1: Criteria for evaluation

Defining the problems properly and specifying evaluation criteria adequately should facilitate the development of viable alternatives. The development of alternatives calls for a combination of science and art that elicits qualitative and judgemental assessment. Parton and Sawicki (in: Hughes, 2003:120) suggest an approach to finding alternatives: “thinking hard may be the most

profitable way of finding alternatives, especially when time is short; alternatives may also be identified through research analysis and experiments, through brainstorming techniques, and by writing scenarios; indeed seemingly unconventional alternatives should not be overlooked”.

The next step is to evaluate each alternative using the appropriate technique. It is at this stage that alternatives are prioritised in terms of feasibility, net benefit, political correctness, sustainability and the like. Since more often than not the policy analyst does not take the decision, the alternatives should be accompanied by their pros and cons to enable the decision-makers to make informed decisions. This is very important in a situation as complex as the public sector, where there is no one correct answer and where a technically sound alternative may be a political hot potato. In evaluating alternatives Parton and Sawicki (in: Hughes, 2003:121) warn against employing the tool-box approach to avoid a scenario where all problems will look like nails when the only tool available is a hammer. The choices facing evaluators are illustrated in Table 2.

Evaluation design	Data collection	Data analysis	Getting evaluation information used
What are the evaluation consequences?	What are the primary data sources?	What analytical techniques are available (given the data)?	How should evaluation findings be packaged for different audiences?
What comparisons are needed?	How should data be collected?	What analytical tools would be most appropriate	Should specific recommendations accompany evaluation reports to encourage action?
What measurements are needed?	Is sampling required?	In what format would the data be most useful?	What mechanisms can be used to check on implementation of recommendations?

Table 2: Choices facing evaluators (Cloete & Wissink, 2000: 214)

Different methods exist for prioritising and selecting policy options. Three of the methods include cost benefit analysis (CBA), multicriteria analysis (MCA) and cost effectiveness analysis (CEA). The characteristics of these methods are (Niang-Diop & Bosch, 2005:194):

- CBA can handle optimisation and prioritisation, has heavy data requirements and judged by only one criterion;

- MCA is suitable when more criteria are thought to be relevant, and when quantification and valuation in monetary terms is not possible. MCA is normally used for the ranking of options. It is more subjective than CBA. MCA is recommended where the number of alternative options lies between three and eight, and the number of criteria does not exceed seven (Niag-Diop & Bosch:199);
- CEA is a method that falls somewhere between CBA and MCA. As is the case with MCA, CEA only produces a ranking.

Land reform lends itself to the multiple-criteria approach. The weighting is seldom objective and mostly guided by value judgements. More often than not, its benefits, quantification and valuation are not feasible. An MCA approach is employed in this thesis.

In predicting the consequences of each alternative, one should not restrict oneself to what is technically referred to as costs and benefits, or just to technical rationality. Technical rationality means that the objectives of a policy can be fulfilled, while practical rationality “addresses both the consequences resulting from a commitment to the values associated with legislative programme goals and the long-range consistency of those goals with social norms” (Smith, 2003:317). To Simon (in: Hogwood and Gunn, 1984:45) “rationality is concerned with the selection of preferred behaviour alternatives in terms of some system of values whereby the consequences of behaviour can be evaluated.”

2.3 INTERNATIONAL LESSONS

Land reform has been on the global agenda for decades. Political imperatives and historical antecedents have often influenced the direction of the reform programme. Land reform initiatives have for decades received the serious attention of various governments all over the world. It is considered an essential ingredient of economic and political development, hence the overwhelming support given in this regard to newly independent and emerging democracies by rich countries and international organisations. New land reform initiatives could, therefore, draw lessons from a wide range of experiences from all over the globe, while focusing on those countries that have similar characteristics and models.

Two distinct directions were identified by Adams (1995). These were (i) the revolutionary, characterised by drastic, planned, public intervention to redistribute land or (ii) the evolutionary (usually devoid of expropriation) aimed at improving access and security of tenure for small farmers under alternative forms of individual and communal tenure.

The Namibian land reform process could therefore benefit from international experiences. The experiences of selected countries with similar historical situations or who have applied similar models are explored with a view to deriving important lessons. Some Latin American and African countries have a history of dispossession of the native population by the colonisers, similar to the situation of Namibia.

Land Reform in Latin America

The commencement of agrarian reform in Latin America is linked to the Mexican revolution at the beginning of the twentieth century (Kay, 1998:9). Most of these reforms were preceded by social revolution, mass peasant invasions and were generally outcomes of political changes. The best known of the mobilised invasions is the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores sem Terra* (MST, Movement of the Landless Rural Workers) which by 1997 had benefited 139 000 families (Borras, 2002:37). “Guided by the slogan, occupy, resist and produce, the MST initiated a direct action model of land reform wherein landless peasants occupy an unproductive parcel of land, petition the Brazilian government for land rights and operate the settlement as a collective enterprise.” Those areas where peasant revolutions were strong tended to receive the most attention from agrarian reform agencies (Kay, 1998:15). There was a highly unequal land tenure system characterised by the displacement of rural indigenous populations to marginal areas, akin to what happened in southern Africa.

Objectives

The agrarian reforms were aimed at a variety of objectives. An important one was to improve agricultural growth. To this end only inefficient agricultural land was expropriated, while the successful and promising agricultural ventures were encouraged to expand. Another objective, equity, was seen to have both social and economic dimensions. Distribution of land to peasants

was used as a means of easing social tensions. It was also thought that a fairer distribution of land (income) would facilitate the import-substituting industrialisation process by widening the domestic market for industrial goods (Kay, 1998:16).

Implementation Models

Collective and cooperative forms of farming were popular options within the government circles (Cloete, 1992:251). It was for some time illegal to sell *ejido* land (*ejido* is a collective form of organisation). Production farms and state farms were the dominant farm organisations in Chile, Peru, Nicaragua and El Salvador. The dominance of this form of organisation was informed by the following (Cloete, 1992:251; Kay, 1998:18):

- Inherited agrarian structure. The government feared that subdividing existing plantations, *haciendas*, into peasant family farms would have adverse economic consequences such as a loss of economic scale and dwindling foreign exchange if peasants switch away from export crops;
- Subdivision could limit the number of beneficiaries and reproduce the problems of minifundia;
- The collective reform model will reduce the cost of subdivision and allow more direct government control over production and marketing;
- In socialist countries like Cuba, Allende's Chile and Sandinista's Nicaragua collective farming was underpinned by political ideology.

Operational mechanisms

The reform was either state-led or market-led. The most common forms of land acquisition were expropriation and the 'willing seller, willing buyer' principle promoted by the World Bank.

Expropriation: The state-led reform was mostly based on expropriation of land. In Bolivia and Cuba about four-fifths of the agricultural land was expropriated, while the figure for Mexico, Chile, Peru and Nicaragua stood at almost half (Kay, 1998:17). Laws were adopted to legalise expropriation with compensation. In Brazil the law allows for the expropriation only of unproductive land (Borras, 2002:37). Beneficiaries were expected to pay for the land over a period ranging from 10 to 30 years, an amount either equal to the compensation paid to the original owner or the real estate register value for public land (Cloete, 1992:251). There has been less inclination towards expropriation in many countries. Chile and Paraguay are examples of

countries where “the systems of general expropriation of land were largely abolished and replaced with systems encouraging individual and family ownership as well as taxes on land and agricultural potential to induce owners of large tracts of land and underutilised land to sell some of their land voluntarily” (Cloete, 1992:252). Brazil, according to Borras (2002:38), has been looking for alternative approaches to complement or even replace expropriation, which has proved to be politically contentious and financially demanding.

Kay (1998:28) predicts that the shift from state-led interventionist agrarian reform programmes to market-oriented land policies would mean a move away from expropriation to “progressive land tax, land settlement and financing mechanisms, land markets, registration, titling and secure property rights.”

The market-led reform was based on the ‘willing seller, willing buyer’ principle, which was promoted by the World Bank and pilot-tested in Brazil (Borras, 2002:33). Under this pilot scheme willing sellers received 100% spot cash and only those who explicitly demanded land and only those lands identified by them were covered in the reform (Borras, 2002:38). Participation was limited to individuals with human capital, previous savings and relevant knowledge. They were required to group themselves into organisations (collectives).

In this process farm plans are prepared before land purchase as no land would be purchased unless willing buyers are able to present viable farm plans that emphasise diversified commercial farming (Borras, 2002:40). There is no prohibition of land sales and rentals by beneficiaries, unlike the practice under the state-led process. Exit options are provided for in the form of exit packages such as exit bonuses, training for other careers, alternative employment and pension schemes (*ibid.*). Each beneficiary is given a fixed sum of money to invest. Whatever portion is spent on land purchase will be repaid in full at prevailing market rates, while the portion left after land purchase is considered a grant not to be repaid. This approach is intended to prevent land-beneficiary connivance in distorting the price of land, as beneficiaries are likely to opt for the best bargain (Borras, 2002:41).

Some of the key findings after five years of implementation are (Borras, 2002:42-46):

- **Willing seller, willing buyer principle:** Neither large landlords nor owners of productive lands sold land through the pilot process. Most land made available was situated in remote and sparsely populated areas with poor infrastructure.
- **Collectivism:** The associations formed were found not to represent the interest of their membership, but are manipulated by government officials and other interest groups. Many of the members preferred individual farming, but were prevented from doing so.
- **Pace and cost:** The land purchase process proved faster than the state-led process (less than five months to complete the process), but contrary to expectations the average land price per hectare was slightly higher than under the state-led reform.

The private extension workers under this scheme concentrated more on purchase negotiations, leaving the beneficiaries to rely once more on government extension workers. The marginal character of the land purchased and the fact that beneficiaries had to settle in unknown territory escalated the cost, leading to quick depletion of the grants.

Impacts

Socio-Political Impact

The reform contributed immensely to institution building in the countryside as the government facilitated the organisation of the peasantry into trade unions and cooperatives of various kinds (Kay, 1998:23). The reverse side of the coin was that the now better-organised peasants carried out a series of strikes and land seizures that ignited social tensions between them and the landlords. There were also conflicts between the reform beneficiaries and peasant communities, resulting sometimes in invasions. Notwithstanding these minor irritations, Kay (1998:24), asserts that in a longer-term perspective agrarian reforms have promoted social stability and assisted the cause of democratisation.

Agricultural Impact

The impact of the reform on agricultural production has been mixed. In Mexico a marked increase was achieved, while Bolivia, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Peru experienced declines in agricultural output. However, Kay (1998:20) pointed to research on Mexico that showed that farms within the *ejido* reform sector are as productive as farms of equivalent size in the private sector and that the most dynamic sector in Mexican agriculture is that of private middle-sized and large-scale farmers. In Chile the results fluctuated.

Income distribution, employment and poverty

There were limited gains in income distribution with greater redistributive effect witnessed where more land is expropriated and distributed to a larger proportion of the rural population (Kay, 1998:21). The redistributive effect was higher in countries with complementary social policies, such as Cuba, where health and education policies targeted the rural poor.

The net gain in employment was modest, with males gaining more. In some reform enterprises the decline of capital and input led to retrenchments.

Brazil witnessed improvements in the standard of living of beneficiaries in the government-sponsored settlements (Borras, 2002:37). Although the standard of living for the direct beneficiaries improved generally, the effect of the reform on poverty alleviation was marginal.

The less than expected impacts of agrarian reform in some countries were attributed to internal conflicts between government-appointed managers and beneficiaries, inadequate resources and technical training for beneficiaries, and the preference for cheap-food policy. Reformed enterprises experienced land invasions by highland peasants. In Nicaragua insecurity of tenure inhibited investment by private farmers and encouraged large-scale slaughter of livestock by farmers fearful of being expropriated. Tenant workers and wage workers who benefited from the reform sometimes continued previous landlord practices and renting out pastures or other reformed sector resources.

Land Reform in East Asia

Land reform in South East Asia was part of the restructuring that followed World War II. Reforms in East Asia have been described as comprehensive, creating a class of independent property-owning peasants and alleviating poverty and landlessness (Adams, 1995). The Japanese reform model which was introduced at the end of World War II at the insistence of the Allied occupation army was attempted in other countries like Taiwan, South Korea and South

Vietnam (Encyclopaedia Britannica Online). The experiences of the Philippines, India and China are summarised below.

The Philippines

The Philippines, like other south Asian countries, have a common thrust to land reform that includes attempts at “providing greater tenurial rights to share-croppers, imposing a ceiling on land ownership and distributing surplus lands among the landless and poor peasants,” (International Land Coalition, 1998). The agrarian reform was implemented amidst a social reform process that had been an arena of struggle for farmers and peasants for a number of decades (IBRD, 2004). The reform was not limited to land distribution, but included support services such as credit, infrastructure, agricultural extension and marketing and strengthening of the farmers associations and institutions (*ibid*).

The comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law of 1998 covers all private lands and public lands devoted to or suitable for agriculture and limits the amount of agricultural farm to be owned by one family. The implementation involved a number of steps, which included land acquisition through voluntary sale or compulsory acquisition, valuation of land and payments to owners, selection of beneficiaries, distribution of the land and issuance of land titles. Some important provisions of the legislation are (IBRD, 2004):

- Qualified beneficiaries: lands are to be distributed to landless residents of the same village or municipality in the following order of priority – agricultural lessees and share tenants; regular farm workers; seasonal farm workers; other farm workers; actual tillers or occupants of public lands; collective and cooperatives of beneficiaries and others directly working on the land;
- Compensation: in determining the value for compensation the following are factored in: cost of acquisition of the land, current value of like properties, its nature, actual use and income, the sworn valuation by the owner, the tax declarations and the assessment made by government assessors;

- Payment by beneficiaries: beneficiaries should pay for the cost of land in 30 annual amortisations at 6 percent per annum. Payment for the first three to five years may be reduced and should not exceed 5 percent of the value of the annual gross production;
- Support services: beneficiaries are to be provided with support services such as land surveys and titling; liberalised terms on credit facilities and production loans; extension services by way of planting, cropping, production and post-harvest technology transfer, as well as marketing and management assistance; relevant infrastructure research and input facilities.

The governments of Japan and the Philippines co-funded a project known as Agrarian Reform Infrastructure Support Project (ARISP). This project specified various objectives with verifiable targets. The distinct features of this project are the following (IBRD, 2004):

- ❖ As a right-based programme, the basic right to ownership of land and other resources was first assured before any intervention is made;
- ❖ It reinforced the strategy of focusing scarce resources in specific communities to maximise impact;
- ❖ Interventions were comprehensive and integrated;
- ❖ The beneficiaries' participation was encouraged in all the facets of the support;
- ❖ It encouraged inclusiveness by making serious attempts to involve all stakeholders both within and outside government;
- ❖ It is both process and result oriented. While it encouraged community and institutional development, it still insisted on achieving concrete outputs and tangible results.

This project lasted for six years. An evaluation that compared ARISP reform projects and non-ARISP projects reported the following findings (IBRD, 2004):

- a) ARISP increased agricultural productivity in the target agrarian reform communities. For example, rice productivity in the ARISP areas had higher average yield per hectare than the non-ARISP areas;
- b) The ARISP projects had higher mean marketable surplus for rice compared to the non-ARISP sites;
- c) The average household incomes in ARISP areas were higher than their non-ARISP counterparts.

India

The British colonial government changed India's traditional land ownership structure to ease acquisition of land at low prices by British entrepreneurs for mines, plantations, etc. (LRAN, 2003). At independence, India inherited a semi-feudal agrarian system where "ownership and control of land was highly concentrated in a few landlords and intermediaries whose main intention was to extract maximum rent, either in cash or kind from tenants" (LRAN, 2003). In 1947 80 per cent of agricultural land in India was owned by absentee landlords (Cloete, 1992:250). The Indian land reform consisted of (Cloete, 1992:250; Land Reform Division: 76) abolition of *zamindari* and all intermediary landlords, introduction of family ceilings, consolidation of land holdings, computerisation of land records, prevention of alienation and restoration of alienated tribal land, compensation of owners for excess land and sale of excess land to tenants. Under the Indian Constitution land reform is the responsibility of individual states, with the national government providing broad policy guidelines and playing mainly advisory, coordinating and monitoring roles (Chatterjee, 2002:21). Compensation for land in most states was comprised of a mixture of cash and bonds, and allows for negotiated period and interest rates (Cloete, 1992:250).

The impact of land reform in India varies from state to state. The operation Barga in Marxist-ruled West Bengal was adjudged successful, while results from other states were less than complimentary. For example, tenancy reforms were blocked in states where the legislature is controlled by the landlord class. The implementation of land ceiling legislation also suffered the same fate and "ambivalence in the formulation of policy and numerous loopholes allowed the bulk of landowners to avoid expropriation" (Besley and Burgess, 2000:394). In essence, the laws for the abolition of intermediary tenures were implemented fairly efficiently, while those for tenancy reforms and ceilings on holdings fell short of expectations.

China

China's land reform is mainly ideologically driven and aimed at creating social equity by focussing on land use rights. China's land reform can be divided into three phases. The first was the radical farmland revolution in the early 1950s incorporating expropriation without compensation and redistribution to peasants (Cloete, 1992:250). The second involved collectivisation in the mid-1950s that compelled individual farmers to join collectives (Chen, 1999a). The third phase was the introduction of a family-based contract system known as the household responsibility system that gave farmers freedom of land use rights and decision making, linking rewards closely to their performance (*ibid.*). According to Chen (1999a), this system proved successful as it dramatically revived agricultural output that had stagnated for over 30 years.

Pingdu, a county-level city, introduced a system referred to as the two-land system, which made an attempt to marry social equity with greater economic efficiency (Chen, 1999b). Under this system the total cultivated land is divided into two parts: food land for family consumption, and contract land for commercial farming. The Pingdu experiment was adjudged a huge success, leading to its adoption nationally as a "popular form of agrarian institutional innovation" (*ibid.*). Other interesting elements of the Chinese land reform are the shareholding cooperative system and the valuation method employed in this system.

The farmland shareholding cooperative system was initiated in Nanhai in Guangdong Province and involved the distribution of land shares to individual farmers, enabling them to share dividends and promote their ideas as shareholders. The valuation of the farmland consisted of three methods (Chen, 1999b): "one based on the prices paid by government for land conversion; one based on the net incomes of land after deducting input costs; and a mixture of the first two methods."

These models, in spite of their initial popularity, have failed to realise their full potential. The implementation of the two-land systems slowed down considerably due mainly to the difficulty in sustaining efficiency with fragmented and very small-sized farms. Property rights remained

unclear and lacked transferability, leading to farmers overexploiting the soil for short-term returns (Chen, 1999a).

Land Reform in Africa

Land in pre-colonial Africa was mainly held under customary land tenure. Colonialism changed this pattern with more significant changes in South Africa, Zimbabwe (former Southern Rhodesia) and Namibia (former South West Africa). The last decade has witnessed increasing drives by African states (more than twenty states) to restructure the legal dynamics of land rights and land use (Alden, 2003:4). The reform movements were triggered by different imperatives. Where inequity in land access and historical dispossession prevailed (as in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe) tenure reforms were implemented with significant dosages of redistribution and restitution. Countries like Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Ghana were propelled mainly by the desire to bring more efficient order to the system (Alden, 2003:4).

South Africa

The land question retains a powerful symbolic and material charge in South Africa due mainly to the long history of dispossession and continuing widespread rural poverty and inequality (Cousins, 2000:1). At independence South Africa “inherited an agrarian structure, commercial farming areas: 60 000 mostly white commercial farmers and a large agribusiness sector employing about a million farm workers and accounting for 4% GDP in primary production and communal areas hosting a third of South Africans crowded onto 13% of the land where agricultural output does not feature in national accounts” (Hall, 2005). The national Land Policy was preceded by the ANC’s Reconstruction and Development Programme policy framework (1994), Land Policy Framework Document (1995) and Green Paper (1996) (Alden, 2003:7). The land reform programme was oriented towards “redistribution to landless poor, labour tenants, farm workers, and emerging farmers for residential and productive use; restitution to restore land to those who lost land since 1913 through racially-discriminatory laws; tenure reform to remove insecurity and overlapping and disputed rights” (Alden, 2003:10). The

inclusion of tenure rights for farm workers is a significant development in the South African land reform initiative.

The land distribution policy is based on the willing buyers; willing seller principle moderated by the state and has the following important elements (Hall, 2005):

- ❖ Demand driven, in that initiative rests with the beneficiaries to identify land and approach the state for assistance;
- ❖ Distribution of grants, settlement and land acquisition grants (SLAG) of R16 000 per household (means tested) and land redistribution for agricultural development (LRAD) which offers a sliding scale of from R20 000 to R100 000 per individual not means tested, for agricultural land only.

However, “questions are being asked whether the focus should change to a class of small, medium and large-scale black commercial farmers” (Cousins, 2000:1). The land reform programme is based on a tripod - land restitution, redistribution and tenure reform - and has witnessed a tension between issues of production and equity, rights and historical redress (Cousins, 2000:2). The restitution process progressed better than the other two sub-programmes.

The policy approach has relied mainly on “the operation of the free market, without recourse to nationalisation, expropriation or other restrictions on land ownership” (Hall, 2005). The target of transferring 30% of agricultural land by 1999 through a market-led programme has not materialised as only 1% of land was transferred as at the year 2000 (Hall, 2005).

Land reform implementation in South Africa is inhibited by factors such as weak political commitment of the ANC government, budgetary and capacity constraints, improper integration and coordination within the government at large, delayed legislative proposals on tenure reform in the former homeland and lack of decentralisation of decision making within the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) to accommodate the diversity of conditions across the country (Cousins, 2000:3).

By the year 2000 a new policy direction was announced emphasising a supply-led approach, the continued desegregation of the diverse needs of different groups of beneficiaries and the

integration of land reform into the government's rural development programme (Cousins, 2000: 4).

Mozambique

In the 1960s land in Mozambique was comprised of “a patchwork of large foreign estates, smaller Portuguese commercial enterprises and many thousands of small farms adhering to African customary practices of land management and use” (Tanner, 2001:5). At independence all land resources were nationalised, with local farmers still denied access to land and had either to move to more marginal land areas or stay as workers for the new state enterprises (Tanner, 2001:6). However, by the late 1990s serious efforts were made to protect peasant farmers' right to land. “The promulgation of the 1997 Reform Land Law marked a major symbolic breakthrough in protecting the rights of the so-called ‘family sector’ by granting legal recognition to informal or customary land rights and introducing mandatory consultation with right-holders prior to changes in land allocation” (PLAAS, 2001).

The state farms could not survive for long and with their collapse came private capitalist interests akin to a de facto replication of the pre-independence situation. The small farmers did not formerly own the land they cultivated or used, and therefore could not rent or lease it and cannot use it as collateral or a capital stake for other transactions.

The shift to a market economy created its own challenges. Private sector interests acquired rights to large tracts of land from the state at very low cost to the detriment of local producers. The land reform initiatives were meant to address this problem, among other problems. The land policy and law are to provide “small farmers for the first time with the possibility of using their land and other natural resources to generate new capital and income in collaboration with outside interests” (Tanner, 2001:6).

Programme Methodology

A micro-programme approach in which the FAO team delineated key steps that could be realised in ten years consisted of “policy development; legislative reform; institutional strengthening and capacity building; implementation in practice; feedback and refinements”

(Tanner, 2001:8). The well-articulated approach and the success in the first year ensured wide-range support initiatives from a number of donors. Some of these donors included the FAO, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), the government of the Netherlands and the Lutheran World Federation. This approach helped to generate robust debate and consensus over key issues that are very important in land matters. The implementation strategy involved three steps (Tanner, 2001:10):

- Identify and protect existing rights acquired by the locals through customary and historical forms of occupation;
- Involve local people in the management of land resources and in the allocation of land resources to investors;
- Through a wide-ranging programme of education and technical support promote partnerships and agreements between the locals and investors;
- Through capacity building and institutional support hundreds of people from government departments and NGOs working on rural development and land issues have been trained and are implementing the land policy and law countrywide.

Consistent and regular technical assistants

The same core group of technical assistants was used over the entire six-year period. In addition to building a strong technical team that is familiar with the nuances of the programme, a strong and constructive relationship with a wide range of national counterparts was established. The consistent and regular technical assistance also helped to create a sustainable national capacity to analyse and deal with land issues and engendered a strong sense of ownership of the whole process.

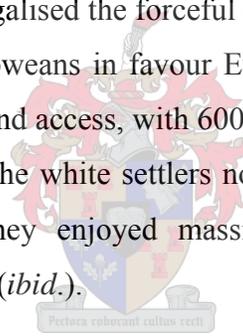
In spite of the significant progress made in the land reform programme, a few but important challenges remained.

- Many politicians and public officials responsible for implementing the new policy and law have little knowledge of the document's content. The result is that the enthusiasm of the technical team is not shared by their management and political leaders.

- The Land Commission, in spite of its good reputation for its coordinating role and capacity to promote dialogue, has no real authority to direct and coordinate the implementation of the land policy and law. The work of the Land Commission demonstrated vividly that land reform is a socio-economic and juridical issue that transcends boundaries of multiple agencies and interests.
- Delays and uneven implementation are encouraging corruption and disregard for procedures.

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has been in the news mainly because its controversial land reform policies. The skewed land ownership and access to land in Zimbabwe have their origin in the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, which legalised the forceful expropriation without compensation of land belonging to indigenous Zimbabweans in favour European settlers. By 1980 there was a visible racial split in land ownership and access, with 6000 white farmers owning approximately 42% of the country (Lebert, 2003). The white settlers not only had the pick of the land in the best agro-ecological regions, but they enjoyed massive subsidies from the state in the development of the farming economy (*ibid.*).



The commitment of the liberation movements to radical and swift land reform was constrained by the Lancaster agreement. The agreement, inter alia, compelled the incoming government to implement land reform only on a willing buyer, willing seller basis, not to carry out mass expropriate of land, but it could expropriate for public and resettlement purposes, in which case a market-related compensation would be paid in foreign currency. These restrictions were to last for 10 years (Lebert, 2003).

These terms constrained any significant agrarian transformation and set the tone of land reform carried out between 1981 and 1996. This period operated essentially on the market-based approach and relied on the willingness of sellers to make land available. Some key issues thrown up by this approach were (*ibid.*):

- ❖ the amount, quality, location and cost of land were driven by landowners;

- ❖ the land market was distorted in terms of pricing and location as determined by the government's broader settlement planning framework; and
- ❖ Over 70% of lands acquired for resettlement through the market were agro-ecologically marginal and located in the drier, more climatically erratic regions.

A number of remedial laws were passed to address these issues. The 1986 Acquisition Act provided the government with, among other things, the right of first refusal for any land that comes to the market and expropriation of underutilised or derelict land. In 1992 amendments were made to the Constitution and the Land Acquisition Act to allow government to “employ non-market solutions in the acquisition of land for resettlement and land valuation procedures to replace the 'willing-buyer-willing-seller' provision in determining purchase price; limits on the number of farms owned, on farm size, on absentee landlords and on foreign ownership; and for 'designated' areas for land acquisition and resettlement” (Adams, 1995). Following the rejection of a new constitution in February 2000, “a modified Land Acquisition Act was promulgated in April 2000 to effect land designation and compulsory acquisition without compensation” (Kinsey, 2004:1669).

These amendments were followed by the radical fast-track land reform programme or *jambanja*, which increased the amount of land to be redistributed from 5 million hectares to 11 million, while the number of beneficiaries increased from 160 000 to 300 000 under the A1 model (Sachikonye, 2003:33). Approximately 3.4 million hectares of land were acquired between 1980 and 1997 compared to 11 million hectares acquired between 2000 and 2002. Although there was a remarkable increase in the number of farms acquired, the physical dislocation, economic distortions and conflict generated in the course of the fast-track programme have called into question the wisdom of this approach. Besides, the increase in land acquired did not translate into increased production. According to Sachikonye (2003:41), agricultural output declined substantially during 2001-2002, with tobacco production dropping from 236 million kg in 2000 to 165 million kg in 2002. A large number of farms acquired under the fast-track programme were for model A2 settlement. By August 2002 only about 30 000 beneficiaries had been settled on 2 million hectares, leading the Minister of Lands to issue a warning that those who failed to confirm their willingness to engage in agricultural activities by 23 August 2002 risked forfeiting

their land (Sachikonye, 2003:42). Just recently (1 November, 2005) the Deputy Minister for Agriculture in Zimbabwe strongly criticised black farmers who benefited from the controversial land reform for being responsible for the serious food crisis being experienced in Zimbabwe (Nampa/APF 2005). The Deputy Minister was quoted as saying “we have a few people that are really not committed to production while many others are doing nothing on the farms ... the problem is that we gave land to people lacking the passion for farming and this is why every year production has been declining” (*ibid.*).

Resettlement Models

Zimbabwe applied four resettlement models. The characteristics of the four models are outlined below (Lebert, 2003).

Model A involves intensive settlement on an individual family basis. Beneficiaries receive cropping land of 10 to 65 hectares as well as access to communal grazing land of about 55 hectares. Tenure rights comprised three annual permits: one for settlement, one for cultivation and one for grazing.

Model B incorporates village settlement with cooperative farming. This model was designed to take over existing large commercial farms. Credit could be accessed by the cooperatives and income shared between individual families or allocated for farm development. Many of these cooperatives folded soon after they were set up.

Model C involved the intensive resettlement of beneficiaries around a core estate. The estate is managed by a professional farm manager, the estate provided settlers with certain services in return for labour. Cropping land was allocated on an individual basis, with settlers also having grazing rights that are managed communally.

Model D is for commercial grazing of communal areas. This model, aimed at relieving grazing pressure on communal lands, targeted commercial ranches next to communal land. Livestock purchased from neighbouring trust areas were allowed to fatten on the ranch before being sold.

Lessons for Namibia

Namibia could learn a lot of lessons from the experiences discussed above. Land reforms were generally the outcome of political changes and were usually initiated to redress historical inequalities. The other driving forces were economic and social. Redistribution of land was used as a means of diffusing social tensions. Agricultural productivity, improvement in gross national income and poverty reduction were other factors that gave impetus to land reform.

The situation in Namibia is similar. There is a skewed distribution of agricultural land arising from historical dispossession and the apartheid legacy. Income inequality is high and poses a serious danger to political stability. The need for aggressive land reform, implemented consistently and fairly, is very compelling. The implementation could be guided by the diverse experiences discussed above. Some of these experiences are related to tenure reforms, beneficiary selection, implementation mechanisms and operations within the market economy.

Market-based approach

The market-based approach, which hinges on the willing buyer willing seller principle, has been a source of intense debate in Namibia. Highly placed SWAPO officials have expressed frustration with this approach and are calling for accelerated expropriation. The commercial farmers union, on the other hand, is insisting that expropriation should be used very sparingly. Experiences from elsewhere could help direct this argument more fruitfully. If used fairly, transparently and judiciously expropriation could help address land hunger in a way that is equitable and economically viable. The state-led reform in most Latin American countries was based on expropriation. These expropriations were selective in targeting only unproductive land. Countries like Chile and Paraguay abolished expropriation in favour of measures like progressive taxation on land and agricultural potential to induce more land into the market. Expropriation could be used to target specific lands for specific purposes. One major limitation of the willing buyer willing seller principle is the quality of the land that becomes available. This limitation was reported in all the regions. Most land made available was marginal and situated in remote and sparsely populated areas with poor infrastructure.

Considering the financial and economic status of most potential beneficiaries, it is important that they are settled on land that does not require disproportionate capital. Relying solely on the willing buyer willing seller approach will not only limit the government options of resettlement models, but could also affect the success rate of beneficiaries. According to De Villiers (2003), relying on the market forces of the willing buyer willing seller as sole mechanism for land reform will limit the ability of new farmers to succeed and reduce the number of persons who could benefit, as in most cases only marginal land is put up for sale. In Zimbabwe over 70% of land acquired through the market was agro-ecologically marginal (Lebert, 2003).

The Zimbabwean experience has also shown that expropriation should be applied with a lot of caution. The fast-track programme, which relied mainly on expropriation, has caused serious damage to the economy and productivity. Expropriation and market-led land acquisition should therefore be balanced in such a way as to minimize economic and political disruption, while enhancing equity and productivity.

Land valuation and cost of land are also important components of market-led reform. In most of the countries discussed land values have not been left solely to the vagaries of the market. The approach in the Philippines, where the value of compensation factored in the cost of acquisition of the land, current value of like properties, its nature, actual use and income, the sworn valuation by the owner, the tax declarations and the assessment made by government assessors, could be of interest to Namibia. Namibia could also benefit from the experiment of paying compensation in cash and bonds, and possibly spreading the payments over a period. This could release more money for the support services and infrastructure development. It is also possible to use this approach to induce voluntary sales. Those owners that voluntarily offer their land for sale could be paid in fewer instalments or even outright, while compensation for those who wait for expropriation would be spread over a few years.

Implementation process

The government, in virtually all the cases discussed above, determined the course of land reform. The political will was always an element in the successes recorded and, where not much progress was made, lack of political will was cited as a contributing factor. The successes of the

reforms in Japan, South Korea and South Vietnam were attributed to a strong political will (Adams, 1995). This trend also manifested itself in India, where land reforms in West Bengal succeeded, while those in other areas where politicians were ambivalent were less successful (Besley and Burgess, 2004:394). The laissez-faire approach of the ANC government to land reform is widely blamed for the slow pace of reform and severe difficulties faced by beneficiaries (Hall, 2005). In Brazil the social movement MST, whose slogan was *occupy, resist and produce*, was essentially a consequence of the non-aggressive land policies of the Brazilian government (Teofilo and Garcia, 2003).

It is also important that the government consistently maintains the impetus on land reform as opposed to intermittent or reactive actions. A period of inaction might derail the process to such an extent that gathering momentum once more may be difficult or even lead to renewed resistance. Zimbabwe is a case in point. The swift implementation of the land reform in the mid-1980s ebbed in the early 1990s. The fast-track approach aimed at regaining lost ground has been counter-productive, leading to a loss of the gains made in the 1980s and to catastrophic economic consequences. With political commitment come appropriate legislation and other support mechanisms.

Adequate legislation and appropriate support systems feature prominently in those land reforms that showed promise. Legislation that allowed government to intervene in a transparent and democratic manner was usually enacted. An important area addressed by most of the countries was tenure security. The inclusion of tenure rights for farm dwellers in South Africa is recognised as a significant step in stemming instability in the rural areas (Hall, 2005). Interventions in the infrastructure support project in the Philippines were predicated on a basic right of ownership (IBRD, 2003). Land reforms that did not ensure adequate security failed to achieve their full potential. The success of the land reform in Guangdong province in China was limited due mainly to unclear property rights and non-transferability, leading farmers to over-exploit the land for short-term gains (Chen, 1999a). Insecurity of tenure is touted as a contributing factor to the dwindling agricultural production in Zimbabwe. Roth (2003) has drawn attention to the fast-track beneficiaries who live in a tenure void and those with deeds registration, the durability of which has been cast in doubt by compulsory acquisition and fast-

track occupation. In Karnataka, in southern India, survey results suggested that confirmed land rights led to higher productivity (Chatterjee, 2002). The importance of security of tenure is encapsulated in the words of Henry George (Harrison, 1980):

“... give a man security that he may reap and he will sow. ... Assure a man of the possession of a house he wants to build and he will build it. These are the natural rewards of labor. It is for the sake of reaping that men sow; it is for the sake of possessing houses that men build.”

Another important condition for successful land reform is adequate support services and capacity building. The reforms in Latin America included support services such as credit, infrastructure, agricultural extension and marketing, and strengthening of the farmers associations and institutions (IBRD, 2004). To be successful, beneficiaries should be provided with “extensive basic training in personal value system changes, personal and community development skills and agricultural, financial, technical, marketing and management support services...” (Cloete, 1992:256).

Land reforms have been implemented under different models. Two distinct models of resettlement are of interest here, the collectives or cooperatives and the private. The collectives, although popular with governments, proved less successful than the private ownerships. Considering human nature, this is not surprising. In Latin America collectives were informed by political ideology (e.g. Cuba, Chile and Nicaragua), the need to reduce costs and enhance government control and to maintain economic scale. In China the family-based contract system was more successful than the collective system and was credited with dramatically reviving agricultural output, which had stagnated for over 30 years (Chen, 1999a). In Zimbabwe most of the cooperatives set up under the model B resettlement system collapsed (Lebert, 2003). The initial success of the Zimbabwean land reform programme was associated with model A, which is based on individual families.

Beneficiary selection

There is need to develop criteria to use for the selection of beneficiaries. This will help transparency and also ensure that each model has beneficiaries who could succeed and contribute meaningfully to the economy. Land redistribution could be more challenging when it also includes resettlement, as is the case in Namibia. This is unlike most experiences in Asia, where it involved the transfer of ownership to tenants who were already farming on their land and had the requisite skills and knowledge (Brinkman, 1998:14). Evidence has shown that farmers who are married and under 45 years of age, have larger families, are better educated, and who have farming experience and skills are more likely to be successful as settlers (*ibid.*). Namibia has a preponderance of marginal land and so the need for strict selection criteria cannot be over-emphasised.

In conclusion, international experiences highlight the need for political commitment, tenure security, preference for individual ownership, appropriate support services and careful beneficiary selection as essential ingredients of a successful land reform programme.



2.4 LAND REFORM IN NAMIBIA

There have been very few analyses of the Namibian land reform policy, unlike Zimbabwe's. De Villiers (2003:32) refers to Namibia as one of the most under-researched countries in the world. This limited research on land reform policy may be because the implementation has mainly relied on the 'willing seller, willing buyer' principle, which does not generate much conflict. The few analyses that exist cover a limited area of the land reform policy. Land reform is like the proverbial elephant being described by a group of blind men. Each blind man describes the elephant on the basis of the part which he feels. Analysts of the land reform policy concentrate on areas that interest them. These interests are not value free. In spite of these limitations, it is still important that an integrated and comprehensive analysis be carried out now to prevent an untoward explosion of the situation. An integrated analysis should include the following:

- Problem analysis: what appears to be wrong and why?

- Goal analysis: what needs to be achieved?
- Criteria governing choice: what values are at issue?
- Options identification and assessment: what might be done and what are the anticipated outcomes of possible options?
- Options recommended: what is the preferred option/mix of options?

Sherbourne (2004), from the Namibian Institute for Public Policy Research, analysed the land reform in terms of two approaches, market oriented versus bureaucracy oriented. These approaches are the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) and the National Resettlement Policy (NRP), respectively. He saw these two approaches as contradictory, one based on clear property rights and individual choice, responsibility and incentives, and the other on less clear property rights and greater bureaucratic allocation and support. The analysis commenced with a comparison of the cost and performance of the two approaches. He provided a sound analysis of the two options by comparing the budgeted and actual expenditure on AALS and NRP, and the outputs from the actual expenditures for the two options from 1996/97 – 2003/2004. The analysis includes a chart showing the cumulative effect of the two policies on the total amount of land in black hands and the commercial land market turnover for the two options. His analysis indicates that the government is redistributing about 1% of commercial farm land a year and that AALS is resulting in more than three-and-a-half times more land being transferred than NRP at a far lower cost. He concluded by suggesting issues to be clarified and made some valuable recommendations.

This analysis did not, however, give sufficient attention to the values inherent in the agitation for land reform. It concentrated on the economics of the two options. It also did not give any indication of the outcomes of any of the options. He nevertheless acknowledged the need to investigate what had happened to the land that has been redistributed. He attributed this gap in his analysis to the dearth of data on the performance of either AALS recipients or NRP resettlement projects. Problem and goal analysis received little attention. There was no mention on the role or effect of farm workers in either of the two options.

The place of farm workers in the land reform policies often receives little or no mention in land reform discussions and debates. Wolfgang Werner (2004) has made a valuable contribution in this regard. He gave a brief overview of the Namibian agricultural sector and workers conditions of service within that sector. As far as the agricultural sector is concerned, being the largest employer of labour, Werner argues for the integration of farm workers into a wider developmental process. He went on to suggest models to accommodate farm workers and ensure that they continue to contribute to the growth of GDP. Werner's paper limited itself to farm workers' place in the land reform process and did not address the wider issues. The plight of farm workers who were evicted from farms targeted for the resettlement was raised by Sachikonye (2004:74). This problem, he claimed, reached a crescendo in November 2003 when the Namibia farm workers union threatened to invade 15 white-owned farmers. The issue of farm workers was also mentioned by Mudge (2004: 102) in his criticism of the implementation of the land reform policy, when he asserted that "at present more than 200 000 persons are accommodated on commercial farms in Namibia ... What will happen to farm workers presently employed on commercial farms if the Ministry or Agricbank customers buy them?" Mudge dwelt more on criticising the implementation framework. The selection of potential beneficiaries and the need to balance equity with productivity was highlighted. His question as to whether the Ministry "wants the best developed and most productive farms to be used to settle farmers with no hope of success and destined for life-long poverty,"(Mudge, 2004:102) while provocative, is helpful in selecting beneficiaries, especially if economics has any role to play in the land reform framework.

The sharp divide and emotive quality of the land reform issue is illustrated by the contrasting emphasis given in the analyses by the different authors. Mr Mudge, a white commercial farmer, in his analysis emphasised the need not to disrupt productivity (opponents may interpret this to mean maintaining the status quo), while Mr Kaumbi, an "indigenous" Namibian, emphasises the need to attain equity and the immorality of maintaining the status quo. Using a domestic animal census and the quantum of land available to non-commercial farmers, Kaumbi (2004:92-93) illustrates the glaring inequity that currently exists in land ownership. He even went on to suggest a further redistribution of 60% of the current commercial farming holdings, which he calculates will cost about N\$573 million. According to him, this implies that the current annual

allocation of N\$50 million for the purchase of resettlement farms will have to be increased almost four-fold over the next ten years. He did not give any indication, however, on how this money can be provided. He suggested the use of a statutory valuation roll every two years to determine realistic market values for land in addition to the translation of quantitative analysis similar to the one used in his paper into a matrix analysis to determine the interplay of all other factors, such as productivity, agro-ecology, and surveying and conveyancing costs. The main thrust of his analysis remains tied to the emotional values associated with land reform, notwithstanding the final recommendation. His analysis is narrow and does not elucidate the wider picture.

The emotive nature of land reform is further illustrated by Adams and Werner (In: Horsthemke, 2004:87), who state that the land question in Namibia and elsewhere is “highly emotive and, hence, resembles a political labyrinth.” Horsthemke identified the context of Namibian land reform policy and postulates what needs to be achieved. He saw land reform in Namibia as a potential concept between opportunity and opportunism, and went on to define the two concepts. He discussed the relevance of the various forms of opportunity and opportunism to the land reform process and suggested how to deal with them. In particular, he discussed political opportunity versus political opportunism, and market opportunity versus market opportunism. Horsthemke’s analysis is very useful in demonstrating how positive aspects can be turned into negative ones. It is a good resource for policy makers to acquaint themselves with the potential pitfalls. Like the analysis of previous authors, this one is limited to a few areas of interest. Policy options were neither evaluated nor suggested. The social aspect received no mention.

The social impact of land report was briefly discussed in Sachikonye (2004:73-74). He illustrated the slow pace of the land reform programme and pointed out the consequences of a lack of criteria for settler selection. The paper also looked at the sustainability of the programme with respect to the capacity of the beneficiaries, water supply, tenure security and the non-linkage of land reform to a poverty-reduction strategy approved by the government in 1998. Sachikonye’s paper focused on the comparison of the land reform programmes in Zimbabwe and Namibia, and not on the analysis of Namibian land reform policies – hence, the limited scope of the analysis.

A similar comparative analysis was undertaken by De Villiers (2003), but in greater detail. This paper gave a detailed insight into the context of Namibian land reform policies. It is a good resource for those who want to develop a sense of the genesis of the land reform policies. The slow pace of resettlement and the sustainability of the model were discussed in relation to the cost of resettlement. The limitations of the ‘willing buyer, willing seller’ principle were highlighted, as was the place of a cost benefit analysis in the choice of a given model. Issues such as the lack of social infrastructure (schools, health facilities) provision of adequate training and services and limited resources as they affect the pace of land reform were discussed. The issue of limited resources, according to De Villiers (2003:40), is complicated by the fact that Namibia would be competing with South Africa for donor assistance. Of the different authors considered, De Villiers was the only one who drew attention to a potential stumbling block in the expropriation of land belonging to absentee landlords, as this relates to the German population. In fact, this 1993 protection of investment agreement between the German and Namibian governments is presently stalling the progress of the expropriation of farms that gained impetus after the last SWAPO congress. The paper concludes by giving some suggestions on alternative models. This paper has very valuable information that could be used as a basis for improved analysis of the Namibian land reform policies. The argument for the “use, development and expansion of communal land” (De Villiers, 2003:41) seems to have foreclosed other options. The paper did not include analysis of alternatives.

The contribution of Hansohm (2002:7) highlighted the multifaceted dimensions of land reform, including moral, historic, social, macro-economic, fiscal, agronomic, environmental and technical aspects. His contribution, however, takes an economic perspective, although he recognised that other perspectives are equally important. Based on international experiences, he gave a list of what a comprehensive reform programme must include. This paper, while limited in its scope, points to other directions that need to be explored in conducting a broader analysis of land reform policies.

Mr Jan de Wet, the president of the Namibian Agricultural Union also dwelt more on the economic perspective. He argued for the development of an estimated 8 million hectares of

unutilised land, especially in the communal areas. De Wet (2002:2-4) argued for a proper land use plan, sustainable development and a comprehensive, all-inclusive approach to land reform. He debunked the perceptions that land has become too expensive and that good land is not being offered. On the slow pace of land redistribution, he used the NDP2 estimate to dismiss this notion, since according to him the objectives of the NDP2 to acquire 360 000 hectares of commercial farmland by 2006 had already been met (de Wet, 2002:4). He suggested that resettlement should be based on principles of economic sustainability and resource sustainability, and went further to expand on how these could be achieved. De Wet highlighted some important points that are often ignored in the emotive debate on land reform. Any comprehensive consideration of land reform cannot ignore the points raised in this paper. His paper, however, hardly mentioned issues of equity and norms, except in passing.

The President of the National Union of Namibian Workers, Mr Risto Kapenda, was interested in redistributing land in a 'just and equitable' manner. Using the statistics of land ownership, Kapenda (2002:6) canvasses for land redistribution as a means of ensuring justice and reducing unemployment. He dismissed the concept of 'willing buyer, willing seller' and instead advocates expropriation. To Kapenda, the government "should not crown a thief by keeping on purchasing the biggest stolen asset ever in Namibian history" (Kapenda, 2002:6). His paper is an example of the emotions in the land reform debate. Any land reform policy must find a way of dealing with such emotions and not just dismiss them for lack of economic or sustainability value. The paper, however, is very limited in scope within the broader context of land reform analysis.

Werner's working paper (2001) on land reform and poverty alleviation discussed land reform in a broader context, while still focusing on poverty alleviation. This paper gave considerable attention to the development of thinking on land reform and the development of land reform models prior to independence. It referred to progress on land redistribution since 1990 and discussed extensively some of the problems experienced. These problems included capacity within the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement and the beneficiaries, flawed tenure systems, unclear settler selection criteria, the dependency syndrome and lack of collaboration by relevant government organs. In discussing options for assistance, he highlighted the existing weaknesses

and made some valuable suggestions worth considering. He made a case for sustainability. Although this paper focused on poverty, it is a very good source for coming to grips with some of the underlying thinking and problems in implementing land reform programmes in Namibia.

2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Policy analysis is defined as the study of the nature, causes, and effects of alternative public policy choices, and entails defining a set of goals and determining the alternative strategies that would result in desirable outcomes. Public policies require both advance and post policy analysis. This is essential in the policy design and implementation phase. The policy maker does not only identify the multiple problems to be addressed by the policy but must choose the most feasible solutions to a problem.

Governments are required to make rationale decisions after considering all possible alternatives. This is done by gathering all the information, synthesising them, and extracting appropriate information needed to predict consequences of available options. The three popular methods of prioritising and selecting policy options are cost benefit analysis, multicriteria analysis and cost effectiveness analysis. An MCA approach is preferred in this case. In formulating the policy on land reform, experiences internationally would be very valuable in preventing avoidable pitfalls. Land reform has been on the global agenda for decades and is often influenced by political imperatives and historical antecedents. Two distinct directions identified from international experiences are revolutionary, characterised by drastic, planned, public intervention to redistribute land or evolutionary, aimed at improving access and security of tenure for landowners.

The land reform in Latin America was usually preceded by social revolution, mass peasant invasions and was generally outcomes of political changes. The reform was either state-led or market-led. Expropriation featured prominently in most of the interventions although they became less popular as the implementation progressed. This approach is being replaced by

market –led land policies characterised by progressive land tax, land markets, registration, titling and secure property rights.

Land reform in East Asia was part of the restructuring that followed World War II. Reforms in East Asia have been described as comprehensive, creating a class of independent property-owning peasants and alleviating poverty. A major highlight of the reform programme in East Asia is the means of compensation that comprised a mixture of cash and bonds, and which allows for negotiated period of repayment and interest rates. Ideology and the creation of social equity were also major driving forces especially in China.

In Africa, the land reform movements were triggered by inequity in land access, tenure reforms and efficiency in the land market. The land distribution policy, especially in southern Africa was initially based on the “willing buyer, willing seller” principle with a threat of expropriation as a last resort. Zimbabwe, however, is the only country that has carried out the threat of expropriation without compensation.

Land reform in Namibia is based on three approaches, resettlement, affirmative action loan scheme and development of communal areas. Land redistribution is mainly based on the “willing buyer willing seller” principle but complimented with expropriation with fair compensation. The few literature that exist on Namibian land reform illustrates the emotive nature of land reform and the often contradictory expectations from the different groups. The majority of the landless are more interested in equity while the commercial farmers emphasise the economics of it. One author even described the land reform in Namibia s a potential concept between opportunity and opportunism.

This thesis benefited from deductions made from this chapter. The lessons from this chapter contributed significantly to the recommendations. For example, the proponents of “willing buyer willing seller” principle and those for expropriation have always promoted each approach as a panacea for a successful land reform. Experiences from the different countries showed that none of these approaches alone can address the problems adequately. The effect of land redistribution on poverty alleviation was also shown to be marginal thereby debunking the generally held

notion that land redistribution is a veritable instrument for poverty alleviation. Recommendations on beneficiary selection, resettlement models and modes of compensation benefited immensely from the international experiences.

The literature review on the Namibian land reform programme highlighted the gaps that could be filled in this thesis. It also helped to identify the prevailing values, potential obstacles and opportunities to be addressed in the land reform analysis. The theoretical framework provided the basis for the research design and methodology employed in this thesis. The structure of the data construction and modelling used in this thesis was informed by the ideas generated from the existing literature.



CHAPTER 3: DATA CONSTRUCTION AND MODELLING

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Land reform, as an emotive topic requires extensive consultation to minimise conflict. In doing this, care should be taken to identify key stakeholders in order to solicit their views and also address their concerns. It is, however, often difficult to get across a sizeable number of interested persons, hence the need for sampling. Another issue of importance is whether to use questionnaires or conduct individual interviews. A combination of questionnaires and interviews was used in this paper.

Land reform is always controversial and full of uncertainties. There are major uncertainties about potential costs, benefits and consequences of certain courses of action. A decision support system that facilitates analyses, assessment and linkage of different policy problems, resources, objectives, benefits, risks and outcomes would be very helpful in improving the quality and outcomes of managerial decisions.



3.2 QUESTIONNAIRES/INTERVIEWS

Questionnaires and interviews were directed to select key stakeholders. It was important that only persons competent to answer the questions were included in the potential respondents. The persons selected are those conversant with the policy formulation and implementation and are primary stakeholders. The questionnaires were combined with a review of both published and unpublished materials. The data collection was done to help confirm or refine the objectives from the perspective of the key stakeholders in addition to identifying information gaps.

A stratified sampling technique was used. This method is used when the population is heterogeneous rather than homogeneous and one wants to obtain a representative sample across many population attributes (Air University, 1996: 20). “A stratified random sample is defined as a combination of independent samples selected in proper proportions from homogeneous groups within heterogeneous population. The procedure calls for the categorising of the heterogeneous population into groups that are homogeneous in themselves” (Air University,

1996:20-21). A stratified random sample is superior to a simple random sample and yields less variation within the sample but improper stratification could lead to serious error; hence, it requires a detailed knowledge of the distribution of attributes or characteristics of interest in the population to determine the homogeneous groups that lie within it (Air University, 1996:22).

Three distinct groups were identified as important stakeholders. These were the formulation and implementation group, the commercial farmers and the emerging farmers who are likely to form the bulk of the beneficiaries of the land redistribution process. A stratified sampling technique requires that the group sample size should be proportional to its population. In other words, the larger the group the larger the number sampled. This will mean that the group of emerging farmers should have the preponderant number of respondents. This was not the case in this study, as the three groups had the same number of respondents. But considering that most of the members of the implementing group fall within what is generally referred to as “formerly disadvantaged”, as do the emerging farmers, the proportionality, nevertheless, could be argued to have been maintained.

The questionnaire was administered to a total of twelve persons, four from each group. The questionnaires were administered at a workshop on land reform to which representatives of all the stakeholders were invited. The questionnaire design required that respondents should be conversant with the existing policy documents and have been following the trends in the policy implementation – hence, the limited size of the sample. For the implementing agencies, key management staff directly involved in the implementation was interviewed. To be selected among the management staff the person must have been in the Ministry for at least five years and should be involved with the land reform policy development and implementation. Of the four persons interviewed, three had been with the Ministry since its inception in 1991: the Director of Land reform, the Director of Resettlement and the Director of Land Board Tenure and Advice. The fourth person was the Permanent Secretary, who has been with the Ministry for seven years.

The Executive secretary of the NAU and three other commercial farmers make up the group representing the commercial farmers. One of them is the head of the NAU research unit and has

published and presented papers on Namibian land reform. The other two were randomly selected among the delegates to the workshop on land reform.

For the emerging farmers the NNFU President and three members of the Communal Land Board representing the major ethnic groups were identified. One of them is a Land Commissioner and member of the Land Advisory Commission. The Land Advisory Commission is the national body that advises the Minister of Lands on land purchases, including expropriation, resettlement issues and land reform in general. The third person is the Secretary of the regional Land Board representing the tribe (Hereroes) that suffered most in the colonial land dispossession. The fourth person, a Nama, is also from a tribe that suffered dispossession and represents those tribes that come from the South of Namibia.

The questionnaires/interviews were used to fill gaps and help determine applicable weights to be used for the criteria evaluation. Personal interviews help to obtain in-depth and comprehensive information, although they can be very expensive because of the one-to-one nature of the interview (StatPac Inc., 2005). Interviews were limited to respondents living in Windhoek. Questionnaires are better suited to gathering subjective measures such as values and expectations. The questionnaire used consisted of both qualitative and quantitative questions. Questionnaires are valuable tools in the following circumstances:

- **When resources and money are limited.** In this case, in addition to limited resources, the time available was also very limited;
- **When it is necessary to protect the privacy of the participant.** The land reform policy is very emotive and emotional. What people say publicly may not reflect their true feeling. Protection of privacy is therefore very necessary to elicit honest opinions. The covering letter to the questionnaire emphasized that the privacy of the respondents will be protected;
- **When corroborating other findings.** The various government documents and some studies have information, albeit fussy on most of the information being sought by the questionnaire. The questionnaire helped to corroborate or make clearer the information (Gatech, 1997).

The questionnaire consisted of twelve qualitative open-ended questions and two quantitative questions in the form of tables to be completed. The open-ended question gave the respondents

the latitude to answer in their own words rather than being restricted to certain views that may not faithfully represent their views. They could, however, increase the level of ambiguity, making analysis difficult.

The questionnaire can be divided into three sections: goals/values, implementation techniques and options.

Goals and values: Question 1 addresses the issue of goal definition and criteria for measuring success. To be able to select the option to meet the desired outcome, the goal (s) and appropriate evaluation criteria need to be clearly defined. The measure of success and goals are interlinked with the inherent values prevailing at a particular point in time. Question 2 is designed to elicit the overriding values in the land reform policy. Question 4 is related to question 2, but focuses on the elimination or confirmation of restitution as a value important in the Namibian land reform policy. The place of economic and equity values in land reform are explored in questions 10 and 11 respectively. Commercial farm workers are directly affected by the redistribution of commercial farmlands. The dangers in displacing more people than are resettled are explored in question 12.

Findings: The goals of land reform include correcting the skewed ownership of commercial farmland to reflect the demography of Namibia, to alleviate poverty and to achieve social and economic equity for all citizens. The programme should be sociologically, economically and environmentally sustainable. All the respondents agreed that restitution will be difficult to implement in the Namibian context. There is also agreement that contribution to the economy and the need to consider farm workers in the resettlement process are important.

Implementation: The selection of beneficiaries is important in addressing the long-term benefit of the land reform. To sustainably deliver the desired outcome, beneficiaries should meet certain criteria. Question 3 addresses the criteria to be used in selecting the beneficiaries. The redistribution of commercial farmland will depend on the availability of land, made available either through the 'willing buyer, willing seller' principle or by expropriation. The feasibility and appropriateness of these two approaches to the land reform implementation is the focus of question 6. The importance of the redistribution of commercial farms in the land reform process

is evaluated through question. The seeming institutional conflict in the implementation process is explored in question 9.

Findings: The criteria for identifying potential beneficiaries should include the landless, those with farming experience, and those with a disability, gender balance, strong communal farmers, age and aptitude for rural farming. While acknowledging the challenges of expropriation, there is a general agreement that it is an option to be exploited. The need for transparent criteria was acknowledged. One of the groups, however, still believed that negotiated acquisition of land has still not yet been fully exploited. There are differences in the groups as to where the emphasis should be between redistribution of commercial farmland and the development of communal areas. Two of the groups believed that most of the resources should be directed towards the redistribution of the commercial farm land, while one group believed more could be achieved through the development of communal areas.

Selection of options: The implementation strategies currently depend on three options: resettlement, affirmative action loan scheme and development of communal areas. Question 5 specifically solicits views on the place of under-utilised communal land in the land reform process, while question 7, in addition to requesting for the ranking of the options from one to three, requests the respondents' views on each of the options. The use of VISA in evaluating and selecting the most effective and viable option requires weighting that reflects the values of the stakeholders. Questions 13 and 14 are designed to provide the weighting to be used in the VISA application.

Findings: There is some polarisation of views with respect to ranking of the options. Two of the groups once again suggest a focus on the resettlement option, followed by AALS and then DCA, while one group considered resettlement to trail behind the other two options. The weights determined from the questionnaire are given in Tables 4 and 5.

Information gathered at this stage will need to be structured and further analysed. This will involve synthesising the information in order to draw from it policy options and preferences determined in a transparent and unbiased manner. Decision support systems like VISA and PolicyMaker are useful in this regard.

3.3.1 DECISION SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF ALTERNATIVE OPTIONS

- A decision support system (DSS) “can be conceptualised as a specialised analytical planning-support system intended to improve the quality and outcomes of managerial decisions by facilitating more systematic and accurate identification, analyses, assessment and linkages of different policy problems, resources, objectives, solutions, costs, benefits, risks, probabilities, priorities, processes, outputs and outcomes” (Cloete, 2003:29). A computer-aided decision DSS consists of “ four components:
- (i) Database management capabilities with access to internal and external data, information and knowledge;
- (ii) Modelling functions accessed by a model management system;
- (iii) A powerful yet simple user interface design that enables interactive queries, reporting, and graphing functions; and
- (iv) A decision-maker’s own insights” (Khorshid, 2004:2).

They work by using models and algorithms from disciplines such as decision analysis, mathematical programming and optimisation, stochastic modelling, simulation and logic modelling. They can execute, interpret, visualise and interactively analyse these models over multiple scenarios (Bhargava, Sridhar, & Herrick, 1999). The conceptual model of a DSS is shown in Figure 3.

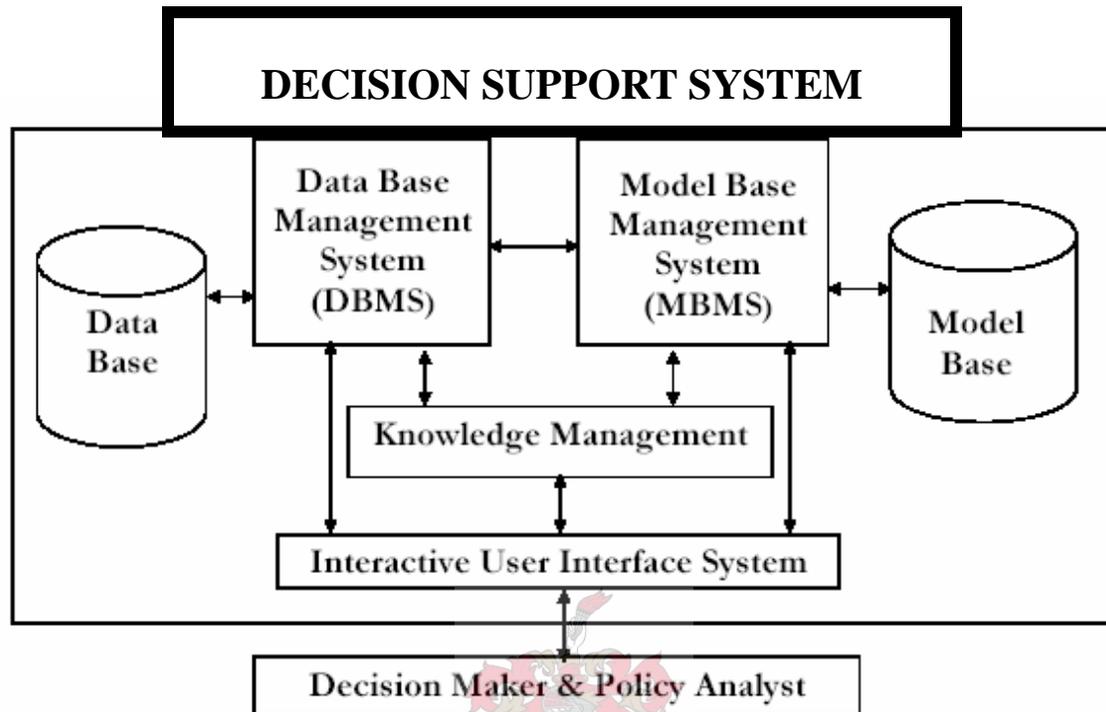


Figure 3: Model of a Decision Support System ((Khorshid, 2004:9)

Policy making involves a lot of uncertainties and alternatives in reaching a goal or goals. Policy makers seldom have all the data needed to take an informed decision. This absence of crucial information is compounded by major uncertainties about the potential costs, benefits and risks involved in certain courses of action. Sensitivity analysis in the form of “what if” and goal seeking are often the bread and butter of policy design. A decision support system, in order to deal with uncertainties and imprecise information, should have the following characteristics (Burger, 1996:250):

- It must be able to deal adequately with non-monetary, qualitative and uncertain information;
- It must be able to include the specific time pattern of effects and deal with a combination of short-term and irreversible effects;
- It must be able to include the spatial patterns of the effects in the decision;
- It must be transparent to formal and informal participants in the decision process, available to all formal participants, provide adequate presentation of results and make tradeoffs explicit.

Using a DSS, one can build models that make predictions based on a set of assumptions. Questions on the likely cost or the reaction of certain beneficiaries could be answered using a DSS. While the what-if analyses attempt to check the impact of a change in the assumptions (input data) on the proposed solution, goal-seeking analysis attempts to find the value of the inputs necessary to achieve a desired level of output (Turban *et al.*, 2002:448).

3.3.1 VISA (Visual Interactive Sensitivity Analysis)

VISA is a multi-criteria decision analysis package that can be used to compare alternative strategies or options. It facilitates modelling and analysis in a way that is both visual and interactive, leading to improved understanding, better communication and consequently better considered decisions (SIMUL8 Corporation, 2005). The imperatives of good governance demand that resources are allocated optimally and fairly. Decision makers can be confident enough to set priorities if provided with a systematic and explicit approach to priority setting “which is fair and, where possible, evidence based” (Mitton, & Donaldson, 2004). The main features of VISA include (Tsvetinov & Hazelhurst):

- ✓ Draw / change the criteria hierarchy on screen using a mouse;
- ✓ No limit on the size or complexity of the criteria hierarchy or the number of options;
- ✓ Interactive input of weights and scores using bar;
- ✓ View criteria weights / option scores / option profiles at multiple levels of the hierarchy at the same time;
- ✓ Dragging with a mouse to make changes to weights or scores;
- ✓ Immediately see the effects of any changes on all current displays, at all levels of the hierarchy;
- ✓ Sensitivity graphs show the effect on options of changing the weight of a selected criterion;
- ✓ Efficiency plots display the performance of all options on two selected; [is this clear enough?]
- ✓ Non-linear relationships between measured scores and values;
- ✓ The ability to create snapshots of the model, enabling one to rapidly explore and return to several different scenarios;
- ✓ A facility to save customised screen layouts.

VISA is well structured to emulate the policy design phase of option evaluation and choice. A typical MCDA framework has three key determinants of the structure (Mabin *et al.*, 2001), the “purpose of the model; the alternatives being compared); and the criteria by which they are compared.” The purpose here is to evaluate the three land reform alternative options, resettlement, affirmative action loan scheme and development of the communal areas. The criteria could be ranked and depicted in a hierarchy. For example, feasibility, sustainability and performance are the main criteria for evaluating the viability of the different land reform options. Each of these can be broken down to sub-criteria. A sub-criterion can also be broken down further, so that in terms of hierarchy we have grandparents, parents and child. Using the model in Figure 4 below, performance is the grandparent having given birth to the children’s economic performance, equity, effectiveness and efficiency. Equity in turn gave birth to poorest persons and blacks, while economic performance gave birth to poverty reduction and contribution to GDP.

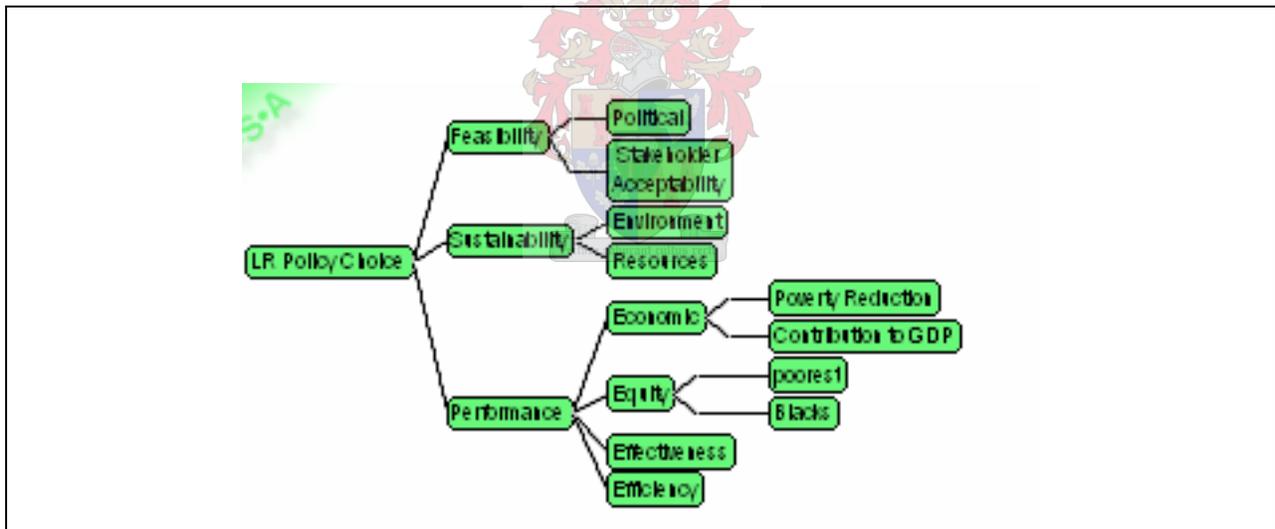


Figure 4: Model for option analysis

Not all of these criteria may possess the same value. For example, equity was considered very important by almost all the persons interviewed. It will therefore have a weight that reflects this sentiment. This differentiation can be done by giving different weights to the different elements of the criteria. The weight therefore represents the perceived relative importance of the criterion in the evaluation process. These weights are used as inputs into VISA, which does an automatic evaluation and presents the results as either bar charts or profiles depending on the preference of

the evaluator. It is easy to change each weight if there is disagreement. With just a click of the mouse, the weight as depicted on a bar, can be lowered or increased and a new score is computed on the fly. This allows for quick sensitivity analysis as decision makers are able to (Tsevetinov & Hazelhurst) “explore the implications of changing or differing priorities and values.” It may happen that ten years down the line equity may no longer be important. Sustainability may become more important. This change can easily be reflected just by using the mouse to change the relative weight and new score values will be shown.

VISA encapsulates the usual stages of modelling a multiple criteria decision problem (Stewart & van den Honert in: Tsevetinov & Hazelhurst):

- ✓ Identifying the alternatives to be evaluated;
- ✓ Identifying criteria and structuring the value hierarchy;
- ✓ Determining the "relative importance" (“weighting”) of the selected criteria;
- ✓ Evaluating the performance of alternatives against the specified criteria (“scoring”).

The user friendliness of VISA and its versatility with respect to evaluation of alternatives makes it recommendable for various applications.

Application of VISA for Priority Setting (Mabin *et al.*, 2001)

VISA, in combination with Group Systems software for electronic meeting support, was used in the Ministry of Agriculture New Zealand to set priorities for the allocation of research funds (Mabin *et al.*, 2001). As in other countries with finite resources, New Zealand has to prioritise the allocation of such resources. This could include changes in the existing patterns of distribution and potential loss of status quo that could trigger some resistance. The two decision support systems were therefore used to address the potential resistance and to introduce transparency and fairness into the priority-setting decision making process (Mabin *et al.*, 2001).

Application of VISA for educative assessment of students (Tsevetinov & Hazelhurst)

The department of Computer Studies at the Wellington Polytechnic deployed VISA to design, use, mark and improve authentic performance assessment of programming courses. The profiles of individuals and groups of students were created and analysed using VISA. This system

indicates which students and groups require more attention. Also with this system, “individual student and group performance can be compared among different classes, different years, even different institutions as long as the uniformity of the set of criteria and the value hierarchy are the same.”

VISA has been applied in other different spheres, some of which can be found in Belton (1999) and Mabin *et al.* (2001).

3.3.2 PolicyMaker

PolicyMaker is a window-based package that can be applied to policy problems with multiple layers and diverging interests (Reich, 1996). It recognises the important role that politics plays in the feasibility of any policy, especially those that seek to redistribute resources that often result in dispossessing or imposing new costs on the powerful for the benefit of the powerless. The programme “is intended to help policymakers manage the processes of reform to improve the political skills of the reform team and enhance the political feasibility of policy reform. When used creatively, PolicyMaker can help promote strategic programming as well as strategic thinking” (Reich, 1996). It can be used as a repository for thoughts on the political circumstances faced by a policy at any tier of government, in a group as tool for strategic programming as well as strategic thinking, and as a policy advocacy or lobbying tool (Polimap). Like the VISA package, PolicyMaker facilitates modelling and analysis in a way that is both visual and interactive. PolicyMaker integrates three methods of applied political analysis (Reich, 1996):

- The software uses political mapping techniques to analyse the political actors by assessing the power and position of key political actors and then displaying the supporters, opponents and non-mobilised players in a political map of the policy. This plays a crucial role in strategising on ways to strengthen the position of supporters, weaken those of opponents, and mobilise docile members to support the policy;
- PolicyMaker incorporates techniques of political risk analysis to provide a quantitative assessment of the political feasibility of a policy. The algorithm used could be modified by the user to suit a particular purpose;

- Finally, the software uses methods of organisational analysis and a rule-based decision system to assist in suggesting strategies that can enhance a policy's feasibility. PolicyMaker incorporates thirty-one basic political strategies, which can be customised to affect the power, position and a number of mobilised players, thereby changing a policy's political feasibility.

Another important feature of the software is that it encourages the development of a database of political information about a policy issue. Using this database, one can assess the policy content, the major players, and the power and policy positions of key players, the interests of different players, and the networks and coalitions that connect the players (Reich, 1996). Using a series of matrices, it guides the user through five analytical steps of political strategising. The framework prompts the analyst to perform the following actions (Glassman *et al.*, 1999: 116; Reich, 1996):

- 1) Define the content of the policy, including goals and mechanisms, and to propose an indicator to measure the progress towards realizing the goal. Every policy has one or more goals. This is the first input, to be followed by means of achieving the goal(s). In the case of more than one goal, the programme requires that these goals be ranked in order of importance;
- 2) Identify political players, their interests and relationships. Policies have different stakeholders, referred to as 'players' by the programme. These players are identified by name. The interest and positions of these players should be determined beforehand. This will depend on how they are affected or affect the goals and the mechanisms. The programme provides the means of categorising the position of the players in terms of their level of support, opposition or non-mobilisation, their power to influence the direction of the policy (high, medium or low), and the organisation and sector they represent. If the stakeholder is very committed to his support or opposition, then it is represented by a high. Power is related to the stakeholders' strengths or assets as these affect their ability to shape, alter or thwart the goals, mechanisms or the outcome of the decision makers' decision directly. The programme presents the data in a political feasibility graph, using an algorithm that calculates a feasibility index for the policy based on the three variables of power, intensity of position and number of mobilized groups;

- 3) Analyse opportunities and obstacles to the policy, including transitions underway in the implementing organisation in the general organisational environment and in the wider political environment. At this stage the programme provides means of identifying opportunities that could be exploited and obstacles that should be addressed. These are once again ranked in the range high, medium and low. The programme provides sample sources of opportunities and actions to exploit the opportunity. It also provides sample sources of obstacles and actions to overcome the obstacles. One can disregard the suggested sources and remedies and insert one's own. The players associated with the obstacles and opportunities should also be identified and recorded. All this information will be needed in designing political strategies, the subject of step 4;
- 4) Design political strategy using principles of artificial intelligence to suggest strategies that can improve the policy's feasibility. These steps combine data entered by the user and selected inbuilt political strategies to build alternative packages of strategies for action. This step assists in designing strategies to enhance the power, position and number of supporters, while decreasing the power and number of opposition players and weakening their power. It is also in this step that the means of addressing the consequences of the policy, the interest of the stakeholders, the opportunities and obstacles are designed. Once again, samples are given in the programme that can be incorporated or modified to suit a given context. The final step is to assess the potential and actual impacts of the strategies with a view to accepting them or modifying them;
- 5) Assess the potential and actual impacts of proposed strategies. This stage will require consideration with respect to the cost of each strategy, the likely benefits, problems and probability of success. This is then displayed in table form for final assessment.

The analyst could complete all the information required for all the steps or be selective, depending on the purpose of the analysis or the type of policy. The assessment of step results will determine if another iteration is required or not. PolicyMaker could also be helpful at the implementation stage by comparing actual impacts with anticipated impacts.

PolicyMaker has been applied *inter alia* to different policy problems in the health sector. Although most of the reported applications are in the health sector, it is equally applicable to

other public sector policies. The preponderance of health policy applications may be attributed to its earliest use. The International Development Research Center (IDRC) of Canada used it to assess the feasibility of a multi-million-dollar project in Tanzania to set health priorities at the district level and, based on the successful application, IDRC provided a grant for the enhancement and improvement of the software and method (Polimap).

Other applications appear in Glassman *et al.* (1999) and Reich (1996):

Political analysis of health reform in the Dominican Republic

PolicyMaker was used to analyse the policy content of the health reform and the assessment of five key groups of players. The analyses identified a series of political and organisational obstacles to health-sector reform in that country and produced a set of eleven political strategies to promote the health reform effort in the Dominican Republic.

Health reform in Zambia (Reich, 1996)

An analyst from the Harvard School of Public Health in collaboration with the Ministry of Health's Health Reform Implementation team used PolicyMaker to enhance a consensus team-building initiative on health-sector reform. The software was used to analyse the players and the environment of health-sector reform.



Assessment of political feasibility of reform of national health system in Mexico

A combination of political analysis and comprehensive examination of the epidemiological, economic, organisational and financial factors that affect health-sector reform was carried out using PolicyMaker. "The analysis showed how health reform in Mexico depends on a broader transformation of state-society relations, and especially on the political management of two critical social groups: well organised groups (such as labour) that have traditionally participated in the benefits of the Mexican State in exchange for political support, and marginalized groups (such as rural peasants) that have been historically excluded from those benefits but now play an increasingly important political role" (Reich, 1996).

Other applications include:

- “The Action Programme on Essential Drugs at the World Health Organization is using PolicyMaker in a nine country comparative research project on the assessment of national pharmaceutical policies” (Polimap);
- Analysis of tobacco policy in Vietnam (Seeman, 2000).

3.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The methodology incorporated questionnaires and interviews directed to select key stakeholders and combined with a review of relevant published and unpublished materials. A stratified sampling technique was used. Three groups were identified, viz, formulation and implementation group, the commercial farmers and emerging farmers. Twelve persons, four from each group were administered with the questionnaires. The questionnaire consisted of twelve qualitative open-ended questions and two quantitative questions in the form of tables to be completed

The analyses were done with two packages, VISA and PolicyMaker. They facilitate modelling and analysis in a way that is both visual and interactive. VISA is a multi-criteria decision analysis package that can be used to compare alternative strategies or options. VISA is well structured to emulate the policy design phase of option evaluation and choice. The purpose, here, is to evaluate the three land reform alternative options, resettlement, affirmative action loan scheme and development of the communal areas. The PolicyMaker can be used as a repository for thoughts on the political circumstances faced by a policy at any tier of government, in a group as tool for strategic programming as well as strategic thinking, and as a policy advocacy or lobbying tool. These two packages have been used in the fields of education, health reform and different priority settings.

VISA package was used to analyse the three different options. The PolicyMaker was used to elucidate the policy content, analyse the position and power of the different stakeholders, identify opportunities and obstacles and devise political strategies for enhancing the feasibility of the land reform policy. The models for these two decision support packages were used to compare the findings from the interviews.

CHAPTER 4: COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW AND MODELLING DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The MCDA concept works by breaking a complex problem into manageable chunks, like the purpose of the model, the alternatives being compared and the criteria by which they are compared (Mabin *et al.*, 2001). The purpose in this case is to evaluate different land reform options. The alternatives are the three alternative land reform policy options: resettlement, AALS and DCA.

The resettlement option caters for three categories of people, those who are referred to as the poorest of the poor, those who have few livestock but no land or other income, and those who have income of less than 150 cattle but have no land. The primary objective of the resettlement policy is to “resettle eligible persons in ways which are institutionally, sociologically, economically and environmentally sustainable and which allow the beneficiaries to become self supporting” (Republic of Namibia, 2001).

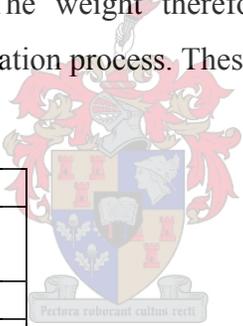
The Affirmative Action Loan Scheme caters for emerging black commercial farmers. These people identify the farm they intend to buy and approach the Agricultural Bank for a loan. The loan is subsidised in the sense that the interest rate is lower than the commercial bank rates for about five years. These are usually people who have more than 150 head of cattle or have an income equivalent to that.

The communal development option is a late entrant. The NAU and the international donors have always insisted that some of the objectives of the resettlement programme could be better achieved by developing the communal area and incorporating it into the land reform programme. Besides, the donors are reluctant to fund land purchases, but are prepared to support infrastructure development in the communal areas. This option is therefore aimed at developing under-utilised areas in the communal area with a view to increasing agricultural productivity.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF OPTIONS USING VISA

VISA is used to evaluate the alternative options. Using a combination of documents relating to land reform, like the National Land Policy, National Resettlement Policy, Commercial Land Reform Act, Communal Land Reform Act and findings from the questionnaire, Table 4 – consisting of criteria and perceived weights – has been drawn up. The criteria were developed from the PTT document, the national Resettlement policy document and the MLR’s strategic plan document. The interviewees were asked to assign weights to each criterion in line with its perceived importance.

All of these criteria may not have the same degree of importance. For example, equity was considered very important by almost all the persons interviewed. It will therefore have a weight that reflects this sentiment. This differentiation can be done by giving different weights to the different elements of the criteria. The weight therefore represents the perceived relative importance of the criterion in the evaluation process. These weights are used as inputs into VISA



CRITERIA	WEIGHT
Equity in land ownership	75
Political feasibility	75
Effectiveness	70
Responsiveness	70
Sustainability	70
Resources	70
Efficiency	68
Economy	68
Environmental friendliness	67
Stakeholder acceptability	65
Adequacy	65

Table 3: Criteria and Weights (0-100)

Using these value judgements and the perceived influences of the selected options, the weights in Table 4 were constructed. As with the weights, each interviewee was requested to assign a value in percentage, indicating the influence each of the three options could have on each of the criteria. The values in Table 4 represent the average of the assigned values by the interviewees.

POLICY OPTIONS	Economy	Resource	Equity	Effectiveness	Political feasibility	Efficiency	Stake-Holders	Environment
AALS	59	81	51	82	71	74	67	79
Resettlement	23	45	86	58	87	48	58	39
Development of Communal Area	71	62	35	74	78	65	89	60

Table 4: Weighting (Influence) of Land Reform Policy Options on Selected Criteria

The criteria are usually linked in a hierarchy that can be depicted like a tree, allowing the problem structure to be refined by adding or removing criteria, creating sub-criteria and realigning criteria.

In using VISA, the criteria were synthesised into three: feasibility, sustainability and performance, as explained in Table 5 below. The model therefore consists of a combined criterion, main criteria and sub-criteria, as shown in Figure 4.

Feasibility	It is important that the option should be politically and administratively feasible, able to attract the support of donors and influential stakeholders.
Sustainability	It should be possible to have and retain resources in the long term for the particular option in addition to causing the least damage to the fragile Namibian ecology
Performance	How effective, efficient, adequate, responsive and appropriate is the option to meeting the expected outcomes?

Table 5: Main criteria

First one needs to build a model that consists of a goal and a number of criteria. These criteria can be then be arranged in a hierarchy. One can draw or change the criteria hierarchy on the screen using the mouse. Figure 4 is the model used and contains three hierarchies.

4.2.1 Evaluation of the Selected Options

4.2.1.1 Combined criteria

For the combined criteria the three main criteria were considered all at once. The weights and scores as determined during the interviews were applied. The input of weights and scores could be done using charts or a thermometer scale or even numerically. The results can then be displayed either in the form of a bar chart with scores or profiles. The beauty of VISA is its interactive nature, as the effects of any change in the dependent variables are immediately seen on all current displays, at all levels of hierarchy.

Taking all the criteria into consideration, the affirmative action loan scheme ranks first, followed by resettlement and the development of communal area respectively. This is a significant development. In Namibia the resettlement component receives most attention and resources, and the success of the land reform programme is perceived to be dependent on the success of this option. Of the three categories of people interviewed, two – the emerging farmers and the implementers – were mostly in agreement that resettlement is most likely to meet the objectives of land reform. The results of the analysis are shown in Figure 5.

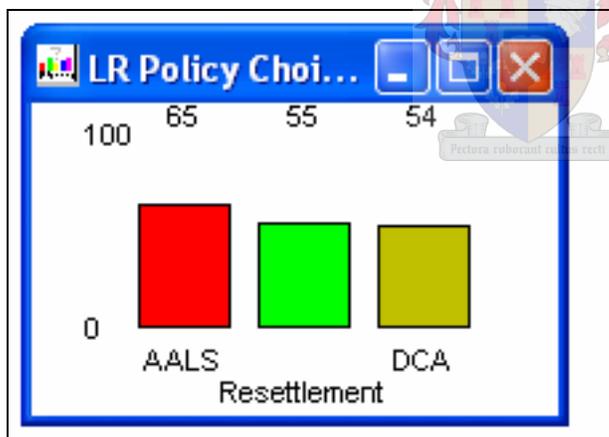


Figure 5: Ranking of Options with respect to All Criteria

The evaluation is further done by considering each of the main criteria separately. It does not require any further inputs. One only needs to display the results with a click of the mouse on the particular criterion required. To see the effects of the children criteria, a display of the profile instead of the bar chart was used. The results and implications of the feasibility, sustainability and performance criteria follow below.

4.2.1.2 Feasibility criteria

The bar chart in Figure 6 demonstrates that resettlement is the preferred choice with respect to overall feasibility, followed closely by the AALS. But in terms of stakeholder acceptability it comes last. A close look at the feasibility profile shows the political correctness of this option. It is therefore an option that is high on the political agenda. All the interviewees were in agreement that resettlement is the most politically feasible option, although it will suffer from stakeholder acceptability.

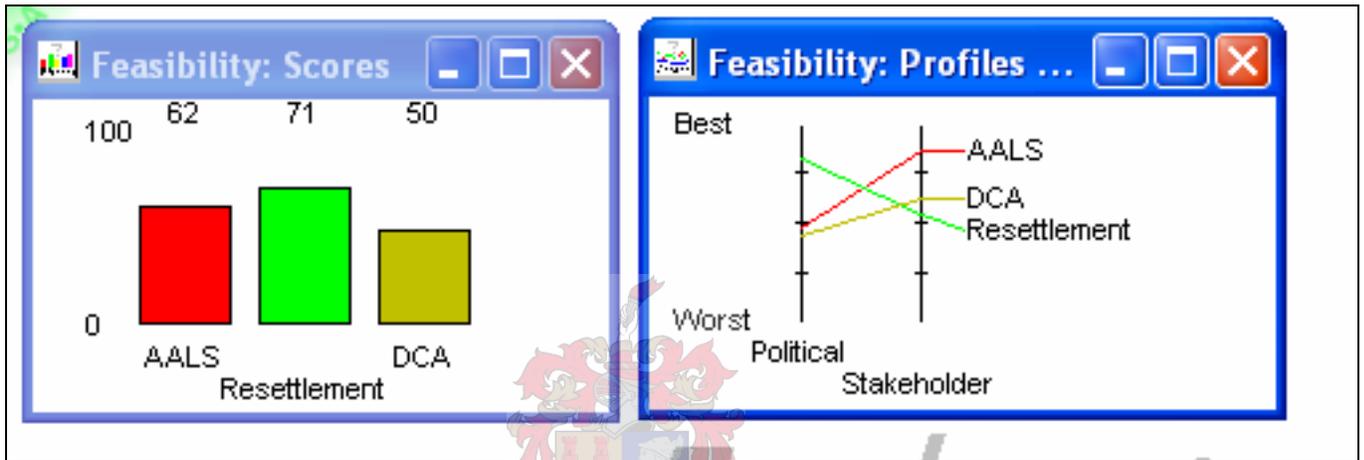


Figure 6: Comparison of options with respect to feasibility

4.2.1.3 Sustainability criteria

The AALS option scores highest with respect to sustainability, followed by DCA and resettlement becoming a distant third. This is not surprising considering that resettlement concentrates on the poorest of the poor, who will require considerable support over a long time to succeed. The results are shown in Figure 7. The majority of the persons interviewed agreed that resettlement is the least sustainable of the three options.

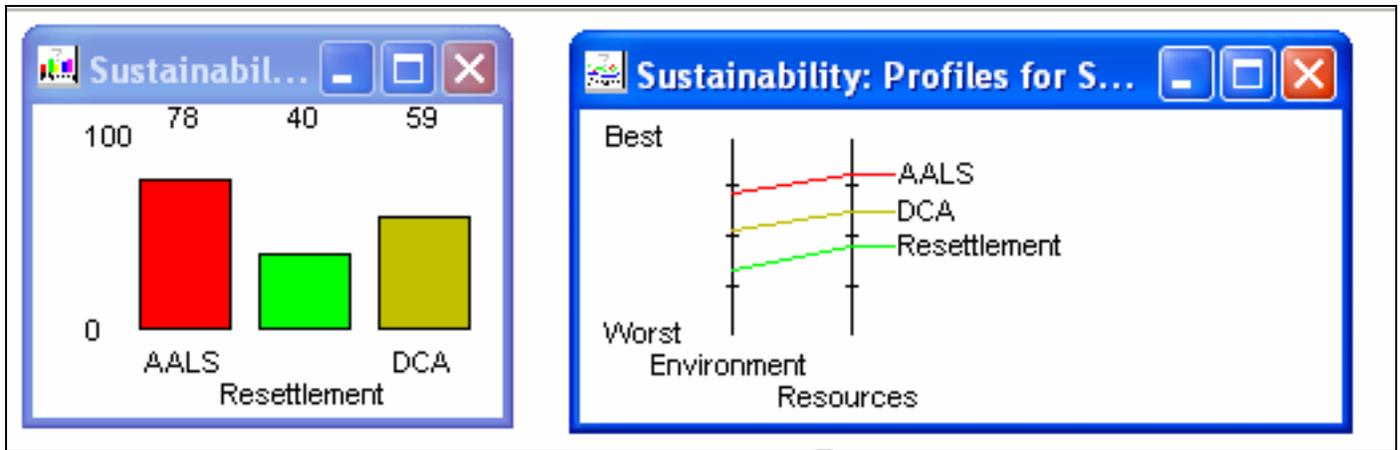


Figure 7: Comparison of Options with respect to Sustainability

4.2.1.4 Performance criteria

An examination of Figure 8 shows that the affirmative action loan scheme performs best, followed closely by DCA, with resettlement coming last. AALS also comes first with respect to efficiency and effectiveness, but comes second with respect to equity and economic performance. Resettlement, on the other hand, comes last with respect to other indices except equity, where it outperforms others.

There was a general agreement among the interviewees that AALS will outperform the other two in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. In terms of contribution to the economy, all the commercial farmers interviewed believed that AALS will contribute most, while the majority of other two groups considered the development of the communal areas to be a more viable agent of economic development.

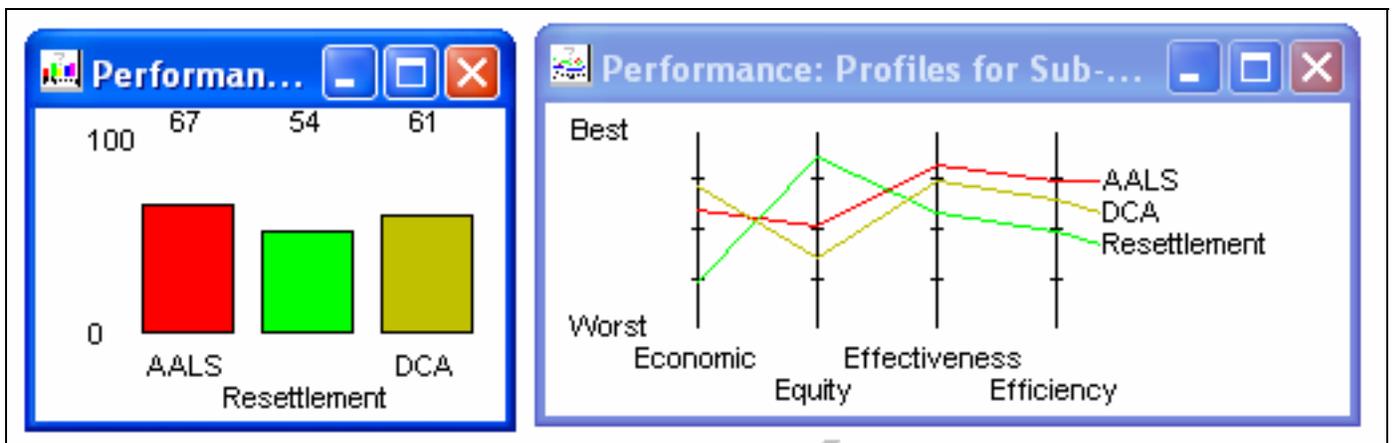


Figure 8: Comparison of Options with respect to Performance

4.3 APPLYING POLITICAL ANALYSIS USING POLICYMAKER

4.3.1 Policy Content

The vision of the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, the implementing agency of land reform, is to “ensure that Namibia’s land resource is equitably allocated, efficiently managed and responsibly used for the benefit of all Namibians, now and in the future” MLR, 2005:20). This is broken down into three goals: achieving equitable distribution of land (high priority); ensuring sustainable economic growth (medium priority); and efficient and sustainable land use (medium priority). These goals were consistent with the goals stated in the document produced by the PTT and also reflect the views expressed by the different interviews in section 3.1. The level of priority and mechanisms to be adopted were also products of the PTT document and the results of the interviews. The author introduced the indicators. The policy content report is given below in Table 6

Goal	Priority/Agenda	Mechanism	Indicator
Efficient and sustainable land use	High/ Government & MLR	Develop and implement land use plans based on agro-ecological zones and carrying capacity	Percentage of biodiversity that is maintained
Ensure sustainable economic growth	High/Bureaucracy, Public and Government	Increase emphasis on pre- and post-settlement support	Increased income of the beneficiaries to at least twice the poverty datum
Achieve equitable distribution of land	High/ MLR	Acquire commercial farms and redistribute according to devised criteria	Demography of ownership

Table 6: Policy Content Report

4.3.2 Players

It is important to identify the key players early enough in the policy design phase in order to carry out what is referred to as factional analysis. “Such an analysis involves assessing all the actors, their interests and rights, their relative power or influence, and the options available for buffering any transitional dislocations that may accompany implementation of the policy reform” (UNEP, 2004:42). The assessment of political feasibility requires an analysis of the stakeholders – the political actors (called ‘players’ in PolicyMaker) affected by or affecting a given policy (Glassman *et al.*, 1999:119). PolicyMaker (Glassman *et al.*, 1999:119) combines a number of

analytical methods to assess each player's position on policy (support, opposition or non-mobilised position), power (resources available to use in the policy debate), and intensity of position (high, medium or low, depending on the willingness to use available resources in the policy debate).

The stakeholders identified in the land reform analysis are the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, other government organisations, Namibia Agricultural Union, NAU (union of mostly white commercial farmers), Namibia National Farmers Union, NNFU (union of mostly emerging black farmers), press/media, SWAPO (ruling party), opposition parties.

Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR)

The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement is the implementing agency for the land reform. This ministry was created at independence primarily to implement the land reform policies. It is incumbent on this Ministry to make the land reform succeed. Unfortunately, it does not have adequate human resources to execute the programme.

Namibia Agricultural Union, NAU

The NAU is the umbrella body for the mostly white commercial farmers. They will be most affected by the land redistribution, since they own most of the commercial farmland. The success of the 'willing seller, willing buyer' approach depends on how far they cooperate. If any land is to be expropriated, it has to come from them. They have considerable financial muscle compared to other non-governmental players. They have the ears of some powerful European countries, such as Germany. They are very active in protecting the interest of their members.

Namibia National Farmers Union, NNFU

The NNFU consists mainly of emerging black commercial farmers, who will benefit most from the land redistribution. Their main source of power is being closer to the ruling party. Their financial resources are limited and cannot compete with the NAU.

Namibia National Union of Workers (NNUW)

The NNUW is the umbrella union of all workers in Namibia. It is affiliated to the ruling party and very much in support of the land reform. It has within its rank member unions that tend towards radicalism and would want to imitate the land invasion in Zimbabwe.

SWAPO

SWAPO is the ruling party and has land reform as one of the focal points of its manifesto. The party has more than a two-thirds majority in parliament and therefore could change any provision of the constitution that is not entrenched. They are still popular in Namibia. It has a moderate leadership and is still on top of the situation.

Opposition Parties

The opposition party is highly fragmented and weakened. Collectively, they cannot block any legislation or policy that SWAPO is determined to pass through parliament. With the exception of two of the opposition parties, them all others are likely to support the approach of SWAPO Government towards land reform.

The Press and Media

The press and media in Namibia are not very polarised, neither are they ideologically oriented. The government dominates the electronic media. The print media are shared between government and private enterprise. Only one of the private print media is most likely to be sympathetic to the interests of the white commercial farmers. The other private media are likely to take up the issues as they come.

The position map showing the current position of all the stakeholders on the entire policy is shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Position Map: Current Positions on the Entire Policy

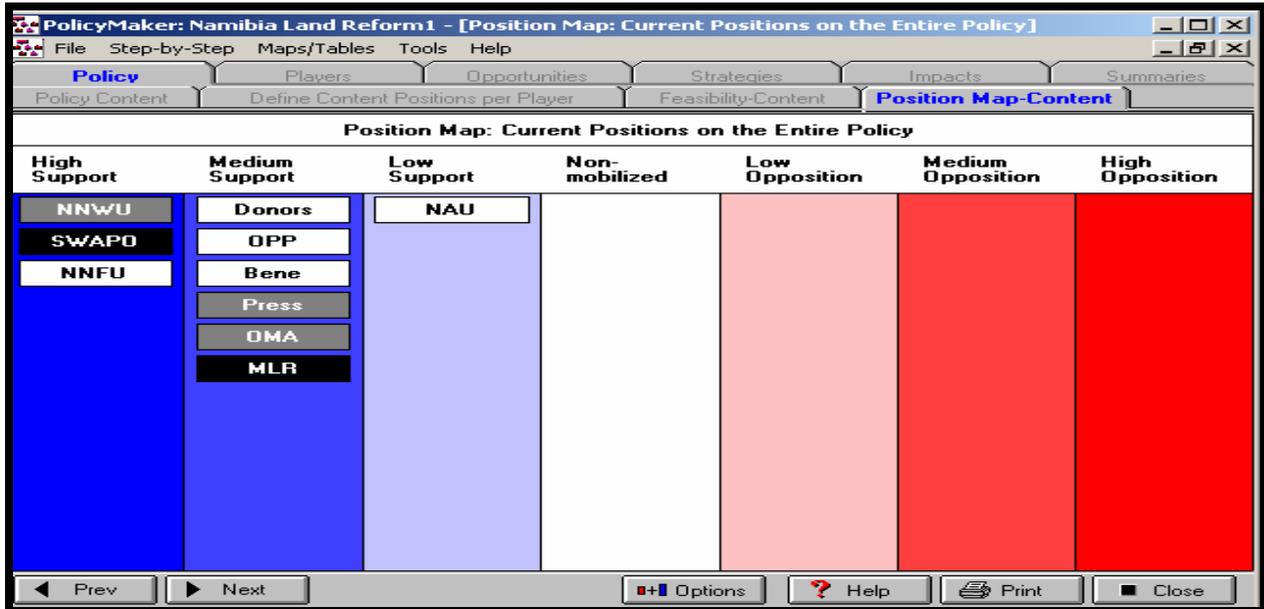
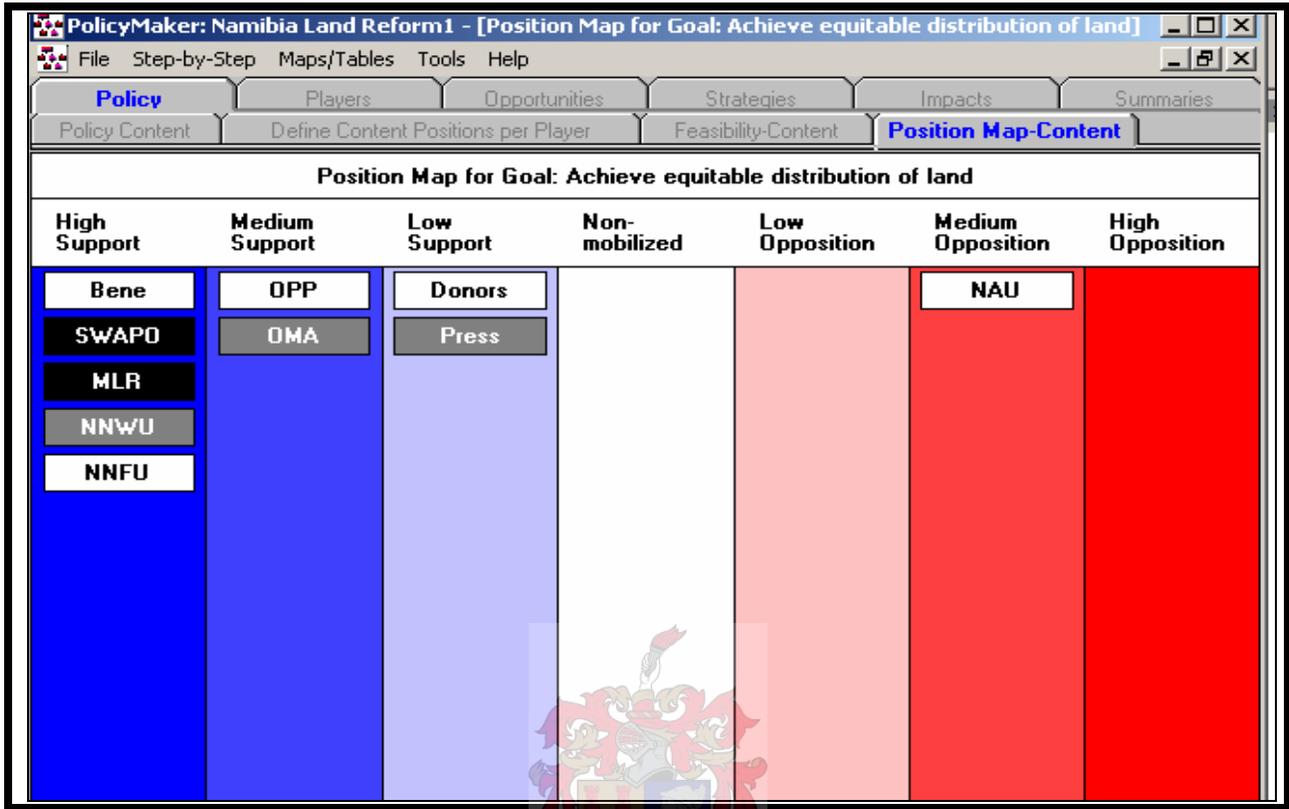


Figure 9 shows all the stakeholders with their defined positions. Within the position map, we have each stakeholder’s level of power (black for high, grey for medium and white for low). PolicyMaker calculates the stakeholder’s position on the overall policy automatically by multiplying the position values times the weight for each goal or mechanism to yield the contribution to the value. For strategy planning, one needs to look beyond this particular position map. Figure 10 offers another scenario. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Figure 10: Position Map: Current Positions on Equitable Distribution of Land



4.3.3 Opportunities and Obstacles

The PolicyMaker analysis also offers the facility to identify and explore opportunities, while at the same time overcoming obstacles. The policy analyst at this stage is expected to consider all the possible obstacles that might hinder the success of the policy. For each obstacle a means of eliminating it or reducing its effect has to be thought of and recorded. Side by side with the obstacles is the recording of the opportunities to be exploited. It is important that all the possible opportunities are identified and adequate measures identified to maximise those opportunities. With respect to the land reform process, some of the potential obstacles include misrepresentation of expropriation by a section of the media, fears by the commercial farmers and lack of cooperation from all stakeholders. These obstacles and measures to overcome them are shown in Table 7. Opportunities that could be exploited include the coming in of a new president, the restiveness of the landless, public concern about the consequences of maintaining

the status quo and the events in Zimbabwe. The opportunities to be exploited are shown in Table 8.

Source of Obstacle	Obstacles	Stakeholders affected	Action to Overcome Obstacle	Prospect
Press and Media	Some print media are misrepresenting expropriation to mean forceful seizure of land	MLR	Find ways to expose the hidden agenda of these print media and demonstrate that every process of the land reform agenda will respect the Namibia Constitution, which guarantees adequate compensation for any property acquired by the state.	
Other Organisations	Increasing fear among commercial farmers that they will lose existing land through land reform, especially expropriation	NAU, MLR	Use mass media and public relations consultants to reach out to the NAU members and seek to persuade them to cooperate with the government.	Medium
Other organisations	Expropriation is likely to elicit opposition from Namibia Agricultural Union	NAU	Identify areas of possible agreement, anticipate points of controversy, and monitor the NAU's actions and strategies.	
Other organisations	Lack of cooperation from other government departments militates against post-settlement support	MLR, Beneficiaries	Improve coordination with other agencies or even propose a project-management structure specially designed for the implementation of land reform, where planning and budgeting for land reform are integrated.	Medium

Table 7: Potential obstacles and measures to overcome the obstacles

Opportunities Report

Source of Opportunity	Opportunity	Players	Action to Exploit Opportunity	Prospect
Other Organization	Selection of a Committee comprising key stakeholders for the design of the land reform programmes and could include representatives of the media as part of the policy making process.	Press and Media	Use invitations to join the land reform committee as a way to create and promote supporters in the mass media.	High
Other Organization	Selection of a Committee comprising key stakeholders for the design of the land reform programmes and could include representatives of the media as part of the policy making process.	Namibia Agricultural Union	Use invitations to join the land reform committee as a way to create and promote supporters in the mass media.	High
Other Organization	Selection of a Committee comprising key stakeholders for the design of the land reform programmes and could include representatives of the media as part of the policy making process.	Namibia National Farmers' Union	Use invitations to join the land reform committee as a way to create and promote supporters in the mass media.	High
Other Organization	Selection of a Committee comprising key stakeholders for the design of the land reform programmes and could include representatives of the media as part of the policy making process.	Opposition Parties	Use invitations to join the land reform committee as a way to create and promote supporters in the mass media.	High
Other Organization	Selection of a Committee comprising key stakeholders for the design of the land reform programmes and could include representatives of the media as part of the policy making process.	SWAPO Party	Use invitations to join the land reform committee as a way to create and promote supporters in the mass media.	High
Implementing Organization	New Democratic Administration, with potential for enacting major social reforms.		President Pohamba should use the "honeymoon period" to increase budget for land reform and buy the broader public support.	High
Political Environment	General public concern about serious potential problems in maintaining the status quo of land ownership		Transform general public concern into major legislative reform of land reform	High
Political Environment	General public concern about serious potential problems in maintaining the status quo of land ownership	Ministry of Lands and Resettlement	Transform general public concern into major legislative reform of land reform	High
Political Environment	Rising restiveness of the landless majority and the developments in neighbouring Zimbabwe could make some moderate NAU members more responsive to land reform measures and the donor agencies sympathetic and willing to finance aspects of the programme		Keep NAU members and representatives of Donor agencies constantly in the picture, in an effort to convince them to support the land reform policy.	Medium
Other Organization	The land reform committee could include representatives of the NAU and those of major donors resident in Namibia as part of the policy making process.	Namibia Agricultural Union	Use invitations to join the Committee as a way to influence the position of the NAU and Donors, by seeking to identify	Low

Table 8: Opportunities that can be exploited

4.2.4 Strategies

The PolicyMaker provides “a tool box of thirty-one basic political strategies for enhancing the feasibility of policy reform and a matrix for defining strategy actions and associated risks, problems, and benefits” (Glassman, 1999: 122). It also provides means of assessing impacts of all strategies on a particular stakeholder, the position impact of all strategies on a particular stakeholder, the power impact of all strategies on a particular stakeholder, and the impact of a particular strategy on all stakeholders. With this information one is able to assess the efficacy of all strategies in making the policy possible and modifying them where necessary. The strategies developed aim to enhance the feasibility of the land reform policy. Public support and legitimacy are important for the success of any policy. Measures to ensure this will include reducing areas of disagreement either by removing objectionable elements or adding some palliative elements, incorporating opposition in the decision making and increasing the visibility and influence of supporters. These and other strategies are summarised in Table 9.

Table 9: Summary of PolicyMaker Strategy

Strategy Name	Actions
Strengthen Public Relations	Involve representatives of the press and media in the working group process to draft the land reform policy.
Increase Public Support	Organize a media campaign or by finding sympathetic commercial farmers.
Enhance Legitimacy	Connect supporters to positive social values like equity, justice, political stability and economic growth.
Increase Organisational Strength	Provide increased material resources or provide experienced staff or foster political skills.
Create Coalition of Supporters	Create a coalition of supporting groups or players, with a recognizable name and sufficient resources.
Provide Information to Supporters	Provide regular information to supporters, including both technical and political information and analysis.
Hire Professional PR Firm	Hire a professional public relations firm to assist supporters by designing a positive public relations campaign.
Remove Objections	Persuade supporters to strengthen their position by changing the policy to remove contested goals or mechanisms.
Add Additional Policy Elements	Persuade supporters to strengthen their position, by adding desired goals and mechanisms to the policy.

Change Decision-making Processes	Change the decision-making processes (e.g. through public hearings) in order to expand the number of supporters.
Undermine Legitimacy of Opposition	Undermine the legitimacy of the opposition by connecting them to negative social values through negative publicity.
Seek Common Goals	Meet with opponents to seek common goals or mechanisms and thereby reduce the intensity of their opposition.
Compensate Opponents	Use market related prices for compensation to opponents for real and perceived harms, in order to reduce the intensity of their opposition.
Add Additional Policy Elements	Persuade NAU to weaken their position by adding productivity and negotiated land acquisition to the policy mechanisms.
Negotiate on Other Issues	Negotiate with the NAU and offer concessions on other policies of interest, in exchange for support and cooperation
Find Persuasive Mediator	Find a persuasive and powerful mediator, who can negotiate with the NAU members and achieve a mutually acceptable agreement to support the land reform measures

4.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Taking all the criteria into consideration, the affirmative action loan scheme ranks first, followed by resettlement and the development of communal area respectively. This is a significant development. In Namibia the resettlement component receives most attention and resources, and the success of the land reform programme is perceived to be dependent on the success of this option.

The bar chart in Figure 6 demonstrates that resettlement is the preferred choice with respect to overall feasibility, followed closely by the AALS. But in terms of stakeholder acceptability it comes last. A close look at the feasibility profile shows the political correctness of this option

The AALS option scores highest with respect to sustainability, followed by DCA and resettlement becoming a distant third. This is not surprising considering that resettlement concentrates on the poorest of the poor, who will require considerable support over a long time to succeed.

An examination of Figure 8 shows that the affirmative action loan scheme performs best, followed closely by DCA, with resettlement coming last. AALS also comes first with respect to efficiency and effectiveness, but comes second with respect to equity and economic performance. Resettlement, on the other hand, comes last with respect to other indices except equity, where it outperforms others.

The degree of priority according to the policy content analysis are: achieving equitable distribution of land (high priority); ensuring sustainable economic growth (medium priority); and efficient and sustainable land use (medium priority). The support of key and other stakeholders is varied. The support of the ruling party and trade unions is high, that from donors, the press and other government agencies is medium while that from the commercial farmers is low. Some of the strategies to enhance the feasibility of the land reform policy are:

- Strengthen public relations;
- Increase public support;
- Make changes to the policy to remove contested goals;
- Undermine the legitimacy of the opposition and
- Use market related prices for compensation.

The analysis of options using VISA and the results of political analysis using PolicyMaker provided the tools needed to do a thorough problem and goal analysis in addition to evaluating the three different options.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND ASSESSMENT OF FINDINGS

5.1 PROBLEM AND GOAL ANALYSIS

5.1.1 Problem Analysis

The land problem is the result of the historical forceful seizure of land by the colonial government and the consequent skewed land ownership. The limited hectareage suitable for agriculture and extensive periods of drought and wide temperature variations also constrain the amount of land suitable for redistribution. Given the lingering agitation for the correction of the unequal distribution of land ownership and access to land, it is not surprising that the issue leaped quickly from the systemic agenda to the institutional agenda. Institutional agenda, unlike systemic agenda, refer to problems that not only appear on the agenda but also are acted upon by government in terms of legislation and allocation of resources.

The key stakeholders include the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, MLR (the national implementing agency), the Namibia Agricultural Union (mainly the commercial farmers), the Namibia National Farmers' Union (mainly the emerging farmers), SWAPO (the ruling party) and opposition parties.



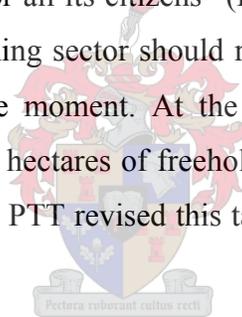
Some problems have been identified with the policies and legislation guiding the land reform policy and its implementation. Some of these problems are (NAU, 2003; PTT, 2004, MLR, 2005):

- Outright individual ownership of communal land is not provided for anywhere in the legislation;
- There is no clear definition of what constitutes underutilised land or excessive land holding;
- The place of farm workers within the land reform programme is not addressed;
- There is no clear indication of the role of communal land in the land reform process;
- The National Land Policy and the National Resettlement Policy are silent on group rights, especially with respect to communal pastures;
- The NLP and the NRP are silent on the role of non-state actors;

- The amount of land acquired for resettlement through the ‘willing buyer, willing seller’ principle has not met expectations;
- The average period between offer of land and transfer is approximately 301 days;
- The waiver of land to AALS beneficiaries without exercising the right of first refusal has seriously limited the quantity of suitable land available for resettlement.

5.1.2 Goal Analysis

There seems to be no consensus on what the definition of a goal is. The definition of a goal by Roux (2000:125) as a “desirable but not yet realized state that an organization wishes to attain” will suffice here. In the public arena goals are often aligned to be socially optimal rather than technically or economically optimal (Baker *et al.*, 1975:24). This is very much the case in the land reform goal. The goal of land reform “is not only to right past colonial wrongs, but also to achieve social and economic equity for all its citizens” (PTT, 2005:viii). One major expectation is that the Namibian commercial farming sector should reflect the demography of Namibia and not remain as skewed as it is at the moment. At the Cabinet retreat in the year 2000 the government set a target of 9.5 million hectares of freehold land to be acquired and redistributed by the year 2006 (PTT, 2005:26). The PTT revised this target to 15 million hectares by the year 2020.



5.2 EVALUATION OF OPTIONS

5.2.1 Affirmative Action Loan Scheme

This scheme is aimed at providing subsidised long-term loans to emerging black commercial farmers. These could be full-time or part-time communal farmers with more than 150 large stock or 800 small stock, or black entrepreneurs with the means to acquire a similar number of stock. The AALS is based on secure property rights and operates within market principles.

This option has led to almost four times the hectarage of land acquired for the resettlement scheme compared to AALS. It has the support of all the stakeholders and, if operated optimally, is likely to bridge the gap between white commercial farmers and emerging black farmers. It is politically and administratively feasible. Of the three options considered, it is the most sustainable both in terms of the environment and resources. It satisfies significantly all the

espoused values (effectiveness, economy, equity, efficiency and responsiveness) of the key stakeholders.

The AALS beneficiaries will need close scrutiny and technical support. Also the execution? Implementation of this option is having some adverse effect on the resettlement option. The subsidy has been linked to the high price of available land. The scarcity of land for resettlement purposes has also been linked to the indiscriminate waiving of land offered to AALS beneficiaries. According to the PTT (2004:29), the abundance of buyers, higher prices offered and quicker transaction periods have reduced the amount of land available to government through the 'willing buyer, willing seller' principle. Also land more suitable for resettlement and with greater potential for alleviating poverty is bought up by the AALS.

Much of the land bought through AALS is feared to have been over-valued and to have no bearing to its potential productive capacity. Most of the owners are part-time farmers and there is the danger that when the subsidy lapses, production may not have progressed to a level that will ensure timely servicing of the debt. This will have an untoward effect, since the farm may not produce enough to accommodate repayment and sustenance of the farmer. In addition to embarrassing the government, this may place a greater financial burden on the state and reverse the steady progress this scheme is making presently. Already, by March 2004, 199 loan recipients out of 544 have defaulted in their payments (Sherbourne, 2004:7). This is not cheering news. There has always been scepticism among the established commercial farming communities on the ability of AALS beneficiaries to become successful farmers. Large-scale failures of AALS loan recipients will only confirm this scepticism and undermine the government claim that such schemes are socially and economically desirable and profitable.

5.2.2 Resettlement

The resettlement option is very popular, especially among the politicians who see it as a useful tool to demonstrate their sympathy with the landless majority. The government is therefore expending a lot of resources and rhetoric on this option. But taking all the criteria for evaluation into consideration, the resettlement option comes second, behind DCA. This is significant in that

the result does not justify the attention and resources directed to it and also the perception that the success of the land reform programme is dependent on the success of this option.

The VISA analysis demonstrates clearly that if the mind, rather than the heart, dominates the land reform decision, the resettlement programme, which requires the transfer of land from whites to blacks using the 'willing seller, willing buyer' principle and possibly expropriation with its attendant costs and conflicts will receive less attention and resources. This option scores high on political feasibility but moderately on stakeholders' support.

The resettlement option scores very poorly with respect to sustainability. There is a widely held fear that the fragile ecology of Namibia might be significantly damaged by increased pressure on commercial farms that will result from small-scale farming. The sustainability of this option in terms of resource availability is also poor. This is not surprising considering that resettlement concentrates on the poorest of the poor, who will require considerable support over a long time to succeed. This option may also require expropriation that may increase conflict and tension. This may alienate donors whose support will be needed to sustain the programme.

Resettlement as a redistributive instrument is a plausible option for achieving equity in land ownership. It could address substantially the expectations of the resettlement policy if selection of beneficiaries is done properly and complemented with post-resettlement support. To ensure that only potentially successful beneficiaries are targeted, the overall objective of the resettlement policy needs to be refined and perhaps constricted. According to EGSMS (1998:23), maintaining a balance between beneficiaries' suitability and need will enhance the success of the resettlement programme. Some beneficiaries are part-time farmers. Resettlement beneficiaries should be limited to full-time farmers to improve the chances of success. These part-time farmers may not be available at the visit of extension staff and therefore may lose out on important farming tips. Acquiring expensive farms and allocating them to part-time farmers is not economically and socially justifiable. Part-time farmers may be accommodated in the AALS.

The objectives of the NRP, while noble, are not completed with the implementation strategy. The overall objective is to resettle eligible persons in ways "which are institutionally, sociologically,

economically and environmentally sustainable and which will allow the beneficiaries to become self supporting” (Republic of Namibia, 2001:1). Resettlement is intended to achieve the following:

- Poverty alleviation;
- self sufficiency within five years;
- Access to land by redressing past imbalances;
- Employment through full-time farming;
- Integration of settler into the market economy;
- Access to credit via documentation of secure tenure;
- Alleviate human and livestock pressure on communal land.

In order of priority the three first groups are the San Community, the ex-soldiers and displaced, destitute and landless Namibians. These groups are the least likely to sustain themselves in the commercial farms, most of which are very arid. They are more likely to degrade the environment and depend on the government for an extended period of time.

The selection process needs to be aligned with the expectations. Two pilot projects in Columbia show that beneficiary selection, planning at the local level and integration into the value chain are the key components of successful land reform (Gruszczynski and Jaramilo, 2003). The San community are very likely to be very poor and illiterate, and therefore not likely to be self-sufficient within five years. Taking them from their present state to any state where they would meet most of the stated expectations will be a very tall order. This group could be better served by other means or be provided for in the communal area development scheme. Binswanger and Kinsey (in: EGSMS, 1998:23) state that from international experience, “agricultural settlement schemes, except in special circumstances, do not make good welfare programmes.” Hence, De Wet (2002:4) advocates that resettlement should not be a process for social welfare, but be based on the principles of economic sustainability and resource sustainability. The assumption that land reform will be significant in the reduction of poverty is often misplaced. Most of the resettled farmers still rely on government for seedlings, ploughing and maintenance of farming equipment and boreholes. Perhaps government has to look elsewhere if poverty reduction is one of the principal aims of the land reform. This problem is not peculiar to Namibia. In Columbia it was

also the case that a large number of beneficiaries failed to become successful farmers and had to rent, sell or simply abandon their farms (Gruszczynski and Jaramilo, 2003).

The lengthy bureaucratic procedures in the NRP can be frustrating. The average time between offer to purchase and the transfer of the farm to government is approximately 301 days (PTT, 2004:27). The eventual resettlement of people on the land could take another nine months. The resettlement policy needs to be thoroughly reviewed and overhauled both in terms of legislation and administration.

Expropriation could speed up the land acquisition process, if transparent criteria are followed. This could make it possible to buy up blocks of farms in desirable locations, thereby lowering the cost of support and improving the productivity of beneficiaries. More often than not, land left over from the 'willing buyer, willing seller' approach after waiving in favour of AALS is marginal land on which the poorest of the poor targeted by the NRP cannot survive, still less be self-sufficient on.

5.2.3 Development of Communal Area

Using all the criteria, VISA throws this up as a viable option. Although this option comes last, there is actually very little to choose between it and resettlement, as the scores were 54 and 55 respectively. It performs poorly with respect to political feasibility. It outperforms the other two with respect to economic contribution and is very close to AALS with respect to effectiveness and efficiency. It should therefore be receiving more attention than it does currently. Outside the Tsumeb, Otjiwarongo Grootfontein areas of the commercial farming area, the other areas suitable for crop farming are in the communal area. The PTT (2004:55) suggests that there are four million hectares in the communal areas that could be developed to address the land hunger.

This option has the significant potential of stemming rural-urban drift and alleviating poverty. Settlers could be resettled in groups and mostly in an environment that they are already familiar with. Resettling groups with high social capital will enhance the sharing of facilities and labour. It is also more likely to get the support of donors than the resettlement option is. Taking

development to where the majority of the people live will be easy to sell to donors and stakeholders.

5.3 STRATEGIES

In planning a strategy it is important that the respective positions and levels of power of each stakeholder are identified. However, it is not enough to identify the position of stakeholders with respect to the overall policy. For strategic planning one still needs to go through the mechanisms and goals of alternative options. For example, while the overall position value indicates that the NAU opposition is low, a position map on equitable distribution shows that the NAU is significantly opposed to goals and mechanisms for equitable redistribution, as shown in Figure 10. To see the total picture of the position of each stakeholder, therefore, one still needs to look separately at the stakeholders' positions on the goals and mechanisms for the policy. The strategies should therefore be aligned and measured against the degree of opposition. It is also important that the obstacles and opportunities are clearly delineated to form part of the parameters to consider in devising effective strategies.

5.4 CONTRIBUTION OF VISA AND POLICYMAKER

The two decision support systems were helpful in reaching some of the conclusions with respect to the preferred criteria identifying plausible strategies. VISA was helpful in evaluating the different options against the criteria, while PolicyMaker was mostly helpful in identifying constraints and opportunities and devising strategies to enhance the feasibility of the land reform policy.

Using the existing documents, like the policy documents, commentaries and the results of the interviews, one would have settled for the resettlement option as the preferred option. Two of the groups interviewed, the emerging farmers and the implementers, were very certain that resettlement is the most likely to meet the objectives of land reform. The VISA software, on the other hand, using applicable weights and scores determined through the interviews, threw up the affirmative action loan scheme as the preferred choice. But for the use of VISA, the recommendation would have been to maintain the current preferential allocation of resources to the resettlement option.

The development of communal areas as an option for land reform is a very late entrant. It is therefore not surprising that it has received very little attention and resource allocation from the land reform programme. Using the existing literature and responses from the interviewees, the significant potential performance of DCA with respect to criteria such as contribution to economy, effectiveness and efficiency might not have been as clear cut as the performance profile showed. Having used the weights as determined from the responses of the interviewees, it became easier to make a case for a significant reallocation of land reform resources to this option.

The success of policy implementation is often determined by how well the policy maker deals with those opposed to the policy. This is even more important when those opposed to it have political and financial clout to derail the process. PolicyMaker provided the generic model that allowed for a systematic identification of all supporters and opposition, their level of opposition and support, the effects and reactions of each group to the goals and mechanisms used for achieving the various goals. Having assessed the impacts of all strategies on particular stakeholders, one is able to use the results in assessing the efficacy of all strategies and making applicable modifications. This will be more difficult to do ordinarily. PolicyMaker, while providing a toolbox of strategies and position-mapping techniques compels one to think beyond the box in identifying possible constraints that should be overcome and opportunities that could be exploited to enhance the feasibility of the policy.

The VISA and PolicyMaker software can greatly enhance the process of public policy analysis. They encourage a systematic and transparent approach to policy analysis. They also minimise the bias of the policy analyst by compelling the analyst to expose all the parameters used to public scrutiny.

5.5 CAVEAT

There is no claim that the use of VISA or any other multi-criteria method will provide the right answer with respect to the best policy option. VISA assists in making the subjective judgements explicit and the process by which they are taken into account transparent, which is very

important when a large number of actors are involved in the decision process. The responsibility of making decisions still lies with the decision maker. The debate on the issue of the correct weights to be attached to different criteria in the evaluation and sensitivity analysis should not take up undue attention. While there is a need to give serious thought to the weighting and to making sure that it reflects the cogent values, time should not be wasted on arguing unnecessarily about the weights. The work of Sanchez and Triantaphyllou (in Tsevetinov & Hazelhurst: 3) “suggests that often the criterion with the lowest weight might be the most critical criterion, while the criterion with the highest weight might be the least critical one.”

All computer-assisted analyses are subject to the popular cliché GIGO (Garbage In Garbage Out). As the developers of the PolicyMaker software advised, once one completes any policy analysis with any package, one should review one’s judgements, one’s assessment and one’s modifications of the programme’s assumptions as a reminder of the uncertainties underlying one’s conclusions and recommendations.



CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 CONCLUSION

The Namibian land reform policy has historical and cultural antecedents. It carries a significant dose of psychological significance. There is currently a comprehensive legal and policy framework guiding its implementation, although sometimes the legislation preceded the policy.

The goal of the Namibian land reform policy is not only to correct the skewed ownership of commercial farmland, but also to improve tenure security in the communal areas in addition to achieving social and economic equity for all its citizens. The values underpinning the reform include equity, productivity, effectiveness, sustainability and feasibility.

Land reform in Namibia encompasses the communal as well as commercial areas. It is hinged on redistribution, executed via resettlement and affirmative action loan scheme. The development of the communal area is beginning to gain momentum as the third leg of the tripod. The impetus of land reform is on the redistribution of commercial farms, which are mostly owned by whites. There is also a realisation that concentrating on broadening the ownership of freehold title land without complementing this with new mechanisms of improving tenure security in communal land may diminish the success of the land reform programme.

The analysis showed that the affirmative action loan scheme and the development of communal areas deserve more attention than they presently attract. The disproportionate resources being deployed to the resettlement option is not likely to meet expectations. The status quo could, however, be maintained if equity as defined in this context is the overriding goal. If the utterances of the politicians and the content of the various policy instruments reflect the true intentions of the government, then a realignment of resources needs to take place urgently. The need to reduce the influence of politics in the land reform process is amply demonstrated in the analysis. This is even more so considering the expectations of land reform in the context of Vision 2030, which envisages propelling Namibia into a middle-income nation. The other problems revealed during the analysis are the limited capacity within the Ministry of Lands and

Resettlement and of the beneficiaries, flawed tenure systems, unclear settler selection criteria, dependency syndrome and lack of collaboration by relevant government organs.

The priority group for NRP, the poorest of the poor, are highly unlikely to satisfy the major expectations of the NRP. One of the primary objectives of the NRP is to make beneficiaries self-supporting. The poorest of the poor are the people least likely to be self-supporting in the short to medium term. For one, they are likely to be illiterates, would probably lack the basic skills, and of course have no capital and financial management skills. This group will need a different support strategy than resettlement.

The success of the land reform programme will depend significantly on the employment of the correct strategies. This should be preceded by a factional analysis, which involves assessing all the actors, their interests and rights, their relative power or influence, and the options available for buffering any transitional dislocations that may accompany implementation of the policy reform.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Land Reform Perspective: Land reform should take a broader perspective and not concentrate on land redistribution only, but encompass expansion of agricultural frontiers into more than crop farming and animal husbandry. Land reform should be hinged on sustainable development. In addition to redressing inequities, it should emphasise the productivity needed to stimulate economic growth essential to reducing unemployment and poverty. A holistic approach is required in the choice of model and its implementation. The focus should be multifocal. Focusing on just one or two objectives of land reform or on the redistribution of existing commercial farms may result in the desired expectations not being met. Resettlement should therefore not be a process for social welfare, but be based on the principles of economic sustainability and resource sustainability (De Wet, 2002:4).

Monitoring: Monitoring and evaluation are important facets of policy implementation. “Land reform is a long-term iterative process, needing feedback, learning and involvement of many stakeholders” (Adams, 2001). Information gathered at this stage will highlight areas of success and failures in addition to giving directions on strategies that could be modified.

Beneficiary Selection: a strict selection regime should be implemented. Weighted selection criteria should be used and only those people eligible and with significant promise should be resettled. Some of the criteria that could be used are age, education, basic farming experience, family labour force, marital status and capital assets (Kinsey and Binswanger, 1996:122). In Zimbabwe the Central Bank Governor castigated the new farmers for keeping farmland purely for their own case and turning productive farms into “weekend picnic venues” (Nampa/AFP, 2005:10) Namibia must avoid giving valuable agricultural land to such beneficiaries.

Post-settlement Support: In addition to selecting the right beneficiaries (at least love of farming and basic skills), support in the form of improved technical support, facilitated credit, productive infrastructure, adaptive land tax, development of rural land market, education and health care are essential for success.

Probation: It is important that beneficiaries feel the urge to succeed and not see themselves as people entitled to social welfare. Resettlement should be preceded by relevant training and relevant capital and technical support, after which targets should be set for monitoring progress and potential for success. Those who fail to meet certain levels of progress should be relieved of their right to the land for reallocation. In that way beneficiaries will be compelled to show more commitment than is currently the case.

Security of Tenure: While the land reform initiatives have been largely successful? in ensuring secure tenure, impediments to the trading of land rights as commodities need to be urgently removed, so that the beneficiaries could enjoy the full benefit of a secure tenure. The possibility of trading on land rights in the communal areas and resettlement projects will enhance the value of the land for collateral and greatly improve investment in those areas.

Expropriation: While expropriation might be controversial, it has the potential of making the right kind of land more available. The criteria agreed to by all stakeholders in the 1991 conference on land should be developed and publicised for the sake of transparency. Expropriation could make it possible to buy up blocks of farms in desirable locations, thereby lowering the cost of support and improving the productivity of beneficiaries.

Valuation of Agricultural Land: The value of land should not be left to so-called market forces. Government should intervene in a transparent manner to stem escalating costs of agricultural land. Even these market forces are not free from intervention by vested interests. The Agric Bank, for example, could factor in the agricultural potential of the land in deciding what

loan to grant to its applicants. In most of the countries studied land values were never left solely to the vagaries of the market. The factors that could be considered include current value of like properties, its nature, actual use and income, the sworn valuation by the owner, the tax declarations and the assessment made by government assessors.

Payment of Compensations: The government should consider compensating landowners using a mixture of instruments like cash, shares and bonds and possibly spreading the payment over a period not sure how this sentence should read. This could release more money for the support services and infrastructure development. It is also possible to use this approach to induce voluntary sales. Those owners that voluntarily offer their land for sale could be paid in fewer instalments or even by one outright cash payment, while compensation for those who wait for expropriation would be spread over a few years.

Commitment and Consistency: The government must demonstrate vividly its commitment to land reform and maintain the momentum and not make it a political tool to be used for boosting waning political popularity. There should not be a period of lull to be followed by what has been referred to as fast-track land reform in Zimbabwe. Consistency is essential in avoiding ad hoc and precipitate actions that could damage the trust and confidence of stakeholders.

Adequate Legislation: Adequate legislation debated and enacted through a due democratic process is essential to enable government intervene in a fair and transparent manner. Areas that should be covered include expropriation, compensation, agricultural land values and tenure security. There should not be any tenure void nor undue restrictions on the rights of beneficiaries.

REFERENCES

- Adams, M. 1995. Land reform: New seeds on old ground? (online) <http://www.odi.org.uk/nrp/nrp6.html>. [11 October, 2005]
- Adams, M. 2000. Land reform in Namibia (online) http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/livelihoods/landrights/downloads/namibref.rtf. [3 March 2005]
- Air University, 1996. Sampling and survey handbook: Guidelines for planning, organising and conducting surveys (online) <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/edref/smpl-srv.pdf> [3 July,2005]
- Alden Wily, L. 2003. Governance and land relations: A review of decentralisation of land administration and management in Africa. International Institute for Environment and Development, London. http://www.poptel.org.uk/iied/drylands/pubs/documents/LT_wily.pdf [3 July,2005]
- Anderson, J. E. 1984. Public policymaking – An introduction. 3rd Edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Baker P.F. Michaels, R.M. and Preston, E.S. 1975. Public policy development. Linking the technical and political processes. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Barrie, R.B. 1990. A policy issue analysis of indigence determination and user charges in public dental services. Unpublished MPA thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch
- Bayat, M.S. and Meyer, I.H. 1994. *Public administration concepts, theory and practice*. Cape Town: Southern Book Publishers.
- Belton, V 1999. Multi-criteria problem structuring and analysis in a value theory framework. In Gal T., Stewart T, & Hanne T. (eds) : *Multicriteria decision making: advances in MCDM models, algorithms, theory & applications*, Amsterdam: Kluwer.
- Besley, T. and Burgess, R. 2000. Land reform, poverty reduction, and growth: Evidence from India. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*. May 2000 p 389-430 <http://are.berkeley.edu/courses/ARE251/2004/papers/Besley-BurgessQJE.pdf> [18 October, 2005]
- Bhargava, H.K., Sridhar, S. & Herrick, C. 1999. Beyond spreadsheets: Tools for building decision support systems *Computer*. Vol. 32, No. 3 pp. 31-39.
- Borras Jr., S.M. 2002. Towards a better understanding of the market-led agrarian reform in theory and practice: Focusing on the Brazilian case. www.fao.org/sd/ltirect/landrf.htm. [18 October, 2005].
- Breytenbach, W. 2004. Land reform in Southern Africa. In: Hunter, J. (Eds), *Who should own the land? Analysis and views on land reform and the land question in Namibia and Southern Africa (46-63)*. Windhoek: Konrad-Adenauer-stiftung, Namibia Institute for Democracy.
- Brinkman Henk-Jan, 1998. Redividing land can boost output. *African Recovery*, Vol.12 #3 December 1998.
- Burger, J. 1996. Skills applications, supportive technology and techniques for managing information and informed management. In: Schwella, E., Burger, J., Fox , W. & Müller, J.J. 1996. *Public Resource Management*. Kenwyn: Juta & Co. Ltd.

- Carnegie, J., Roos. M., Madolo, M., Moahloli, C and Abbot J. 2004. The rocky road towards sustainable livelihoods: Land reform in Free State, South Africa. Gatekeeper Series No. SA76 (online) <http://www.iied.org/docs/gatekeep/GK79.pdf>. [9 June 2005]
- Chatterjee, P. 2002. Land reform in India necessary but not sufficient to fight poverty. D + C Development and Cooperation No.2, march/April 2002, p21-22. <http://www.inwent.org/E+Z/1997-2002/de202-8.htm>. [18 October, 2005].
- Chen, F. 1999a. Land reform in rural China since the mid 1980s, part 1. <http://www.fao.org/sd/Ltdirect/Ltan0031.htm>. [18 October, 2005].
- Chen, F. 1999b. Land reform in rural China since the mid 1980s, part 2. <http://www.fao.org/sd/Ltdirect/Ltan0031.htm> [18 October, 2005].
- Cloete, F. 1992. Comparative lessons for land reform in South Africa. Africa Insight, Vol. 22 No. 4. 1992.
- Cloete, F. 2003. Research: Strategic management support technologies in the public sector. Stellenbosch: SUN ePRESS.
- Cloete, F. 2004. *Contemporary trends in public policy analysis*. Stellenbosch: School of Public Management and Planning.
- Cloete, F. and Wissink, H. 2000. Improving public policy. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- CoastLearn. Policy analysis. (undated) <http://www.csulb.edu/~msaintg/ppa670/670intro.htm>. (online). [17 March 2005]
- Cousins, B. 2000. Does land and agrarian reform in South Africa have a future? And if so, who will benefit? In: Cousins, B. 2000. At the crossroads: Land and agrarian reform in South Africa into the 21st century (PLAAS and National land Committee, Bellville and Braamfontein).
- Darroch M. & Lyne, M. 2002. Helping disadvantaged South Africans access the land market: past performance and future policy. Basis Brief No. 10: 1-4.
- deLeon P and Overman, S. 1998. A History of the policy sciences. In Rabin Jack, Hildreth, WB and Miller GJ (eds): HANDBOOK OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, Marcel Dekker, New York.
- De Villiers, B 2003. Land reform: issues and challenges a comparative overview of experiences in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and Australia. Konrad Adenauer Foundation • Occasional Papers • Johannesburg • April 2003 (online) http://www.glc.com.au/pu_xx/Land%20reform%20book.pdf [30 December 2004].
- De Wet J., 2002. Implementing land reform in a sustainable and developmental way. Proceedings: *The Land Issue – Where to from Now? Continental Hotel, Windhoek 24 September 2002. Namibian Economic society Newsletter, ISSN No. 1027-183x November 2002 edition 25.*
- Deininger K. Feder, G. Gordillo de A. and Munro-Faure P. 2003. Land policy to facilitate growth and poverty reductions. In: FAO Land Reform 2003/3 Special Edition. (online) http://www.fao.org/documents/show_cdr.asp?url_file=/docrep/006/y5026e/y5026e00.htm [30 December 2004].
- Deshpande, R.S.2003.Current land policy issues in India. Journal of Land Reform.2003/3. http://www.fao.org/documents/show_cdr.asp?url_file=/docrep/006/y5026e/y5026e0b.htm. [18 October, 2005].
- Dunn, W. N. 1981. *Public policy analysis: an introduction*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

- Encyclopedia Britannica Online (undated). <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-61988>. [11 October, 2005].
- EGSMS, Environmental and Geographical Science Masters Students, 1998. A retrospective assessment of environmental implications of resettlement in the Oshikoto and Omaheke regions of Namibia. Cape Town: University of Cape Town
- Fritschler A.L. and Wilson, M.C. 1981. Policy analysis in public administration In Vocino, T. and Rabin J. 1981. *Contemporary Public Administration* (363-389). New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Gatech, 1997. Questionnaire Design. (http://www.cc.gatech.edu/classes/cs6751_97_winter/Topics/quest-design/(online) [17 February 2005]
- Geingob, H. 2000. Land reform and the land question in Namibia: briefing notes. Unpublished paper presented to donors in support of land reform.
- GFA Terra Systems, 2003. Screening mission: infrastructure support for land reform programme in Namibia, Final Report.
- Glassman, A., Reich, M.R., Laserson, K. & Rojas, F. 1999. Political analysis of health reform in the Dominican Republic. *Health policy and planning*: 14(2): 115-126. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grusczyński D. M. and Jaramillo, C. F. 2003. Integrating land issues into the broader development agenda: Columbia. In: FAO Land Reform 2003/3 Special Edition.(online). http://www.fao.org/documents/show_cdr.asp?url_file=/docrep/006/y5026e/y5026e00.htm [7 December 2004].
- Hall, R. 2005. Ten years of market-based land reform in South Africa: Lessons for the region. Presentation to the Conference on Land in Namibia. 7 September 2005.
- Hamutenya, H. 1997. Development and communal land system. In Malan, J & Hinz, M.O. (Ed.) *Proceedings of the consultative conference on communal land administration* (31-34). 26 – 28 September 1997. Windhoek: National Press Tsumeb.
- Hansohm, D. 2002 Lessons from International Experience on Land reform for Namibia. *Namibian Economic Society Newsletter*, ISSN No. 1027-183x November 2002 edition 25.
- Harrison, F., 1980. Five lessons for land reformers: The case of Taiwan. http://www.cooperativeindividualism.org/harrison_taiwan_land_reform.html. [15 October 2005]
- Helms, W.D. 2002. Policy analysis framework. Presented at: AHRQ Workshop, Using Policy Analysis and Research More Effectively in Decisionmaking; July 29, 2002; Rensselaerville, New York.
- Henry, N. 1989. *Public administration and public affairs*. 4th edition. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Heywood, A. 2002. *Politics* 2nd edn New York: Palgrave Foundations.
- Hogwood B.W. and Gunn, L. A. 1984. *Policy analysis for the real world*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Horsthemke, O. 2004. Land reform in Namibia: opportunity or opportunism. In *Hunter, J. (Eds), Who Should Own the Land? Analysis and views on land reform and the land question in Namibia and Southern Africa* (pp. 87-97). Windhoek: Konrad-Adenauer-stiftung, Namibia Institute for Democracy.

- Hughes, O.E. 2003. Public management and administration. An introduction. 3rd edn. New York: Pelgrave Macmillan.
- Hunter, J. 2004. Who should own the land? An introduction. In: *Hunter, J. (Eds), Who should own the land? Analysis and views on land reform and the land question in Namibia and Southern Africa (pp.1-7)* Windhoek: Konrad-Adenauer- Stiftung, Namibia Institute for democracy.
- Information Research Services, 2004. Condensed Guide to Market Research. http://www.markettrends.com/guides/guide_method.htm [1 August 2005].
- IBRD, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2004. Philippines: Agrarian reform infrastructure support project – making agrarian reform work. Scaling up poverty reduction: A global learning process and conference. Shanghai, May 25-27, 2004.
- International Land coalition (ILC), 1998. Arnet regional report South Asia 1998. <http://www.landcoalition.org/program/arnetr98alrd.htm>. [11 October, 2005].
- John, P. 1998. Analysis of public policy. London: Pinter.
- Kapenda, R. 2002. Land question in Namibia and the continuation of slavery on our farm Namibian Economic Society Newsletter, ISSN No. 1027-183x November 2002 edition 25.
- Kaumbi, U. 2004. The land is ours. In Hunter, J. (Eds), *Who should own the land? Analysis and views on land reform and the land question in Namibia and Southern Africa* (pp. 92-94). Windhoek: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Namibia Institute for democracy.
- Kay, C. 1998. Latin America's agrarian reform: Lights and shadows. FAO, Land Reform 1998/2. www.fao.org/sd/ltdirect/landrf.htm
- Khorshid, M. 2004. Model-centered government decision support systems Arab World. The International Conference On Input-Output and General Equilibrium: Data, modeling and policy analysis September 2-4,2004 Brussels, Belgium. www.ecomod.net/conferences/iioa2004/iioa2004_papers/khorshid.pdf (online). [17 March 2005].
- Kinsey, B.H. 2004. Zimbabwe's land reform program: Underinvestment in post-conflict transformation. *World Development*. Vol. 32 No. 10 pp. 1669-1696.
- Kinsey, B and Binswanger, 1996. Characteristics and performance of settlement programmes: A review. In: Van Zyl, J., Kirsten, J. and Binswanger, H.P. 1996. *Agricultural land reform in South Africa. Policies, markets and mechanisms*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Konimbih, T.M., 2001. Major issues of smallholder land policy: Past trends and current practices in Kenya. FAO, Land Reform 2001/2. www.fao.org/sd/ltdirect/landrf.htm.
- Land Reform Division. Land Reforms Chapter 8 (undated). <http://rural.nic.in/book98-99/chapter.8.pdf>
- LRAN, Land Research Action Network, 2003. Backgrounder Part I: Land reform in India issues and challenges. <http://www.landaction.org/display.php?articles=57>. [15 October, 2005]
- Lebert, T. 2003. Backgrounder-land and agrarian reform in Zimbabwe. Land and Research Action Network. <http://www.landaction.org/display.php?article=61>. [19 October 2005]
- Mabin V, Menzies M, King G & Joyce, K 1997 : Electronic meeting support and multi-criteria decision analysis as tools to assist decision-making in the public sector, PUBLIC SECTOR (New Zealand) 20(2):13-18.
- Mabin, V. King, G. Menzies, M. & Joyce, K. 2001. Public sector priority setting using decision support tools. *Australian Journal of Public Administration* Vol. 60 (2) 44-59.

- Malan, J. 2003. 2003. *Guide to the Communal Land Reform Act, Act No. 5 of 2002*. Windhoek: Legal Assistance Centre and Namibia National Farmers Union.
- Mattei, J.F.E. & Vázquez, J. F. 2003. A methodology for policy analysis in water resources management. <http://www.feem-web.it/ess03/students/feas.pdf> [17 March 2005].
- Mbaya, S. 2000. *Land policy: Its importance and emerging lessons from Southern Africa*. Paper Presented at the Workshop on Land Tenure and Land Use Policy Hosted by the Ugandan land Alliance, Grand imperial hotel, Kampala on 29 May 2000.
- Meyer, I. H. & Cloete, F. 2000. Policy agenda-setting. In: Cloete F & Wissink H. 2000. *Improving Public Policy 1st edition*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- MLR, Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, 2005. 5-Year strategic plan.
- MLR, Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, 2002. National land tenure policy. Managing land tenure and resource access in West Africa: A regional workshop held at Goree, Senegal, November 18-22 1996. Camilla Toulmin & Judy Longbottom IIED, March 1997. http://www.iied.org/pdf/goree_intro.pdf [11 March 2005]
- Mitton, C & Donaldson, C., 2004. Health care priority setting: Principles, practice and challenges. Cost effectiveness and resource allocation 2 (3). <http://www.resource-allocation.com/content/2/1/3>. (online). [17 March 2005]
- Moïse, E.E., 1993. Land reform in China and North Vietnam: Consolidating the revolution at the village level. <http://www.clemson.edu/caah/history/Facultypages/edmoise/landbook.html>. [15 October, 2005]
- Mudge, D. 2004. Land reform in perspective. In: Hunter, J. (Eds), *Who should own the land? analysis and views on land reform and the land question in Namibia and Southern Africa* (pp.100-103). Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Namibia Institute for Democracy.
- Nagel S.S. and Teasley III C.E. 1998. Diverse perspectives for public policy analysis, In Rabin Jack, Hildreth WB and Miller GJ: *Handbook of Public Administration*, 507-533.
- Namibia Agricultural Union, NAU, 2003. A Framework for a sustainable land use and land reform programme in Namibia. Unpublished Paper.
- Nampa/AFP, 2005. Zimbabwe blames new farmers for food shortage. New Era, Wednesday 2 November 2005.
- Niang-Diop, I. and Bosch, H. 2005. Formulating an adaptation strategy. www.undp.org/gef/undp-gef_publications/publications/apf%20technical%20paper08.pdf [17 July, 2005]
- Nyoni, M.J.M. 1997 Land tenure options for Namibia: experiences from Southern Africa. In Malan, J & Hinz, M.O. (Ed.) *Proceedings of the Consultative Conference on Communal Land Administration (31-34). 26 – 28 September 1997. Windhoek: National Press Tsumeb*.
- Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, 1992. The land policy of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Johannesburg: Department of Land and Environmental Affairs.
- Parsons, W. 1995. *Public policy: An introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis*. Brookfield: Edward Elgar Publishing Company.
- PTT, Permanent Technical Team on Land Reform, 2004. Background research work and findings of the PTT Studies. Unpublished Report.
- Polimap (undated). PolicyMaker Software 2.3: Computer-assisted political analysis. <http://www.polimap.com>. (online). [17 March 2005].

- PLAAS, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, 2001. SLSA land theme research briefing 1: The politics of land reform in southern Africa. [Http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/env/igpp.html](http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/env/igpp.html). [5 October, 2005]
- Project Citizen. Problem identification and Analysis Form(http://www.civiced.org/projcit_form01.html) (online). [17 March 2005]
- Queensland Government, 2004. Policy analysis. <http://education.qld.gov.au/corporate/doem/guide/polanal.html>. (online). [17 March 2005]
- Rashid S. 2000. *Is land reform viable under democratic capitalism?* http://www.business.uiuc.edu/Working_Papers/papers/00-0127.pdf (online). [27 November 2004].
- Reich, M. R. 1996. Applied political analysis for health policy reform <http://www.polimap.com/> (online). [27 November 2004].
- RoN, Republic of Namibia, 1995a. Agricultural (commercial) Land Reform Act. Windhoek: Ministry of Lands and Resettlement.
- RoN, Republic of Namibia, 1995b. National Agricultural Policy. Windhoek: Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development
- RoN, Republic of Namibia, 1998. National Land Policy. Windhoek: Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation.
- RoN, Republic of Namibia, 2001. National Resettlement Policy. Windhoek: Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation.
- RoN, Republic of Namibia, 2002. Communal Land Reform Act. Windhoek: Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation.
- Roth, M. 2003. Delivering land and securing rural livelihoods: Synthesis and way forward? Paper prepared for the conference post-independence land reform and resettlement in Zimbabwe held 26-28 march 2003. Mont Clair Hotel, Nyanga.
- Roux, N.L. 2000. Policy design. In: Cloete F & Wissink H. 2000. *Improving public policy*. 1st edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Sachikonye, L.M., 2003. The scope and process of fast-track land reform. The situation of commercial farm workers after land reform in Zimbabwe. A report prepared for the Farm community Trust of Zimbabwe.
- Sachikonye, L.M., 2004. Land reform in Namibia and Zimbabwe: A comparative perspective. In: Hunter, J. (Eds), *Who should own the land? Analysis and views on land reform and the land question in Namibia and Southern Africa (pp.1-7)* Windhoek: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Namibia Institute for democracy.
- Scioli Jr. F.P. and Cook T.J. 1975. *Methodologies for analysing public policies*. Massachusetts: Lexington Books D.C. Heath & Company.
- Seeman, N. 2000. Software for tyrants. *The Weekly Standard*. August28/Septemebr 4 2000.
- Sherbourne, R. 2004. Rethinking land reform in Namibia: any room for economics? Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) Opinion No 13. http://www.ippr.org.na/Opinion%20Pieces/opinion_13.htm (online). [23 November 2004].
- Shinns L.H. and Lyne M.C. 2004. Possible causes of poverty within a group of land reform beneficiaries in the Midlands of Kwazulu-Natal: analysis and policy recommendations. [Http://www.basis.wisc.edu](http://www.basis.wisc.edu) (online). [27 November 2004].

- SIMUL8 Corporation, 2005 <http://www.simul8.com/products/visa.htm>. (online) [17 February 2005]
- Smith, F.H. 2003. Rationality in Policy Making Considered. *Journal of Public Administration*. Vol. 38 No. 3. September, 2003. 314-337.
- South African Documentation and Cooperation Center SADOCC, 2003. New land conference urged. <http://www.sadocc.at/news/2003-284.shtml> (online). [21 December 2004].
- StatPac Inc., 2005. Research methods. (online) <Http://www.statpac.com/surveys/research-methods.htm> [21 July 2005].
- Tanner, C., 2001. The reform and implementation of land policy in Mozambique – a case study of FAO Support. FAO, Land Reform 2001/2. www.fao.org/sd/ltdirect/landrf.htm. [15 October 2005]
- Teofilo E. And Garcia D.P. 2003. Brazil: Land politics, poverty and rural development. http://www.fao.org/documents/show_cdr.asp?url_file=/docrep/006/y5026e/y5026e00.htm
- Tsvetinov, P. & Hazelhurst. Using visual interactive sensitivity analysis (VISA) in programming course assessments. (online). <http://eprints.qut.edu.au/archive/00001551/01/1551.pdf> [7 July 2005].
- Turban, E. Mclean, E. Wetherbe, J. Bolloju, N & Davison, R. 2002. Information technology for management – Transforming business in the digital economy. 3rd edition. New York: John Wiley & sons, INC.
- UNEP, United Nations Environmental Programme, 2004. The use of economic instruments in environmental policy: Options and challenges.
- Van Zyl J, Kirsten, J and Binswanger, H.P. 1996. Setting the scene. In: Van Zyl J, Kirsten, J and Binswanger, H.P. 1996. *Agricultural land Reform in South Africa: Policies, Markets and Mechanism* (pp. 1-17). Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Vocino, T. and Rabin J. 1981. *Contemporary public administration*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc New York.
- Werner, W. 2001. Land reform and poverty alleviation: experiences from Namibia. *NEPRU Working paper No. 78. The Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit Windhoek*.
- Werner, W. 2004. Promoting development among farm workers: some options for Namibia In: *Hunter, J. (Eds), Who Should Own the Land? Analysis and Views on Land Reform and The Land Question in Namibia and Southern Africa*. Windhoek: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Namibia Institute for Democracy.
- World Bank, 1997. Columbia: Paving the Way for a Results-oriented Public Sector. Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRES

FULL NAME:.....

ORGANIZATION (in terms of land reform e.g. land board, farm union, etc.)

.....

Tel. including cell phone.....

Fax:

Email:

Questionnaires

1. What, to your mind are the goals of Namibian land reform policy? How would you measure its success?
2. What values are important to you as far as land reform is concerned?
3. What criteria should be used to select beneficiaries?
4. The Land conference brought to the fore the ethnic tensions where those, south of the red line that were actually dispossessed of their land, argued that land be returned or redistributed in favour of those who actually were dispossessed of their land. The land conference identified that injustice had been done in the dispossession and needs to be redressed. To your mind, should this redress include some form of preferential resettlement for those mostly affected by the colonial dispossession?
5. Fertile land is limited in Namibia (1% of available land). In the commercial farming area, this is limited to the part of Otavi, Gronfontein Tsumeb area. The rest can be found in the communal area (consisting of about 8 million ha). What should be the place of the underutilised communal area in the land reform process?
6. The willing buyer willing seller concept has proved to be slow although it is less controversial. Expropriation is controversial and could be costly with litigations. How do we balance the approach?

7. Land reform in Namibia takes 3 approaches, redistributive (resettlement), Affirmative Action Loan scheme and the development of the resettlement project in the communal area. What are your views on these approaches? Can you rank them in order preference?
8. Land Reform debate seems to concentrate on the redistribution of the commercial farms. Is this approach plausible? Should we give equal attention to other options?
9. There seems to be an institutional conflict in the implementation of land reform programme. The Ministry of Agriculture is more interested in economic resource sustainability and focuses more on assisting private farmers to improve technical efficiency and maximize profit, while MLR's resettlement programme targets the poorest of the poor? How can this conflict be resolved?
10. Should economic and resource sustainability feature prominently in the resettlement programme?
11. Should there be a balance between economic imperative and equity in land ownership?
12. Redistribution of commercial farm land has the potential to displace more people than are resettled. It is estimated that about 200 000 persons are presently accommodated on commercial farm land. How do we tackle this problem?
13. Table 1 consists of sample criteria for evaluating the success of land reform. Using a scale of 0-10, where 10 is the most important, give your perceived weights to the criteria. More than one criteria could have the same weight. For example, effectiveness and sustainability could each have a weight 7.

CRITERIA	Explanation	WEIGHT
Effectiveness	The achievement of valued outcome	
Equity in Land ownership	Correcting the current imbalance in terms of race and giving more poor people access to land?	
Political feasibility	Political expediency in land reform? That is the politicians being conscious of their credibility with their constituency	
Efficiency	comparing input with output?	
Responsiveness	Policy outcomes of the chosen policy alternative satisfying the needs preferences or values of particular groups	
Environmental friendliness	The effect on the environment to any option chosen?	
Sustainability	Adequate resources to kick start and sustain the programme over a long term	
Economy	The contribution of the programme to the GDP and poverty reduction.	
Support of donors		
Stakeholder acceptability		
Adequacy	The extent to which the achievement of a valued outcome resolves the problem?	

Table 1 Sample Criteria

14. The three options being implemented presently are Affirmative Action Loan Scheme, AALS, Resettlement and Development of communal land. In table 2 below, please indicate the percentage influence you believe each of the options could have on the criteria. Please refer to table 1 for the meaning of each criterion.

	AALS	Resettlement	Development of Communal Land
Effectiveness			
Equity in Land ownership			
Political feasibility			
Efficiency			
Responsiveness			
Environmental friendliness			
Sustainability			
Economy			
Support of donors			
Stakeholder acceptability			
Adequacy			

