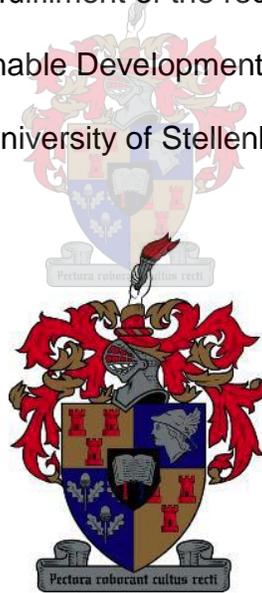


Does Post-Settlement Support Play a Role in the Success of Land Reform?

The Case of Resettlement Beneficiaries in Namibia.

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Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Masters of Philosophy, Sustainable Development Planning and Management, at
the University of Stellenbosch



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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification

Date: 20 February 2010

VERKLARING

Deur hierdie tesis elektronies in te lewer, verklaar ek dat die geheel van die werkhierin vervat, my eie, oorspronklike werk is, dat ek die outeursregeienaar daarvan is (behalwe tot die mate uitdruklik anders aangedui) en dat ek dit nie vantevore, in die geheel of gedeeltelik, ter verkryging van enige kwalifikasie aangebied het nie

Datum: 20 February 2010

ABSTRACT

The research deals with post-settlement support in Namibia's land reform process. Post-settlement support (PSS) is seen as vital and critical in all land and agrarian reform processes, as can be told from experiences worldwide. Its absence or presence can have a number of consequences or successes in the whole process. PSS can be viewed as the "after care" to be provided by government to new farmers after resettling them. It could be in the form of financial support, extension services and maintenance of infrastructure as well as training services for the farmers.

The paper deals with the current status of post-settlement support in the country for land a reform beneficiary, who provides PSS, if it is provided and how it is done. It further looks at perceptions and practices about land reform, in some regions of the world as well as in Namibia.

The methodology used was through extensive literature review of policy documents, interviews with different stakeholders and two case studies, looking at beneficiaries of the land reform, specifically the national land resettlement programme beneficiaries.

The paper found that there is definitely a link between the poor productivity and lack of PSS in Namibia's land reform process. PSS is not consistent; it is selected or sometimes randomly carried out. Most of the PSS programmes currently provided is not initiated by government but by donor agencies and Non-governmental organisations. There is no coordination between the different stakeholders such as the line ministries.

The paper illustrates that choosing the correct beneficiaries of the land reform process is vital in achieving sustainable, land use and management, as well as equitable land redistribution in an arid Namibia.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie navorsing handel oor ondersteuning wat hervestigde boere ontvang na vestiging. Die ondersteuning aan hervestigdes is krities en belangrik in alle fasette van grond en landbou hervormings prosesse. Die huidige wêreld verleen groot steun aan hierdie gevolgtrekking. Daarvoor hou die toepassing oftewel nie-toepassing van na-hervestigings ondersteuning groot risiko vir die sukses van die hele hervestigings proses.

Hierdie tipe ondersteuning vir hervestigdes kan as 'n noodsaaklike na diens wat die staat kan lewer aan die nuwe grond eienaars. Sulke ondersteuning deur die staat kan verskeie vorms inneem. Dit kan geskied deur finansiële hulp oftewel landbou dienste wat ook die instandhouding van plaas infrastruktuur kan behels.

In hierdie navorsing kyk ons na opvattinge rakende hervestigings ondersteuning soos ervaar deur die hervestigdes. Die navorsing is gebaseer op literatuur van reg-oor die wereld aangaande hierdie vraag stuk.

Ons het ook onderhoude gevoer met verskillende belanghebbendes met twee gevalle studies wat handel oor die ervaringe van hervestigdes.

Die navorsing vind dat daar n definitiewe verband tussen swak produksie opbrengste en na-hervestiging ondersteuning is. Ons vind dat hierdie tipe ondersteuning **ad hoc** is met baie min koördinerings deur die staat masjienerij.

Ons vind dat dit op die lange duur belangrik is om die regte mense te selekteer vir hervestiging programme, veral as in ag geneem word dat Namibie 'n taamlieke droë land is.

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Lastly but not least, I thank my supervisor, Gareth Haysom for the always encouraging comments which boosted my confidence in completing my thesis.

Dedication

This paper is dedicated to my father, Isak Thaddues !Hoab, who was such an inspiration during my childhood and did everything in his power to enable us as children to get a decent education. Father this is dedicated to you to show my appreciation for everything that you have done for us as a family.

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Acronyms

AALS	AFFIRMATIVE ACTION LOAN SCHEME
ACLRA	AGRICULTURAL (COMMERSICAL) LAND REFORM ACT
AGRIBANK	AGRICULTURAL BANK OF NAMIBIA
CLRA	COMMUNAL LAND REFORM ACT
ECFSP	EMERGING COMMERCIAL FARMERS SUPPORT PROGRAMME
GRN	GOVERNMENT
MAWF	MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE WATER ABND FORESTRY
MRL	MINISTRY OF LANDS AND RESETTLEMENT
NAU	NAMIBIA AGRICULTURAL UNION
NECFU	NAMIBIA EMERGING COMMERCIAL FARMERS' UNION
NLP	NATIONAL LAND POLICY
NNF	NAMIBIA NATURE FOUNDATION
NNFU	NAMIBIA NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NRP	NATIONAL RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME
PSS	POST SETTLEMENT SUPPORT
PTT	PERMANENT TECHNICAL TEAM
WBWS	WILLING BUYER-WILLING SELLER

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1. INTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted that giving people land will empower them economically, however little attention is given to creating an enabling environment for farmers to make a success out of the land. The case is evident in Namibia and many other countries, be it in the developing or developed world.

Werner (2001) cites, (RoN 2001: 14-11) that access to land is seen as a prerequisite for the provision of opportunities to sustainable means of livelihoods and the enhancement of dignity, well being and economic empowerment of previously disadvantaged groups and communities. In contrast, the author states that neither the Poverty Reduction Strategy for Namibia, which was approved by Cabinet in 1998, nor the National Poverty Reduction Action Programme 2001-2005 on which it is based, deal with the issue of land reform and poverty reduction. “On the contrary, these documents leave the distinct impression that little can be expected from land redistribution in terms of poverty alleviation in the long term. According to the Poverty Reduction Strategy, ‘the agricultural base is too weak to offer a sustainable basis for prosperity’ (Werner, 2001:1).

Werner (2001) suggests that politicians and civil servants may have different perceptions about the importance of land reform in poverty alleviation programmes, and more specifically, what redistributive land reform in particular can achieve in terms of poverty reduction.

Perhaps, it is because little is done to make a success out of land reform, that there is a perception that poverty alleviation cannot be addressed through land reform. Or there might be genuinely no hope to alleviate or attempt to alleviate

poverty, using land reform as a means, or land reform alone should not be viewed as the solution to poverty alleviation.

“In spite of the efficiency and equity arguments for land reform, land has some socio-political and historical importance that may often override the economic rationale of land reform as a policy. The dilemma, on the other hand, is that land reform, and particularly land settlements, are costly, very complex to implement and failure-prone”, (Karuombe, 2003:1). According to Karuombe this warrants poverty solutions that go beyond land reform and necessarily justify an approach and strategy that looks at the land question, from a livelihood perspective.

This paper attempts to look at Post-settlement support (PSS) for new farmers or previously disadvantaged people in the land reform process of Namibia. PSS can be viewed as the “after care” to be provided by government to new farmers after resettling them. It could be in the form of financial support, extension services and maintenance of infrastructure as well as training services for the farmers.

In a broader view, the paper will be looking at Namibia’s land reform progress and its spin-offs such as economic independence of participants and productivity, focusing on the National Resettlement Programme (NRP) beneficiaries.

The aim is to see whether there is success in the country’s land reform process and if so whether post settlement support plays a role in this. The paper also asks whether post-settlement really exists in the land reform process of the country.

This introduction is followed by chapter two that deals with the research design, methodology and “My Role as a Journalist”. It is followed by chapter three that deals with the literature review, which studies the different policies on land

reform, the purpose of land reform, models of PSS, the reason for PSS, current debates and perceptions of PSS and land reform in general.

Chapter four discusses the views of role players in the land reform process, their views and responsibilities. Chapter five which follows four deals with the two case studies that is/was viewed as a success story of the land reform process and what is viewed as a failure.

Chapter six is the data analysis of the paper, while chapter seven deals with the conclusion and recommendations, followed by the list of reference.

1.2. BACKGROUND

Namibia like many of its neighbouring countries in Southern Africa has inherited a skewed pattern of land distribution from their colonial masters. Thus it is trying to redress this pattern through its land reform programme.

During the colonial era, starting from the German to the South African occupation, indigenous Namibians were forced into arid communal areas, which are poor for agricultural production, while the colonialists allocated themselves the productive arable land. Hunter (2004) states that the country's central and southern regions, especially those inhabited by the Herero, Damara and Nama tribes were particularly affected by colonial land grabbing. Other parts, mostly the northern and northeastern regions inhabited by the Oshiwambo, Caprivian and Kavango people were not inhabited by the colonial people.

At independence 52% of the agricultural farmland was in the hands of the white commercial farmers' community who made up 6% of the country's population. The remaining 94% of the population owned 48% of the agricultural land (Hunter,

2004). Thus the most arable land was in the hands of the minority, which also translates into the current wealth distribution.

In Namibia, land is acquired through the 'willing-buyer willing-seller' concept, which is seen as very cumbersome by both government and critics. It is through the Willing-Buyer Willing-Seller system that the government acquires land for redistribution to indigenous people or formerly disadvantaged.

After independence in 1990, the Namibian government has embarked upon two types of land reform programmes, namely the National Resettlement Programme (NRP) whereby government allocates a number of families or individuals on freehold farms through State acquisition under the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR). The state acquisition or resettlement programme mostly services the poorest of the poor, including farm workers, while the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) enables successful communal farmers with a certain number of livestock the opportunity to purchase farms through the loan scheme, on a very low interest rate.

More land has been distributed through this particular scheme, as compared to the NRP. The government has managed to redistribute nearly four times the amount resettled by the state acquisition programme NRP since independence (PTT, 2005).

The main aim of the land reform process after independence was to redress past injustices caused by colonisation, whereby the country's indigenous people were disowned of their land. The land reform process was however not only to correct past injustices but also to achieve social and economic equity for all its citizens (PTT, 2005).

Targeted land for redistribution is: land owned by foreigners, absentee landlords, underutilised land and very large farms and ownership of several farms by one owner (Sherborne, 2009). Land owned by foreigners can be expropriated with just compensation. A number of farms have been expropriated, although farmers' unions such as the Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU) thinks that form of radical acquisition is not clear. (NAU, 2008)

As a result of Namibia's aridity and low unpredictable rainfall pattern, the country is mostly focusing on stock farming rather than crop farming. Out of the 6 000 farms in the country, not more than 209 commercial farms have been acquired for resettlement purposes, meaning no more than 9 138 people were resettled on these farms, out of a population of approximately two million.

To date, approximately 6 million ha have been acquired through the WSWB principle (MLR, 2007).

Its aridity and limited water resources further hamper Namibia's agricultural productivity. In addition, bush encroachment is a factor that severely affects agricultural productivity. Yet, a huge number of Namibians are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. Agriculture is thus a very important form of economic activity, although it has more limits than gains to the country.

Due to the above reasons, the country is relying on neighbouring South Africa for 80% of its foodstuffs. This is a worrying factor, considering the global food shortage that is expected in future, whereby some countries might not be able to export their food but rather keep it for their own consumption. In addition, the predicted drier implications on Southern Africa as a result of climate change might reduce pastures, and decline in livestock production among others (Hoes, 2008).

The little productive land available for agricultural purposes is not being sustained and might be going to waste, through unproductive and unsustainable agricultural practices.

According to the recent conference on post-settlement support, the Namibian government aims to redistribute at least 15 million hectares of commercial farmland by 2020. (Proceedings – Post Settlement Conference, 2008)

1.3. AIM OF STUDY AND MOTIVATION

The poverty levels in Namibia with such a small population is a cause for concern, as half of the population lives in abject poverty in a country with so many rich resources. In addition, Namibia, with a gini-coefficient of 0.604, is one of the countries with the highest levels of income inequality in the world.

In Namibia, a number of the previously disadvantaged people had been given access to land so that they can empower themselves economically as well as regain their lost dignity after their colonial masters have disowned them of their land.

The researcher has observed that despite people being empowered through land redistribution, most people are still poor or are even worse off than before. The general view is that access to land will empower people and address the poverty issues. Access to land in Namibia has not translated into empowerment or release Namibians from poverty.

The study aims to investigate whether people get any support after being resettled or what support they get (if they get any) and how sufficient this support is in addressing their needs.

The researcher was further motivated by the Post-Settlement Conference (2008), looking at post-settlement support for emerging commercial farmers in Namibia. It was not clear from the deliberations whether there is any real dedicated post-settlement support for these new farmers, be it for the beneficiaries of resettlement or Affirmative Action Loan Scheme beneficiaries. The topic is worth a study in order to see what the real problem is.

According to a report by the Bank of Namibia the agriculture sector is constrained by certain factors, which could lead to agricultural decline. The factors are listed as less availability of marketable animals, unavailability of markets for some products, lack of economies of scale, high input and transport cost, lack of finance, climatic and weather conditions, competition, exchange rate volatility, unavailability of farm lands, lack of skills and fresh produce markets, scattering of producers and unsynchronised transport system, (BON, 2006).

Another motivation came by during the Sustainable Land Use class, where a lot was discussed on land tenure rights for communal land as well as beneficiaries of resettlement. People are given land but that land has no economic value to them, as it cannot be used as collateral for loans from commercial institutions due to complexities of land ownership especially in communal areas or areas of shared land usage such as resettlement farms.

Perhaps if farmers can get sufficient support after settlement their land could become valuable and enable them to get collateral from financial institutions.

The study looks at what is regarded as a successful land reform case, as well as one that is regarded as an unsuccessful one, bringing in the government support factor, its impact on land reform. The study will also attempt to find out whether

resettlement programmes fail because of the above-mentioned reasons or other reasons.

The study is relevant to current Namibian debates as the whole land reform programme is constantly under review, thus any possible study on the subject could be relevant to stakeholders in decision-making. There are current policies and legislations that are not working as envisaged.

1.4. RESEARCH PROBLEM/HYPOTHESIS

The study seeks to find out if and what support newly resettled farmers do/should receive, and why some are more successful than others, if that is the case. This will be done through talking to the different beneficiaries of the resettlement project. Engaging with the beneficiaries will enable the researcher to get the information from “inside”.

Secondly, it would find out what the perceptions are regarding post-settlement support in the country. This will be done through doing an extensive literature review on post-settlement support, as well as talking to different role players in the land reform and agricultural fraternity.

In trying to answer the above-mentioned questions, answers might come out whether land reform has just become a process of giving a piece of land to have a roof over ones head, rather than practicing agricultural activities, as well as whether even subsistence farming takes place. This important pointer will be gauge from policymakers as well as stakeholders involved in land issues and land reform.

It is further to see whether government is just carrying out the land reform process to carry out its promises of “giving back the land to the people” or whether it is striving towards economic equity and productivity.

1.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study is very significant for Namibia, as the country is still planning, and changing its land reform policies that seem not to work. For example the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement is re-looking the selection criteria for land reform beneficiaries, especially for the National Resettlement Programme (NRP).

The study can thus serve as a reference guide to stakeholders, as it discusses perceptions and realities with regard to the land reform process, especially what the farming community, including its stakeholders think and experience.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Methodology

The research methodology was both conceptual and empirical or qualitative, because the researcher used a lot of existing data as well as conducting in-depth interviews with the identified sources.

Qualitative research is used to help us understand how people feel and why they feel as they do. It is concerned with collecting in-depth information asking questions such as why do you say that? Samples tend to be smaller compared with quantitative projects that include much larger samples. In depth interviews or group discussions are two common methods used for collecting qualitative information (DJS Research, 2005)

The objective of the research was to explore, interpret, or obtain a deeper understanding of post-settlement support and its effects on the success or failure of land reform, thus the qualitative method used was more or less certainly the most appropriate one to use.

A large part of the data is derived from secondary sources, such as books, government documents, policies, research papers and the Internet. The rest of the information was gathered through interviews with relevant sources, media conferences, as well as the two site visits that the researcher undertook, to at least have an insight on what is actually taking place at the resettlement farms. A very important source of the paper is the observation that the researcher made during the site visits.

The official documents such as policies and acts were very helpful in laying a foundation for the researcher as most activities are carried out based on what the national policies on land reform dictated. Previous studies done on land reform and post-settlement support were also very handy as this provided information of “where” the Namibian government is with regard to land reform. The literature reviewed, whether national documents or international literature on land reform, gave an idea of current thoughts and discussions on the subject.

Since the thesis is geared towards documenting perceptions of reality concerning land reform, specifically zooming in on the issue of post-settlement support for newly resettled farmers, interviews with relevant sources were key in gathering information and shaping the thesis. It was thus a qualitative type of research.

Qualitative research seeks out the ‘why’, not the ‘how’ of its topic through the analysis of unstructured information – things like interview transcripts and recordings, emails, notes, feedback forms, photos and videos. It doesn’t just rely on statistics or numbers, which are the domain of quantitative researchers. Qualitative research is used to gain insight into people's attitudes, behaviours, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture or lifestyles. It is used to inform business decisions, policy formation, communication and research. Focus groups, in-depth interviews, content analysis and semiotics are among the many formal approaches that are used, but qualitative research also involves the analysis of any unstructured material, including customer feedback forms, reports or media clips (Ereaut, 2007).

The first step that the researcher has done was to do a literature review of existing data on post-settlement support, especially the type that was given to farmers during the colonial period, in order to see what was done right or wrong during that dispensation.

Getting information on pre-independence data with regard to post-settlement support proved futile, as the librarian at the National Archives could not trace the information. Also, the cataloguing or filing system was not up to standard, hence the researcher could not get first hand information but had to rely on data from secondary sources such as government booklets.

The researcher tried to locate current literature on post settlement. However, most of the data available was from other countries, as post-settlement support literature based on Namibia was very limited.

The researcher tried to attend every media conference, workshops or public lectures based on land reform or any other land-related subject. A number of important events took place with regard to land reform, such as the issuing of the first lease agreements, the announcement of a type of loan scheme available for new farmers. All the events were very helpful in shaping the study.

Participant observation was also part of the study as the researcher was also a role player as media at the media conferences. Participant observation is observation in which the researcher also occupies a role or part in the setting, in addition to observing (BMJ, 1997).

Getting hold of most of the official sources was a challenging task, as most of the sources were very busy people, as they head the organisations. If they were not out of town or in rural areas they were out of the country. Some respondents were just reluctant to meet with the researcher and would rather refer her to someone else or refer certain questions to other people or departments.

The first interview that the researcher conducted was with the Emerging Commercial Farmers' Support Forum, now known as Namibia Emerging Commercial Farmers' Union (NECFU). The forum changed its name shortly

before the interview was conducted. The researcher sent questions two weeks before the actual interview was conducted. This has given the respondent time to find answers by contacting other stakeholders on questions that he was not able to respond on his own. The respondent was able to respond to almost all the questions posed to him and provided the researcher with additional relevant information, which proved to be very valuable to the research.

The Namibia Agricultural Union, (NAU) was not available for a personal interview but agreed to be provided with questions, via email and responded promptly after receiving the questions. Although they have answered the questions quite satisfactorily, they referred some important questions to the Emerging Commercial Farmers' Support Forum, which efforts they support.

The Emerging Commercial Farmers' Support Forum (which is different from the NAU but is supported by the NAU) was keen to speak to the researcher but the representative of the forum was always out in the field, in the farms that it supports, hence it took time before the researcher could get hold of him. Most of the interviews were very informal chats, which put the respondents at ease and were very valuable to the researcher. The researcher did not have to send questions to the forum, which made the whole interview, flow spontaneously.

The German Technical Cooperation Organisation (GTZ), the donor support agency was also very difficult to get hold of and required the researcher to send questions in advance. The Land and Water Management Advisor could not talk to the researcher and referred her to an office assistant, which after perusing the questions realised that she could not answer the questions. The researcher had to wait for two weeks before the German Advisor was available to talk to her. Again, the interview was very informal but very insightful, although the respondent responded on the questions that were sent prior to the interview.

The Namibia National Farmers Union was also a battle to get hold of, as the Executive Director kept on postponing the interview. The NNFU representative is normally a very busy person as he has to travel a lot, on official duties, be it local or internationally. The interview was also very informal, as the researcher did not send questions prior to the interview.

The government representatives were very difficult to get hold of. The researcher was not sure who to speak to at the Ministry of Water, Agriculture and Forestry, hence considerable time was wasted in the process. Eventually, the ministry's spokesperson referred the researcher to the Deputy Director Extension Services and Engineering. Ironically, contrary to how government officials normally respond to queries, the respondent was very willing to speak to the researcher, however time was a thorn in the bush. Eventually a time and date was set up, after hours, as the respondent could not attend to the researcher during working hours due to heavy work schedules.

The researcher had to meet the official at her house, while she was cooking dinner. A very odd, setup to do an interview, but it worked out perfectly, as the respondent was very relaxed in her own environment, to the extent that she made statements that a government official would not normally make. The researcher found it very refreshing to speak to someone who really knew her subject and was very confident. Perhaps it was because she knew the subject matter that the respondent did not even ask for the questions in advance.

Getting hold of one of the main sources of the thesis proved to be a real battle for the researcher, so much so that the researcher even contemplated leaving that vital source out of the paper. First, the Under Secretary in the lands ministry was contacted, who could not meet with the researcher, due to time constraints on

both the sides of the prospective respondent and the researcher. The researcher was advised to submit questions but after almost a month could not get an appointment with the official. The researcher was thereafter directed to the Public Relations Officer (PRO) or rather the spokesperson of the ministry. The PRO tried his best to answer the questions but could not answer most questions satisfactorily, which left the researcher more frustrated. After approaching the under secretary's office again, the researcher was told to contact the Director of Resettlement in the land's and resettlement ministry.

The researcher tried for almost two months to get hold of the Director of Resettlement in the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement. When the director was eventually available the researcher was ordered to send questions. Upon arrival at the directorate, after submitting the questions, the researcher was told to first get permission from the permanent secretary of the ministry by writing a letter and submitting her research proposal. The process took another week before the interview was granted. After the permission was granted the director changed his mind and referred the researcher to his deputy director, who was not in possession of the questions prior to the researcher's arrival. Again, three days were wasted as the deputy director had to familiarise himself before he could respond to the questions. After three days, the researcher was granted the opportunity to get her questions responded to.

Questions to respondents differed, depending on what organisation was interviewed, although the baseline of all questions was land reform and post-settlement support. The option was keeping the questions as open-ended as possible to be able to pursue lines of questioning as they become apparent.

The respondents' attitudes could also tell a lot about the way different organisations operate or how efficient they were. Although, it might be

judgmental to rate organisations on an individual's attitude, it, to a certain degree gives an insight into the operations of an organisation. The researcher found these observation methods as very useful towards the research.

Through some of the questions the researcher tried to find out why a specific union would want to assist new black emerging farmers, who in any case have 'taken farms' from them after independence, what would drive them to assist these farmers with their expertise?

Questions to the line ministries ranged from queries such as what specific post-settlement support were given to new farmers, whether the exact needs of farmers were actually identified before deciding on the type of support they want to give, and whether government has sufficient funds to actually carry out this additional function, after buying land?

A number of readings were studied with regard to post-settlement support in SADC and beyond. The review gave an idea to the researcher, of what type of possible post-settlement packages could be embarked upon. It also highlighted that post-settlement support should be unique to each country and necessarily the same everywhere.

Most of the intended interviews were personally conducted, while none was done telephonically and one done electronically.

The population studied was the farm beneficiaries at farms Queen Sofia and Ongombo-West, as well as government officials, non-governmental organisations' representatives, farmers' unions, donor countries and organisations, as well as policy implementers such the ministries of lands and agriculture.

Although some often criticizes the case study methodology, the study also made use of the method. According to Tellis (1997) case study methodology is frequently criticised by several researchers for its dependence on a single or few cases not really representing the “whole” and considered “microscopic” because it “lacked a sufficient number” of cases. The author cites several studies by Yin from 1984a to 1994b and Hamel et al (1993) who does not agree with the inferiority of the case study methodology. The two authors argue that the relative size of the sample, whether two, ten, or 100 are used, does not transform a multiple case into a macroscopic study, adding that the aim of the study should establish parameters and then should be applied to all research. The two further argue that in this manner even a single case should be considered acceptable, provided it met the established objective.

Yin (1989) in Tellis (1997) state that a case study can be viewed as satisfying the three tenets of the qualitative method: describing, understanding and explaining. Taking the above in consideration, the researcher thinks the two case studies were relevant to the research as the whole research is based on perspectives of role players in land reform and post-settlement support for new farmers. It had to bring into perspective what role players are saying about the topic and what actually is happening on the ground. The literature also composed other studies that were done on resettlement farms in the country, thus the researcher does not see the method as limiting.

The case study method on the other hand also evokes creative thinking as stated by Alvarez, et al (1990) in Tellis (1997).

(Feagan et.al 1991) in Tellis (1997) stated that the case study methodology gives a voice to the powerless and voiceless. The factor was proven during the case study as people whom would not normally be viewed as sources for example by

a journalist, especially when it comes to issues such as land reform, were given a chance to tell “their side of the story”.

2.2 Limitations

The researcher could not get to contact one of what could be a key source in the study, the Spanish cooperation. The Spanish refused to comment or engage with the researcher, instead referring her to the Government. The Spanish embassy’s excuse was that the people who were attached to the project had long back return to Spain. The researcher sees this as a major shortcoming, as the Spanish contribution could have provided good lessons to the Namibian government that could be emulated in PSS schemes.

One of the major limitations was the time constraint. Working and studying is not an easy undertaking, while the type of job, that of a journalist is very demanding and exposed to unusual working hours, hence impacting on the time that the researcher has for completing the study. The fact that the researcher could not get time off work was a constraint that has definitely contributed to the limited time available for collecting the empirical research. Another major challenge was the fact that the researcher could not get hold of major sources on time, hence again impacting on the limited time that the researcher had.

The fact that the researcher could not be able to visit the farms for longer, especially Queen Sofia or speak to more people might have impacted on the outcome of the study. Limited financial resources also had an impact on the study, as the researcher could not spend more time on the case studies identified.

The researcher acknowledges that personal judgments and those of the interviewees might have affected the data in the research. The researcher however made sure that the limitations affected the study to a small degree.

The constraints could have been better managed, had the researcher been able to convince her bosses to get time off work as well as solicit funds from elsewhere, in order to supplement her finances.

Had the researcher have a scholarship, she could have been able to do the whole course fulltime thereby allowing her to spend sufficient time on her thesis.

Perhaps the researcher could have tried harder to get a representative of the Spanish government to speak to her, by tracing them in Spain.

2.3 My Role as a Journalist

The moment the researcher introduced herself as a journalist but not carrying out her normal function as a journalist but that of a student, created suspicion, as people would think it was just a new tactic that she wanted to use to gather information. However, using her profession, as a means of getting information was in some cases necessary as some people would be willing to talk to you based on the fact that you are a journalist. On the contrary, some people would not want to talk to the researcher, if they know she was a journalist and she would conceal the fact. The researcher however, tried to act at all times with integrity and in accordance with all research norms and protocols.

The study was greatly influenced by the researcher's role as a journalist. The topic came through the platform that was created by her profession. The researcher got the idea of studying post-settlement support in the land reform process after attending a conference on the subject as a journalist covering the story.

The researcher has, through the study, realised that the role of a journalists is that of a 24-hour researcher, although it cannot even be viewed as a mini-research. The researcher however sees it as a very little research process that one is involved in your everyday life as a journalist. A journalist is constantly looking for answers on every assignment that he/she is assigned to.

In answering a specific question, concern, plight or any occurrence, a journalist needs to do research, be it a short phone call or a visit to a site to verify, confirm or investigate facts. The fact is, a journalist cannot carry out his/her duty without doing a "little research" before performing the assigned duty.

The study was thus a very huge research for the researcher as a journalist, so much so, that the researcher would get confused numerous times and derail from the topic, having to go back to the research questions on many occasions to actually revise what was exactly supposed to be done.

Many a time, during the study the researcher would forget that she is actually supposed to be a researcher and not a journalist, especially the moment she started engaging with sources.

The researcher realised that as a journalist, she would normally get answers from sources and start writing down what was gathered. At selected occasions the researcher would actually scrutinise the information, but that would just mean doing a follow-up story and not necessarily look at the two stories holistically. If you however take a newspaper and follow a certain story over a period of time, you would actually come up that it is a "little research" in its own right, which

needs to be recognised. News articles are actually a very rich source for any researcher, as it is a preview into a research, highlighting what has happened, what is happening and what is likely to happen. Journalists are thus researchers in their own right and needs to be recognised as such. The researcher has however sensed that with research one needs to look deeper into the situation and especially into the responses that comes from your queries.

After starting with the research, this year, the researcher started looking with a different “eye” to most stories that she was doing. The researcher would often speak her colleague that she shares an office with, telling her about a story that she did and how a possible research question on a specific subject could come out, and how it could benefit the country.

The researcher’s role as a journalist made a lot of things easier that would have been much tougher for a non-journalist. Besides the normal excuses of sources, especially by government sources, a journalist gets into places or gets invited to places that are normally not open to every citizen.

Due to her job, the researcher was able to witness the launch of the post-settlement support finance scheme that was introduced by the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement and the Agricultural Bank of Namibia. She also witnessed the issuance of the first proper lease agreements to resettlement, since they were allocated the land units by government. Again, the researcher witnessed a dispute between descendants of black Namibian people who were disowned of their land, the government and the white foreign farm owner. These points and experiences are included just but to mention a few of issues relating to land and land reform which the researcher had the privilege to witness as a journalist, talking directly to the people involved, experiencing their emotions, be it happiness, expectations, anger, disillusionment, hopelessness or frustrations.

From a research point of view, distancing herself from being a journalist and being a researcher proved to be a tough calling, as most of the

sources/respondents knew the researcher as a journalist and would always view her with suspicion. In a country, with a very small population, it is likely that most people will know a journalist or just the name of that individual.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 THE PURPOSE OF LAND REFORM/RESETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA.

At independence 52% of the agricultural farmland was in the hands of the white commercial farming community who made up 6% of the country's population, while the remaining 94% of the population owned 48% of the agricultural land (Hunter, 2004).

Thus the most arable land was in the hands of the minority, which also translates into the current wealth distribution.

The main aim of the whole land reform process after independence was to redress past injustices caused by colonisation, whereby the country's indigenous people were disowned of their land. The land reform process was however not only to correct past injustices but also to achieve social and economic equity for all its citizens (PTT, 2005).

The (PTT) Permanent Technical Team was a team of experts appointed in 2003 to evaluate and review land policies and land reform activities to assist Government in formulating strategic options for land reform. The team formulated an Action Plan for the implementation of a national land reform programme in Namibia.

According to the PTT, ideally the composition of the Namibian commercial farming sector should mirror Namibian society.

The PTT also indicated strong support for new farmers, stating that it is justifiable based on the unequal distribution of social capital and control of land before independence, and not unreasonable.

Namibia wants to redistribute about 15 million hectares from 9.5 million ha by the year 2020, whilst maintaining socio-political contiguity.

It is believed that higher targets would simultaneously maintain the current economic production levels and phase formerly disadvantaged farmers into the mainstream of national economic production. (PTT; 2005)

The white commercial agricultural union, the Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU) does not directly say that there is a purpose or need for land reform or redistribution but states that “it is generally accepted that there is a skewed distribution of land in Namibia and that redistribution of land in the commercial sector must take place” (NAU, 2009).

According to the NAU, land reform is not only the transfer of land from previously advantaged to previously disadvantaged Namibians but also the productive use of all agricultural land in Namibia.

“We specifically here refer to about 4, 5 million hectares under-utilised land in communal areas that can be developed into partial commercial units to increase the amount of land available for production”. (NAU, 2009)

It became obvious that land was seen first and foremost as emotional because of violent land dispossessions in the past however these wounds were still strongly present in people’s memories, today. “Emotions around these wounds have been passed on from generation to generation and have created rather vague expectations that after independence land reform could somehow address or heal them”. (Von Wiedersheim, 2008: 111)

According to von Wiedersheim (2008) for some people ‘healing the wounds’ meant the return of ancestral land and with that the reconstruction of the past, while for others ‘addressing the wounds’ simply meant a piece of land and therewith a chance in life that was formerly denied to black Namibians. It seems as if people just want land for emotional reasons and not really economic

reasons. It seems as if people first want land to redress the past happenings, before viewing it as an economic means.

Perhaps, it could also be that people first had to 'satisfy their emotions' before they could think of land as an economic means.

Von Wiedersheim (2008) states that emotions around land loss are kept alive, to strengthen ethnic and group identities, to uphold ethnic power bases as politicians and chiefs or to underpin demands for reparations from former colonial governments.

Two different lines of argumentation determine the Namibian land debate: equality and justice on the one hand and the productivity of the agricultural sector on the other. "The implications of commercial land reform for the socio-economic developments of Namibia as a whole are believed to be minor". (Hunter, 2004: 4)

Hunter quotes (Melber, 1991: 38) that economic considerations turn out to be irrelevant in comparison with the psychological dimensions.

Land reform needs to be understood as the reclamation and restitution of identity and history. It should be clarified whether land reform should be part of a sustainable agrarian and developmental strategy, or if it is to be regarded as an isolated procedure. (Hunter, 2004)

"The smouldering land question in Namibia will explode into an inferno unless answers are provided to the satisfaction of the indigenous people who are historically the real owners of land in Namibia. Land is the most important means of production and without an equitable restoration to its real owners' independence will remain a paper tiger" (Kaumbi, 2004:92).

Kaumbi (2004) further refers to the congestion in communal areas, where in certain areas a 275 000 ha is inhabited by approximately 10 000 people, which has a negative impact on the environment. In the specific areas 11 769 head of cattle, 58 201 goats and sheep and 2 420 horses and donkeys are found.

The specific areas, Kaumbi refers to was created as a “homeland” for some of the Ovaherero people, one of the tribes whose land was taken away as well as killed in their thousands by the German colonial authorities.

According to Kaumbi (2004) the land on which 55 white families once lived (with four children each, i.e. 220 people in total), must now sustain 10 000 people. Meaning the number of people has increased 44 times on the same piece of land. Using the conversion of five small stock unit (SLU) for one large stock unit (LSU) the communal area is currently found to sustain the equivalent of 25, 829 cattle.

“To redress this imbalance, there needs to be a policy decision to have at least 60% of the remaining 31.8 million hectares currently in white hands returned to black Namibians within the next ten years” (Kaumbi, 2004:93).

3.2 REVIEW OF OFFICIAL POLICY DOCUMENTS ON LAND REFORM

3.2.1. The National Land Policy (April 1998)¹

¹ Republic of Namibia. 1998. The National Policy of the Republic of Namibia was reviewed and summarized under section 3.2.1

One of Namibia's Lands and Resettlement ministers, Pendukeni Iivula Ithana described the National Land Policy as one of the most progressive land reform packages of the era.

The National Land Policy (NLP) aims at redressing (in the spirit of national reconciliation constitutionality and nation-building) the problem of dispossession, discrimination and the inequitable distribution of land that characterises the pre-independence era.

It basically means that land reform is about undoing the unjust of the past while forgiving the injustice done to the indigenous people.

The NLP is thus based on the principles enunciated in the Constitution of Namibia and on the national commitment to redress the social and economic injustices inherited from the colonial past.

The NLP seeks to address the following:

- that all is ***equal before the law***, when it comes to land issues. According to the NLP, there shall be no discrimination in terms of sex, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed or social or economic status.

- ***mixed economy*** is another principle of the NLP. A mixed economy based on public, private, co-operative, joint public private, co-ownership and small-scale family ownership is allowed in the country's supreme law, its Constitution.

- The NLP provides for a ***unitary land system***, in which all citizens have equal rights, opportunities and security across a range of tenure and management systems. During the colonial era, there were first and second

- class systems of land tenure divided along racial lines. The policy states that in independent Namibia, the full range of tenure and management systems will be given equal status and validity before the law.
- ***Focus on the poor*** is among the fundamental principles of the NLP. Government promises to at all times seek to secure and promote the interest of the poor, ensuring that they are in practice able to enjoy the rights of which they are assured in principle. However, although a considerable number of poor people had been resettled, most or many of them are still trapped in poverty, as they do not have the means to productively make use of the land that they have 'given back'. Government has in recent years come up with a number of attempts to address the issue.

 - The ***rights of women*** is given prominence too, as women will be accorded the same status as men with regard to all forms of land rights either as individuals or as members of family land ownership trusts. "Every widow or widower will be entitled to maintain the land rights she/he enjoyed during the spouse's lifetime" (NLP; 1998). The issue of women and land rights is however, still an issue that needs to be taken into consideration as many women in Namibia still experience difficulty in obtaining land or retaining land after they have been widowed. At times, many women are chased away from their family land when their husbands die, as they are discriminated against and 'cannot own land' like a man. Although improvements on women's land ownership can be seen in Namibia, there are still a number of cases where women are discriminated against.

 - The unitary land system will accord full and equal ***security and protection*** to all legally held land rights, regardless of the form of tenure, the income, gender or race of the rights holder.

- The NLP requires environmentally ***sustainable use of land and natural resources use***.
- Under ***public accountability and transparency***, subject to legitimate requirements of confidentiality which may be necessary in the public interest, government will ensure through appropriate legislative provisions that all aspects of land administration by government and other agencies are open and transparent. All financial transactions involving land and public funds are audited on a regular basis in accordance with generally accepted principles and all proceedings of regional and local land boards shall be open to the public and the minutes of such meetings open to public scrutiny.
- ***Land as property*** belongs to the State unless otherwise lawfully owned. According to the NLP, lawful land tenure will in future be defined to mean all forms of land rights recognised by this policy and consequent legislation.
- Tenure rights allocated according to the NLP and consequent legislation will include ***all renewable natural resources on the land***, conditional on sustainable use and subject to details of sectoral policy and legislation.
- The NLP will also accord equal status before the law to ***multiple forms of land rights*** and several categories of land right holders. Forms of land rights will be customary grants, leasehold, freehold, licences, certificates or permits and State ownership.

The policy admits that due to poor resource management, inequitable land distribution, and increasing population pressure land use is largely unsustainable.

The policy dictates that clear steps need to be taken to remove uncertainty about legitimate access and rights to land, the ways in which land is administered. According to the NLP, in some areas traditional authorities undertake land administration with varying degrees of efficiency and legitimacy. The role of different stakeholders such as chiefs, government, the rich and poor are uncertain.

3.2.2 National Resettlement Policy (March 1996)²

After the liberation struggle in 1990, the newly elected government found itself with a big number of unemployed and landless people. To address the issue the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation was setup to redress the state of affairs and effectively tackle the problem.

According to the policy the ministry has to facilitate the resettlement of destitute and landless people of the country and **provide them with all the necessary support** to start a living and meet their basic needs.

If we have to go by the above statement, the Namibian government has an enormous and expensive task to fulfil.

Pre-independence commercial farmers were, according to the policy, provided with land, fencing materials, boreholes, lister engines and diesel, as well as extension services and credit facilities.

Likewise, post-independence “new farmers” were allocated farms with infrastructure, but it had been destroyed as a result of the lengthy process

² Republic of Namibia. 1996. The National Resettlement Policy of the Republic of Namibia was reviewed and summarized under section 3.2.2

involved in resettling people. If the resettlement process would have been more swift and faster, perhaps there might not have been a need for government to put in extra money to replace infrastructure that was in place by the time these farms were acquired.

The main objectives of the resettlement programme according to the policy are:

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

After analysing and judging the applications for resettlement, the ministry decided to consider:

- People who have neither land nor income nor livestock;
- People who have neither land nor income, but have livestock;
- People who have income or are cattle owners, who need land to settle on with their families, or to graze their livestock.

The ministry also has an order of priority of beneficiaries, in its resettlement programme, with the main target groups being the San people, returnees, ex-soldiers, disabled, displaced and landless people.

In my view, if the order of priority has to be followed, there is little chance for government to bring smallholder farmers into the mainstream of the Namibian economy by producing for the market as well as creating employment through full time farming, in the very near future.

The policy justifies the San people as priority beneficiaries because they have endured exploitation and discrimination at the hands of their fellow men throughout history. This includes the exploitation by colonial forces that used them as trackers and later left them helpless in former military camps. These people are in the hands of commercial farmers and other big cattle owners, who have reduced them to modern slaves working for food and inadequate shelter.

According to the policy, the San people has to be helped to create a new living platform by developing the existing skills and by acquiring new ones to be able, to secure sustenance.

Historically, the San people were hunter-gatherers and not farmers; hence these groups of beneficiaries could be given something more familiar to their traditional way of living, before exposing them to farming.

In a recent television programme, descendents of the San said they were people living from nature and are not used to the current way of living where everything has to be bought and not readily and freely available as in the “bush”. (Open File; 2009 NBC Production)

The San people were recently resettled on commercial farms bought by government, some close to their ancestral land or even within their ancestral land. (Hoaes, 2008) In my opinion, that contradicts government policy of not considering ancestral land rights.

In the case of ex-soldiers and returnees as priority beneficiaries of the land resettlement programme, the policy states that government sees it as part of its responsibility to integrate members of the former fighting force such as the PLAN, SWATF and KOEVOET, into society through resettlement and rehabilitation programmes and training to acquire skills.

With regard to the returnees, the policy states that these people did not have anywhere to settle and no means to make a living when they returned home.

According to the policy, many of these Namibians in the above category are skilled in agriculture and other technical know-how and can make a living if they are provided with the necessary equipment, funds and land for resettlement.

In my opinion, the skills in agriculture and technical know-how that justifies the ex-soldiers and returnees as priority beneficiaries are again questionable, as it is doubtful when and how these people acquired the skills if they were fighting in the war and might not have practiced much farming. In case these people have other technical skills except farming skills, then it would have been better to give them a different type of land to practice their skills and make a living out of it, than to give them arable agricultural land that could be better used to practice farming on.

People living with disabilities are also among the priority beneficiaries for land reform. The policy states that the already high number of disabled people was worsened by the liberation war as many have become disabled due to the war.

The policy is not clear how exactly government wants to deal with this group of people and how they will productively farm the land taking into consideration their physical conditions.

Displaced and landless people are considered as another group to benefit from the land reform programme. This group mostly refers to previous farm workers who were fired or became landless when previous landowners sold the farm and are left in corridors or along the main roads.

The above group might have the skills, since they worked for decades on commercial farms as labourers but do not have financial means as well as farm management skills to make a success out of the farm, once they acquire it.

The policy makes mention of another group of landless people, those who stream to urban areas due to poverty, unemployment and lack of subsistence means. The group comes to urban areas in search of better living conditions but ends up in squatter camps in informal settlements. The lands ministry however does not settle people in urban areas. The policy is however silent on where these people are going to be given land or how, whether they would be recalled from the urban areas and given land in rural areas.

With regard to the selection process, the policy states that agents of the ministry have to identify the potential beneficiaries of the resettlement programme in co-operation with the offices of the regional councils and with the assistance of the Land Use and Environmental Boards, as well as regional Land Boards.

The Criteria for selection, according to the policy include:

- Applicants shall be Namibian citizens above the age of 18 years.
- Settlers should be prepared to relinquish land rights elsewhere.
- Settlers should have background in agriculture or other enterprises on which the resettlement project will be based.
- Settlers should be prepared to hold land under leasehold tenure arrangement to be conferred after 2 years of probation.

- The applicant intending to engage in animal husbandry should own a number of livestock determined by the carrying capacity of each project.
- Land will be provided to settlers on leasehold of 30 up to 50 years then on free hold system, while leasehold tenure should be arranged that the settlers can use land as collateral to get loans from credit facilities.

According to the National Resettlement Policy, settlers are given two years probation to prove that she/he will use that land productively and for the purpose she/he has applied for.

The policy makes provision for two types of resettlement i.e. individual plots and co-operative resettlement. The type of allocation of suitable land and livestock holding will depend on the type of resettlement and the prevailing agro-ecological condition.

The policy stipulates that land should be used productively, and a target minimum income level has been maintained, which figure should be adjusted when necessary to reflect changes in the economy.

How the income is monitored is not clear and if the majority of settlers are not economically productive, how can they fulfil that objective?

The policy also encourages subsidiary income generating activities.

Due to the poor living conditions of most of the resettlement programme beneficiaries, the policy states that it is necessary to create a living package whereupon the most basic needs of the settlers can be covered. The basic needs include assets such as water and housing. Other basic facilities such as schools and clinics as well as transport means, access to roads and accessories for income generating projects have also to be catered for in co-operation with the respective ministries.

It is not clear whether each and every resettlement area should be provided with a school and clinic for example.

According to the policy, the duration of government support for the NRP is restricted to the initial period of five years for each project determined by the type of settlement category of settlers. Beneficiaries are also supposed to receive food during the first five years of the programme.

The policy stipulates that each settlement is provided with minimum administrative staff, consisting of a record clerk, technical skills advisor and other officials as may be required in accordance with the size of the project.

The Directorate of Lands is to register leases, resource surveys and plan proposed resettlement areas and develop planning guidelines and training of planners.

The Surveyor General's Office is to provide mapping and photography at appropriate scales.

The Registration of Deeds is to register leases and other real rights, while the Directorate of General Services will have to control finances, as well as plan and evaluation.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry has to provide veterinary services, assist in evaluation of farms, provide agricultural extension and training, provide credit facilities, provide water, collect grazing fees, survey, install and maintain water points, support co-operatives schemes, and market development.

The Agricultural Bank (AgriBank) is to provide credit to aspiring small scale farmers and assist in planning of schemes and training of settlers in relevant situations.

Other line ministries and agencies involved are the ministries of regional, local government and housing, works and transport, education, health, the National Planning Commission and non-governmental organisations.

3.2.3. Communal Land Reform Act, 2002³

The purpose of the Communal Land Reform Act (CLRA) of 2002 is to provide for the allocation of rights in respect of communal land, to establish Communal Land Boards, provide for the powers of chiefs and traditional authorities and boards in relation to communal land and to make provision for incidental matters.

Under the CLRA, the established communal land boards are to exercise control over the allocation and the cancellation of customary land rights by chiefs or traditional authorities.

The communal land boards are also to advise the line minister either of its own motion or at the request of the minister, in connection with the making of regulations or any other matter pertaining to the objectives of the CLRA.

Each land board according to the Communal Land Reform Act must have twelve members of which each comes from the different structures of society, such as one representative from each traditional authority, one person representing the organised farming community, a regional officer, four women, two engaged in farming and the other two who have expertise relevant to the functions of a board.

³ Republic of Namibia. 2002. The Communal Land Reform Act of the Republic of Namibia was reviewed and summarised under section 3.2.3

Other members are four staff members of the Public Service of whom each should be nominated by the line ministers of land matters, regional government, environment and agriculture, as well as a member of a conservancy or conservancies which exists in the board's area of jurisdiction.

The land board members hold office for a period of three years and are eligible for re-appointment.

The Act states that where a local authority area is situated or established within the boundaries of any communal land area comprising such local authority area shall not form part of that communal land area and shall not be communal land.

The above has brought a lot of problems in some areas, especially in the northern areas of Namibia, where a local authority and some people had a fight over land. Helao Nafidi became a town in recent years, hence people had been living on communal land and owned land in the area prior to the proclamation of the town and where not guided by any town planning, rules or guidelines. The municipality was accused of selling people's land without their consent to developers, claiming it was town land while the residents on the other hand claim ownership of the land (The Namibian, 2007).

With regard to the establishment of new communal land areas and additions to or subtractions from communal land areas, the President, with the approval of the National Assembly may by proclamation in the Gazette declare any defined portion of unalienated State land to be a communal land area, incorporated as part of any existing communal land area any defined portion of unalienated State land or withdraw from any communal land area, subject to the provisions of subsection (2), any defined portion thereof which is required for any purpose in the public interest.

Rights to communal land may be divided into customary land rights and rights of leasehold.

The primary power to allocate or cancel any customary land right in a communal area is vested in the chief or traditional authority.

Customary rights that may be allocated are a right to a farming unit, a right to a residential unit and a right to any other form of customary tenure that may be recognised and described by the minister by notice in the Gazette for the purpose of the CLRA.

Any allocation of a customary land right made by a chief or a traditional authority has no legal effect unless the allocation is ratified by the relevant board. The board has the right to refer an allocation back to the traditional authority or chief, if it is not satisfied with any matter concerning the allocation.

Unless the right is ceded by the land holder, a customary land right allocated under the CLRA endures for the natural life of the person to whom it is allocated. Upon holder's death, his spouse or in case both are deceased the traditional authority or chief considers their children or any other person, who it deems fit to get the land.

The CLRA also recognizes existing customary land rights of people who held a right in respect of the occupation or use of the communal land which was granted to or acquired by such a person in terms of any law or otherwise, shall continue to hold that right unless that specific land is required in use of public interest.

3.2.4. Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, 1995⁴

The Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act (ACLRA) is:

- to provide for the acquisition of agricultural land by the State for the purpose of land reform and for the allocation of such land to Namibian citizens who do not own or have the use of any or of adequate agricultural land and foremost to those Namibian citizens who have been socially, economically or educationally disadvantaged by past discriminatory laws and practices.
- the act further vests the right in the State a preferent right to purchase agricultural land for the purposes of the Act;
- to provide for the compulsory acquisition of certain agricultural land by the State for the purposes of the Act;
- to regulate the acquisition of agricultural land by foreign nationals;
- to establish a Land Tribunal and determine its jurisdiction;
- and to provide for matters connected therewith.

There is a Land Reform Advisory Commission to advise the Minister of Lands and Resettlement in relation to any power conferred upon the Minister.

Members of the commission are two officers of the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development, two persons nominated by associations involved in

⁴ Republic of Namibia. 1995. The Agricultural Land Reform Act of the Republic of Namibia was reviewed and summarised under section 3.2.4

agricultural affairs, one person nominated by the Agricultural Bank, five persons, of whom at least two shall be females and who shall be persons who are not employed in the Public Service and who in the opinion of the Minister are suitably qualified.

The lands minister can acquire agricultural land for land reform, if he is offered any agricultural land for sale, any agricultural land classified as under-utilised, any agricultural land or portions classified as excessive land or any agricultural land acquired by a foreign national, or by a nominee owner on behalf or in the interest of a foreign national.

In case there is more than one application for the same farming unit, the commission shall recommend to which applicant the farming unit shall be allotted or in case of several farming units, which farming unit or choice of different farming units should be offered to the applicant.

The commission may and shall if directed by the line minister, require applicants to appear before it or any of its members to enable it to gain more information about the applicant and his/her ability to develop and work the farm unit beneficially and carry out and observe the conditions subject to which allotment is to be made.

The commission shall not be obliged to recommend any applicant to the minister and in consideration of the application regard shall be towards the qualification of the applicant's ability to develop the farming unit, have the financial means for the use, maintenance and development of the unit.

Any application made on behalf of a company or close corporation shall not be approved, unless such a company or close corporation is incorporated under Namibian laws, undertake that it will occupy the unit through the agency of a manager, to be approved by the minister who will personally reside on the unit

and develop it for agricultural purposes and is legally competent to hold agricultural land under ACLRA or any other law.

All beneficiaries in terms of a farming unit are granted 99 years lease agreements and all leases shall be registered in accordance with the Deeds Registries Act, 1937.

Beneficiaries shall be liable to pay a yearly rent payable on such terms and conditions and amount as recommended by the commission or minister. (The yearly rent was stipulated as 5% of the total value of the farm) All beneficiaries shall take up occupation of their land personally or through a manager no later than three months after approval by the minister. .

A lessee shall not, without prior consent of the minister/commission assign, sublet, mortgage or part with possession of the farming unit or enter into partnership for the working of such a unit.

The lessee gets an option to purchase the land provided not less than five years have elapsed since the date of commencement of lease.

3.3 THE EFFECTS OF LAND REFORM ON SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE AND THE ENVIRONMENT.

Namibia is the most arid country south of the Sahara Desert with low average and highly variable rainfall. Drought is always a possibility and the lack of water is an ever-present constraint in most parts of the country. The situation causes that potential for arable agriculture is generally limited to the north of the country where water is less scarce. Agricultural potential in the central regions is confined to livestock farming, while in the arid south only extensive sheep and goat farming is possible. (Sherbourne, 2009)

The country can be divided into different areas with regard to rainfall. The desert region comprising 22% of the land area gets rainfall of less than 100 mm. The arid region comprising 33% of land area receives between 100 mm and 300 mm. The semi-arid region comprise 37% of land area and mean annual rainfall varies between 301 mm and 500 mm, while the semi humid and sub-tropical region, comprises eight percent of the land and receives mean annual rainfall of between 501 mm and 700 mm (Kruger & Lammerts-Imbuwa, 2008).

Below is a map depicting the rainfall and land capability of the country.

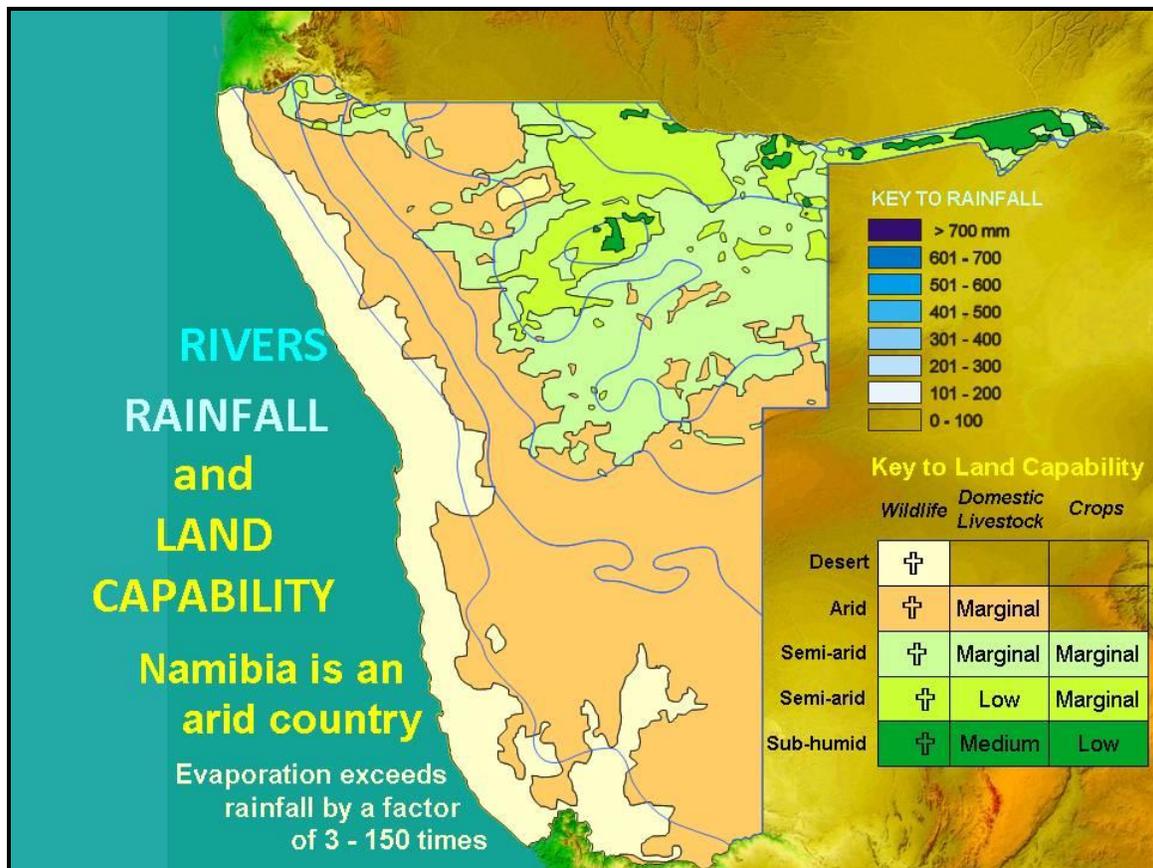


Figure 1: Namibia rainfall and land capability map. Source: Republic of Namibia, 2005

The potential rate of evaporation from open water far exceeds rainfall -- by 420 % in the north and 1,750% in the South. Rain falls in short sharp bursts, resulting in low infiltration, and can be highly localized (Ashley, 1994).

Consistent crop production under rain fed conditions can only take place in areas receiving an average of 400 mm rainfall per year, representing 35% of the country. The areas that receive sufficient rain are further restricted by a scarcity of productive soils. Managing through dry periods is thus a way of life for about 80% of Namibians, largely dependent on the vulnerable natural resource base (Seely, 1998) in Kruger & Lammerts-Imbuwa (2008).

According to Brown (1993) cited in Kruger & Lammerts-Imbuwa (2008), extensive livestock farming is the main agricultural activity in areas receiving less than 200 mm per year, while large-stock is prominent in areas where average annual rainfall exceeds 300 mm. Mixed large-and small stock farming is practiced in the rainfall zone falling in the 200-300 mm category.

The only perennial rivers are to be found on the country's borders; the Orange River on the southern border with South Africa and the Kunene, Kavango, Kwando and the Zambezi rivers on the northern borders with Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. (Sherbourne; 2009)

Despite the above factors, yet about 48 percent of rural households are depended on agriculture. Namibia is home to the world's richest biodiversity Tjiramba & Odendaal (2005) but is home to some of the poorest communities. Trying to address this complex issue of human and natural resource relationship and poverty reduction has been a long-standing challenge for the Namibian government. Without the maintenance of ecosystems, communities are unable to sustain stable and productive livelihoods.

The above is evident in many rural farming areas, especially in communal farming areas, where a lot of erosion has occurred due to overgrazing and inefficient farming methods, where no rotational grazing methods are carried out.

These methods [rotational grazing] cannot be carried out in communal farming areas due to overcrowding and overstocking.

It is important that local communities take on an approach that looks at the present and beyond and envisage future conditions under which ecological, economic and social factors are integrated (Tjiramba & Odendaal; 2005).

Many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) working in the conservation and tourism field are of the opinion that there are no integrated methods of the different land use methods, which hampers proper sustainable development in the country (New Era, 2008).

Government has to build its own capacity to restore degraded communal farmland, as a result of the widespread degraded pastures and farming land in many communal parts of the country. "Land with little carrying capacity cannot provide meaningful livelihoods to communities living in communal areas" (Tjiramba & Odendaal, 2005).

Arable land in Namibia is only a mere 1% of the total land area, hence not looking after the little arable land that is available further decreases the chance of agricultural productivity and sustainability.

Land use management policy should form part of the broader policy on agriculture, land reform and rural development. Greater emphasis should be put on environmental and land reform policies so as to provide for the rehabilitation of overgrazed and bush-encroached land that has environmentally degraded the land's value. Financial assistance in the form of an environmental reconstruction fund should be given priority to help with rehabilitating degraded communal land (Tjiramba & Odendaal, 2005).

Another factor that is heavily criticised in leading to the degrading and unsustainable use of natural resources is the size of land allotments under the National Land Reform Programme. According to Rothauge, (2007) individual portions of land allotted for resettlement varied in size from 159 to 1 768 hectares and averaged 546 ha.

The National Resettlement Policy is silent on the minimum size of an allotment of farmland. Ten thousand hectares of farmland in the more arid southern Namibia and a 6 000 ha of farmland in less-arid north-central Namibia are large enough for a traditional white ranching family and prevent unsustainable resource utilisation.

“While it is uncertain how big an ‘economic farming unit’ is, it is clear that 546 ha is an insufficient amount of land, too little to tide a family over an average Namibian farming year, let alone a poor year or a drought.” (Rothauge, 2007: 29)

According to (Odendaal; 2005) in Rothauge (2007) six to ten thousand hectares may be too much, but the present small allotment condemns its occupants to perpetual poverty and forces them to exploit the natural resource base in an unsustainable manner, as witnessed on many resettlement farms.

A number of resettled farmers also complained about the small sizes of their allotments, expressing hope to own more land in order to develop their farming activities.

If currently, insufficient size of land is allocated to land reform beneficiaries, the exact state of affairs taking place in the communal land areas will take place or is already taking place, as alluded to above. It seems like a creation of another “communal land-like” scenario, in the former commercial land areas.

Considering the restrictions of the limited, albeit large amount of land available for farming in the country (estimated 85% of total land area of approximately 83 million hectares) and its arid climate the country will never be able to accommodate 240 000 resettlement farmers, as stated by the National Resettlement Policy. If government has to proceed and resettle the intended number of beneficiaries anyway, the average allotment will further shrink to a mere 346 ha per beneficiary. (Rothauge, 2007)

Similar to other stakeholders such as the Namibia Nature Foundation (New Era, 2009) Rothauge (2007) suggests the need for alternative employment, other than agriculture for the majority of Namibia's landless people and the importance of achieving the country's Vision 2030.

Vision 2030, the country's national long term plan aims to ensure equitable access to land and other natural resources while they are used in a sustainable and efficient way. The vision advocates a shift towards empowering local resource-users' communities to allocate rights and manage natural resources. (PTT, 2005)

The PTT states that many sectors are implementing the proposed approach through the community-based natural resource management and community-based management of water resources strategies.

However, the study reveals that progress in the land sector has yet to match improvements made in other sectors, particularly in communal grazing areas.

Rothauge (2007) suggests that government looks beyond the traditional ranching areas, to small stretches of land whose fertile ground and abundant groundwater makes them suitable for intensive, irrigated agriculture. These areas are around the artesian lands next to the Auob and Nossob rivers, which had been exploited

in the past. These areas are not part of the commercial land areas but around communal land and state land.

A number of people have criticised the Namibian government for not maximising on some of the pockets of arable and water-rich communal areas for agricultural benefits and only focusing on commercial land for land reform purposes. (Munjanu, 2009 & Von Gierszewski, 2009)

Recent studies suggest that there are about four million hectares of communal areas that could be developed. (PTT, 2005)

The Permanent Technical Team on Land Reform (PTT, 2005) recommended that government accelerate the facilitation and co-ordination of the establishment of small-scale farming units in under-utilised and unutilised unpopulated parts of the communal areas (North-central, North-west and North-east), by providing financing, surveying and mapping of areas to be developed, provision of fencing, water supply and access to roads and thereafter allocation and extension services.

A local Climatologist, Dr Pierre Smit, suggested that Namibia reconsider its emphasis on agricultural production as a means of economic development, if climate change has to be taken into consideration. Climate change can affect terrestrial ecosystems, on which the livelihoods of about 70% of Namibians depend, adversely. He added that even without the threat of climate change, Namibia faces absolute water scarcity by 2020. The bulk of Namibia's water needs are supported by groundwater and ephemeral water bodies. The combined annual discharge in the rivers that Namibia shares with its neighbours is 66 500 million m³. Combined the assured annual yield of water is about 500 million m³, which means a per capita water supply of less than 300 m³ per annum. (Hoaes, 2008)

A moderate increase in evaporation combined with a possible 30% decrease in rainfall means severe implications, while reliability of run-off will decrease too, creating an escalating sensitivity to inter-annual variation.

The predicted drier implications of climate change to the ecosystems that support rangelands in Namibia are multiple, e.g. when pastures reduce productivity from livestock declines, while the health status of animals deteriorates and malpractice emerge (Hoaës, 2008).

Of particular interest to natural resource management research is the balance between decisions for activities in the rural landscapes that invest, plant, care and conserve and those that exploit, harvest and market the resources. Resources are likely to degrade when exploitation and harvesting dominates but returns to labour and short-term profitability may be high (Hairiah *et al*, 2001).

Of course human beings naturally would not care about the resources, but will rather be concerned with what they can get from nature. As someone who has grown up in a rural area I have never thought that the wood that we were cutting down for cooking, building our shelters would ever be depleted.

Hairiah *et al* (2001) state when conservation, planting and other types of investment dominate, the resources may recover from past exploitation but may not meet current livelihood demands. Finding a balance between these aspects within the landscape depends very much on the interactions between actors and stakeholders. Sustainability issues will play a role in farmers' decisions only if they are made aware of the problems and have other options.

In the Namibian case, reasons for environmental exploitation are circumstantial as well as sheer negligence, especially in the case of resettlement farms that are distributed post-independence. People were forced to live in overcrowded reserves and did not have choice, to do otherwise.

It is very difficult for farmers to practice sustainable agriculture if they have to carry out agricultural activities in overcrowded or small pieces of land. It is not possible to carry out rotational grazing or shifting cultivation systems on a limited piece of land, thus making farm uneconomic and meaning that sustainable agriculture would never be fully realised.

According to Hairiah *et al* (2001) shifting cultivation systems can be sustainable if the fallow length is sufficient to undo the loss of productivity that occurs during cropping period.

Farmers in most parts of Namibia will however not be able to let some of its land idle, even for a year as they do not have extra land to plant and would also lose out on income.

“Any system that does not maintain all essential parts of the resource base is nonsustainable, so finding one violation of resource conservation rule is enough to characterise the system as a whole as nonsustainable. We can confirm that a system is sustainable only if we know that fate of all parts of the resource base and the degree to which they are essential; this is not a trivial task by any means” (Hairiah *et al*, 2001, 145).

Hairiah *et al* (2001) point out four ways by which continued farming degrades its own resource base to a level that impairs future productive use of the land, such as not maintaining soil of sufficient structures, not balancing the budget of nutrient exports and imports, letting pest, weed and disease problems reach unmanageable proportions and not maintaining essential soil biota, such as mycorrhizal fungi and *Rhizobium*. Other threats to continued farming that may dominate discussions of agricultural sustainability especially in developed countries are threats to water quality and quantity, air quality, biodiversity and producing products of insufficient quality to meet consumers' expectations.

Bush encroachment is another problem facing Namibia's agricultural productivity. Bush encroachment (De Klerk, 2004) is defined as "the invasion and/or thickening of aggressive undesired woody species resulting in an imbalance of the grass ratio, a decrease in biodiversity and a decrease in carrying capacity", causing severe economic losses for Namibia in both commercial and communal farming areas.

A loss of land productivity of as much as 100 percent or more has been experienced in about 26 million ha of woodland savannah in Namibia, due to bush encroachment. The carrying capacity declined from one large stock unit (SLU) per 10 ha to one SLU per 20 or 30 ha for example. In the entire bush-affected area, only Okombahe can be regarded as low-density in respect of bush encroachment. Epukiro, Grootfontein, Okahandja, Okakarara, Okonjatu, Otavi, Otjinene, Otjituu, Otjiwarongo, Outjo, Tsumeb and Windhoek fall in the "very high" density areas, while densities in the remaining districts vary from high to medium. (de Klerk, 2004)

Present cattle numbers in the commercial farming areas declined to only 36% of what they were in 1959. The related economic loss of more than N\$700 million per annum has had a direct impact on livelihoods of 65 000 households in communal areas and 6, 283 commercial farmers and their employees. Bush encroachment exacerbates prevailing problems like lower food security and nutrition, increased efforts to maintain living standards and higher demands on wages and income transfers. Losses related to increased artificial drought events caused by bush encroachment are not included in the loss figure above, but they have a drastic negative impact on the economy. Namibia, being a drought-prone country, cannot afford an artificial increase in vulnerability to droughts (de Klerk, 2004).

After independence in 1990, the Namibian parliament amended the 1975 Nature Conservation Ordinance and replaced it with the Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996. The previous law only allowed freehold farmers the right of ownership over wildlife, while the 1996 Act gave communal area residents the same right over wildlife and tourism as freehold farmers. (Tjiramba & Odendaal, 2005).

The Nature Conservation Act of 1996 gave birth to the Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) Programme which is hailed by many as a success in the conservation and tourism sector.

The CBNRM programme promotes wise and sustainable use of natural resources, devolves rights over and responsibilities for wildlife and tourism to rural communities as well as creating enterprise and income-generating opportunities and to encourage and assist communities to acquire skills to manage their areas and actively pilot their own future. (Tjiramba & Odendaal, 2005)

Conservancies have legal status through a representative committee and a constitution, while the goal of conservancies is to become self-sustainable and be in a position to manage wildlife and tourism initiatives themselves.

3.4. HISTORY OF POST-SETTLEMENT SUPPORT IN PRE-INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA

According to the Permanent Technical Team (PTT) on Land Reform a multi-faceted approach to land reform with emphasis on post-settlement support is of fundamental importance if the policy objectives of poverty reduction, self-reliance in food security are to be achieved. (PTT, 2005)

The PTT thus, investigated earlier farm benefits of lands settlement programmes and post-settlement support under pre-independence administrations.

3.4.1 German Settlement 1890-1917

Under the German settlement plan, land was initially only given to concession companies that were supposed to develop the land.

Much of this land was given to companies along the railway lines that went as far as Otavi in the north-central region of the country.

The companies held 29.2 million hectares of land but did not develop it, allegedly holding on to the land until prices increased (PTT; 2005).

Speculation by land companies prompted attempts by the German colonial administration to settle individual farmers that was initially bought from indigenous leaders who received goods at inflated prices in exchange for large tracts of land.

This practice quickly degenerated into blatant land grabs on the part of settlers that took place with tacit approval of the colonial administration. Indigenous reaction to what was perceived as the theft of land escalated quickly from protest to the declaration of war against the colonial administration (PTT, 2005).

The reaction of the indigenous people resulted into the 1904-1911 genocide where German troops killed over 60 percent of indigenous Namibians south of the Etosha Pan, which included groups such as the Herero, Nama and Damara.

After the war, an increase in colonial settlement was visible as they owned 13.4 million ha, amounting to 1331 settler farms, while in contrast seven Native Reserves totalling 2.7 million ha were established.

There is no information on post-settlement support that the German settlers might have received from their rulers, although there might have been support.

3.4.2 South African Settlement 1919 -1989

The PTT had discovered that resettlement under the South African government was well-funded and had a strong sense of purpose – placing as much land as possible in the hands of poor whites.

The South African settlement programme which was known as the Land Settlement Programme started in 1920, with the aim of solving the “poor white problem” in South Africa.

Settlers were enticed with easy repayment terms for loans and minimal qualification regulations. In addition large grants were made available for settlers to purchase farms.

From 1920 – 1932, a total of £1 123 993 was advanced to farmers. In addition, an amount of £450 000 in grants by the Irrigation Department and £300 by the Department of Agriculture was given to the settlers.

The total amount given to white settler farmers in the form of grants and investment in infrastructure was £1 873 933 over the first 12 years of the programme. In 2004, these would be approximately £75 931 675 or N\$835 249 416, which is an annual expenditure of approximately N\$69 604 118. (PTT, 2005)

By 1926, 880 holdings with 1 106 settlers covering 7.5 million hectares were established, and the number increased to 1 261 holdings by the end of 1932.

“Each holding received, on average, £1 486 – in today’s terms, £60 212 or N\$662 339. Added to this were 150 farms allocated to the Angola Boers. Each of these families received on average grants of £1 500 –worth £60 780 or N\$668 580 today.⁵ It is no wonder this programme was once called ‘the most generous land settlement programme in the world’, while the settlers through the 1930s did not pay any income tax”. (PTT, 2005)

According to the PTT, grants were used to purchase fencing materials, boreholes, lister engines, diesel, as well as extension services and credit facilities.

The PTT reports that records about the settlement programme or any other activity that the South African government had done became increasingly hard to obtain, perhaps in an effort of limiting information on the effects of Apartheid.

What is however, known is the fact that soft loans to assist settlers in the 1950s increased, whereby the number of bore holes increased from 16 000 in 1950 to 34 015 in 1960. The number of dams also reportedly increased. (PTT, 2005)

No land used for settlement was purchased under the colonial German and South African administrations. In contrast, the current government has to buy the land for resettlement purposes, which was in most cases unlawfully taken from the indigenous people, while it also has to provide post-settlement support.

⁵ Literature on pre-independence literature is very difficult to trace. Thus it is not clear over what exact period the grants were made, the only part known is that it was done during the South African colonial period. (PTT, 2005)

3.5. WHY NEW FARMERS SHOULD DEPEND ON POST-SETTLEMENT SUPPORT (PSS)

Although there is no official mention of post-settlement support in any of the national policies dealing with land reform, the Namibian government as well as many other organisations sees the need for post-settlement support in order for land beneficiaries to get training and develop skills in order to farm sustainably and productively.

The Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU) states that commercial agricultural practices are new to most of the resettlement and emerging farmers.

“Due to the complexity of commercial farming, it would be disastrous if these farmers do not get any support and are left in the cold.” (NAU, 2009)

Rothauge (2007) opined that new farmers in recent times would need support in the form of fencing material and erosion works to drought subsidies to overcome an unreliable climate, low carrying capacity, a small but growing output and a slow turnover of produce, often linked to unfavourable prices that are the outcome of unsatisfactory product quality or an underdeveloped market and market strategy.

“It is highly likely that the traditional commercial farmer of Namibia would not have succeeded without these subsidies” (Odendaal, 2006) in Rothauge (2007).

According to Rothauge (2007) it is unjustifiable to expect viable results from a resettled farmer who lacks the requisite knowledge and skills for running a farm, in times when disparity between inputs and output prices is even squeezing established commercial farmers.

Not only should inputs be subsidised for at least the first five years but government should procure produce preferentially from resettled farmers, on the same principles as contracts are awarded under the Black Economic Empowerment policy (LaRRi, 2003) in Rothauge (2007).

The key lesson (Tilley, undated) that can be drawn from the international experience is that, irrespective of the political or historical milieu, the transfer of land alone is not sufficient and requires buttressing by settlement support provision from a range of institutions and sectors. In the absence of ongoing support and capacity building, new land owners will run the risk of being set up to fail. For development activities on acquired land to be sustainable and to impact positively on the lives of beneficiaries, a comprehensive, responsive and ongoing interaction between those requiring and determining the support they require and those who provide such support is needed.

Adams (2000) and Griffin et al (2003) cited in Tilley (undated) note that if the objective and scope of land reform are to improve rural livelihoods or facilitate integration into local or global economies, if land reform is to go beyond the mere transfer of land and the narrow focus on technical and agricultural production support to new landholders, then it is necessary to pay attention not only to the immediate support needs of claimants but also to wider agrarian reforms such as infrastructural development, technical support, the provision of credit and access to finance, and the regulation of input and commodity markets in ways that favour and support small-scale farmers and new landholders.

3.6. MODEL OF CURRENT POST-SETTLEMENT SUPPORT IN NAMIBIA

According to the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR) there is no official document on post-settlement support and no need to have a separate policy but

to strengthen the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act. (Personal Communication, 2009)

Post-settlement support, according to the MLR is part of policy intervention.

The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement currently provides support to resettlement beneficiaries for the first five years after resettlement, while the Ministry of Agriculture Water and Forestry (MAWF) is mandated to provide extension and engineering services. However, there is no consistent support that can be identified as the post-settlement support package.

The MAWF provides training to farmers in technical areas such as animal husbandry, marketing, rangeland management practices, crop production, animal and plant health issues, animal draft power, as well as mechanical services, amongst others and not any financial assistance or support.

The target groups for extension services range from communal, commercial and newly resettled farmers as well as any other community-based organisations. The main function however, remains agricultural-related training although it does not specifically focus on that alone.

For the first time since independence resettlement farmers will be getting financial assistance in the form of an annual N\$20 million availed by the land's ministry and the Agricultural Bank of Namibian (Agribank), over the next three years. (Hoaes, 2009)

The money would be discharged to a special account at Agribank and will be used solely by resettlement beneficiaries, through loans.

The loans with low interests rates, as low as four percent will assist the resettlement beneficiaries to acquire farming implements, equipment and

agricultural production inputs. The maximum that farmers can borrow would depend on the needs of the individual and assessments made by the bank.

One of the post-settlement support programmes are carried out by the Emerging Commercial Farmers Support Programme (ECFSP).

The Programme aims to contribute towards improving the livelihoods of emerging commercial farmers and achieving Namibia's poverty reduction objectives as set out in Vision 2030. The direct objective is to increase and diversify emerging commercial farmers' on-farm income in eight regions of Namibia through the promotion of improved agricultural practices. (Joint Presidency Committee)

The ECFSP is not a government initiative but an initiative of the two agricultural unions, the Namibia National Farmers Union (NNFU) and the Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU).

The two unions solicited funds from the European Union Commission through the ninth European Development Fund (EDF9).

The programme aims to:

- support emerging commercial farmers to organise themselves at national, regional and local level,
- support emerging commercial farmers to enhance their access to appropriate information needed for farming purposes,
- enhance the competence (knowledge, skills, and attitudes) of emerging commercial farmers,
- improve support services to emerging commercial farmers. (Joint Presidency Committee)

The ECFSP is mainly to do with capacity building and not providing financial support.

The Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF) is one of the organisations which also rendered support to group resettlement beneficiaries, through skills development. The NNF provided training and capacity-building to a number of group resettlement beneficiaries and projects for two years.

Resettlement beneficiaries have identified to the NNF the type of training they needed in order to make a success out of their newly-acquired land. Beneficiaries were trained in carpentry, brick-making and laying, welding, pipefitting, plumbing and sewing. (Personal Communication, 2009)

The beneficiaries were provided with tools and material after being trained. They were also trained in financial management, project management, livestock management and water point management.

Support packages need to be tailor-made for the different classes of farmers according to their defined needs. A farm worker with non education will have a different set of abilities and needs from a teacher or a clerk. The Ministry of lands and Resettlement should define the different categories of beneficiaries and appropriate support packages (PTT, 2005).

Below is a model example of the post-settlement support that the Permanent Technical Team (PTT) proposed after the in-depth study that it had carried out, few years ago.

Table 1: *Settlement Packages: Category 1- People with no, land, income nor livestock.*

Description	N\$	Comments
1. Direct Establishment Grant	20 000	Restocking, Tilling, Beneficiary Support Assistance
2. Infrastructural Maintenance Grant	20 000	Infrastructural development over three years
3. Technical Assistance Grant	10 000	Technical support over 3 years
Total Grant	50 000	
4. Credit Facility	20 000	Credit limit with 25% subsidy
5. Total Support Entitlement	70 000	

Table 2: *Settlement Support Packages: Category 2 – People with no land, no income but some livestock.*

Description	N\$	Comments
1. Direct Establishment Grant	15 000	Restocking Tilling Support, Beneficiary Support
2. Infrastructural Maintenance Grant	15 000	Infrastructural development over 3 years
3. Technical Assistance Grant	10 000	Technical Support over 3 years
Total Grant	40 000	
4. Credit Facility Limit	60 000	Credit limit with 25% subsidy
5. Total Support Entitlement	100 000	

Table 3: *Settlement Support Packages: Category 3 – People with no land but with income and livestock*

Description	N\$	Comments
1. Infrastructural Maintenance Grant	10 000	Infrastructural development over 3 years
2. Technical Assistance Grant	10 000	Technical Support over 3 years
Total Grant	20 000	
3. Credit Facility Limit	100 000	Credit limit with 25% subsidy
4. Total Support Entitlement	120 000	

Source: (PTT, 2005)

The restocking grant is to provide for livestock acquisition over a three-year period and 75% of the direct establishment grant is proposed. The beneficiary support assistance grant is aimed at the lower two categories with the view to serve as a bridging grant for a period of one year. It is modelled at the current old-age pension of N\$470 per month. The facility could help to prevent

resettlement beneficiaries from using the breeding stock acquired during the first year for personal consumption.

The tilling grant would enable beneficiaries to establish home gardens by providing access to seeds and tractors to encourage food self-reliance. Infrastructural development grant would help beneficiaries maintain the crucially important water provision infrastructure. The monitoring and evaluation grant is to cover implementation costs and is intended to enable government to outsource the implementation of these post-settlement support packages to service providers like financial institutions and other competent organisations. It is calculated at 30% of the total grant. (PTT, 2005)

3.7. CURRENT STATUS, DEBATES AND PERCEPTIONS ON LAND REFORM IN NAMIBIA AND THE SADC REGION.

3.7.1 Namibia

Hunter (2004) writes that two different lines of argumentation determine the Namibian land question, namely equality and justice on the one hand and productivity of the agricultural sector on the other. However, according to Melber (1991:38) in Hunter (2004) the economic considerations turn out to be irrelevant in comparison with the psychological dimensions.

It seems as if the land reform process is leaning more towards redistributing land to the previously disowned people rather than taking economic considerations when allocating this land.

According to (Werner & Vigne, 2000) in PTT (2005) several surveys have shown that resettlement projects are, at best, welfare projects as even subsistence level farming is negligible and beneficiaries are dependent on food aid.

If the two arguments above has to be taken into consideration, land reform in Namibia might seem to be an exercise to just give people land as opposed to actually enabling people at becoming economically self-sustainable and empowered through agricultural practices.

A lot has been said about Namibia's land reform, some organisations and people are of the opinion that land reform is a failure and that farms are not productive at all. It is also regarded a very slow and frustrating process, especially by the previously disadvantaged people.

The NRP (Sherbourne, 2009) in Namibia tackles poverty only in principle but has failed to reduce poverty and help create sustainable new farmers in a cost-effective manner. The policy is steadily increasing poverty by creating growing numbers of unemployed farm workers and settlers unable to create sustainable farms.

“Most observers agree that the NRP suffers from arbitrary selection criteria, cumbersome bureaucratic procedures, a lack of support once resettlement has taken place, a zero sum displacement of farm workers with resettled farmers and an inability to use land as collateral” (Sherbourne, 2009).

Land reform in recently independent African States such as Namibia and recently democratised South Africa is viewed as a failure. After 14 years of democracy (Lahiff, 2008) in South Africa, there is agreement across the political and social spectrum that the state's programme of land reform is in severe difficulties. Almost since its inception, the programme has been criticised for failing to reach its targets or deliver on its multiple objectives of historical redress, redistribution of wealth and opportunities, and economic growth. Particular weaknesses – highlighted by its political supporters and opponents alike – include the slow pace of land redistribution, the failure to impact significantly on the land tenure

systems prevailing on commercial farms and in the communal areas, and the widespread perception that what redistribution of land has taken place has not been translated into improvements in agricultural productivity or livelihood benefits for the majority of participants.

Although the Permanent Technical Team on Land Reform in Namibia suggest that under the National Resettlement Programme, resettled beneficiaries' personal asset base has increased in terms of livestock, the same study indicates that the average beneficiary cannot survive on the income generated by his/her farm without a supplementary income. Most beneficiaries try to obtain employment on neighbouring farms. (PTT, 2005)

According to Mosotho & Tsiu (2008) several key components that underpin successful resettlement were not in place, at most resettlement farms. In terms of support services, most of the resettled farmers had received either limited or no post-resettlement support services. According to the authors, the absence of support places constraints on the agricultural output of these farms.

The Namibia Emerging Commercial Farmers' Union (NECFU) also outlined some constraints that they face post settlement.

Problems highlighted are:

- poor infrastructure on resettlement farms,
- poor access of farmers to credit,
- high input costs versus low product prices,
- insufficient knowledge and competence of farmers,

- inadequate government support services,
- high vulnerability to drought,
- damage of grazing by frequent veld fires,
- inadequate marketing services,
- poor organisation of farmers,
- bush encroachment,
- poor road maintenance
- insecure tenure on resettlement farms.

Infrastructural decay at many resettlement farms is also highlighted by a recent Full Infrastructural Audit and Mini Socio-economic and Demographic Survey on all Resettlement Farms in three regions of the country.

Stephanus & Munjanu (2009) state that although the farms were in good condition upon purchase, by the time settlers move in, infrastructure was damaged, in poor condition, while farm equipment and wildlife was looted.

Officials of the MRL were inundated and helpless as they cannot patrol and protect the farms on the scale and availability and distances with the transportation needs they have. The farms need both supervision and maintenance during the period of administrative preparatory stages and legal transfer whereas the blame for most of the looting is apportioned on

neighbouring commercial farmers and some ministry officials, although the audit could not substantiate that. (Stephanus & Munjanu, 2009)

The Namibian government has often complained that farm prices are too high and that farmers owning more than one farm normally only offer non-productive farms for sale to government, who gets the first option to buy. Government has waived six out of every seven farms offered by farmers (Harring & Odendaal; 2002) in Mosotho & Tsui (2008). It is strange that government view some of these farms offered as unsuitable, while former farm owners were using these same farms, in most cases productively and that is the land that these farmers are using, especially in the southern regions of Namibia. Taking into consideration the aridity or the limited productive land available in Namibia, it really is strange that the government should argue that way.

The process is further regarded as very slow and frustrating. The country's former Minister of Lands and Resettlement, Jerry Ekandjo at numerous occasions publicly criticised the country's land reform process as very slow and frustrating (The Economist, 2005).

Most of the criticisms are mainly directed towards the Willing-Buyer Willing-Seller (WBWS) concept. Common criticisms (Harring & Odendaal; 2007) towards Namibia's ruling SWAPO government is that the land reform process is proceeding far too slow. Out of the 6 000 farms in the country, not more than 209 commercial farms have been acquired for resettlement purposes, meaning no more than 9 138 people were resettled on these farms, out of a population of approximately two million.

According to Adams (2000) the WBWS concept which was adopted at independence effectively legalized more than a decade of land grabbing by whites, as it was constitutionalised at independence. Thus property rights were

protected as people had the right to sell only when they wanted to and not by force.

Another constraint in the acceleration of land reform is cited as the confusion on the role of stakeholders in the process. Adams argues that it is not clear in whose hands land rights and decision -making should be vested and who should enjoy the benefits, as traditional leaders sometimes choose who should be the beneficiaries of a certain resettlement farm, while choosing of beneficiaries is sometimes made by government officials (Adams; 2000).

At a post-settlement conference that was held late in 2008, the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement said it would start taking a decentralised approach to selection (with regard to the NRP) so that land's officials in a specific region will do the selection, as they are closer to the prospective resettlement candidates and know their capabilities better than an official in the central office at headquarters.

The above could be an indication that there is confusion in administering the programme, which result into delays, as prospective beneficiaries have to wait very long before the farms are allocated to them.

As if the slow transfer of land is not a problem enough, support after resettlement is also cited as a problem leading to low levels of productivity or even non-productivity. These farmers are in most cases not always people who had been successful communal farmers but often farm labourers who had been resettled after their bosses' farms were bought by government or even expropriated.

Even in the case that the new commercial farmers were successful communal farmers, they can often not cope with the economic situations on a commercial farm and would thus need external help or "after care" from government.

Most newly resettled farmers or emerging commercial farmers do not have the financial means to carry out productive farming on their acquired farms and would thus need additional technical and financial support. A support system to the emerging farmers is seen as an initiative to enable them to become economically self-reliant, participate in the wider economy as well as create jobs.

With regard to the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) beneficiaries, farming has become more a hobby rather than a way of making a living out of it. Most of these people are urban lawyers, doctors etc, who mostly use their farms as holiday destinations and status symbols (Sherbourne; 2004) in Hunter (2004).

On average, Sherbourne (2004) argues that for a farmer to just pay back the bond on the total capital investment of N\$2.5 million, the farm will need to make N\$313, 000 a year, leaving the farmer without any disposable income at all. Of course that is the scenario only if the farmer invests in livestock, improves infrastructure, purchases a vehicle, etc. The above calculations are done on a farm bought for approximately N\$1.5 million.

The calculation is an indication that much more investment is needed after acquiring a farm, then actually buying the farm itself. If is the case, how is somebody with no economic means supposed to make a success out of his farming venture, taking into account the issue of collateral that most emerging commercial farmers do not have. Sherbourne (2004) is thus of the opinion that farm profitability is only possible if the farm has been inherited and the land does not need to be purchased.

Farming incomes are also diversifying away from livestock into other products and services. The National Agricultural Statistics, according to Sherbourne show that the national livestock herd (consisting of cattle, goats and sheep) has declined considerably, since 1990. In contrast, the output of other framing products such as game, cotton, ostriches and grapes have increased, while

many farmers have probably changed into a range of tourism activities including trophy hunting, game lodges, wildlife photography and adventure sports (Sherbourne, 2004).

If land reform is done based on emotional decisions only, the possibilities of food self sufficiency might be a dream that will never be achieved in the country. The country was also reliant on South African imports pre-independence, and the situation is persistent. Namibia is relying on neighbouring South Africa for 80% of its foodstuffs. This is a worrying factor, considering the global food shortage that is expected in future, whereby some countries might not be able to export their food but rather keep it for their own consumption.

Agricultural sustainability in Namibia is a challenge looking at the country's aridity. There were also calls from other quarters to re-look emphasis on agriculture.

The Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF) advised the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement and its stakeholders to also focus on other forms of land use rather than only farming. The NNF said settlers could engage in additional activities such as trophy hunting, which is generating more money than small livestock. Tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors in the country hence it has in recent years overtaken the agricultural sector as the second highest contributor to GDP. (NNF; 2008)

According to the NNF, off-farm activities such as skills development in brick making, welding, carpentry, plumbing and pipefitting, sewing, craft and glass recycling are other sources of income that could be looked at. The NNF reports that an amount of N\$28, 637.75 was generated from off-farming activities during a pilot project.

According to the recent conference on post-settlement support, (Proceedings – Land Reform SADC Conference, 2008) the Namibian government aims to redistribute at least 15 million hectares of commercial farmland by 2020.

To date only 6 million hectares of commercial farmland has been redistributed to indigenous Namibians (MLR, 2008)

“For food production, for shelter and for employment, land underpins the livelihoods of a majority of poor people. In both rural and urban areas, land policy and the way society manages the right to land has a critical bearing on poverty reduction and economic development. But land issues are often complex and politically difficult. For this reason they may be neglected” (DFID, 2003).

Access to land is seen as a prerequisite for the provision of opportunities to sustainable means of livelihoods and the enhancement of dignity, well being and economic empowerment of previously disadvantaged groups and communities yet judging from the current trend on land reform, it is questionable whether the above objectives will be achieved.

The unequal distribution of land is widely regarded as the main cause of rural poverty and economic inequalities. Land reform, and more specifically land redistribution, was therefore seen across the party political spectrum as a precondition for socio-economic development.

The South West Africa National Union (SWANU), one of the country’s first political parties, for example, expressed the view that ‘no meaningful rural development, resettlement and national reconciliation can take place until the government confronts the political, economic and social imbalances which are directly linked to the unresolved land question’. Hunter (2004)

According to DFID (2003) secure access to land in both urban and rural areas, provides the basis for investment in better livelihoods and improved living conditions. The UK-based development organisation states that more equitable land distribution raises incomes for the poor. It can also increase agricultural productivity and so accelerate economic growth, with further benefits to the poor. Land for shelter is an essential basis for urban livelihoods. Controlling land use is an essential protection for the environment, while secure tenure encourages users to conserve their land. “Therefore, land policy involves complex and politically difficult trade-offs between individuals, between social groups and between economic growth and environmental conservation”. (DFID, 2003)

If poverty has to be addressed in developing countries such as Namibia, all people have to get access to land, thus it plays an important role in any poverty reduction strategy that should be embarked upon.

DFID (2003) however argues that ‘Land reform is not a magic bullet for poverty reduction and economic growth’.

Land reform without the necessary support services I would say would thus be a failure, taking into consideration the historical backgrounds of countries such as Namibia and South Africa.

DFID (2003) also states that where land ownership is unequal, agricultural growth is slower and delivers fewer benefits for the poor. This is partly because the gains from growth are captured by minorities and removed instead of being invested in the rural economy, and partly because small farms are often more productive than large estates.

Rights of women in land reform is another important factor that should be considered. Fortunately this aspect is taken into consideration in the Namibian Land Policy document. (NLP, 1998)

Women are often disowned of their husbands' property upon death of such a husband, where they chased away from the land.

“With land as the most important livelihood asset for many of the poor, land rights and gender is a key issue. Land policy alone cannot change cultural norms on gender relations but ensuring that women’s existing rights, to own, use and inherit land, are respected, can make a significant difference”. (DFID, 2003)

Women are often the driving force behind most success stories in land ownership and productivity, yet they are deprived of the right to own this resource.

The primary objective of the redistribution of land to the landless has been relatively successful, so far with the resettlement of about 16,000 people, of who about 2,000 have been resettled on former commercial farms (Shanyengana, 1998) in Blackie (1999).

3.7.2 Southern African Development Community (SADC)

A major event that impacted land reform and related issues in the southern African region is cited as the Zimbabwean land seizures, which had some people’s minds concentrated, frightened and frozen actions of others. (Proceedings – Land Reform in SADC, 2003)

The event had slowed land reform in the region rather than fast-tracking it, in the three years since the Zimbabwean crisis.

“The appalling food security impact of events in Zimbabwe may also have frightened off those who favour a radical approach to land reform” (Proceedings – Land Reform in SADC, 2003)

The informal ‘think tank’ meeting that was held in South Africa concluded that

tenure arrangements on land occupied and used by the majority of African farmers in the region remained deeply flawed and insecure.

Even in countries where good laws exist, implementation is uneven and often tends to favour distinct interest groups. (Proceedings – Land Reform in SADC, 2003)

The Pretoria meeting had identified many of the chronic land problems in the region as having its origin in the dispossession of Africans under colonialism and apartheid.

In other countries, problems are more closely related to post-independence policies and an unbalanced approach to land allocation which has favoured certain groups over others. However, in all cases, there is a general failure by governments to integrate land policy into either a rural development strategy or a wider socio-economic development vision. (Proceedings – Land Reform in SADC, 2003)

The meeting also concluded that governments have failed to allocate the financial and human resources needed to address land problems, while at the same time donors found it increasingly difficult to justify the allocation of aid resources to land reform in the region.

The donor reluctance is due to lack of viable policies and programmes as well as a response to the fact that governments are moving away from pro-poor agenda that donors feel should be the focus of land reform policies.

The meeting concluded that the SADC region's agricultural sector are in a moribund state due to unfavourable international terms of trade and structural constraints facing especially small-scale farmers in the wider contexts of the global economy.

There are also signs (Proceedings – Land Reform SADC Conference, 2003) across the region that problems are due to a failure of governments that are varyingly authoritarian, centralised and indifferent to human rights issues.

Civil society pressure for and in support of sustainable land reform in the region is weak, while weak economies and continuing political uncertainties in several countries undermine capacity and confidence in the ability of African people themselves to address and solve those problems.

However, the Pretoria meeting is of the opinion that not all is gloom and despondency as some countries have made progress in tenure reform.

With regard to the displaced Zimbabwean farm workers, if small-scale farmers are to bring back production to previous levels, they will require security of tenure, basic social services, training, agricultural inputs and reliable access to markets. These are the exact things that the Namibian resettlement beneficiaries require.

“The ability to provide any of these things will be severely constrained by costs and scarcity of human resources following the exodus of technical and professional personnel from governments and non-governmental organisations over the last few years’ (Proceedings – Land Reform SADC Conference, 2003)

There was a feeling that neither Namibia nor South Africa was any closer to finding solutions and that grave consequences could await both countries if the current impasse was allowed to continue. The meeting was of the opinion that the cost of taking no effective action could be very high.

The think tank stated that the political will to get to grips with land reform is lacking and perhaps best understood in the context of other, more acute concerns facing these governments.

(Proceedings – Land Reform SADC Conference, 2003) has concluded that a cyclical element is present in land reform in the region, as the initially strong political commitment to land redistribution has been switched to emphasis on economic goals rather than the eradication of landlessness and poverty.

The regional land stakeholders said that the elite lobby governments with arguments about the importance of improving food production, export revenue, sustaining farm employment and environmental management, while the needs of the poor only comes into consideration before elections only to be shelved when votes of the majority are secured.

“It is now a cliché of agricultural policy that land reform without reforms in support services will achieve little in terms of redistributive justice and efficiency” (Proceedings – Land Reform SADC Conference, 2003)

Due to institutional complexities of public sectors in Namibia and South Africa, land and agriculture ministries and departments have failed to work together, either at planning stage or post-transfer stage.

States that even had cooperation been better, the knowledge of government extension staff, farm technology and markets for inputs and outputs in South Africa have long been geared towards large farms (Proceedings – Land Reform SADC Conference, 2003).

Land tenure reform is further summed up as follows in Southern Africa:

Botswana:

- Land reform is tarnished by its policy of communal rangeland enclosures.
- Despite above it continues to improve the administration of both customary and state land.

Malawi and Lesotho:

- Land reform efforts continue.

Mozambique:

- It has a single progressive law for the whole country and is committed to seeing it succeed.

Zambia:

- It may be in the process of getting to grips with tenure reform and needs to focus on sorting out the state (leasehold) land sector and the associated backlogs and corruption.
- It nationalised all private land after decolonization by vesting all land in the President on behalf of the people in terms of the Land (Conversion of Titles) Act of 1975.
- Under donor pressure, the Zambian government repealed the Act in 1995.
- Since the Act was repealed the country opened its doors to expelled Zimbabwean white farmers to farm on unutilised land, (HSRC 2003:24) in Hunter (2004) presumably on a freehold basis.
- However, uncertainty on leasehold prevented white farmers from approaching financial institutions for collateral.

Swaziland:

- The country recognises the importance of land reform in the wider context of urgently needed constitutional and governance changes but does not yet see it as a priority.

Angola:

- The country is at a critical stage after emerging from decades of civil war.
- The government and civil society need to be encouraged to learn lessons from other countries.

Tanzania:

- Established Ujaama villages in 1972 under President Julius Nyerere.
- The Ujaama villages created communal tenure on State Land, which was subsequently passed on to the communities who made up the villages.
- In 1999 a new law was passed, which recognised these communal tenures but also introduced freehold for individuals who had the financial capacity to acquire land.
- However, most of the land in Tanzania remains State-owned, which might indicate an absence of funding for prospective private owners. (Hunter, 2004)

Malawi:

- Fifty percent of land is effectively State-owned, while the rest is customary land.
- Malawi adopted a National Land Policy in 2002 to clarify all ownership issues, while government is focusing on resettling landless people on underutilised (mainly State-owned) land.

Namibia and Zimbabwe:

- Both countries have communal lands that are regarded as State land but in most cases these lands have not been targeted for resettlement.
- Both countries mostly only targeted white owned commercial land for resettlement (Hunter, 2004).

WILLING BUYERS WILLING SELLER PRINCIPLE

The Willing-Buyer, Willing-Seller (WBWS) principle is often cited as a constraint to land reform by politicians and non-governmental organisations (NGO) land reform advocates.

Most “independence constitutions” in the region allowed for compulsory acquisition only of ‘unutilised’ agricultural land provided market value was paid in hard currency. (Proceedings – Land Reform SADC Conference, 2003)

According to the Pretoria meeting, there is considerable willingness to release land on the part of large scale (white) commercial farmers, especially in the current economic climate further influenced by developments in Zimbabwe.

Thus the meeting suggested that it would be beneficial to all parties to promote dialogue with commercial farmer lobby in search of more peaceful and constructive solutions rather than what happened in Zimbabwe.

The South African constitution provides for land expropriation with ‘just and equitable’ (as opposed to market-related) compensation for a public purpose or in the public interest which specifically includes land reform. (Proceedings – Land Reform SADC Conference, 2003)

The meeting further reported that South African department of land affairs had developed a policy on what was termed a “proactive land reform strategy’, whereby land expropriation could be utilised to obtain suitable land as needed by clearly identified beneficiaries.

Although some donors want the WBWS principle be dropped, many such as the USAID and Agri-SA in South Africa still however insist on the principle being maintained, partly out of fear that dropping it would open the door to arbitrary

land seizures.

The South African Human Science Research Council commented (Hunter, 2004) that land reform policies in the region were applied inconsistently. Neither colonial policies nor contemporary practices were ever uniform.

Initially, (Hunter, 2004) there was a strong commitment to land redistribution for political reasons, only to be switched to economic goals.

Moyo (2003) in (Hunter, 2004) claims that both approaches failed in Zimbabwe, as the market reforms were attempted from 1992 onwards but were inadequate, while the radical invasion launched in 1997 resulted into major conflict and problems.

The major issue (Hunter, 2004) in southern Africa is the failure to integrate land reform policies into land tenure reforms, resettlement programmes and meaningful land-use policies that cover all land, not just rural land but urban land as well.

“Land reform policies should, therefore, cover all land, including non-agricultural land, because fertile is simply too scarce a resource in many countries to be made available to everybody who wants to make a living on rural land” (Hunter, 2004)

Only about 7% (Hunter 2004) of land in Africa is arable land, while in the southern African region only has six percent arable land with Malawi the highest at 18 percent and Botswana the lowest at 0.5 percent, Zimbabwe eight percent and Namibia one percent.

Breytenbach in (Hunter, 2004) states that there is no standard land reform policy in the region, to date as such policies were never coordinated in colonial times.

The regional organisation, SADC has also never expressed an opinion on land reform, let alone tried to deal with it through an appropriate protocol.

3.8. EXAMPLES OF POST SETTLEMENT SUPPORT IN SOME PARTS OF THE WORLD

3.8.1 Brazil

In Brazil, (Tilley, 2007) the institutional arrangements for land reform are carried out by the ministries of land and agriculture. The state has adopted a decentralised approach to both land reform and its associated settlement support and has introduced the 'Territorial Development Approach' which aims at targeting local areas in which economic opportunities for small-scale farmers are to be enhanced and where links between urban and rural and between districts and municipalities will be emphasised. The idea is to create a situation whereby government programmes are better linked horizontally and where links are forged between government and civil society.

However, (Tilley, 2007) quotes Quan et al. (2003) as pointing out that one of the dangers inherent in this approach is that it ascribes a great deal of power to local elites. For example where a mayor of a municipality or town, could be in a powerful position to make far-reaching decisions about land allocation and the identification of beneficiaries based on his/her party political allegiances.

The Brazilian state has assumed and relied on the private sector to play a role, more specifically in terms of extension services to the land acquisitions under the market-based land reform programme (Tilley, 2007). However, Borras (2000) in

Tilley argues that the quality of privatised extension services was not as responsive or supportive as had been expected.

A similar scenario is currently occurring in Namibia as most extension services such as training and skills development is carried out by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and donor organisations. The organisations are more involved in the training aspect of extension services than anything else. Although help is very supportive it is very limited and can only support a few farmers and would never be able to support a huge number of farmers as a state-led programme would do.

The emergence and social action of large, militant social movements of the landless, as well as church organisations, have impacted directly on the content and pace of land reform and the nature of support provided to beneficiaries, in Brazil. There is an ongoing policy development to improve the access to credits, to offer technical assistance and training and to establish essential rural infrastructure. Within this national policy for sustainable rural development, FAO provided assistance to INCRA, the state land reform agency to transfer technology and production systems of successful family farms to the new land reform beneficiaries. The World Bank has also been integrally involved, not only in advocating particular policy frameworks such as piloting market-based land reform in Brazil, but also in providing technical assistance and grant funding for both land acquisition and the post-acquisition phase (Tilley, 2007).

In addition, (Tilley, 2007) cites (Quan 2006) as stating that local and international NGOs play a role in addressing gaps in capacity building for land reform groups and projects and in the delivery of post-settlement technical support in farm production, marketing, and effective livelihood diversification.

The Brazilian land reform beneficiaries thus had a lot of ample support with regard to post settlement support, something that cannot be said about African countries.

Brazil's market-based land reform programme is based on a loan-grant package of support to beneficiaries whereby a fixed sum of money is allotted to each beneficiary who is then to use the fund to buy land and pay for post-transfer development. The amount that is spent on the land purchase is considered a loan and has to be repaid. The remainder is considered a grant and is not to be repaid. The expectation is that peasant buyers will do their best to buy land at the lowest possible price, in order to retain a bigger portion of money for post-land purchase development. This, however, impacts on the quality of the land which beneficiaries are able to acquire and the extent to which they are able to address their own post-acquisition needs (Deininger 1999; Buainain et al. 1999) in Tilley (2007).

The reverse is happening in Namibia, the state buys the land and beneficiaries do not have to refund the state, but they get loans for post-settlement support (the loans are not yet operational although money was availed) and has to pay that back. In contrast to the Brazilian case, the Namibian farmers might be getting good quality land and degrades it because they do not have the means to maintain it, as post-settlement support is limited in the country. Moreover, land is very expensive in Namibia, thus most poor farmers will in most cases be unable to afford land on their own.

In Brazil, Tilley (2007) beneficiaries avoided using their land titles to secure loans from commercial banks despite the growing need for additional funds. What the empirical evidence suggests is that beneficiaries look to more state-funded support in order to augment the grant-loan package

What land reform beneficiaries in Namibia would do with their title deeds is not yet predictable as they have just received a proper lease agreement only few weeks ago, after almost two decades when the land reform programme was instituted.

3.8.2 Philippines

Similar to a lot of countries, the Philippines has a highly unequal pattern of landownership. A small political elite, closely linked to successive conservative regimes and transnational companies, controls extensive commercial landholdings and estates, most involving land leased for nominal rents from the state (Tilley 2007).

Several large foreign and national corporations occupy the most fertile land, and their position is protected by the liberal free-market policies of the government (Ghimir 1999) in Tilley (2007).

Since 1988, the Philippine's government, under the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Programme (CARP), implemented by the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) all farmlands, private and public, and was subjected to reform, through either redistribution or the securing of tenure rights (Tilley, 2007).

Despite provisions under CARP for the distribution of private lands, the bulk of lands actually redistributed were government-owned properties, thus leaving the holdings of large landowners virtually intact. The persistent harassment of beneficiaries by landowners, who have used legal loopholes and resorted to outright violence to evict tenants, often with the aid of paramilitary forces, remains a key concern. Ongoing pressure from conservative elements within the Philippines' state and society has led to lower targets and reduced budgets for land reform and settlement support, and a greater reliance on voluntary transactions funded by the landless themselves. However, by 2004, an estimated 5, 9 million ha of private and public land, or half of the country's farmland, had been redistributed to three million rural poor households, or two-fifths of the agricultural population (Feranil 2005) cited in Tilley (2007).

DAR is responsible for managing and administering land reform and settlement support provision. Its main thrust is geared towards food security and poverty alleviation through its land reform programme and post-distribution support provision. DAR provides training, supplies and facilities to a range of community structures, and has established teams of development facilitators who have the task of coordinating the provision of services to land reform beneficiaries. Under the CARP approach, attempts have been made to focus on the beneficiaries and their post-acquisition needs (Bravo 2001) in Tilley (2007).

Since the acquisition of land by beneficiaries, the problem of continued low farm incomes has been observed. In large part, this is related to weak rural infrastructure, limited expertise in improved farming technologies, insufficient marketing information, limited access to low-interest production credit, inadequate post-harvest facilities, weak farmers' organisations and the slow implementation of agrarian reform. This has been compounded by changes in the global agricultural sector and the drive for high-value export crops. A shift in emphasis from low-value, high-volume crops to high-value export crops has had a direct impact on small scale farmers and land reform beneficiaries during the post distribution phase (Tilley, 2007).

A key challenge for land reform beneficiaries is the ability to access finance for post-acquisition development. This may well be made more complicated in that CARP is soon to be complemented by pending legislation that provides for acquired land to be used as collateral for accessing loans from banks and financial institutions. While this creates leverage for accessing finance, it creates the potential for beneficiaries to lose their newly acquired assets and for landowners to regain ownership in the event that beneficiaries fail to repay the loans (Feranil 2005) in Tilley (2007).

Decentralisation was a key strategy in Philippines land reform programme as such that traditional local authorities called the Barangay assumed a great deal

of responsibility. With the help of rich countries such as Italy, the Netherlands and the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) as well as civil society and government, the DAR has adopted an area- and people-focused approach that integrates the various development efforts for its beneficiaries. Essential, basic services and facilities such as agricultural extension, community-based forestry projects, infrastructure projects and other support services have been transferred to local government units (Tilley, 2007).

In Namibia, partners such as the agricultural universities and colleges do not feature anywhere in the country's land reform or agricultural plans. The only mention of agricultural students was by the NECFU, who suggested that agricultural college graduates be considered as resettlement beneficiaries. The Agricultural ministry was of the opinion that the curriculum at the country's tertiary colleges did not cater for the Namibian farming market, as they lacked in practical education for the students.

3.8.3 Australia

Unlike in Namibia, ancestral land rights were considered in Australia for the Aboriginal people, although it only gathered momentum in the 1970s. However, in striving to claim land, continuous connection with the land under claim has to be proved, and it cannot take away others' rights to land, including holding a pastoral lease or a mining licence (O'Donnell (2003) in Tilley undated, 2007).

Although the Aboriginal people could claim their land they were faced by a complex legal process and their claims have been contested by powerful mining and farming interests. This has resulted in very few claims being processed – only 31 successful claims had been processed by the end of 2002 Tilley undated (2007) cites (De Villiers 2003a). Land claimants and beneficiaries in Australia are faced with a number of challenges, quite different from those in African countries such as Namibia and South Africa. In Australia, Native Title has to be proven through a litigious process, such as e.g. claimants demonstrating that their laws

and customs have survived sovereignty, continue to exist and are still adhered to. This practice is due to the unwillingness of the government to develop a sensible land reform policy.

Tilley (2007) argues that this is a very high onus of proof, which will be difficult to meet in many cases. She refers to case studies drawn from African countries, such as Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, where the state is seen as a partner in the land claims process, while in Australia the government is seen as opposing native title. This attitude is reflected in the post-restoration support that is given by the respective governments. Unfortunately, the level of evidence required by the government for a consent determination in many instances exceeds the minimum threshold for legal settlement, hence the small number of consent determinations. Australia is probably best placed amongst all the countries studied – from an economic perspective – to provide sustainable post-acquisition support to new landholders, but a long-term vision and the political will to do so is lacking.

The Indigenous Land Corporation (ILC) an independent statutory body established by Commonwealth legislation in 1995 played an important part on development planning and support and conducted a number of land acquisition programmes.

The number of indigenous people who actually derived direct benefit from ILC was 1,014, of which 474 were indigenous residents, 157 employees and 383 part-time workers. The ILC is an example of supply-led land reform whereby land is identified, acquired and developed in consultation with claimants. Rigorous business development planning is done before the land is handed over to communities. Until a clear business and development plan is done, the land is not handed over. Professional assistance in the form of planning, consultation, facilitation, design, management structure, capacity building, business planning,

technical assistance, funding and implementation is provided, with the assistance of the ILC.

As evident by any development process Tilley (2007) highlights the fact that the ILC also had a number of challenges, such as 58% of the groups that were assisted lacked appropriate skills and knowledge to manage the acquired property, 29% had limited commitment to manage the land and 33% were embroiled in community conflict. Vast portions of land transferred to indigenous people were of poor quality, heavily eroded and generally unproductive.

The initial approach of the ILC was to transfer volumes of land to indigenous people (advocacy approach), without the 'assessment approach'. Consequently, bare land (without plant, equipment and production infrastructure) was purchased. No serious assessment of the cultural, social, environmental and economic context was undertaken. There was a lack of consideration given to capacity building, management competencies and production management. All of these contributed to undermining the successes of the ILC and the ability of beneficiaries to maximise the use of the land.

In response, the ILC has revised the NILS and RILS for its programmes. It established a capacity-building function within ILC and refined the operational plan requirements for the NILS/RILS implementation framework. For legacy projects approved in the past, ILC has designed a property-by-property Remediation Program, which is designed to turn these projects around. The critical issues include domestic water for resident population, stock water, accommodation, capitalisation and commercial viability (Tilley, 2007).

Professional assistance in the form of planning, consultation, facilitation, design, management structure, capacity building, business planning, technical assistance, funding and implementation is provided and the necessary structures

have been established to engage with communities around their support needs. However, Tilley (2007) states that a limited number of communities are able to access these facilities and programmes as they experience frequently insurmountable obstacles in their attempts to acquire land in the first place. Furthermore, Australia's emphasis on rigorous business planning and development being done prior to the land being handed over to communities serves as a useful pointer for those wishing to obviate elite capture or inappropriate land use, but in some instances serves as a bureaucratic obstacle to those wishing to access their land and embark on developmental activities.

Tilley (2007) argues that the need for appropriate forms and an acknowledgement of cultural styles and approaches to establishing representative structures of indigenous peoples is highlighted by the case of the PBCs in Australia. In addition, the case of Australia highlights the importance of the state providing sufficient resources and funds to give effect to such institutions so that they can play their role, as mandated.

3.8.4 Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe opted for a land reform programme whereby land would be acquired for agricultural use rather than for a claim-based process where ancestral land could be returned to those who had suffered dispossession. (Tilley, 2007)

The country has experienced three broad approaches to land acquisition, namely: market land acquisition led by the state; state-led compulsory land acquisitions with full compensation or compensation only for improvements; and attempted land seizures through land occupations (Moyo 2000 & De Villiers 2003a) in Tilley (2007).

The Zimbabwean land reform went through three stages or periods of its reform process. During Phase One of the resettlement programme, the Government of

Zimbabwe sought to provide infrastructure in accordance with its professed socialist egalitarian philosophy that emphasised increasing access to services and productive capacity of rural communities. Land redistribution was thus regarded as a major rural development thrust through which these services and developments could be realised by the hitherto landless and poor sectors of the population (Gonese & Mukora undated) in Tilley (2007).

The Phase One land reform Tilley (2007) policy objectives represent a rehabilitative programme, targeting war-displaced communities, returning refugees, demobilised war combatants, and the identified landless from the communal areas and abandoned farmland that required infrastructural and productivity revival. In addition to the rehabilitation focus, the programme also sought to extend 'productive agriculture' and employment opportunities to the small-scale or subsistence farming sector and the destitute, as well as provide some infrastructure for social and economic development.

According to Tilley (2007) Phase One of the programme occurred during a period of land availability and relative abundance that facilitated planning for large numbers of beneficiaries in contiguous land blocks. Phase Two was characterised by greater scarcity of land for resettlement, reduced resource availability on the part of the government, as well as a rejuvenated demand for resettlement land by communal land households and other prospective beneficiaries. This phase exerted greater demands on the government in terms of outputs, infrastructural needs and support services (Gonese & Mukora undated) in Tilley (2007).

According to Tilley (2007) the first phase of Zimbabwe's land reform programme demonstrated a heightened level of support to beneficiaries and attention to broader agrarian reform. However, the current land resettlement phase is characterised by a lack of financial resources to provide hard and soft infrastructure for the farms, inadequate resources to support emerging

institutions and organisations, and is accompanied by increased levels of environmental degradation.

While, in principle, the government funded infrastructural development through either budgetary allocations or provision of personnel through line institutions, the resettled communities made significant contributions by providing labour, their own resources and locally available materials in the construction of facilities such as schools, clinics and community centres in order to cut costs and as a way to engender participatory development through self-reliance. In addition, the farmers also had to construct their own housing. It was only after 1984/85 that resettled farmers were able to benefit from the Improved Rural Housing Programme which offered some housing construction Credit that was repayable through marketed agricultural produce.

The Zimbabwean land reform beneficiaries were remarkable in their quest to self-sustenance, as compared to their Namibian counterparts. Services such as schools and clinics are according to the Namibian community's, the sole responsibility of the government.

Access to private sector bank credit in Zimbabwe has tended to be concentrated on the large-scale commercial farm sector, while public sector financial institutions have slowly begun to increase their coverage of smallholder farmers. Although the capacity of these public sector institutions to provide long-term credit has been limited, the government's financing of seasonal credit through parastatal suppliers has been growing relatively to the role of the private sector. Government funds for seasonal credit are channelled to settlers mainly through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and to a small extent, through the Agricultural Development Bank (AGRIBANK). The GMB uses its branch structure for distribution but repayment rates have been disappointing. The Farmers Development Trust (FDT) also obtains funds from the government to provide seasonal credit to tobacco farmers (Sibanda undated in Tilley (2007)). That was the situation in Zimbabwe in the earlier years of the land reform process,

however the situation has changed since the fast tracking of the land reform process

The major issues of concern according to Tilley (2007) regarding Zimbabwe's more recent land reform and associated settlement support programme relates to its planning and organisational modalities. The author states that government's failure to provide basic infrastructure, credit input support and strengthening of local level institutions and organisational structures largely undermines the gains made in land reform thus far. Institutional reform is one of the key missing links in the current land reform programme and central government has assumed the dominant role in the process, at the exclusion of other key players such as the Rural District Councils (RDCs, non-state actors and financial institutions. What Zimbabwe's land reform history demonstrates, amongst other things, is the impact that a lack of resources can have on the land acquisition and post-settlement processes. In addition to the basic resettlement of people, the infrastructural, technical, financial and educational support programmes required for new settlements were not adequately in place.

In general, government departments lacked the experience to oversee and implement the settlement process and this was compounded by that fact that there were several ministries responsible to oversee different aspects of settlement. This in turn affected planning and budgeting, and contributed to interdepartmental conflict, competition and confusion. It can be said, however, that the land reform programme has enabled a large number of rural and urban households in Zimbabwe to gain access to land assets. This does provide them with a starting point from which to pursue more remunerative livelihood strategies. However, it is critical that the necessary and appropriate support provision is realised timeously. There needs to be a considerable injection of resources in order to finance the necessary infrastructure and support services, if the gains made from land acquisition are to be realised in the post-transfer phase (Tilley, 2007).

3.8.5 Mozambique

Mozambique (Tilley, 2007) adopted a new land policy and new land law in 1995 and 1997, respectively after it became clear by the early 1990s that the national legal and regulatory framework governing land-use rights did not provide secure tenure rights to either smallholders or larger commercial interests. Under the new law land remains the property of the state, while communities, individuals and companies only gain use rights or leases. These rights could be transferred but cannot be sold or mortgaged. Use rights are gained by occupancy or by the grant by the state of a lease of up to 100 years.

The national land policy has dual objectives aiming to create conditions for the development and growth of local communities and to promote investment in rural areas through the involvement of the private sector. Most importantly, perhaps, the land policy underlined the importance of developing a legal for land rights that would be sufficiently flexible to framework accommodate different systems and scenarios, particularly in respect to rights and land holdings in the family sector. There was a recognition that customary land holding mechanisms did not necessarily consist of rigid rights and precise rules and that customary law in respect of land-use regulation was by nature procedural. To give some effect to this, the role of traditional authorities in the prevention and resolution of conflicts was secured in the subsequent legislation. Finally, the policy maintains the concept that all land belongs to the state, despite a strong lobby for the full privatisation of land (Liversage & Norfolk undated) cited in Tilley (2007).

Tilley (2007) stated that the policy principle of the recognition of customary rights had thrown up the tricky problem of defining in some way the range of people who could hold such rights. The new land law solved this problem through the introduction of a definition for a local community that is capable of broad interpretation. The new law defines a 'local community' as 'a group of families or

individuals that has the aim of safeguarding common interests through the protection of living areas, farming areas whether cultivated or fallow, forests, sites of cultural importance, pasture, water sources, and areas of expansion.' Local communities can have use and occupancy rights and can be issued collective titles.

Under the new land policy, mandatory consultations had to be done with local communities in every single application for natural resource rights in rural areas.. The consultation process however, did not sometimes take place, while other consultations would take place without the concerned of some community members and little or no information regarding existing land rights or applications was given to the community groups. While the Mozambican land law emerged from a consultative and democratic process, and includes a number of progressive provisions, more focused support is needed in order to actually empower local communities to use the provisions of the land law both to defend their land and to promote local development. In the absence of this support and coordination from the state, beneficiaries are increasingly being left on their own to negotiate and consult with investors and the private sectors, including large agribusiness transnationals. There are numerous cases of beneficiaries who have effectively lost their land to these agents because they did not understand the implications or terms of agreement (Tilley, 2007).

The country has three key elements of its land reform programme which is regarded as settlement support mechanisms. The programmes are designed to contribute to poverty alleviation objectives and the provision of settlement support. One of the key elements is strengthening of land tenure security for family sector producers. The country recognised that tenure security alone would not necessarily be enough to lead to increased economic activity or poverty reduction and has thus added the element of encouraging investment in the rural economy through the granting of private land concessions. By allowing private land concessions it is hoped that there will be increased investment in production

and employment creation in the rural areas. Part of the programme of granting concessions involves the generation of a tax base in land rentals to the state, at various levels, to ensure future sustainability of the land management system. The third element is the establishment of partnerships between investors and rural communities, which was viewed as a crucial element for bringing together the two elements mentioned above. By encouraging partnerships it is hoped that land tenure security of both communities and investors will be strengthened, that mutually beneficial relationships will develop, leading to a better environment for investment by both outside investors and rural communities (Tilley, 2007).

As was the case in Namibia, banking regulations and requirements did not make it easy for community groups to open and manage bank accounts, despite the fact that they had legal recognition. Alternative financial institutions providing more accessible and tailored services to the rural poor in Mozambique do not yet exist outside of the rather narrowly-focused and NGO-managed credit programmes. The People's Development Bank (BPD) was set up in the socialist era to provide rural credit, and it still had branches in all district capitals at the end of the war in 1992. It proved effective and efficient in paying out demobilization money to 90,000 soldiers and was one reason why so many returned to their rural homes. But BPD was privatised, its rural branches closed, and agricultural lending stopped (Hanlon 2002) in Tilley (2007).

Numerous foreign NGOs and aid agencies have set up micro-credit schemes, mainly for traders, but also a few for farmers. But this is not a banking system. And there is no rural banking system because the private sector is not interested (Tilley, 2007).

Institutional capacity in Mozambique's land reform process was also limited. Initially, the Inter-ministerial Land Commission was responsible for managing and administering land reform and associated settlement support strategies. However, this institution has been collapsed into the Ministry of Agriculture and

Rural Development (MADER). At a district level the structure and the composition of the agricultural directorates vary widely but are generally characterised by a very low level of human, physical and financial resources. Very few districts have specific representatives from the provincial land services, which tend to be concentrated in the provincial capitals. For regulatory activities, therefore, the provincial offices will depend upon the participation of generalist technicians based in the districts (Tilley, 2007).

The author concludes that Mozambique provides a prime example of how decentralisation, in the absence of strong national coordination and a clear vision for settlement support, can in fact precipitate an undermining of the gains made through land reform.

CHAPTER FOUR: LAND REFORM AND SETTLEMENT SUPPORT ROLE PLAYERS

4.1 Introduction

Role players in the support of land reform and resettlement in the normal course of a viable programme would be the State, the Private Sector, non-governmental organisations and the community itself. However, in the Namibian situation the State and the beneficiaries are essentially the essential role players with some token involvement of European NGO's.

The Government's involvement is confined more or less to the activities of the specialised Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry and the Agricultural Bank.

The Private Sector represented by the Namibia Agricultural Union is not actively involved in the process of both land redistribution and/or support for sustainability. It maintains a deeply paranoid sentinel position of radical encroachment on private land by landless and land hungry peasants.

The role of European NGO's remain marginal and its tokenism is probably deepened by the structure-less resettlement policy and the equally directionless policies for support.

In this regard it is perhaps essential to note that the Namibian policies of support for land reform and resettlement and its sustainability have been developed without taking cognizance of the South African experiences in land reform and the policies developed for support thereof in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War. Neither has much interest been shown in understanding how financial, technical and market problems had been overcome by the South African State

especially during the first half of the twentieth century in establishing effective supportive infra-structure for an emergent farming community.

Hence, much of the Namibian dilemmas in developing supporting infra-structures may lie in the fact that it is mainly empiricist and perhaps politically opportunistic projects. As such it is inclined to disregard any serious theoretical study of similar situations and therefore is given to re-inventing the wheel all the time.

It is within this context that the interviews and information regarding the various role players must be considered.

It is perhaps crucial to note that for an effective policy in resettlement and its support, the State is duty bound to develop an effective policy spark enthusiasm and harness optimum participation from the most important role players. The policy must be rational and fruitful. The State in other words must fulfil a meaningful and informative leadership role.

At the moment such a policy is severely lacking and such vacuum/confusion induces mostly recalcitrance from the established farming community and scepticism from an aspirant commercial farmers.

For now land resettlement support is mostly stuff for policy documents and workshops.

4.1.1 Ministry of Lands and Resettlement⁶

There is currently no official policy on PSS but a draft proposal is in place, mostly dealing with the N\$20 million Agribank loan, as well as the Ministry of Finance's

⁶ The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.1.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the ministry.

refunds on agricultural products bought by farmers such as leeks, feed, veterinarian services and medicines, which is a kind of a subsidy.

The Permanent Technical Team proposed a PSS package but it was never implemented. It is more than five years ago that the study was done but none of the recommendations were implemented. The function of maintenance might be given over to the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry as they have the expertise although it has no budget. The budget for this function is with the land's ministry, hence it might be given over to agriculture with the function.

The needs of farmers vary from farmer to farmer and region to region, thus not all beneficiaries would need the same type of support. The ministry can advise farmers on their needs.

The Namibian government is aware that pre-independence white farmers received extensive support during the colonial era, but cannot emulate that as it does not have the resources. The land's ministry's view is that all stakeholders in the land reform fraternity help in making the process a success. It promise to give small incentives to established farmers if they are willing to help the new farmers, but does not elaborate on that.

Weekend farming in Namibia is a practice that is questioned by many however, the line has no control over the practice, as it does not know people's intentions when applying for land. The only prerequisite is that owners should have fulltime managers when not staying on the farm, as well as provide curriculum vitae of managers. Unfortunately, the MLR cannot police people to make sure there is a permanent manager.

The ministry admits that the about 25% of land reform beneficiaries are not the correct ones, as selection is influenced by factors such as gender, disability and

regional balance. The ministry's admittance gives the impression that it is not satisfied with the criteria used in the selection process.

Ideally, if a settler is not using his land productively, he/she would forfeit that land but the ministry has not done so, so far. It is currently busy with the National Resettlement Audit which will guide the ministry in this regard. Perhaps, if the policy was in force people would have been more productive.

On how far Namibia is in reaching its target of redistributing 15 hectares by 2020, the MLR refused to comment but admitted that it could not be achieved.

4.1.2 Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry⁷

The Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry (MAWF) is of the opinion that extension services together with credit, implements, fertilizers, etc, can be referred to as post-settlement support. According to the ministry new farmers need credit, start-up capital to buy animals, implements, fertilisers, and chemicals, thus all in all they need financial support to get hold of the above-mentioned commodities. "Financial [support] is the key to everything, because if you want them to be productive and you don't give them the financial support, they will never be productive, because you train them but what will they do with the training without money" (Personal Communication, 2009).

Extension services are supposed to be carried out by the MAWF, however according to the ministry it does not have a sufficient budget to carry out the

⁷ The Ministry of Agriculture Water and Forestry was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.2.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the ministry.

function. In an ideal situation, the lands ministry has to put fences to demarcate the pieces of land, however, the ministry states that it does not have the money. The MAWF however states that the land ministry's budget is not only earmarked for procuring land but also to develop land.

“They just buy the land, maybe hoping that someone else will develop the land, but now they have realised that's why they have come up with PSS packages” (Kasheeta, 2009). Water infrastructure becomes a challenge too, as some allotments do not have water points or boreholes, thus not all beneficiaries have access to water on their land and have to share it with neighbours. Conflicts arise from shared water usage, as some people might not want to share the costs of diesel for the water pumps, with the farmer on whose land the borehole is situated.

The budget and human capacity is cited as one of the main challenges faced by the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry. Some extension officers are serving both communal and commercial farmers, in a specific area, which is not sufficient, as on occasions only one officer serves a given region, or area.

Resettlement beneficiaries or new commercial farmers need more attention than established commercial as they come from communal areas where issues such as rangeland management was not considered but with their new land they have to be trained in those aspects.

Besides all the challenges, one advantage is that the staff in the ministry is trained or has sufficient knowledge, although their numbers are limited, according to the ministry.

Coordination and communication among the two line ministries of land and agriculture have reportedly improved as compared to the past, although the National Resettlement Policy was not done in consultation or collaboration with

other stakeholders in land reform. For example, the MAWF does not have the list of resettlement farms that it is supposed to serve and has to get permission from lands whenever they have to provide extension services.

Namibia is on the right track with regard to agricultural productivity but land reform is not on the right track. The Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) beneficiaries are performing, but resettlement beneficiaries are a problem although some of them are doing well. The country does not compromise on sustainable agricultural productivity, as land is subleased to people who use it productively? More vegetables are now sourced locally as prior to independence, although fruits are still mostly sourced from neighbouring South Africa. The country produces maize, mahangu and vegetables, successfully.

4.1.3 Namibia Emerging Commercial Farmers Union (NECFU)⁸

NECFU views land reform as a political issue, stating that the real target group does not benefit as people who can afford to buy a farm through commercial means are given land through the resettlement programme.

“There is a difference between a land owner and a farmer. Sometimes people who are not really farmers get the land. It’s very sensitive, people might not be resettled for the right reasons, e.g. weekend farmers”. (Personal Communication, 2009)

People get land because of their political connections, instead previously disadvantaged, landless Namibians who have the ability to farm and have in a

⁸ NECFU was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.3.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the union.

way proven themselves as farmers should get the land. NECFU wants previous farm workers and students from agricultural colleges to be considered as beneficiaries too.

The practice is already taking place, as most beneficiaries are former farm workers, while students from agricultural colleges are rarely heard of. In most resettlement cases, the category of former farm workers often becomes welfare cases to the State.

The main challenges facing new farmers are the access to credit or even collateral due to the general experience of the dilapidated state of farm infrastructure at the time of resettlement due to the lengthy period of allocation, thus leading to deterioration. It is not clear whether the state of infrastructure was poor at the moment government bought it from the previous owner or whether it deteriorated from state purchase time until new people were resettled. Regardless, the beneficiaries are left trying to make a success of the resettlement project with limited or sub standard infrastructure and services. Another challenge is the fact that farmers do not have lease certificates.

The ministry of Lands and Resettlement is however in the process of issuing lease certificates to all beneficiaries. (Hoes, 2009)

On individual farms, land management is good as the ability of the farmer to apply it, while on resettlement farms it is extremely difficult to do proper land management due to the number of beneficiaries on one farm. Resettlement beneficiaries pay no tax but the AALS pays 15% land tax.

However, according to the land policy resettlement beneficiaries ought to pay a certain amount of tax to the state, too.

It is difficult to measure success of land reform as success is a journey not a destination. "I am worried that those perceived as successful did not make their

wealth out of farming. They are successful business people, retired politicians and other professionals” (Personal Communication, 2009). Most farmers (new) are mostly doing subsistence farming for obvious reasons.

Land reform is a necessary issue in Namibia, as the liberation struggle was for land and these people should start somewhere, it will be politically wrong to maintain the status quo. All efforts would have been in vain. It is just up to government how quick these people can become productive.

4.1.4 Emerging Commercial Farmer Support Programme (ECFSP)⁹

“Just to provide training and skills is not enough, they need capital, livestock and implements” (ECFSP, 2009). There is however a notable change in farming methods, rangeland management, maintenance of infrastructure and the type of breeding that takes place, after ECFSP’s involvement.

The ECFSP is not totally optimistic about success of land reform but is carefully optimistic. It is of the opinion that government could improve beneficiary selection criteria for resettlement, as well as increase post-settlement support. The suggestion is in line with what the PTT recommended on revisiting the selection criteria of beneficiaries, as 62 percent of beneficiaries are part-time farmers.

The ECFSP agrees with many other stakeholders in the land reform process, which new farmers must receive PSS because they have no farming background coming from a subsistence farming background in communal farming areas, needing skills, competence and knowledge.

⁹ The ECFSP was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.4.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the programme.

Pre-settlement orientation courses will help them change from communal farming to commercial farming. Government must at least provide orientation courses four times a year. Only a small fraction of farmers received orientation. Farmers should receive extension forever, as it is an ongoing process.

ECFSP feels that through land reform, commercial farming land is being communalized thus compromising sustainable agricultural productivity. Government has a political agenda with land reform.

AALS beneficiaries are doing better compared to resettlement beneficiaries, as they have to pay back their loans, which motivate them to work hard.

4.1.5. Namibia National Farmers Union (NNFU)¹⁰

The union suggests that an across the board PSS package be in place for land beneficiaries and they should know about it prior to resettlement and it should be a coordinated process with legal conditions.

According to the NNFU, although colonial injustices disowned the indigenous Namibian people of their land, everybody is not a farmer. A small percentage of the current beneficiaries were not supposed to get land, although these farmers be they communal or resettlement beneficiaries are also complimenting agricultural productivity, as they were always contributing to agriculture when they were practicing subsistence farming in communal areas.

¹⁰ The NNFU was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.5.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the NNFU.

According to the NNFU, individual farmers and Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) beneficiaries are doing well compared to group resettlement beneficiaries. However, the NNFU states that these farmers are successful in that they can maintain their infrastructure and pay their workers but the beneficiaries' income does not come from agriculture but comes from other sources such as their professional income. Most of them are young professionals such as doctors, lawyers and senior government officials who have a permanent income from their white-collar jobs. That is not demonstrating agricultural productivity, as most of the land is under-utilised. These farms are only used over weekends for activities such as hunting.

With regard to the recently announced new loan scheme which has to benefit resettlement farmers, collateral issues have not yet been sorted out. Expectations were created that the lease agreements (still to be issued more than a decade after the land reform process has started) would be used as collateral, however it seems as if the Agribank is not keen on taking acquired land as collateral.

Even in the case where a farmer defaults on payment and the lease is taken by the bank, it cannot recover its money, as it cannot take the land which belongs to the State. In a scenario where the bank can take land as collateral and take that land in case of default it can sell that land to anyone who can afford it, including a commercial farmer, hence reversing what was achieved with land reform.

The union is of the opinion that overall, land reform does not compromise agricultural productivity it would have been a compromise had beneficiaries been given proper PSS packages and not performed. It is of the opinion that resettlement farmers might compromise the country's agricultural productivity. "The system is the culprit of the entire problem in land reform" (Personal Communication, 2009).

4.1.6 The Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU)¹¹

Namibia Agricultural Union, (NAU) reasons that land reform is not only the transfer of land from previously advantaged to previously disadvantaged Namibians but the productive use of all agricultural land in Namibia, as well. Reference is specifically made to the about 4, 5 million hectares of underutilised land in communal areas that could be developed into partial commercial units to increase the amount of land available for production. (PTT, 2005)

“Positive aspects about land reform are that it might address the political imbalances of the past. The negative is that the current programmes (according to reports and other media articles) are not functioning properly and that the production of agricultural products is decreasing. According to our knowledge not all AALS and resettled farmers are qualified farmers. It seems as though the resettlement program is more interested in resettling “people” instead of farmers. A clear selection of “farmers” and not only “people” should be one of the most important criteria. There is a huge difference between people who want to farm and people who can really farm” (Personal Communication, 2009).

The NAU states that unlike popular belief farming is an extensive and costly exercise, as even established farmers, who are still subject to repayment of loans, find it difficult to make ends meet. Part-time farmers therefore will be a given in the future provided that they have farm managers that can properly farm.

¹¹ The NAU was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.6.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the NAU.

According to the NAU, it seems as though the successes of land reform are few and far in between. It however, acknowledges that there are a lot of AALS farmers and more specifically farmers who bought farms with their own money who are successful. These farmers see farming as a business and not only as a place to stay and are therefore successful.

With regard to popular belief that commercial farmers only offer unproductive farms for sale to government, the NAU is of the opinion that a productive farm depends on the farmer and not on the farm itself, as there are farms in the driest parts of the country that are very productive as a result of the farmer and not necessarily as a result of the environment.

“According to records there was a huge decline in beef production since the 1960’s. Whether the trend is only subject to resettlement is questionable and we would suggest that a proper study be done to see what the impact of resettlement on agricultural production is”. (Personal Communication, 2009).

4.1.7 Agricultural Bank of Namibia (Agribank)¹²

The Agribank will ensure that loans are utilised for the purposes for which it had been obtained for, thus the bank may consider it practical to make payments directly to the suppliers wherever appropriate.

In the instance of defaulting, movable and immovable assets will be repossessed to recover the money owed. In case of loss due to natural disasters, the borrower is expected to have reported the matter to the relevant agricultural authorities where assistance may be sought within one week from the date of occurrence. In

¹² Documents of the Agricultural Bank were studied and everything under the section (4.1.8) is attributed to that information bank.

case of losses, applicant is responsible for replacing the lost animals out of own means.

Repayment period is ten years for large stock and eight years for small stock with a one year grace period respectively. Livestock will serve as collateral and animals will be branded with a JTC brand mark and cannot be sold without the Bank's consent.

4.1.8 German Technical Cooperation (GTZ)¹³

The GTZ is of the opinion that the current beneficiaries are not the correct ones, however it is hopeful that the new criterion that is under review requiring beneficiaries to prove that they have farming knowledge, will address that challenge.

It finds that extension services are not adequate as there is not enough staff and money. It feels that government has the responsibility to look at factors important extension services such as animal health.

It is evident in most land reform scenarios that productivity goes down but does not come to a standstill. Both poverty reduction (equity) and productivity is important in land reform, the two should be equated. GTZ is of the opinion that productivity is compromised in addressing land reform, as it is easier for

¹³ The GTZ was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.8.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the NAU.

established farmers to produce compared to new farmers. Farming units are also too small to be real productive.

The GTZ plans to extend its supports towards land reform, in Namibia.

4.1.9 Namibia Nature Foundation¹⁴

The NNF highlighted a number of challenges faced at group resettlement projects, such as social conflict, limited institutional cohesion, weak institutional structures, insufficient investment and funds, capacity of local staff, insufficient partnerships and collaboration, too much emphasis on farming, while there is a need and opportunity for diversification.

During the post-settlement support conference held late last year, the organisation suggested that the government do away with group resettlements, noting that many people have the potential to be self sufficient off the group resettlement farms.

It further suggested that people be moved out of existing resettlement farms and that the farms be used as training, capacity building and skills development centres. It wants government to outsource some of their functions for a faster and more efficient service delivery.

¹⁴ NNF was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.9.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the NNF.

CHAPTER FIVE: Case Studies and Motivations

Categories of Resettlement beneficiaries are as follows:

- CATEGORY 1 - People who have neither land nor income nor livestock;
- CATEGORY 2 - People who have neither land nor income, but have livestock;
- CATEGORY 3 - People who have income or are cattle owners, who need land to settle on with their families, or to graze their livestock.

5.1 FARM QUEEN SOFIA

The resettlement project, Queen Sofia was donated to the government by the late Namibian business personality, Carl List, in 1995. The settlement now known as Queen Sofia consisted of five different farms. The Namibian government and the government of Spain went into an agreement where Spain decided to support the settlement for a few years until they were self-sufficient.



Photograph 1: The dying gardens of beneficiaries at Queen Sofia. The orchards in the background are about to die, as the settlement is experiencing water problems (Hoes, 2009)

The five farms which made up Queen Sofia were Michael, Elf, Tsumis, Dwight and Nimitz. Together the five farms accounted for 21 102 hectares. The Spanish Agency for International Cooperation donated N\$10, 96 million towards the project, while the Namibian government provided N\$ 8, 2 million, including the land valued at N\$ 7 million. The Spanish operated the project from 1999 to 2003, until they retreated.

Fifty families were resettled at Queen Sofia starting in 2000. All heads of beneficiaries had to come and camp in temporary shelters at one farm and had

to start building their own houses. The 50 beneficiaries were later divided into groups of ten and were told to share one farm.

The land was then demarcated into units of ten, where after each beneficiary was given five goats, seven or eight cattle depending on the age of the cattle, as well as fruit trees and seeds to start their individual gardens as well as a communal garden. A school and a clinic were also built at Michael, where all the beneficiaries had their houses. The livestock had to be kept at the individual units/plots each family was allocated.

A five member Committee was elected to manage the project. There are also a Cattle Committee and a Garden Committee to deal with the productive activities. The Committees have an office for meetings. Other social developments have taken place like the establishment of a soccer team, a choir, a church and a voluntary police service. A school with two classrooms, office, kindergarten and playground has been built and equipped. The teachers' office has solar electricity, a computer and a copy machine. Two houses have been rehabilitated to accommodate the teachers, and a hostel was built.

One of the specific aims was that members of the project be able to reach a reasonable standard of living in terms of current economic conditions in Namibia. Each family has a 48 square meter house, with two bedrooms, a living room and a bathroom with toilet. All the houses had drinking water and septic tanks, however during my visit the situation was different as there was no water reaching the houses anymore.

The researcher's journey to Queen Sofia, in the Kunene region started early on a Friday morning from the capital city of Namibia, Windhoek, where she lives. The closest town to Queen Sofia is Outjo, about 310 km from Windhoek. The

researcher had to take public transport, since she does not own a car. The researcher arrived at the taxi rank around 07h00 in the morning and had to wait for three hours before the small sedan car had enough customers to drive to Otjiwarongo. Arriving at Otjiwarongo she had to wait for 30 minutes before she found another taxi to take her to Outjo.

Fortunately, Outjo is the researcher's hometown and she had a place to rest for a while, before proceeding to Queen Sofia (which distance she did not know). Soon after arriving that Friday, the researcher started looking for transport to take her to the farm. The researcher's mother owns a car and she could use that car but she did not have a driver to take her. The researcher's younger brother could take her but half of the time he was under the influence of alcohol and could not be dared asking.

The Friday and the Saturday passed, until the researcher's aunt suggested that she and her under-aged son could drive her to the farm, as he could drive although he did not have a license. The researcher considered the possibility of taking on the offer, although she was hesitant. Eventually, her brother recovered from his blues and decided to take her the next morning, which was the Sunday.

The journey started early around 06h00. First, the researcher and her entourage went to the fuel station to fill up the Pick-up. The researcher gave two N\$200 notes to her brother, intending to use N\$300 for the fuel, since she was operating on a very low budget. Unfortunately, the petrol attendant assumed she was supposed to fill up the whole amount and did so and the purse got leaner.

The researcher and her family took a gravel road going east from the town of Outjo. They drove for about two hours passing a lot of farms on the way. The researcher could see some in dilapidated state and some well looked after. She

could easily identify which ones were resettlement farms and which were owned by a commercial farmer. They stopped at one farm and asked where the farm with the school was. They were told that they still had to drive further. Eventually they reached the signboard stating “Queen Sofia Project Settlement after three hours. It came out that they had taken the wrong route to reach the farm. Queen Sofia was only 65 km away from Outjo. It seems as if they turned off the main road while they were supposed to just follow the road until the signboard indicating the farm.

The researcher discovered that not every journey goes smooth and that there was a reason she had to part with her N\$100 dollar that she did not intend to use for fuel. They might have had ran out of fuel had they not filled in that extra N\$100.

Entering the Queen Sofia project, lush grasses and well-maintained fences could be observed, however the road leading to the settlement was in very bad condition. The journey was a nightmare although the vehicle was a four-by-four pick-up, imagine if it was a sedan car.

They first arrived at a settlement with a number of buildings as well as makeshift houses. They were looking for the school principal’s house, so that she could guide them. The researcher thought they had arrived at Queen Sofia itself but was quickly advised that they still had to drive about three kilometres up to get to the school.

The group drove as advised and arrived at the settlement. They went straight to the school but could not find the principal as she was in Windhoek for a funeral. The school children directed them to a teacher who was living nearby. They went to the corrugated iron sheet house from where a teacher emerged. The teacher

was informed about the reason of the visit. He directed them to a certain “Ou Cecilia” who was one of the first people to be settled at Queen Sofia.

The researcher started noticing the number of houses at the settlement. It looked like one of the little villages that are so dominant in the country. The houses were identical and each had a garden of similar size and all the gardens were dead. They drove to Cecilia’s house and found her with a fellow beneficiary who was visiting her. The researcher told her who she was and the reason for the visit. After introducing herself it emerged that Cecilia was a cousin of the researcher’s father.

The softly-spoken Cecilia told the researcher that she would talk to her but said her neighbour was also present and the two of them could tell the whole story of Queen Sofia. The two beneficiaries started telling about how the settlement was started and what they did. After they told the history of the settlement, the researcher told them that she wanted to talk to them, individually. She noticed that Cecilia was running a little shop from her house and had to attend to customers, after every ten to twenty minutes, hence the conversation started with her companion (neighbour).

Thirty-eight year-old **Cornelius /Nāseb** was resettled at Queen Sofia in 2001, with his partner and four under-aged children. /Nāseb was neatly dressed and looked very much at his place. /Nāseb is an ex-farm labourer who was evicted from another farm in the area. He and other six workers who were evicted from farm Borwa were living alongside the national road, in the corridor until government decided to resettle them on Queen Sofia.

/Nāseb, like the rest of his co-beneficiaries received all of the above “services” when he was resettled. There were three boreholes, which serviced the

communal garden, school and location. For the first few years of the project, according to /Nâseb, things were going very well, as they could sell their vegetables from the communal garden as well as from his individual garden.

/Nâseb said once a week, the truck which was owned by the community went into neighbouring towns such as Outjo, Otavi and Otjiwarongo to sell their garden produce. The project was so successful and also supplied Erongo Foods, a local caterer in the area with its garden produce.

“I used to get about N\$800 to N\$1000 personal income from my garden while the community garden would make about N\$8 000 to N\$10 000 a month”.

During that time, the government of Spain who supported the project had a coordinator onsite who stayed from 2000 until 2004. Ironically, as soon as the Spanish moved out, Queen Sofia’s water problems started. /Nâseb said although they have reported the problem to government nothing has been done.

Since the water problems started, the Queen Sofia residents’ problems also started, as they could not plant anymore. /Nâseb’s wish is that government work on the irrigation system, so that they can resume business as before and make a living out of it. He said government is even slow in responding to get them diesel for the pumping water, as it takes ages before it arrives on the settlement.

/Nâseb buys feed, salts and medicine on his own for his livestock. He is of the opinion that he can survive and make a living out of farming if he can just get a little more help. He also complained that some of the units that were allocated to them still do not have water infrastructure thus leading to people sharing water or keeping their animals on one unit because of water scarcity.

From the seven cattle he was given at resettlement, /Nâseb now has 13 cattle and was able to buy himself five additional sheep, which now stands at 14. The farmer did hear about the new loan scheme that the Ministry of Lands and the Agribank has come up with but does not have enough information about the scheme, as they were not officially informed about it. /Nâseb said if he is able to get a loan, he would buy himself livestock such as cattle to build his herd.

Without the garden that was a quick supplement to him and his family, /Nâseb finds it hard to make ends meet, especially during the global financial crisis that has affected everyone. His only hope is the rains that will help him start planting, “that’s if it comes on time”.

Fifty-four year-old **Cecilia Lambert**, applied for resettlement in 1998 and eventually got a place at Queen Sofia in March 2002. Cecilia grew up on a farm and also worked on a farm thus her dream was always to farm one day. Before she was resettled at Queen Sofia she worked in Gobabis, in the east of the country, where she stayed with her husband who worked in road construction. They later moved back to Outjo and shortly thereafter she was resettled at Queen Sofia. Her husband also retired and joined her on the farm.

Cecilia said she had started saving money all these years so that she could one day buy herself a farm or a little piece of land. The resettlement opportunity thus came in handy.

She tells that she could make up to N\$600 per month from her individual garden during the years 2002 to 2004. Since the garden business came to a standstill, Cecilia says her income has drastically reduced. “People used to come and buy for weddings and funerals, if ministry can act fast and help us we can prosper”.

She is of the opinion that things changed for the worse, since the Spanish government support ceased.

Celia does needle work to supplement her income, and is also part of the community needlework project. Predators killed most of her livestock that she was given at resettlement although she managed to build her herd of cattle from seven to 23. She was able to buy a herd of four cattle out of her own sources. Cecilia stated that she could have more livestock, had it not been that a lot of them died due to disease and predators. She currently, has twelve goats.

The resettlement beneficiary managed to buy livestock, fixed fences on her unit, and constructed a house on her individual unit. She makes extra income from milk that she sells.

Cecilia is of the opinion that she can be successful if she gets additional support. "I want to build a dam on my plot and make a living out of that", she said.

Cecilia is not that vulnerable as her fellow resettlement beneficiaries, perhaps it is because she had saved a bit of money before she got the land or it could be as a result of her little shop that she operates. She was able to add on some of the benefits she received.

After talking to Cecilia and Cornelius, they called another beneficiary whom the researcher could talk to, however language became an issue as the man could only speak Oshiwambo, one of the local languages. The researcher cannot speak the language and there was no one nearby who could translate. The researcher decided to find another person who could either speak Damara>Nama, Afrikaans or English. The first interviewees directed her to a woman they called Ndapandula.

Thirty-three year-old **Ndapandula Nelumbo** is the Secretary of the Queen Sofia Project Committee. This woman seemed very suspicious of the researcher's presence, perhaps it was because it was election year and people were campaigning around the country. She wanted to see the researcher's student card or something that would confirm the researcher's student status. The researcher was caught off guard but was able to produce her student card which was thoroughly examined by Ndapandula. She became friendlier and told the researcher to start with her questions.

Ndapandula had just left school in 1998 when she saw an advert in one of the newspapers in 1999 looking for people to go and work at Farm Queen Sofia. Since she had just left school and had nowhere to go, Ndapandula decided to take a chance and apply for the 'job'.

She got a place at Queen Sofia the next year in 2000 and left with public transport that was organised by the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement from Oshakati her home town with many other beneficiaries who were successful applicants. Ndapandula tells that she was surprised to see many old people among the group who had to go to Queen Sofia, as she expected only young people would be there in the group.

To her surprise when she arrived at Queen Sofia, they were told that it was a resettlement farm and that there was no payment but they would be provided with material to built houses and given livestock to farm with. The very disappointed Ndapandula went home to Oshakati for a while but was told by her father to go back to the farm. Upon her return the group of 50 beneficiaries started building houses, roads and the school.

Ndapandula relates that they used to receive food and cosmetics, in the early days when they were resettled. As all beneficiaries did, Ndapandula also received eight cattle and five goats and was given her allotment.

She says before the water problems started she could make about N\$600 from her garden per month and could sell four animals per year. Like many of her fellow beneficiaries, Ndapandula is only left with three goats from the five that she received upon resettlement. The little numbers of goats is attributed to predators in the area.

Ndapandula managed to build a makeshift house at her individual allotment and was able to erect fences as well. She now owns 28 cattle. Unlike many of her neighbours, Ndapandula is well informed about the recently instituted loan scheme that is administered by the Agricultural Bank and had already handed in her application form. She plans to lend N\$50 000 to start a garden at her allotment and buy more animals to farm with. An additional skill that Ndapandula is yearning for is financial management skills, to enable her manage her farming business successfully.

According to Ndapandula, the Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF) started training them in pipefitting, plumbing, sewing, felting, training in livestock management and carpentry. Ndapandula also revealed that many of the people who received training do not make use of their newly acquired skills, as well as transfer the skills to the next. "People are jealous of each other", she added. She said many people benefited from the livestock management, as everybody went for the training. Most of them now know how to dehorn, castrate, brand, inject, and identify sicknesses as well as feeding procedures. Beneficiaries received training on crop management from the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry, while

the Ministry of Lands repaired tractors and machines as well as giving them diesel and seeds.

A de-bushing project was started at the settlement, as bush encroachment was a major problem in the area. The de-bushing project however, quickly changed into a charcoal business. Ndapandula said they signed a five-year contract with a neighbouring commercial farmer and can at this stage not reverse the decision. She related that the community is split in two as some members are in favour of the charcoal business as they make money out of it.

The Coordinator of the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement who was stationed after the Spanish left also left after a short while. “We don’t know what happened”, related Ndapandula. She says there are a lot of accusations against the committee, as people alleged that money is being misappropriated. All vehicles that the project received from the Spanish government are broken, including the tractors and truck that they used to transport the garden produce for selling in neighbouring towns.

To the researcher’s surprise, Ndapandula said that she had an advice for the government. According to her, the government should “make interviews” before resettling people, because there are people who really want land. She said most beneficiaries are not at the farm anymore, as they have become weekend farmers. Most beneficiaries are also those in category one, those without neither livestock nor income. After talking to the researcher, Ndapandula called her neighbour who could speak Afrikaans, although he is Oshiwambo-speaking. The man came into Ndapandula’s yard and the researcher started talking to him.

The very humble and reserved **Alfred Angula**, also hails from the Omusati region in the north of the country. Alfred, who was not sure of his age which

could be anything between fifty or sixty, said he also saw the advert in the paper and decided to apply for the 'job'. He said prior to coming to Queen Sofia, he used to plant 'omahangu' (millet) in his region of origin.

Alfred is very thankful for the place that government has given, as he can use his things as he wishes. Now he is just waiting for the rain to come so that he can plant his vegetables.

He used to get about N\$300-600 per month from his individual garden. He owns four goats and seven cattle and could support his children from the income that he made from the garden.

Alfred lives with his wife and has nine children, only one dependent, currently. He receives money from some of his children now and then during this difficult time when there is no monthly income from the garden produce.

If he could access a loan from the Agribank, Alfred said he would take N\$10 000 to erect fences at his camp and buy two or three cattle.

After talking to Alfred, the researcher asked Ndapandula again to direct her to more people. She told me that the researcher that she would not find more people as most of them were either at their camps or just not present as they do not reside there and just let other people stay in their houses. The researcher decided to go to the settlement that they passed on the way, called Elf, where the clinic and a teachers house was, hoping to find more people in that area.

They drove to Elf and went to one of the teachers' houses. The researcher's aunt also knew the teacher whom the researcher asked to show her to more beneficiaries that might be at their allotments nearby. The teacher's wife asked

whether the researcher did not get enough people at Michael, where the school is situated. The researcher told her what Ndapandula had told her. She became so agitated and told the researcher that Ndapandula was not telling the truth, saying there were a lot of people at Michael, as she even met some of them in the church a while ago.

Mrs Seibes decided to accompany the researcher and her family back to Michael, so that she could show them the people the researcher could speak to. Had the researcher not taken on her offer, she would have met a fewer people than the ones she was able to speak to.

When the researcher arrived at Michael, Mrs Seibes took her to a different direction close to a soccer field where people were gathered. She started calling people to come and talk to the researcher. A number of people arrived but it seems as if most of them were dependents of beneficiaries.

The first person Mrs Seibes introduced the researcher to, was 44 year-old **Albertina Soroses** a dependent to a beneficiary. Albertina's 85 year-old father **Festus Leopold** was the beneficiary. At the time of the visit, Leopold was not at his house, as he was on his allotment at one of the camps. When the researcher inquired whether she could go to him, Albertina and some of the many people who gathered told said that it would be very difficult to reach him, as the road was almost inaccessible. They told the researcher that the road leading from the main road was far better compared to the smaller roads leading to the allotments. Albertina said she is practically in charge of everything, as her father is very old. She was also serving on the local committee; hence the researcher thought it would be good to talk to her too.

Albertina relates that she and her father were evicted with many other people (also now resettled at Queen Sofia) from a farm that her father previously worked on. They squatted in a municipal camp owned by the neighbouring town of Otavi. According to Albertina, they were evicted because their employer would not allow them to own livestock on his farm. They were among the lucky few, who got a place at Queen Sofia.

Of the five goats they received at resettlement in 2000, Festus has about 13 goats, although Albertina said that goats are not surviving due to the predator problem that they are facing. “The bushes are too thick and the goats fall prey to jackals”, she said. The family now owns 20 cattle, from the seven cattle that they received.

Albertina said that they receive diesel and extension services from the two line ministries of lands and agriculture, although she thinks the services are not properly done. “They must fix the water for us”, Albertina stated.

Albertina and her father managed to earn about N\$1 200 from their garden produce monthly, when all was well at the settlement. They have not done any improvements on the infrastructure that they received, so far. Currently, they live off the pension of the father.

Albertina also heard about the loan, although she does not have enough information regarding the procedures. (Albertina serves on the same committee where Ndapandula is a secretary) She added that they would want to buy more livestock, once they access the loan.

“If we get help we will be able to prosper. When the Spanish left, everything went bad”, Albertina said lastly.

Lazarus Ezimbi is 60 years old and has seven children and a wife. He arrived in 2001 after he was evicted from a farm he was previously working on. All of his children are grown up and out of the house.

Of the livestock that he received, Lazarus is left with two goats and 17 cattle. He relates that some cattle died due to disease, while he sold some. When the garden was functional, the family could make up to N\$1000 per month from the produce.

Currently, his camp has no water pump as it broke in 2004. As a result his livestock are at a neighbour's camp. His house is also very far from the water point, thus they have to fetch water for household consumption from a distance, using a donkey cart or by walking.

He is of the opinion that government should work on the water problem, so that things can improve. The family currently survives from money that one of his seven children sends to them. (He still has to start receiving his pension).

Lazarus also has a desire to access the loan but has no information regarding the loan. He however, wants to buy ten cattle once he gets the loan.

Johannes Tauxab who arrived in 2002 at Queen Sofia, was evicted from Farm Prosit in the Outjo area when his former employer sold the farm. The 72 year-old Johannes stayed in the State-owned corridor alongside the national road, near Outjo with other five families who were also evicted. He is a father of 15 children and four grandchildren. He stays with some of his children and wife.

When the researcher arrived at his house, Johannes was just arriving from his camp or unit. The researcher saw him pushing his car from a far distance away from the house. The car gave in on the way home and had to be pushed home. He was very eager to talk to the researcher, when he heard the reasons for the researcher's visit. Perhaps he thought the researcher was a government representative, talking about possible help that will be extended to farmers. Although it was explained to him who the researcher was he kept on making remarks that perhaps our talk would make things better for them (farmers). His whole family gathered, starting from his wife, children and grand children.

Johannes managed to raise his number of goats from five to 19, however he now only has seven goats left. He further managed to increase the number of his cattle to 26 but is currently only left with five. One of his younger sons is living at the camp with the animals.

Seven of Johannes' cattle died as a result of poisonous substances that they ate, such as plastic bags that are lying around the settlement. He sold seven cattle to buy a car that he desperately needed for transport (the car that just gave in). Three of the cattle he had to give up for his child's wedding ceremony, and three more that he gave up due to other reasons.

Unlike the rest of the settlers, Johannes used his garden produce for own consumption only and not for retail. He is currently using his pension to buy diesel to pump water at his camp. Johannes believes that he could have prospered with his farming venture but noted that circumstances made him loose many of his livestock. "When Spanish left, everything died. When coordinator left even worse", Johannes said.

He also heard about the loans but do not have the particulars of the loans. Johannes wants help from government so that he can buy livestock.

After talking to Johannes, the researcher could not find more beneficiaries present and decided to go to one of the camps located close to the main road, which was more accessible. The group drove back to Elf to drop Mrs Seibes, who offered them lunch before proceeding to the roadside.

There, was 45 year-old **Mathilde Tjiveze** who, similar to Johannes, was evicted from Farm Prosit, after it was sold. Mathilde and her family squatted in the corridor for four months before she was resettled at Queen Sofia in 2001.

Mathilde is among the very few people who arrived with her own livestock. She and her partner owned 23 goats, 16 sheep and 17 cattle when they arrived at Queen Sofia. Of the eight cattle received, five died but the number of cattle is now 31.

Mathilde managed to buy 20 goats and constructed a makeshift house at her individual unit, where she and her partner stays. Some of her older children stay at the main settlement at Michael where their donated house is, with the minor children, in order to attend school.

She made very little from her garden, when it was functional, mere N\$80 or N\$320 per month.

She is buying her own diesel to pump for water. She however bemoaned the fact that they have to share the water with other community members who do not have water at their allotments. Other community members, according to Mathilde

do not want to contribute towards buying diesel and she and her partner are the only ones who buy the diesel, while everybody else is using the water.

Mathilda also heard about the loan facility and wants to buy livestock, a tank including other water infrastructure as well as dividing the camp into smaller units, in order to practice rotational grazing on the allotment. I have observed that Mathilda's unit was much eroded, perhaps because she could not practice rotational grazing or because of the fact that she had far large herd of especially cattle and this could indicate that the carrying capacity of the land is limited, limiting the financial viability of just farming livestock.

The researcher's journey to Queen Sofia ended late afternoon, with a number of pumpkins and meat that she received from Cecilia (my father's cousin) and Mathilda (my mother's cousin).

5.1.1 Motivation

The researcher has chosen Queen Sofia, to be her case study because, it was quoted by many people as the success story of land reform in Namibia, especially by high ranking government officials, at official platforms.

The researcher even watched a documentary a few years ago about Queen Sofia's success story and was convinced that here was a real success story of the often criticised land reform programme of Namibia. In addition, she also heard from her mother and close relatives living in Outjo that these people of Queen Sofia were having a nice life as they were selling their produce in town as well as neighbouring towns such as Otjiwarongo and Otavi.

When you heard about people from Queen Sofia, you had that idea of successful black farmers in an almost bleak farming future in Namibia. Hence, all these reasons convinced the researcher that Queen Sofia should be the perfect model for her study. Little did she know that the picture would be different from her imagination.

Another factor that motivated the researcher was the assumption that most people could either speak Afrikaans or Damara>Nama in which she was conversant. It would be easier to communicate to these people, she assumed.

5.1.2 Analysis

The Queen Sofia beneficiaries were among the lucky ones who received support or at least start-up support upon resettlement. It is clear that the Spanish government's involvement was instrumental in "Queen Sofia's short-lived success or progress" with regard to the upkeep and income of some previously disadvantaged people.

Extension services to be provided by the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development seriously lacked at Queen Sofia. If it was provided it was not consistent and according to what the researcher gathered from the beneficiaries they had to wait for months before services were provided. An indication of this is the current water problem, which the ministry was not able to fix, or has not started working on. The support services that were provided by organisations such as the Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF) were only provided for two years and have since ceased. The farmers were trained in different off-farm activities such as felting, plumbing, sewing and carpentry, among others. These skills that they were empowered with, could have helped them to make an income, in the current case, where the gardens that were among their main, short-term income had failed them.

It also came out that people who were given training in a certain field did not share it with the rest of the group, as was the intention when "training of trainers" took place. People were selected from the group and trained, say in plumbing or pipefitting and these individuals had to train the rest of the group or rather those who might have had interest in it. What the researcher has however found from some of the beneficiaries is that people refused to share their skills with others or that those that were trained simply left the place and are not present anymore.

With regard to the relationship between the committee and the rest of the beneficiaries, the researcher has sensed some mistrust and tribalism among them. Some of the beneficiaries gave the impression that the Oshiwambo-speaking people on the farm were given preference with regard to certain things, although they did not quite say what exactly they meant. The impression left with the researcher was that the others thought that some beneficiaries were just not the correct ones to get the land, as that land is not used to its full potential.

Some people knew about the recently announced loan scheme of the Agribank, while the rest of the people did not really have enough information to even attempt to apply for the scheme. It also came out that some farmers have already applied for the loan, while the rest of them did not even know about it. It shows that there is a problem with the relationship of the group. Some committee members had already applied for the loan while other committee members did not even know about the scheme. It is clear that information was not properly disseminated or that there was a communication gap between the beneficiaries and their leaders. Some of the farmers did not have a good word for their committee leaders, claiming that they were only working for a certain group or tribe.

From what was gathered, the numbers of cattle of all if not most of the beneficiaries have increased since they have received the livestock. The numbers of goats have however drastically decreased to almost nothing. The dwindling numbers of the small stock was attributed to predators. Beneficiaries are of the opinion that bush encroachment was to blame for it, hence the introduction of the de-bushing programme that they have embarked upon. Maybe the influence on the numbers of the livestock whether it is large or small stock could be an indication that government should first to do an assessment

study to see what type of livestock would be suitable for a certain area before giving people livestock or allowing people to farm with a certain type of animal.

The farmers told tales about how gruesome the jackals and cheetahs kill their goats, some half-eaten, just the breast of the goat eaten away and left like that. They however, did not have any complaints about their cattle, except the fact that some if not most of them did not have boreholes or the access to water at their individual allotments and had to rely on neighbours to get water for their animals or squat their animals at neighbours' allotments. The issue was a problem to some beneficiaries who alleged that they were the only ones to pay for diesel that was needed to pump the water. Those that were squatting did not bother to contribute towards the purchase of diesel, hence the wish by many to have their own water facility at their allotments. Perhaps a water point committee would have been ideal in this instance, so that farmers would be collectively responsible for the water facility, be it purchasing diesel or maintaining infrastructure. Now, people were given a unit each but some without the basic facilities such as water that is a necessity for farming.

With regard to the garden, it is clear that the water problem at Queen Sofia had and has a serious impact on the progress of the garden. All the gardens at the settlement were virtually dead, with the exception of the few fruit trees that were still visual although they were at the verge of dying, if water was not provided very soon.

Incomes from the garden produce, with regard to individual gardens varied from farmer to farmer. It is noticeable that older beneficiaries, especially those who hailed from the crop-growing northern regions, had a higher income from their garden produce compared to other beneficiaries. The researcher thought it would be attributed to the fact that these people are coming from crop growing regions

and know better about or had a keen interest in crop farming, hence the higher incomes. The project was also able to supply catering companies with their products from their community garden, before the water problems started.

The beneficiary selection for Queen Sofia was another strange way of doing things, if what the beneficiaries have related was true. According to the beneficiaries, especially those who hail from the northern regions saw an advert in the “newspaper” stating that there are job opportunities at Queen Sofia and young people should apply. The people acted on that advert and applied, without knowing what job it was. Some beneficiaries did not apply, especially the evicted farm workers, who were just given the land. Other beneficiaries had to go through the formal process of applying for resettlement and waited until a farm was available to be resettled on.

The selection criteria might be what the ministry of lands and resettlement representative referred to when he said, “25 percent of beneficiaries are not the correct ones as selection is influenced by factors such as regional balance and gender”. It seems as if the selection criterion as stipulated by the Act does not take place in most cases.

Most of the farmers expressed the need for the water infrastructure to be fixed, stating that being able to have water would make them “self-sufficient” and would be successful farmers.

The need that often came through was that farmers wanted help to develop their individual units, like constructing proper houses on their plots and having proper individual water infrastructure. Perhaps, the houses and gardens would have been built on the individual allotments instead of the communal, village-like set up. It seems as if people want to be stationed on their individual units.

A lot of the beneficiaries expressed the need to get more cattle, if they could access a loan or were given any type of support. The residents bemoaned the fact that the Spanish pulled out, stating that their sorrows started with the end of Spanish support.

5.2 FARM ONGOMBO WEST

Ongombo West was the first commercial farm to be expropriated in Namibia. The expropriation was prompted by a dispute between the farm workers and the owners of the farm. The dispute started with a dead goose, and developed into a labour dispute and ended with the expropriation of a family farm. One of the employees accidentally killed the goose. The owners demanded payment for the goose. The farm owner's husband shot and killed a goat of one of the employees, thinking it was in a restricted area. The farm workers were evicted and the story became political and the rest is history.



Photograph 2: The farmhouse belongs to Farm Ongombo West. In the foreground is evidence of how degraded the soil is at the farm due to overpopulation and illegal squatting. In the foreground is a broken fence.

During its productive days, Ongombo West was the only flower-producing farm in the country and produced between 130,000 and 150,000 Arum Lilies worth an estimated U\$500,000 over a three-month season, exported to markets in Europe and Africa. In European markets, the flowers' resale value is between U\$3.00 and U\$6.00 per flower. The farm began producing flowers in 1998 and employed 15 workers for its one-hectare flower garden and related operations. Weekly export volumes from Ongombo West were between 5,000 and 6,000 flowers. (Kanhema, 2008)

In 2005, government moved in and expropriated the farm and paid the owners N\$3, 7 million, instead of the original price of N\$9 million dollars that the owners wanted. (Maletsky, 2006)

The researcher has visited Ongombo West several times before, as she was covering the dispute of the farm when it started. The researcher was working “weekend shift” for the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation’s (NBC) Radio News department when she was assigned to cover the story. Little did she know that she would one day return to Ongombo West to look at the plight of the same people that she was covering when they were evicted.

The then Minister of Labour, Rosalia Nghidinua was at the site, under a tree, sitting with the evicted farm workers, in the burning December sun of 2004. Also present was the Secretary General of the Namibia Farmworkers’ Union (Nafwu), Alfred Angula ¹⁵and many more sympathisers.

At the time, there was a frail, old woman among the people who were evicted from the farm. The researcher suspects she was a mother or grandmother of some of the current beneficiaries of the farm. The researcher had a lot of sympathy with the people who were evicted, as they were living along the roadside, with no proper structures to sleep in or food to eat. A number of people donated food items to the people.

¹⁵ Alfred Angula is the Secretary General of the Namibia Farmworkers’ Union (Nafwu), and not the same person as the Alfred Angula at Farm Queen Sofia, who is a beneficiary of land on that farm.

The evicted farm workers were ordered by the court to go back to the farm, which they did. The farm owners were served with expropriation notices and the farm was taken over by the government and divided among beneficiaries.

A few weeks before the researcher went for her field visit to Ongombo West, she had to cover another farm dispute at Ongombo East, a neighbouring farm to Ongombo West. A number of Damara people (a local tribe) demanded that government expropriate the farm, after the owner, an Italian national refused a family to bury their mother at the farm. The deceased woman's last wish was that her children bury her at Ongombo East, where she was born and lived her whole life until the farm was sold to the current owner. The farm owner allegedly refused to grant the family their mother's last wish.

The group decided to camp in front of the farm gate, until the police removed them. They then moved to the grounds of neighbouring Ongombo West and camped there for a month, until the police arrested them, when they refused to vacate the place after the time they were given to leave the place.

Like the Queen Sofia visit, getting to Ongombo West was another headache for the researcher. Since she did not own a car, she had to rely on other people or friends to give her a lift. Everybody that the researcher tried to ask was not willing to take her as it was a gravel road and would damage his or her cars. The researcher remembered somebody that she knew during her primary school days, who was also busy studying. The researcher thought he might be sympathetic, since he was also a student. He had a little pick-up that could at least risk the road.

This friend, Go-Man agreed to take me, as long as I at least give him N\$400 for fuel. I was delighted and we at last went on a Sunday, since going on the

Saturday was already too late. The researcher and her driver left around 07h00, the Sunday morning. Although she had been to Ongombo West several times, she got confused and nearly misguided Go-Man. Fortunately, he had been to the area before and at least had an idea of where the farm was. The researcher found a couple walking from a farm on the way and they guided them to Ongombo West. The researcher started recognising the road, as they got closer to the farm.

As they approach the farm, friendly children who came running to open the farm gate greeted them. The researcher and her companion went to the nearest house from the gate. She noticed a group of young men basking in the sun, in front of the house, who she thought were just family of the beneficiaries. It came out that some of the young men were beneficiaries of Ongombo West.

The about 4 000 ha farm was divided into four units after it was taken over by government. Unit A is 1 391 hectares and was allocated to seven of the evicted farm workers who used to work at Ongombo West. Units B and D were given to individual farmers, while Unit C was given to ex-Robben Island prisoners.

Eric !Ganeb is one of the beneficiaries of Ongombo West, Unit A, as he was one of the workers involved in the dispute with their employer. The 25 year-old Eric lives with his partner, three children and two brothers. Eric did not receive any support from government since he was resettled, except for the seeds that they have received for the communal garden.

According to Eric, the communal garden is the only source of income that he and his family survive upon. His livestock comprises three goats and seven donkeys.

Eric said he survives from the communal garden, which makes a meagre N\$1000 per month or less, an income which is shared among the beneficiaries of Unit A. They are selling cucumbers, beetroots, carrots, cabbage and corn, in Windhoek or to neighbouring farmers. According to Eric, they produce reasonable products but transportation to take the produce to Windhoek is a problem, as they have to hire a car to transport the vegetables for sale.

Eric stated that he and his fellow beneficiaries are fixing the fences themselves. They use a solar panel-operated water pump, thus the problem of purchasing diesel for water is not a problem for the group. Government provided the solar operated pump.

An additional source of food for Eric and his family is the drought relief aid that government provides to people in need. They receive the government aid after every three months. (Government has however recently announced that drought relief would be stopped to all the other regions, except the three regions that were affected by the floods during this year).

Eric has never heard of the loans that are to be availed to farmers but said he would buy himself livestock, if he can access the loan.

Before the researcher left the farm, after talking to the beneficiaries, she was approach by a man, who told her that she did not 'count' his livestock. The researcher was puzzled because she spoke to all the seven beneficiaries of Unit A and could not understand who this person was. He told the researcher that he was "under Eric" and owns about 40 sheep, three goats and seven cattle. "Under Eric meant he was squatting with Eric's permission, at the unit.

Ben !Ganeb is Eric's 24 year-old brother who shares the same Unit A, with him and five others. Like his brother, Ben also lives with his partner and two children.

He owns one goat and nine donkeys, and like his brother, Ben also survives from the garden and drought relief. He sometimes work at neighbouring farms to supplement his income

Ben tells that they have requested government to provide them with fences so that they could strengthen the garden, already in 2004 but are still waiting for the response. He wishes government could help them with livestock.

With regard to the loans, Ben is of the opinion that accessing the loan for a farmer like him would be difficult, as he does not have any collateral to give to the land bank.

Forty-three year-old **Eliaser //Hoëbeb** lives with his wife and six children, four of them are of school-going age. Eliaser grew up on the farm (Ongombo West) and worked for 21 years until the day he was evicted from the farm.

Like the rest of his neighbours on Unit A, Eliaser also benefited from the seeds and gardening implements that they received from government, the only form of support that the group settlers are claiming to have received from the State after being resettled.

He owns 13 goats and three donkeys. Eliaser wants government to help them, so that they can buy livestock and a tractor that they need for the community garden. "If we get more livestock, we will survive", Eliaser said.

Currently, Eliaser helps out at one of the units that is owned by the former Robben Island prisoners, who recently received irrigation implements from government to continue farming with flowers on their unit. He still owes school fees for his children and does not know where he will be getting that money.

Immanuel //Hoëbeb, 41 and **Wilfried //Hoëbeb**, 38 brothers to Eliaser are also beneficiaries to Unit A of Ongombo West. The two brothers are in a similar situation as their brother, with the exception that Eliaser at least owns few livestock, unlike his siblings.

Immanuel has one school-going son and Wilfried is a father of four. Both brothers do not have wives or partners. They also depend on drought relief and the community garden's produce, like the rest of their neighbours.

Thirty-six year-old **Helenika Eises** is one of the only two female beneficiaries of Ongombo West. Helenika is married and has six minor children.

She owns seven goats, four donkeys and a number of chickens. Like her neighbours, she survives from the garden produce, which is also her only source of income, as well as the drought relief. Helenika shares the same sentiment as many of Namibia's land reform beneficiaries that of receiving help from government to buy livestock.

Helenika, who is also a former worker at Ongombo West was not evicted like the rest, but refused to go with her ex employers when the farm was expropriated. Her refusal to go with her bosses, earned her a piece of land.

Cornelia Rooinasie, 35 is the second female beneficiary of Unit A of Ongombo West. She has four children and hordes of extended family residing with her.

Cornelia is very sure that they are the correct beneficiaries of Ongombo West, as they know how to farm, if only they can receive help from government. She owns three goats and four donkeys. “We want livestock, we know how to farm with them”, Cornelia stated.

Cornelia said she also survives from the garden produce and her extended family. A number of Cornelia’s extended family is living with her on the land. Together, Cornelia and her family, who is settled there illegally, own 75 goats and 19 cattle, of which two are Cornelia’s. One of Cornelia’s family members also owns a little shop at the settlement.

The one-thousand and twenty-five hectare Unit D was allocated to a government employee, **Brian Charo**, who hails from the Caprivi region, in the north-east of the country.

When the researcher arrived at Charo’s unit, she only met the farm labourer who informed her that he was not the owner and that the owner lived in Windhoek. A weekend farmer, the researcher gathered.

The researcher could immediately see the difference between Unit A and Unit D, as Charo’s unit had lush grasses, whereas the communal unit was heavily eroded. The researcher could also see the healthy-looking fat cattle drinking water at a neatly maintained water point.

Unfortunately, she could not get much out of the labourer, as they had communication issues with regard to language. The researcher managed to gather that Mr Charo owned about 36 cattle and 57 goats, and that is how far she went in gathering any more information about Ongombo West’s first individual beneficiary.

The second individual beneficiary of Ongombo West is another government employee, 35 year-old **Bernadette Tjazuko**, who hails from the Omaruru area, in the Erongo region.

Here, the researcher was met with a lot of hostility, at first. Bernadette told the researcher that she was a weekend farmer and does not have a lot of time to talk, thus suggesting that the researcher meet her on Monday at her office in Windhoek, where she works.

The researcher had to “sweet talk” her, telling her that she would only take five minutes of her time. She agreed very reluctantly and started talking. She told the researcher that she applied for resettlement and got the land in November 2006. Prior to resettlement, Bernadette and her husband were communal farmers who were leasing municipal land in the Omaruru area, in the Erongo region.

Bernadette and her husband own 100 goats and 50 cattle, the highest number of livestock, so far recorded at Ongombo West. She said, despite the water infrastructure that was improved and the help given with regard to the garden, government did not give her any other support.

Halfway through the interview, Bernadette asked her husband about the number of cattle she was not sure about. He immediately wanted to see my student card, before he could answer the question he claimed that ‘a lot of “newspaper people” come here and only talk to the people in Unit A, portraying a grim picture that land reform is failing’. At this stage the researcher could not reveal that she was a journalist although she was not talking to them in that capacity.

The student card was produced, which Bernadette's husband jokingly referred to as a student card of five years ago. The researcher decided to ignore the statement and proceeded with the questions. After seeing the student card, the husband decided to stay and listen in. The conversation later became pleasant as the couple visibly relaxed and showed interest in my questions.

Bernadette expressed the need for her own borehole in her allotment. Her unit, known as Unit B is about 1 204 hectares big and has no water infrastructure. She and her family make use of the water infrastructure at Unit C, which is owned by the former Apartheid prisoners. She has a fear that they might get water problems the moment the owners of Unit C start with their state-of-the-art irrigation scheme, as they might not be enough water then.

She is of the opinion that all new farmers need support as they are disadvantaged and does not have the means to sustain a successful farming business without additional support. Bernadette also mentioned that farmers during the colonial period were given ample support, hence their successful farming ventures today.

Although Bernadette is not really in the category of the Unit A beneficiaries, she is not yet comfortable with her farming business and thinks additional support will enable her to make a success out of her business. She stated that they have the capacity to make a success out of her land but it will take time. Had it not been for her and her spouse's income they would have had it much harder, Bernadette said.

She wants to improve fences at her allotment, get more livestock as well as her own water infrastructure. Bernadette thinks the size of her allotment is sufficient for now, although she might think otherwise in future.

With regard to the loans to be given out soon, she said she had already applied for one and is waiting for her response, although she noted that it might take a while, as everything government does, goes through a lengthy process.

Unit C, the last of Ongombo West was allocated to the ***Namibia Former Robben Island Political Prisoners Trust***. The Robben Island prisoners were Namibians who were detained by the Apartheid South African regime, due to their political activities or resistance against the regime. The beneficiaries received their 386 hectares piece of land in 2007 but could not occupy it as the infrastructure was dilapidated.

Just few days before the researcher visited Ongombo West, the Trust beneficiaries received state-of-the-art water infrastructure for irrigation purposes worth N\$1, 9 million from government. The infrastructure was officially handed over by the Minister of Lands and Resettlement, Alpheus !Naruseb.

According to the minister, the irrigation scheme will result in the establishment and continued production of flowers and quality horticulture for the local and export markets in the future. (New Era, 29 July 2009; W Tjaronda)

“The farm has the potential to produce quality vegetables and other products in large quantities enough to supply Windhoek and neighbouring regions and result in the improvement of the lives of the former political prisoners and their families,” !Naruseb was quoted in the paper.

The Trust comprises of 68 individuals, who together with their families make out about 1 000 to 2 000 people.

5.2.1 Motivation

Again, the researcher was led by media reports to choose Ongombo West as a case study in her research. Personally, she had interest in the farm, since she had covered the dispute of the farm that led to the expropriation of the farm.

Media reports hammered on the fact that a once productive farm was going to waste, given to “people who are not productive or do not have the means to use the land productively.

The farm was also chosen because of its proximity, as it was easier reachable from Windhoek where the researcher lives. The other factor was the language issue. The researcher knew most of the beneficiaries were Damara/Nama-speaking people and would be easier to communicate with. She did not know that the farm was not only allocated to the former farm workers but also other farmers coming from other regions. She however did not have trouble in communicating with people who were not Damara/Nama-speaking as they were conversant in both English and Afrikaans.

5.2.2 Analysis

Ongombo West is a combination of all types of resettlement models present in Namibia. It is a combination of group resettlement, individual and trust or cooperative resettlement. Each case has its identical characteristics, as group beneficiaries show the same characteristics while the individual beneficiaries also show same characteristics.

The beneficiaries of Unit A or rather the former farm workers are all category one beneficiaries, as they virtually had no livestock to start with. All of them are dependent on drought relief and the garden, while there is no additional income to survive on. The group has not received any tangible support from the government or any other stakeholder in the lands fraternity, nor does it have the capacity to secure a loan as they do not have collateral except their notification of resettlement letters. They however did not know about the loan, until the researcher inquired about the possibility of applying for a loan.

Most of them, if not all, have brought in illegal squatters, mostly families that have joined them. Whether the presence of families of beneficiaries on the unit mean the possibility of subleasing is not clear, as most of them denied the possibility. I however, suspect that some form of payment or compensation must have taken place for the squatters to stay there. It seems as if the people squatting have more livestock than the beneficiaries which gives me the idea that somehow there should have been some form of compensation. Some illegal squatters even own little grocery and liquor shops at the farm. The talk however, was as if the beneficiaries were the “bosses” of the squatters.

In 2007, the MLR had undertaken a visit to Ongombo West after reports of illegal squatting, overcrowding, alcohol abuse, and poaching at the farm’s Unit A. The reports were confirmed by the visit as the team found people still building houses/shacks upon their arrival.

The ministry categorised the illegal settlers in three groups after observing the situation. With regard to the many dwellings that was found, it was revealed that category one of the illegal settlers were dependents of main beneficiaries who build their own dwellings due to misunderstandings and have also brought in their own beneficiaries.

Category 2 was extended family brought in by beneficiaries to visit and have since resettled after taking advantage of the inconsistent supervision on the farm. Category 3 was farmers who were granted permission through the self-declared leaders of the ex-farm labourers and the Nafwu Secretary General, Alfred Angula. (MLR, 2007)

According to the ministry's findings, about 20 illegal households were counted, resulting into about 120 people. Although the exact number of livestock on the unit could not be established, the team was reliably informed that more than 400 livestock was present at the unit. The plot has a carrying capacity of 87 LSU or SSU and open spaces for crop production which is also currently used as grazing and dwelling area. The state of the land was not in a good condition, as established during the visit to the farm. The area shows signs of serious emerging land/soil degradation due to the heavy utilisation of the unit.

The beneficiaries stated that they do not have any disputes over grazing or water at the plot, despite the above numbers of livestock that was identified by the line ministry.

All the "legal" beneficiaries had either a goat or a number of donkeys, but no cattle, except one of the women who said that she had two cattle. All of them expressed hope to get livestock to farm with or at least make a living out of it. Some of the beneficiaries had expressed little hope of benefiting from the Agribank loan scheme, due to their lack of collateral.

The individual beneficiaries at Unit B and D were visibly better off than their neighbours at Unit A. The land and soil was in good condition compared to the one at Unit A. Beneficiary of Unit B was allocated the old farm house and did not

live in a shack like the Unit A beneficiaries. The beneficiary however complained about the state of the house saying it might collapse anytime. She claimed to have found the house in that condition upon resettlement.

Unit D, the plot of the second individual beneficiary had a makeshift house, as he was not staying at the farm and was a weekend farmer, like the owner of Unit B. The dwelling was meant for his worker. The allotment had a neatly-installed water tank, well-maintained fences and a dam and the cattle were in good condition. Both the individual beneficiaries were government employees and thus had an additional income to maintain their plots. Their numbers of cattle were also far bigger than their counterparts at Unit A.

The individual beneficiary also indicated that she would need support, although she was not as helpless as the beneficiaries at Unit A, due to her additional income and perhaps her husband's. She stated that she needs a borehole at her unit, as she is dependent on water from Unit C that belongs to the former-political prisoners. She noted that she might experience water problems once the envisaged hi-tech irrigation scheme at Unit C becomes operational. The beneficiary was of the opinion that she would become an economically-active farmer if she receives the needed additional support. She had applied for the Agribank loan and plans to improve the fences and buy more livestock, once she secures the loan.

The beneficiaries of Unit C were the lucky ones who received massive support after being resettled the last, among the beneficiaries. The trust plans to continue with growing flowers as was done by the previous farm owners, as well as vegetables that would be sold commercially.

It is not clear why the beneficiaries of Unit C had received such enormous support while the rest of the beneficiaries who are needier did not receive any sufficient support from government. A caretaker (one of the former prisoners) has been stationed at the plot to oversee the farming venture. A beneficiary of Unit A indicated that he is “sometimes” helping out at the plot of the Robben Island beneficiaries. Perhaps the irrigation scheme will provide jobs to the needy beneficiaries of Unit A. Some Unit A beneficiaries also indicated that they sometimes work on neighbouring farms to supplement their income, in dire times.

The beneficiaries of the Trust composed of members of different political parties. Some of the beneficiaries were former ministers, others members of parliament. Perhaps these were the type of beneficiaries that the Namibia Emerging Commercial Farmers Union (NECFU) referred to as “some beneficiaries who have the financial means to acquire farms through commercial institutions. The beneficiaries might have acquired these under the category ex-soldiers/fighters or returnees, which justify their selection, according to the NRP. The current beneficiary selection criteria are open to interpretation, perhaps why there are talks of revisiting the selection criteria. The MLR indicated that there is a possible change of the current criteria, although it did not elaborate what the possible changes might be.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS OF DATA

6.1. DATA ANALYSIS

Judging from the above information gathered from the respondents as well as the review of the different policies dealing with land reform, there is no formal, well-structured post-settlement support programme spearheaded either by the government or its custodian, the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, in place.

If there is any post-settlement support taking place it is not consistent and randomly provided, and not from the same source, but different sources. The only initiative that can qualify as a uniform state-sponsored post-settlement support, is the recently introduced Post-settlement Support Financing Programme jointly commissioned by the line ministry and the agricultural bank. The initiative is however not yet operational.

According to the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, Personal Communication (2009) post-settlement support (PSS) is to give assistance to **all** categories of resettled beneficiaries in the form of money, technical know-how, training and exchange visits among farmers to exchange skills and expertise, as well as maintaining infrastructure.

The same ministry however states that it is only to provide assistance to farmers under category one or rather group resettlement beneficiaries and not the other categories such as individual farmers and cooperatives or trusts. Government provides housing, gardens and infrastructure to category one beneficiaries, if there is no willing donor organisation or partner to help support such a group. There are two types of group resettlements, one which is called a project and one that is just an ordinary group resettlement. Personal Communication (2009)

It seems as if the one named a “project” is the one destined for support from either government or willing donor organisations.

The ministry recently provided support to a trust of the former Robben Island political prisoners, who have a portion of land at Ongombo West. The former prisoners received irrigation implements worth over a million Namibian dollars. The decision illustrates the inconsistency in the actions of the government with regard to land reform. It states that only group resettlement projects are supposed to get assistance under the current circumstances, yet it provides financial support to a trust. On the same farm, seven former farm workers were resettled prior to the ex-political prisoners, however the group beneficiaries did not receive any tangible support to date, although they are according to the ministry, supposed to receive support. Could this be an illustration of what the NECFU was alluding to, when it said, “land reform is a political issue”?

If some of the resettlement projects are successful, it should be obvious why it is so, as one receives dedicated support and the other not. In the case of the two resettlement farms visited, it came out that one of them, Queen Sofia is a resettlement project and had received support since the people where resettled there, while the beneficiaries of Ongombo West did not receive any significant support since they were resettled at the farm. The Queen Sofia beneficiaries received livestock, shelter and seeds to start up crop production, while the beneficiaries at Ongombo West received seeds and some gardening implements to start a communal garden.

In addition Queen Sofia beneficiaries also received different types of training in skills development and capacity-building from different non-governmental organisations such as the Namibia Nature Foundation, to mention but a few.

Judging from the above, it should be obvious why Ongombo West should be seen as a failure, while Queen Sofia was hailed as a success story in the past. Queen Sofia's past success could have been attributed to the help and support that it received from the Spanish government. The tune has however changed, since the Spanish have ceased support after five years, in the hope that beneficiaries would be self-sufficient, thereafter.

The MRL has admitted that it cannot provide the type of post-settlement support that the white commercial farmers received pre-independence, as it does not have the resources.

The Namibia National Farmers Union (NNFU) is of the opinion that government has enough guidelines in carrying out any post-settlement support programme, as a big number of studies have identified and recommended possible PSS packages.

The established commercial farmers (primarily white) feel that they are bringing their side or contributing to integrating new farmers into commercial farming through the activities that they support and initiate. The Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU) said the Emerging Commercial Farmers Support Programme (ECFSP) was initially an initiative from the established commercial farmers.

The union feels due to the complexity of commercial farming, it would be disastrous if new farmers do not get any support and are left in the cold. The NAU reasons that commercial agricultural practices are new to most of the resettlement and emerging farmers and would thus need support be it technical, capacity or financial.

The ECFSP states that new farmers need post-settlement support and not only training and skills but capital, livestock and implements, in order to make a success out of their farming venture.

It is clear that stakeholders in the land reform sector do not think that the government is doing what it is supposed to do in carrying out a successful land reform programme, as envisaged.

NECFU states that the government has the prime responsibility to provide post-settlement support to new farmers.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry provides extension services, which is a form of post-settlement support. The ministry is however of the opinion that extension services alone cannot be regarded as post-settlement support without financial support such as credit extension to farmers.

There is a systematic approach taken to resettling people, but there are no similar guidelines on how different line ministries and non-state actors should provide resettled people with information about managing their farms. The expertise referred to here could be pre-training on agricultural or environmental issues, managing farms as businesses, servicing of equipment etc. The sector could come up with a detailed work plan for providing services to resettled people. (GTZ, 2006)

One of the many complaints that emerged from respondents is the dilapidated infrastructure that farmers receive when being resettled on the farms. The state of the farms is largely blamed on the lengthy process of resettlement.

It takes a minimum 411 days and maximum 441 days to complete the 20 activities in resettling people. The process involves land valuation, demarcation into allotments, advertising and gazetting, as well as selecting beneficiaries. The process is carried out by different institutions.¹⁶

Resettling farmers is indeed a lengthy process, which is contributing to the dilapidation of farm infrastructure and property. People in neighbouring areas start looting the farm, if it is vacated by the previous owner, while infrastructure like dams might burst if it is left for a long time without water (Munjanu, 2009). In an ideal case, the government needs to or is supposed to station a caretaker at the specific, in order to avoid the above mentioned.

The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement admitted that about 25% of beneficiaries selected are not the correct ones, as selection is influenced by factors such as gender, disability and regional balance, which might not necessarily be the best or appropriate quality to qualify as a farmer.

The Namibia Agricultural Union, (NAU) accuses the resettlement programme of being more interested in “resettling people instead of farmers. According to the NAU not all Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) and resettled farmers are qualified farmers. “A clear selection of “farmers” and not only “people” should be one of the most important criteria. There is a huge difference between people who want to farm and people who can really farm” (NAU, 2009).

The GTZ, one of the main supporters of land reform in the country is of the opinion that the current beneficiaries are not the correct ones. It questioned

¹⁶ See Appendix D for the table detailing the whole resettling process. (GTZ, 2006)

whether the current beneficiaries were the real target group, noting the high number of part time farmers versus full time farmers.

The Emerging Commercial Farmers Support Programme (ECFSP) is also of the opinion that government could improve beneficiary selection criteria for resettlement. The programme cites the PTT report recommendations that suggested a revisit to the selection criteria of beneficiaries, as 62 percent of beneficiaries are part-time farmers.

The emerging farmers union, NECFU claims that land reform is a political issue and not always the real target group benefits, as in some cases people who can afford to buy a farm through commercial means are given land through the resettlement programme. According to NECFU, people get land because of their political connections, instead previously disadvantaged, landless Namibians who have the ability to farm and in a way proven themselves as farmers should get the land. Possible beneficiaries that the union cites are previous farm workers and students from agricultural colleges.

“There is a difference between a land owner and a farmer. Sometimes people who are not really farmers get the land. It’s very sensitive, people might not be resettled for the right reasons, e.g. weekend farmers” (NECFU, 2009).

Weekend farmers are mentioned as some of the wrong groups that have benefited from the land reform, as some claim that their land is not fully utilised and go to waste and just serve as weekend “get aways”.

Even, in the case where extension services are to be provided, weekend farmers are never found on their land to receive these services as they are on their official jobs in towns, hence valuable time and resources are wasted by

extension services as the intended beneficiaries are not available to receive these services.

However, judging from the beneficiaries of Ongombo West, part time farmers are doing better compared to fulltime farmers (at the same farm) who have nothing at all, besides the land that they were given. In a documentary recently shown, part time farmers claim that they would never be able to farm without the income from their formal work and that they could be successful farmers as part time farmers. Similarly, the researcher has observed on other resettlement farms that she has visited prior to her study that those who have fulltime employment are better-off than those farmers who are fulltime farmers.

The same group of part time farmers will obviously compare differently against fulltime commercial farmers, who would be far better off. Commercial farmers are of the opinion that part time farmers will never be successful farmers.

Sherbourne (2004) argues that the price of commercial farming land in Namibia is high in relation to the profits that can be made from commercial livestock farming. As a result, farming is increasingly becoming the preserve of the urban rich who farm as a lifestyle choice and are prepared to subsidise their farms from their personal sources of income. Given the price of land, many of these farmers will struggle to create commercially viable farms. Farmers will thus start demanding more subsidies in order to diversify into other activities in order to raise their incomes.

Other respondents viewed the selection of former farm workers as a wrong choice as they do not have the economical means to productively farm on a commercial farm, hence valuable, productive land goes to waste.

Since there is no dedicated post-settlement support, government must re-look its criteria of selection and at least benefit people who can survive from their own means to make farming a success. Marginalised groups such as the San people seem to become welfare cases instead of becoming productive farmers.

Of the beneficiary priority groups mentioned in the National Resettlement Policy, (NRP) most of them do not have sufficient farming skills, e.g. former soldiers, returnees, the San and landless people. Being a landless person does not mean the person can be a farmer, become a farmer or have interest in farming. A landless person might just want a small piece of land to built his/her house, why not give that person land somewhere in a town area and leave farm land for those who can use it productively.

The NRP states that ex-soldiers and returnees did not have a place to stay after returning from the war and other countries, however this does not mean the only place they can be reintegrated should be farming lands that should be used for agricultural purposes.

It seems as if individual resettlement beneficiaries are doing better than group resettlements. Individual beneficiaries on individual allotments have doubled their personal asset base since being resettled. Farm incomes however, remain low at an average income of N\$7 000 per annum, due to inadequate post-settlement support.

With regard to group resettlement it was revealed that a beneficiary household earns an average income of N\$460 per annum from livestock sales before input costs. The figure, when compared to with the average group beneficiary (from all sources) of N\$59, paints a grim picture of reliance on food aid from the government. The situation is worsened by the fact that about 78%of all household members have no other source of income (PTT, 2005).

According to Tilley (2007) for land reform and associated settlement support strategies to maximise impacts requires that the target groups is clearly defined and that the support need for that group is clearly understood. In some cases, land reform programmes may experience a disjuncture between their espoused and actual target group and a set of rhetorical assumptions about whose needs are being addressed. This lack of clarity will only serve to sow confusion and frustration and will lead to a wasteful use of available resources.

Cernea (1997) in Tilley (2007) suggests that when planning for land reform and settlement of beneficiaries it is important to acknowledge risk confronting them and make it part of the settlement planning. The case is also evident in the Namibian instance, where no post-settlement strategy was cast out from the onset, during the planning phase as well as the implementation of the country's land reform.

Cernea's idea gave birth to the Risk Impoverishment, Risk and Reconstruction Model (IRR model), which identifies 'eight impoverishment risks' that confront displaced households and outlines how these can be taken into consideration during planning and support provision. The eight risks identified are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, social disarticulation, and loss of access to common property.

Communities are seen to confront some or all of these as they resettle on their new land. If mitigation measures are not taken into account during planning, then impoverishment is seen as inevitable. The model is therefore a predictive-cum-planning tool that can help those providing post-settlement support to land reform beneficiaries and dispossessed communities by considering the risks they will face (Tilley, 2007).

According to Tilley (2007) worldwide evidence show that post settlement support cannot be conceived of as something that is 'done to' or 'given to' beneficiaries but rather that communities acquiring land and needing support must be viewed as active participants in the entire process.

Tilley (2007) further states that a strategy adopted by a number of states – more particularly those operating within a market-based framework – since the early 1990s is that of relying on the private sector and partnership arrangements to provide the necessary post-settlement and developmental support. The only notable support that is currently being given to resettlement beneficiaries in Namibia comes from non-governmental organisations and donor agencies. If there is any state-funded support, it is not consistent and can be viewed "occasional".

Land redistribution without post-settlement support may compromise the ability, particularly of poor households, to make a living based on the new asset. New and emerging approaches of linking up with private farm owners in joint ventures may provide a potential avenue, at least in the short term while beneficiaries establish themselves and as long as the ventures have access to markets and can still make profits. It is, however, still in question whether this approach will help those in chronic poverty. Indications are that better off small-scale farmers tend to move to exploit such ventures more than poorer farmers do (Chimhowu; 2006) in Tilley.

Either by default or by intention (usually governed by a state's ideological framework and macro-economic policy), some countries demonstrate a non-interventionist or an apparent 'non-strategy' in relation to settlement support.

Land reform is merely understood to be the acquisition of land, with no follow-through in terms of support provision thereafter. This situation is frequently compounded by particular biases towards urban centres or larger landholders and commercial farmers (Tilley, 2007).

The researcher would agree with the notion of a non-interventionist strategy in relation to settlement support in the case of Namibia. Post settlement strategies are only being explored in recent times and not from the beginning. To Namibia, it seems as if the success of land reform is measured in terms of acquisition by blacks and not by productivity and sustainable usage of that land.

The GTZ has lauded the Namibian land reform process as “extra-ordinary successful. It has described the process as having a concrete strategy and clear indicators. “Compared to neighbouring countries you have the best practices, an excellent taxation and valuation system that is functional as well as independent judiciary,” (Hoaes, 2008).

The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement has recently provided lease agreements to resettlement beneficiaries. The aim is to enable beneficiaries to use the lease agreements in securing funds from commercial banks, particularly from Agribank who is administering funds that was provided for by the line ministry.

Since a considerable number of beneficiaries do not have any security, besides the lease agreements, it is not yet clear, what other securities besides the lease agreement the agricultural bank would require from the farmers who intend to borrow money. Most of the beneficiaries are under the impression that they only need the lease agreement to secure funding from the bank.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusion

From the information that was gathered, the researcher has concluded that for the past years since land reform was instituted:

- No real or dedicated post-settlement support was accorded to new farmers in Namibia. Initiatives are however coming up to address the shortcomings but how effective it will be cannot yet be determined.
- The country has all relevant institutions and mechanisms in place, such as the ones that can provide post-settlement support, however there is no coordination between the institutions involved in land matters. Each ministry or departments work in isolation and does not talk to each other. Roles are not clearly defined and results into confusion, starting from the first stage of selecting beneficiaries to the last stage of physical relocation of beneficiaries. For example, the agriculture ministry is tasked to provide extension services however, the lands ministry is in possession of the budget for extension. The non-performance of one institution impacts on the performance of the next, yet they do not “speak” to each other, thus hampering and slowing the successful implementation of the land reform process.
- Post-settlement support is not consistent and is selective, in fact, if it takes place, it is done sporadically and not as a whole package. The sporadic and selective pattern is caused by the differences in policy guidelines, actual executions and isolated decisions by policy executors who do not follow policy guidelines. Policies stipulate one thing and what happens on

the ground is different. According to the National Resettlement Policy, the land's ministry has to facilitate the resettlement of destitute and landless people of the country and provide them with all the necessary support to start a living and meet their basic needs. However, for the past years of the land reform history, the land's ministry has selected only some that it provides post-settlement to, namely the group resettlements and some selected individual farmers. Selected beneficiaries that had so far received PSS do not also receive it regularly but only receives it whenever resources are ready.

- The selection of beneficiaries may not be the right one as most of the selected groups may not be necessarily the correct ones. In case the beneficiaries are the correct ones, then the post-settlement support that made the first-time colonial white farmers a success is not present for the new Namibian farmers, thus hampering their progress. Most of the beneficiary groups do not have the technical know-how or the financial means to sustain their newly acquired farms, without post-settlement support. It seems as if government's aim is more to give the people land to settle on, then availing land for productivity purposes. It seems as if the emphasis is more on "giving the people back their lost dignity" than empowering them economically. People might not necessarily need land to farm on, but just need land to have a roof over their heads.

- There are a certain categories of land-hungry Namibians, one is the category that needs land because he/she genuinely wants to farm, has the capacity and capabilities to do so, the second is the one that needs extra space to farm because of the overcrowding in communal areas, the third is the one who does not have any land, any livestock, used to live at commercial farms as workers or family of farm workers, had been evicted

and has no place to stay, or former soldiers be it in the South African army or the SWAPO freedom fighters who do not own any land after the end of the war. The third person cannot afford to even put up a shelter in urban areas, as land in urban areas needs to be bought, in order to be owned. The fourth Namibian is the one that has the means to buy a farm, but takes advantage and apply for resettlement, claiming he/she cannot afford to buy an own farm. The person thus gets land that a needy person could have benefited from. It is up to the government to decide which of these groups should be the beneficiaries of the resettlement programme. The researcher would suggest that the farmer who has the financial means and the “drive” to farm be given priority, while also taking note of people who lost their land and does not have any place to stay.

- Judging from the responses or the debates on land reform, especially on post-settlement, most stakeholders are not satisfied with government support with regard to post-settlement support. Stakeholders are of the opinion that it is government’s responsibility to take care of the farmers after resettlement and that it should do more about that. Government also admitted that it cannot afford to provide the type of PSS that pre-independence white farmers received from the colonial administration. Enough resources are thus a big challenge for the entire land reform process.
- A factor that negatively impacts on new farmers is the dilapidated infrastructure that they inherit on their newly acquired farms. Farm infrastructure upon resettlement, is said to be in a poor state and the factor is blamed on the lengthy procedures of the resettlement process. Properties are looted, while some infrastructure such as dams bursts, as it cannot be without water for a long time. Additional money is thus needed

to repair the farm infrastructure, at least before the new farmers move in. This does not happen very often and new farmers are faced with infrastructural problems from the onset. The recently completed infrastructural audit and the mini socio-economic and demographic survey also painted a very bleak picture of the state of farm infrastructure, in three farming regions, which is also reflected in many other parts of the country.

- As stated by a number of authors, resettlement has become a welfare case for the State rather than an economic means to the beneficiaries. There is rarely a resettlement project that is successful and independent. If there is one successful, it is so because it receives support from somewhere, be it government or a non-governmental organisation. In my view, resettlement projects have become like the creation of “little towns” or settlements which will need all the basic services that a small town would need, thus leaving the question whether we want to become farmers or create additional towns. It is like creating towns that needs services such as schools, clinics, hospitals, shops, police stations, municipal services, etc but a town with no economic basis that can maintain itself and would thus depend on the State for the provision of the services.
- On the other hand, land in Namibia is seen as an emotional issue, more than an economic or productivity issue. The reasoning is “the land must be given back” because it belonged to the people, irrespective of whether a person wants to use it as an economic means or just want the dispossessed land back or just to have a roof over the head. The current difficulties and poverty experienced by some communities are blamed as a direct result of land grabbing by the colonial powers, hence, it is only logical that people would want their land back.

- From what the researcher has observed and gathered from Von Wiedersheim (2008), (NBC, 2008) part time farmers with formal employment are better off, than permanent farmers with no additional income, thus confirming the fact that new farmers indeed need an extra input or income to be able to make a living out of their new farming venture.
- Land in resettlement areas are becoming overpopulated, while no rangeland management is taking place, due to the overpopulation caused by illegal settlers. The little productive land that is available literally becomes degraded and goes to waste, taking into consideration, that only one percent of Namibia's land is arable or suitable for farming, while the rest of the about 800 000 square km are desert like and not suitable for farming. Water is also very scarce, while major water sources are shared sources with neighbouring countries. These factors impact on the environment and land reform in the country, thus no sustainable development can take place, if the status quo is maintained.

7.2. Recommendations

7.2.1 It seems as if the selection criterion of the NRP is problematic, as most of the selected beneficiaries do not use the farms productively. Most of the beneficiaries lack the technical know-how, or has no sufficient financial means or the means to access credit, thus the researcher recommends that the selection criteria of land reform beneficiaries be urgently revised if land reform has to become an economically productive and sustainable form of livelihood in Namibia. The researcher suspect part, if not the whole problem in the land reform process, is as a result of the wrong people getting the land. An ideal beneficiary

of the resettlement programme would be a successful communal farmer who at least has a certain number of livestock to start with. The researcher believes if such a farmer can receive dedicated support from government for at least three years, after resettlement he/she will become a productive farmer.

7.2.2. The current selection criteria is very broad, hence looking at descendants of the tribes that lost their land during the colonial occupations should be considered too, by giving priority to them when they apply. The researcher utters this because, some tribes, especially in the northern regions of the country never lost their land to the colonial powers, hence most of them still have land in those areas, while they are equally competing for land with those who lost their land and does not have any alternative. Since productive land is limited, such a decision will ease the heavy burden on the land's custodian, who has to divide a limited size of land among a huge number of people. Hence, this recommendation also speaks to the selection criterion that is problematic. It should however not just look at the fact that somebody has lost land but should take other considerations such as technical know-how and financial availability.

7.2.3. Beneficiaries do not have the means to access credit from financial institutions hence land tenure in communal areas as well as resettlement areas should be strengthened, in order for farmers to use the land as collateral. Proper land management should be introduced in those areas, so that land can improve and its value can increase. If the above is achieved, land can be used as collateral for securing finances from financial institutions. The above could become an incentive for people to stay in communal areas and make that land valuable too.

7.2.4. Since there is no dedicated support scheme from the State, it should work out a dedicated and sufficient support programme for all new farmers for a

certain period of time. The researcher suggests that a support package such as the one proposed by the Permanent Technical Team be considered. Such a package should be provided uniformly, across categories as the needs of each farmer are different.

7.2.5. Due to the fact that wrong people are chosen to benefit people who do not perform or make a success out of their farming venture after all the necessary financial support and extension services were provided, should be removed as is envisaged after the infrastructural audit has been completed. However if the correct beneficiaries are chosen, and people are provided with necessary PSS, removing people will not be necessary.

7.2.6. As stated in one of the concluding points, people might not necessarily want land for agricultural purposes but just land to set up a dwelling that they can call their own, thus the State should look for land in urban areas or close to urban areas where people who do not necessarily want to farm can be resettled. Other land use forms, apart from farming can be considered for that group of people.

7.2.7. Land for agricultural use is limited, based on the current trend of events, thus Namibia should diversify towards other land use forms from agricultural production, as only limited agricultural activities can be carried out in Namibia, given the country's topography. Tourism is one example that is cited as having economic potential through which people can benefit.

7.3. Possible future scenario of land reform in Namibia

Government's recent initiatives such as the issuance of the first lease agreements to resettlement beneficiaries as well as the loans envisaged for this group of farmers seems to be a step in the right direction. If all goes well there might be an improvement in the land reform process.

On the other hand, a likely scenario that the researcher foresees is farmers trapped in debts and not able to pay back their loans, similar to the AALS farmers. However, the loan scheme initiative is very good, if it works out as envisaged.

An ideal future land reform process in a country such as Namibia would be one where all aspects negatively affecting the sustainability of agriculture are taken into consideration. Taking the country's environmental conditions into account and the food security issue, the Namibian government should prioritise agricultural productivity. However, redressing the past injustices and equity issues weighs heavier compared to food security, at the moment, hence it is a tough battle that Namibia has to fight.

Namibian authorities and policymakers should decide what the country needs, whether it is redressing past injustices or striving towards food security, and lesson food imports from neighbouring South Africa.

It is not easy to ignore the other aspects of the land issue, such as compensating people for their land that they have lost, especially through giving them back the land. A balance should be found between agricultural productivity and equity.

Perhaps, if Namibian policymakers could make use of recommendations given in one of its own studies such as the PTT report, there could perhaps be a lot of improvement.

7.4. Possible focus areas for further studies

Possible further studies that could feel the gaps that have emerged from this study are:

- Why do Namibians people still live in poverty despite being given land, which is supposed to be an economically empowering tool?
- Does no support or insufficient support from government have any negative effect on the agricultural sector of the country?
- Who should be the beneficiaries of Namibia's land reform?

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Information gathering events attended

Post-Settlement Support Conference at the Polytechnic of Namibia on 4 November 2008. Attended in my capacity as a journalist.

Media event. Story of the issuance of the first lease agreements at Farm Nautabis in the Khomas Region on 22 August 2009. Attended in my capacity as a journalist.

Media Conference: Announcement of Agribank's loan facility for resettlement beneficiaries.

Appendix 2: Interview guides

GTZ Questions

1. Why do you support land reform?
2. What type of support do you provide to the farmers?
3. Which category of farmers does the GTZ support?
4. Why do you think new farmers need PSS?
5. If they need support what type of support do they need?
6. Is the support that you provide sufficient or do they need more support and from whom?
7. Do you think the resettlement beneficiaries are the correct ones?
8. For how long after the settlers have been settled should extension services continue or is it forever?
9. Is the country on the right track with regard to agricultural productivity versus land reform?
10. Does the country in anyway compromise sustainable agricultural productivity in addressing land reform?
11. Has Namibia increased local food production after independence or has it decline, are we importing more than we produce?
12. Is GTZ going to extend its support?

Emerging Commercial Farmers Support Programme Questions

1. What type of support do you provide to the farmers?
2. Which group of farmers do you support?
3. Is the support that you provide sufficient?

4. Have you noticed any progress/successes/failures among farmers that you support?
5. There are perceptions that land reform is largely failing, do you share the sentiment?
6. Do you think beneficiaries are the correct ones?
7. Why do you think new farmers should receive support after getting land?
8. Is GTZ going to extend its support?
9. For how long after the settlers have been settled should extension services continue or is it forever?
10. Is the country on the right track with regard to agricultural productivity versus land reform?
11. Does the country in anyway compromise sustainable agricultural productivity in addressing land reform?
12. Has Namibia increased local food production after independence or has it decline, are we importing more than we produce?
13. The minimum size of an allotment of farmland?

Questions for MAWF

1. What are the extension services provided by the ministry?
2. Can extension services be referred to as post-settlement support?
3. What is the budget set aside for extension services, is it sufficient?
4. What are the challenges faced by the ministry in terms of providing these services?
5. Do you have sufficient, and well-trained staff to execute these duties?
6. There was complain of limited orientation among resettled farmers, leading to conflicts over shared use of natural resources?
7. Lack of coordination between the two ministries of land and agriculture?
8. Which ministries responsibility is it to provide PSS?

9. How to you provide extension services to part-time farmers who are never at their farms during the week when your officials have to carry out their duty?
10. Is there a need for PSS in Namibia?
11. For how long after the settlers have been settled should extension services continue or is it forever?
12. Is the country on the right track with regard to agricultural productivity versus land reform?
13. Does the country in anyway compromise sustainable agricultural productivity in addressing land reform?
14. Has Namibia increased local food production after independence or has it decline, are we importing more than we produce?

Namibia Agricultural Union Questions

1. What do you think of land reform in general, was there a need for that in Namibia?
2. What are the positive and negative factors of land reform?
3. How would you suggest land reform is carried out if you do not agree with its present format? What model should be done in order to make a success out of the initiative?
4. Do you think established farmers would be of any help to the emerging farmers?
5. What type of help or support would established farmers offer to new farmers?
6. Do you think new farmers should get official GRN support after resettlement?

7. Did pre-independence new farmers get any official support?
8. Would you want to assist new farmers and what would drive you to assist them?
9. Do you think beneficiaries of the resettlement programme/AALS are the correct ones?
10. Who do you think should benefit from these programmes?
11. What criteria should be used to choose beneficiaries?
12. Can people make a success out of part-time farming, as is the trend currently?
13. Can you point out any successes of the land reform programme, in your view?
14. Is it true that GRN only gets to be offered non-productive farms or farms that are not suitable for farming?
15. What do you think of expropriation in Namibia?
16. Has it been done in a just manner?
17. Do you encounter any problems with beneficiaries of resettlement farms, e.g. stealing, poaching, etc?

Appendix 3: Case Study Questions

- 1. How and when did you get the land?***
- 2. How long did you wait to get the land after you applied?***
- 3. Do you think you are the correct beneficiary for this land?***
- 4. Did you receive any PSS since your resettlement and what type?***
- 5. What type of PSS would you want to receive?***
- 6. Why do you think you are entitled to PSS and who should provide it?***
- 7. Can you make a living out of your farming venture?***
- 8. How was your farming doing during the time of the Spanish support?***
- 9. And what is your condition like now?***

Appendix 4: Resettlement process

Table 3: Duration of the resettlement process

Event	Description	Organisations responsible	Days	% of total time
1. Farm offer	The owner completes the standard offer forms before returning them back to the MLRR.	Farm owner	20	4.9
2. Land acquisition	The land acquisition committee meets to deliberate on the offer.	Land acquisition committee is made up of members drawn from the MLRR, MAWRD, MWTC, MRLGH, MET and Agribank	14	3.4
3. Assessment	The land use planners assess the suitability of the land.	Directorate of Land Reform (land use planners)	14	3.4
4. Valuation	The valuer values the land to determine the possible purchase price.	Directorate of Valuation and Estate Management	21	5.1
5. Land Reform Advisory Commission (LRAC)	The LRAC deliberates and fixes the purchase price and makes recommendations to the Minister of LRRR.	LRAC is made up of members drawn from the MLRR, MAWRD, Namibia National Farmers Union, Namibia Agricultural Union, Ministry of Justice and five members representing their communities	30-60	7.3 - 13.6
6. Deeds of transfer or sale	The LRAC meets with the farm owner to negotiate the purchase price.	LRAC	30	7.3
7. Demarcation	The land surveyors determine individual plots demarcated.	Directorate of Survey and Mapping	30	7.3
8. Verification	The LRAC sits to verify sizes of individual demarcated plots.	LRAC	14	3.4
9. Legal procedures	The legal drafters prepare legal documents for gazetting.	Legal drafters	30	7.3
10. Advertisement and application	The farms are advertised and prospective settlers apply for them.	MLRR and settlers	30	7.3

11. Regional selection	The Regional Resettlement Committee sits and makes recommendations to LRAC.	Regional Resettlement Committee	30	7.3
12. National selection	The National Resettlement Committee sits and makes recommendations to LRAC.	MLRR, MAWRD, MWTC, MLRGH, MET, MBEC, MWA, Agribank and NDC	30	7.3
13. Final recommendations	The LRAC sits to deliberate and make recommendations.	LRAC	30	7.3
14. Approval	The minister approves the recommendations so made by LRAC.	Hon. Minister of MLRR	7	1.7
15. Notification	The chairman of the National Resettlement Committee notifies the applicants.	Chairman of the National Resettlement Committee-MLRR	7	1.7
16. Approval by permanent secretary	The PS approves the notification letter.	PS: MLRR	2	0.5
17. Correspondence to the regions	The notification letter is delivered to the regional offices for the prospects candidates so approved.	MLRR	21	5.6
18. Ratification 1	The lessee signs the lease agreement.	The lessee	14	3.4
19. Ratification 2	The minister signs the lease agreement on behalf of the government.	Minister-MLRR	7	1.7
20. Physical resettlement	The resettlement officers physically resettle beneficiaries.	Directorate of Resettlement	30	7.3
Total days			411/441	100%

Source: Resettlement Process (GTZ, 2006)

Appendix 5: Responses of Role players

Ministry of Lands and Resettlement¹⁷

Post-settlement support (PSS) is to give assistance to all categories of resettled beneficiaries through access to credit, markets, technical know-how, training and exchange visits among farmers to exchange skills and expertise, as well as maintenance of infrastructure, interaction among different stakeholders such as non-governmental organisations, line ministries, and private business partners, as well as strong institutional support. (Kruger, 2009)

Category 1 (people with no land, neither income nor livestock) or rather group resettlement is normally helped by government or any NGO or donor organisation that is willing to help. Government provides housing, gardens and infrastructure if there is no willing partner.

Category 2&3 (2- people with neither land nor income, but have livestock) or (3- people who have income or are cattle owners who need land to settle on with their families or to graze their livestock) mostly individual resettlement beneficiaries. In this case, government retreats after resettling the two categories when they get a lease agreement and they must maintain and run their land themselves.

¹⁷ The Ministry of Lands and Resettlement was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section. Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the ministry.

Government receives an annual budget of N\$50 million for overall land reform as well as donor funding (sometimes) from the EU, GTZ and NNF to cater for land reform, and from that money N\$10 million is forwarded to Agribank to cater for loans of emerging farmers. An additional N\$10 million is available by the land bank for loan purposes, which brings the money for post-settlement support to N\$20 million per annum. However, only 1000 farmers can benefit from that amount per year.

Beneficiaries have to pay 5 percent market value of the farm for leasing; however the lease agreement came into force only in February 2009. Subleasing is not allowed unless a beneficiary applies to the minister, giving reasons, which are justifiable.

Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry¹⁸

The overall objective of the agricultural sector is “to bring the continued growth in agricultural income, in a sustainable manner, across the broadest possible socio-economic base”. Therefore, to implement this objective fully, the following areas need to be addressed:

- Provision of veterinary services.
- Assisting in the valuation of farms being offered for purchase as well as on-going monitoring and evaluation of existing resettlement farms.

¹⁸ The Ministry of Agriculture Water and Forestry was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.2.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the ministry.

- Provision of agricultural extension services and training.
- Support to cooperatives schemes.
- Identification of markets.
- Provision of water, installation, maintenance and servicing of water points (GTZ; 2006)

The new farmers are within the category of people that the ministry is supposed to serve but it is just another group of people coming in without an additional budget. The budget for extension services is between N\$100 million or N\$110 million per annum.

The budget for extension services covers all farmers be it communal, commercial and resettled farmers. The agricultural policy does not exclude commercial farmers from the services as it stipulates that the well-established farming sector has to be maintained, while it does not actually pronounce itself on resettlement beneficiaries.

Extension services mostly concentrate on communal farmers and only communicate with commercial farmers during measuring of a particular farm, mostly on request of the farmer. Just 1% of its time and services is spent on commercial farm compared to communal farms. The resettled farmers will be however included, officially in the new agricultural policy.

There are Agriculture Development Centres available in most parts of the country but it is not present in all constituencies, however, coverage is reasonable. Staff is also a limitation, as sometimes only one staff member is serving both communal and commercial farmers.

The vastness of Namibia is another challenge, as serving farming communities means a lot of travelling, as farms to be serviced are great distances from each other. Compared to resettlement farms, communal areas are easier to serve or give training to because everybody is situated in the same vicinity, whereas the resettlement farms are not in close proximity to each other as they are bought in different areas. Sometimes when extension officers travel to resettlement farms they might not even meet the farmer himself but only the labourer or only one farmer in a certain area. Skills are thus not transferred to the real beneficiary or the person who has to make use of the skills, the farmer him/herself. Some or about 62% of resettlement beneficiaries are weekend farmers, (Personal Communication, 2009) thus it means extension services do not reach most of the beneficiaries, as they do not work over weekends.

Limited or no orientation among new farmers, on resettlement land leads to a lot of conflict among beneficiaries, especially with grazing and water. No physical demarcation of allotments is done upon resettlement and people encroach into each other's space. A commercial farm in most cases catered for only one farmer and the infrastructure is such that it serves one farmer. However, with resettlement at least five people have to share this space. The MAWF blames the scenario on the ministry of lands, as it is its duty to demarcate and put physical fences between the allotments, in order for the beneficiaries to know where their allotment starts and ends.

Although maps of the allotments are provided to beneficiaries, not everybody can read a map, thus physical demarcations are required to solve the problem of encroachment. In such scenarios, the extension division has to try and solve the conflict, through negotiating with the farmers as they do not have the resources to put up fences for demarcation purposes.

There is a significant need for PSS in Namibia, and farmers need to get such support if they are to prosper. The Permanent Technical Team report (PTT, 2005) proposed what post-settlement support should be given and how it should be done. Extension services as part of post-settlement support should be given to settlers forever, because technologies are changing everyday and they need to get these trainings and new information.

Namibia Emerging Commercial Farmers Union (NECFU)

Members of the Namibia Emerging Commercial Farmers Union (NECFU) are owners of commercial agricultural land, those who lease agricultural land, part-time farmers, and retired farmers appointed by Farmers Associations, with experience. There are two types of emerging commercial farmers, those who bought their own land through the Agricultural Bank (Agribank), have title deed on the land and their rights and responsibilities are the same as those of established commercial farmers. However, farmers who got land through state-funded resettlement face many challenges, as they have no title deed while government aims to give them 99 year lease agreements. The lease agreements can however not serve as collateral to commercial banks, it can however be used as collateral for the Agribank through the recently established joint fund by the land's ministry and the land bank. Resettlement beneficiaries can use wildlife, provided they get permission from the ministries of lands and environment and tourism.

The average size of farms given to people is too small to make a living, especially if the envisaged farming typology is cattle farming. There is no set size for farms, pieces are different, some get a whole farm, and others are squeezed into subdivided portions of farms.

Under group resettlement many families are resettled on one farm with each allocated a few camps or camp. This makes it very difficult to practice rotational grazing and thus increases the farmer's vulnerability to drought and compounded soil degradation. Families with smaller herds of cattle should put their herds together to free up enough camps for rotational grazing. This will also help solve the problem of maintenance of water infrastructure and water provision, because all animals are now collectively dependent on it.

Activities mostly taking place is cattle farming, small livestock, while the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) beneficiaries practice crop farming. Resettlement beneficiaries are generally subsistence crop or animal farming farmers.

New commercial farmers need support such as skills and capacity building because subsistence farming that they had been practicing all along is different from commercial farming. They need hardware support such as money, equipment, tractors and a joint management approach. Government and development partners should provide post-settlement support to emerging farmers.

Government has the prime responsibility to provide adequate post-settlement support. Initially it was the responsibility of the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement but they want to get the Ministry of Agriculture Water and Forestry involved. The European Union only supports capacity building, skills training, which was good for a start. Skills and capacity building is good for a new inexperienced farmer. It does not help a new farmer getting equipment if he/she does not know how to use it. Most of the farmers need training as well as equipment and livestock.

Emerging Commercial Farmer Support Programme (ECFSP)¹⁹

The European Union-funded Emerging Commercial Farmers Support Programme (ECFSP) is mainly supporting farmers in capacity building but is of the opinion that farmers need more than just capacity building, such as access to credit.

Support that the ECFSP provides to farmers is farmer and information days, short courses on different farming topics, mentorship programmes with the help of established commercial farmers, producing training manuals, pre-settlement orientation courses, as well as major institutional support towards the farmers' unions. Pre-settlement orientation courses are however, only given after beneficiaries had been resettled already, factor that can be attributed to lack of coordination as ECFSP does not have the names of beneficiaries prior to their resettlement.

The ECFSP supports previously disadvantaged farmers but with the new phase the German Government who will take over support from the EU wants to include communal farmers in their support initiatives. The ECFSP however feels that the support that they provide is not sufficient, as they cannot reach all farmers.

The goal of the support programme is to improve farmers' income, while the main focus of the support programme is on individually resettled farmers, although group resettlement is not excluded.

¹⁹ The ECFSP was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.4.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the programme.

Namibia National Farmers Union (NNFU)²⁰

The Namibia National Farmers Union (NNFU) aims at increasing food production for food security, smooth marketing of farming production to increase household income, to increase participation of women in farming support programmes, environmental protection and encouraging the sustainable utilisation of natural resources.

The national federation for regional farmers' union runs an advocacy and lobbies programmes that aim to influence national policy on land reform, marketing, credit for farmers, government extension services and regional trade. (Personal Communication, 2006)

Namibia is divided into two farming areas, that of farming areas north of the cordon fence and farming south of the cordon fence. Farmers cannot move with their cattle when resettled in areas south of the cordon fence and have to sell their cattle and buy others from south of the cordon fence.

The veterinary cordon fence, commonly known as the 'red line', was erected in the early 1960s to separate the foot-and-mouth disease and contagious bovine pleuropneumonia-free zone areas of the south and the north - predominantly occupied by communal farmers.

Due to the separation, the furthest the meat from the northern communal areas can go is the South African market, while meat emanating from south of the

²⁰ The NNFU was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.5.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the NNFU.

veterinary cordon fence, which is also regarded as the commercial farming area, is exported overseas. (Tjaronda, 2008)

In some cases, farmers are reluctant to sell their livestock and never occupy the land that was allocated to them. There was an agreement or talk that government would subsidise the sale of new animals for these farmers but nothing has come of it.

If government was in the dark about what sort of PSS it should provide to new farmers, while its own Permanent Technical Team (PTT) report provided a blueprint for land reform, such as the type of PSS that new farmers should be provided with and many other recommendations that the PTT provided with regard to land reform in the country.

It is imperative that farmers are given support after resettlement in order to start their farming activities and get into business.

For a start land beneficiaries are not given lease agreements but only notices, stating that they were allocated the land and should occupy the land, while no pre-settlement orientation is given to the new land owners. Farm infrastructure is damaged by the time beneficiaries occupy the land and no maintenance or proper maintenance is done by government and beneficiaries have to struggle on their own.

There is no formal, well-structured post-settlement support programme spearheaded by the custodian (government/MRL) in place. The only initiatives that are present are from the non-State actors, such as the farmers' unions and the donor community.

The Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU)²¹

The NAU supports the willing buyer/willing seller (WBWS) mechanism and also the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme where the title deed is registered in the name of a single farmer (or company or entity). This gives the owner access to credit and also encourages him/her to maintain infrastructure and use the land optimally in order to pay back his/her loan, etc. Unfortunately the resettlement program did not make provision for this and the land became communal land with all its negative effects, although the situation is busy changing.

Established farmers are of help to emerging farmers as can be witnessed by all the efforts that established farmers put into the Emerging Commercial Farmers Support Program (ECFSP) which was initially an initiative from the established commercial farmers. This program, sponsored by the EU and other donors with N\$10 million will hopefully continue due to its success.

Commercial agricultural practices are new to most of the resettlement and emerging farmers. Due to the complexity of commercial farming, it would be disastrous if these farmers do not get any support and are left out in the cold.

Contrary to what the PTT report states, the NAU is of the opinion that the only support historically advantaged farmers (pre-independence commercial white farmers) received was the minor lower interest rates at AgriBank. However, in the

²¹ The NAU was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.6.) Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the NAU.

1960's and 1970's there was some support in terms of the Agricultural Credit Scheme administered by the Administration of Whites at the time. (PTT, 2005)

The NAU is not in favour of expropriation as it has got a negative expression in the world. Investors might be scared and would judge Namibia according to its expropriation policy and the economy might be affected. The union therefore suggests that programs are put in place were more land becomes available through the willing buyer/willing seller program rather than expropriation. So far, only five farms have been expropriated to date, and according to the NAU, it is not clear what the criteria of expropriation are.

Agricultural Bank of Namibia (Agribank)²²

Based on the recommendations of the Permanent Technical Team (PTT) on Land Reform's study, the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement decided to start giving post-settlement support to resettlement beneficiaries. The ministry and the Agricultural Bank of Namibia have signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on 12 February 2009 to set aside an amount of N\$10 million each, for a period of three years. Through the fund resettlement beneficiaries can access loans and utilise their units potentially.

The eight member Joint Technical Committee, (JTC) appointed will serve as official platform of communication, exchange and feedback between the parties. Members are appointed from the ministries of lands, finance, agriculture, and a representative of the emerging farmers.

²² Documents of the Agricultural Bank were studied and everything under the section (4.1.8) is attributed to that information bank.

The loans are tailored to meet important financing needs to cover production requirement, credit, and other related services that include the handling, manufacturing, packing, processing, storage, transport and/or marketing of agricultural products. It would also enable beneficiaries to pay for agricultural inputs for cash crops (grain and vegetables), annual and perennial crops, livestock and any other farming cost.

The maximum loan amount will not exceed N\$200, 000 per borrower, while the exact amount of the loan will be determined by the bank based on genuine requirements and cash flow of the applicant. The interest rate for all product types would be four percent.

German Technical Cooperation (GTZ)²³

The German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) is the implementing agency or the technical arm of the German government supports land reform in Namibia because of the negotiations between the two governments of Namibia and Germany. Natural Resource Management is the broader area that the GTZ is focusing on but specifically zooming in on land reform.

The GTZ works with farm unions, give them support in mentorship programmes, training manuals and workshops. The main aim is to support the Joint Presidency Committee of the farmers' unions, which consists of the Namibia Agricultural

²³ The GTZ was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.8.)
Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the NAU.

Union, Namibia National Farmers Union, and the Namibia Emerging Commercial Farmers Union. It supports land reform beneficiaries as well as communal farmers with the registering of communal land rights.

Farmers need PSS because they do not have commercial farming management skills. They however, do not only need training but farm infrastructure, access to production assets, such as machinery and access to credit. In future, part of income from land tax will be used for farm infrastructure rehabilitation. The support that GTZ provides is not sufficient as the budget is limited.

Namibia Nature Foundation²⁴

The primary aims of the Namibia Nature Foundation (NNF) are to promote sustainable development, the conservation of biological diversity and natural ecosystems, and the wise and ethical use of natural resources for the benefit of all Namibians, both present and future.

The NNF is a non-governmental organisation, not-for-profit, established under a Deed of Trust as a charitable and funding institution of a public character, with an independent Board of Trustees. The organisation is funded by the USAID.

The nature foundation went into partnership with the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement, in 2003 until 2008. The programme's goals were to support a

²⁴ NNF was interviewed and their comments were summarised under this section (4.1.9.)

Everything stated under this section is thus attributed to the NNF.

Namibian-led approach through the ministry to address and strengthen the sustainable land reform process to achieve Namibia's development goals. The objectives of the programme were to apply and test different support approaches for resettlement as pilot initiatives and to build capacity and skills of the emerging Land Boards and resettlement farmers.

At national level the NNF gives or has given institutional support to the Permanent Technical Team on Land Reform, such as field surveys of resettlement farms, regional and international surveys on Land Reform, as well as policy development on land reform in Namibia. Capacity building was provided for staff members of the ministry of lands, in statistical and data management for land administration and purchase of the software package.

At regional level the NNF have trained members of the Land Boards on sustainable development and environmentally sound decision-making. At project level the organisation, strengthened skills of beneficiaries to be able to manage the farms productively to improve their living standards, by giving them training on livestock management, dry crop production, vegetable gardening, bee keeping, water resources management, financial management, project management, para vets training, team building, how to run committees, creation of partnerships between government departments, private sector, non-governmental organisations, local communities and the resettled farmers.

The NNF is also instrumental in advocating off-farm activities for resettlement beneficiaries. Off farm activities that the NNF promoted were brick making and laying, welding, carpentry, plumbing and pipe fitting, sewing, craft and glass recycling. Feasibility studies on cultural tourism and aquaculture were done, in order to consider other land use options and investments.

According to the NNF, close to N\$ 30 000 were raised during the mentorship, through income generating projects such as brick laying welding, sewing, to mention but a few. The money was raised at five resettlement projects where the NNF was involved, within two months time.