THE PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF LAND RELOCATION IN THE BUKALO AREA

by

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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 sole author thereof (safe to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

The imbalances of Namibia’s landownership which existed before its independence where the minority (whites) owned a larger portion of land as compared to the majority (blacks), was addressed by the new government. As a result, the black population has been given the right to own land.

It is however important to note that land redistribution in Namibia had been at a slow pace even after 24 years of independence. Land imbalances caused by political resistance resulted in the forceful power over the landless and dispossessed citizens of Namibia. There was a lack of independent land assessments and a monitoring programme, as well as an absence of baseline data to assess resettlement. After independence, in 1990, the government of Namibia promised to transfer land to the landless and it was made part of The Constitution stating that such land “will never be taken from the landowners without compensation”. National compensation guidelines for communal land were therefore endorsed for the relocation process. The responsibility of land allocation is vested in the traditional authorities of Namibia.

The study focuses on the perceptions and experiences of land relocation in the Bukalo area. The study aims at finding out whether the people of Bukalo were satisfied with the compensation received for their properties as they relocated and whether they were satisfied with the relocation process. For the purpose of this study, it was hypothesized that: H1= the majority perceived the government’s compensation on land relocation to be unfair, H2= the majority did not want to move out of the area and H3= the majority did not see the relocation as beneficial. The objectives of the study was to examine the literature on land relocation and to evaluate the perceptions of land relocation by people in the Bukalo area - in other words to reveal how the beneficiaries are adapting to the relocation, to understand the achievements and shortcomings of land relocation in the Bukalo area, to find ways and means to address the anomalies for future relocations elsewhere, and to inform policy formulation with regard to future relocations.

A mini survey, questionnaires and interviews were used to gather data. The relocation process at Bukalo has been tangled with challenges, such as lack of information and coordination, which led to the relocates making uninformed decisions that they regretted. Cases gathered through the
literature indicated that many land relocations were not successful due to a lack of funds. Bukalo case was not an exception in that there was a lack of funds to compensate the relocates who had to wait for many years before they were relocated. People were also not informed about the compensation prices used and the relocation process, especially the clause that stated that the affected communities had the right to keep two plots from their ancestral land. The relocatees were not involved in the whole process and felt the government chased them from their ancestral land.

Government realized the need of developing Bukalo into a town. There was a need therefore to compensate people prior to such developments, since people were set for relocation. The intention was to bring the services closer to the Bukalo people and improve their living conditions. However, it is evident through the findings that the people were not willing to relocate not only in Bukalo but also elsewhere in Namibia due to unfair compensation procedures. Promises made before relocations were never met.

A number of recommendations are provided to improve the implementation of the relocation programme and to correct anomalies for future relocations. The recommendations provided could contribute towards resolving policy imbalances with regard to land relocation and compensation in Namibia. It is therefore important to realize that the driving hypothesis of this study was met as it assumed that the “majority perceive the government’s compensation on land relocation to be unfair”.
OPSOMMING

Die ongelykheid in grondbesit in die land Namibië voor die aanvang van sy onafhanklikheid waar die Blanke minderheid ’n groter deel van die land besit het in vergelyking met die Swart meerderheid, het daartoe geleë dat die regering die leiding geneem het in grondverdeling om die Swart bevolking die reg te gee om grond te kan besit.

Dit is nietemin belangrik om aan te dui dat grondderverdeling in Namibië teen ’n slakkepas selfs na 24 jaar van onafhanklikheid geskied. Grondwanbalanse wat deur versetpolitiek veroorsaak is, het daartoe geleë dat die grondlose en onteiende burgers van Namibië hulle onder die magsbeheer van kragtige strukture bevind het. Daar was ’n gebrek aan onafhanklike grondassesserings- en ’n moniteringsprogram, asook ’n databasis om hervestiging te asseseer. Na onafhanklikheid in 1990 het die regering van Namibië belowe om grond oor te dra aan die grondloses wat deel was van die Grondwet en dit het aangedui dat sulke grond nooit van die grondeienaars sonder vergoeding geneem sal word nie. Nasionale vergoedingsriglyne vir gemeenskaplike grond was dus neergelê om gedurende die hervestigingsproses te geld. Die verantwoordelikheid van grondtoekenning berus by die tradisionele owerhede in Namibië.

Die studie fokus op die persepsies en ervaringe van grondhervestiging in die Bukalo-gebied. Die studie het ten doel om uit te vind of die mense van Bukalo tevrede is met die vergoeding wat hulle vir hulle eiendomme ontvang het toe hulle hervestig is en of hulle met die hervestigingsproses tevrede is. Vir die doel van hierdie studie is dit gehipotiseer dat: H1 = die meerderheid die regering se vergoeding vir grondhervestiging as onbillik ervaar het, H2 = die meerderheid nie uit die gebied wou trek nie en H3 = die meerderheid nie die hervestiging as bevorderlik gesien het nie. Die doelwitte van die studie is om die literatuur oor grondhervestiging te ondersoek en om die persepsies van grondhervestiging van die mense in die Bukalogebied te evalueer, m.a.w. om te openbaar hoedat die lotgevalle aangepas het by die hervestiging, om die suksesse en tekortkominge van grondhervestiging in die Bukalogebied te verstaan, om maniere uit te vind om die ongerymdhede te korrigeer sodat hervestiging in die toekoms vermy kan word en om die basis vir beleidsformulering m.b.t. toekomstige hervestiging te skep.
’n Mini-opname, vraelyste en onderhoude is gebruik om data te versamel. Die hervestigingsproses by Bukalo is ineengestrengeld met uitdaging, soos die gebrek aan inligting en koördinering wat daartoe geleë het dat die onteiendes oningeligte besluite gemaak het wat vir baie jare gewag het voordat hulle hervestig is. Die literatuur maak melding van gevalle wat vir baie jare gewag het voordat hulle hervestig is. Mense was nie ingelig omtrent die vergoeding en die hervestigingsproses nie, veral die klousule wat aandui dat die geaffekteerde gemeenskappe die reg gehad het om twee erwe van hulle voorouergrond te behou. Die onteiendes was nie betrokke in die proses wat hulle van hulle voorouergrond ontneem het nie en hulle gevolglik laat voel het asof hulle van grond weggejaag is.

Die regering het die behoefte identifiseer om die dienste nader aan die Bukalo mense te bring en om hulle lewensomstandighede te verbeter en Bukalo as dorp te ontwikkel. Daar was dus ’n behoefte om mense te vergoed voordat sulke ontwikkelings plaasvind, aangesien mense gereed gemaak was vir hervestiging. Uit die bevindinge is dit duidelik dat die mense nie gewillig was om te hervestig nie, nie net in Bukalo nie, maar ook elders in Namibië, weens die onbillike vergoedingsprosedure. Beloftes wat voor die hervestigings gemaak is, is nooit nagekom nie.

’n Aantal aanbevelings is gemaak om die implementering van die hervestigingsprogram te verbeter en om die onreëlmatighede vir toekomstige hervestigings uit te skakel. Die aanbevelings wat verskaf is, kan bydra tot die oplossing van politieke ongelykhede met betrekking tot grondhervestiging en -vergoeding in Namibië. Dit is dus belangrik om te besef dat die beweegrede agter die hipotese van hierdie studie bereik is, deurdat dit aangetoon is dat die meerderheid mense die regering se vergoeding op grondhervestiging as onbillik beskou het.
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my dearest husband “Hebert Mbala Musialela” who passed on during my data analysis. His unending support made me work hard and encouraged me. His deepest memories will forever remain. May the angels protect you in heaven, till we meet again.
# Table of Contents

DECALRATION ............................................................................................................................. i  
ABSTRACT .................................................................................................................................... ii  
OPSOMMING ............................................................................................................................... iv  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ........................................................................................................... vi  
DEDICATION ............................................................................................................................... vi  
LIST OF Tables .............................................................................................................................. x  
GLOSSARY OF TERMINOLOGY .............................................................................................. xi  

CHAPTER ONE ............................................................................................................................. 1  
1. Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 1  
1.1 Background ........................................................................................................................... 1  
1.2 A Mini-survey ....................................................................................................................... 7  
1.3 Problem Statement ................................................................................................................ 8  
1.4 Research Questions ............................................................................................................... 9  
1.5 Research Objectives .............................................................................................................. 9  
1.6 Research Hypothesis ............................................................................................................. 9  
1.7 Outline of the thesis............................................................................................................. 10  

2. LITERATURE REVIEW ......................................................................................................... 11  
2. Introduction ........................................................................................................................... 11  
2.1 Theoretical Framework of the study ................................................................................... 11  
2.2 Key Research Concepts....................................................................................................... 12  
2.3 Global Perceptions on Land Relocation and past settlement .............................................. 24  
2.4 Land Relocation Concepts .................................................................................................. 25  
2.5. Types of Land Relocation ................................................................................................. 25
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.6. International cases of relocation</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7 Land Relocation in the Context of Africa</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER THREE</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. LAND RELOCATION IN THE NAMIBIAN CONTEXT</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Background</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 The Namibian Cases on Land Relocation</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Legal Perspective: Land relocation in Namibia</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4. The Case Study: Bukalo Area</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Developments in the Bukalo area</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER FOUR</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Problem Formulation and Research Questions</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2. Research Design</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3. Qualitative Research Approach</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4. Research Methodology</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5. Process and Methods in Literature Review</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6. Process and Methods in Case Study</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7. Data collection Procedure</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8 Discussion of Findings from fieldwork</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9 Discussions of Findings from the Council staff</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10 Discussion of Findings from the Local Leaders</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11. Conclusion</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER FIVE</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The category in which the respondent falls</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gender of respondents</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Education of respondents</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Satisfaction with process</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Does this household have livestock?</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Source of subsistence or Bukalo residents</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Years lived in Bukalo</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Number of houses per household</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Development ratings at Bukalo</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Leaders’ involvement</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Council’s support</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. VDC</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. VDC roles</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Relocation procedures</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Existing laws</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Preference on the form of compensation</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Development ratings at Bukalo2</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Annexure figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annexure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Illegal diamond diggers in Chidzwa before the army moved in</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Wadzanai Moyo sits outside her home soon after being relocated</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bukalo Village Council</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bukalo Town land</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bukalo Area Satellite image</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mukena’s village</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Open air museum to be compensated</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Shambwe’s village</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kwenani’s village</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Simasiku’s village</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Map</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Satellite image</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Satellite image</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Satellite image</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Village council under construction</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Bukalo Filling Station</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Streets under construction</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Mass Housing at Bukalo</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Housing at Bukalo</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Mass Housing</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Bukalo Open Market</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Graveyard close to Shambwe’s village</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Growing vegetation</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Cattle grazing</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY OF TERMINOLOGY

**Animal Husbandry**—“is the science of looking after and breeding animals specifically those that are used in agriculture, to provide products for research purposes or as domestic pets”.

**Bourgeoisie**—refers to those who own means of production; people between the very wealthy class and the working class, property owners and businessmen.

**Culture Stress**—“is the stress that occurs when a person changes to a different way of living in a new environment, normally caused values, communication, temperament, entry- re- entry, multinational teams, children and too much personal involvement in culture”.

**Pastoralism**—“is the branch of agriculture concerned with the raising of livestock. It is also a successful strategy in supporting population on less productive land and adapts well to the environment”.

**Proletariat**—“refers to individuals who have nothing to offer but their labour power with no means of production”.

**Transhumance**—“is the seasonal movement of people and livestock with fixed summer and winter stations/ pastures”.

**Redistribution-Land redistribution**—“refers to the division of large tracts of land into smaller ones. Such reforms are undertaken to bring about equitable apportionment of agricultural land”.

**Reform**—“means the improvement or amendment of what is wrong, corrupt or unsatisfactory”.

**Relocation**—“refers to the action of transferring an area’s place of operation from one physical location to another”.

**Resettlement**—“refers to the movement of a large group of people from one region to a large another, often a form of forced migration by state policy or international authority”
CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

The chapter presents the background of the study which encompasses the historic issues on land reform in Namibia before and after independence. A mini survey is also presented in this chapter. It also pinpoints the issues of rural development, relocation and compensation. Other important aspects such as the problem statement, research questions, research objectives, research hypothesis and the outline of the thesis are also discussed in this chapter.

1.1 Background

The land question has been at the centre of African politics since the last colony became independent. This also holds true for Namibia, for which independence came as a result of a protracted struggle for independence. Namibia’s focus on land reform has been on the national agenda even before the country attained its independence, i.e. starting already in the 1970’s with SWAPO (South West Africa People’s Organization), in exile, as they were fighting for the nation’s freedom. The liberation movement already then focused on the issue of land reform. Political parties and institutions which remained in the country also made the land issue a priority. Consequently, a programme on land reform was developed (Wolfgang, 2001:4).

In the mid-1970s the United Nations in Zambia formed the United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN). The Institute was aimed at preparing the Namibians in exile for independence. The institute formed several research and teaching divisions. One such division was the Agricultural and Land Resources Division. This division undertook research in four areas:

- Land reclamation and development
- Conversions of ranches and native reserves previously owned by whites
- Existing livestock and future possibilities and
- Existing and future tillage possibilities

(Wolfgang, 2001:2).

In 1979 UNIN formulated policy options for Namibia that paved a way towards Agrarian reform to focus on National reconstruction and development. The policy options were as a result of the study undertaken by Mshonga, the then Deputy General Manager of the Agricultural and Rural
Development Authority (ARDA) in Zimbabwe. The Namibian study revealed that the land ownership in Namibia was dualistic in nature, thus freehold vs. non-freehold (Wolfgang, 2001:4). Suzanne (2011:1) explains ‘freehold’ as the absolute ownership of both the property and the land on which the property stands. In this case there is no time limit with regard to the period of ownership. On the other hand, ‘leasehold’ is when one owns the property (normally a flat) rather than the land where such a property stands for a fixed term and then reverts to the owner upon lease expiry. It was recommended that the government of Namibia should play a key role in correcting the land imbalances. Mshonga suggested that inequalities in land repossession and redistribution under freehold tenure in Namibia could be dealt with effectively if the state controls, regulates, allocates and marshals all resources for land equity (Wolfgang, 2001:2).

The UNIN study then suggested that for the ranches in the southern and central Namibia to be viable and efficient they had to be turned into state farms or co-operatives which would be used to empower the landless and produce enough food for the nation. The study also indicated that the government preferred the state run farms instead of privately owned leases as the government could have the direct authority to control such farms and promote food security. In the Northern parts of Namibia, small-holder farms were seen as an option. As such, freehold tenure was seen to be an unsuitable land tenure option as it would allow minimal state control. Thus, leasehold tenure was then opted for post-independence in a free Namibia. With the leasehold system in place, the government owned land on behalf of people and whoever had to use the land needed a requisition from the state. This was to give the state total control over land and avoid land compensation (Wolfgang, 2001:5).

Rural development at the time was believed to be effective if co-operative farming was to be considered. Wolfgang, (2001:3) states that “[c]o-operatives were characterized as higher forms of political and economic organization in which the means of production were owned and utilized to benefit the community at large”. Private cooperatives were proposed where individual land owners ‘pool’ their land. However, this matter was critiqued by Aulakh in 1989 in a UNIN study. This study was based on FAO (Food Agricultural Organization), where it was claimed that in Africa there had not been notable success in production by pastoralists. As a result, it was suggested that individual ownership of land was important, whereby farmers could collectively cultivate and increase food production.
After UNIN analyzed all such studies, it realized that it was of importance to use Zimbabwe’s Models ‘A, B and C’. According to Juana (2006:297), Model A scheme, referred to as the ‘intensive re-settlement on individual family basis where by the settler families were allocated into residential stands and acquired land of about five (5) hectares for arable and communal grazing purposes. For this model, land was acquired by the state, apportioned into plots and redistributed to the individuals and communities’. It was Zimbabwe’s major scheme in land reform policies implementation. Model B scheme referred to “a model of co-operative farming, where Zimbabwe aimed to assisting farmers to share resources and become established farmers. The model allowed the governments to take over existing large commercial farms owned by white farmers. This model did not materialize as the schemes did not survive for long. Model C scheme referred to “state farm with outgrowers whereby commercial estate or processing facility and the settler farmers were required to be outgrowers while their beneficiaries were re-settled around a core estate providing the estate with labour and receiving estate services”. The model was not, however, implemented. Model D scheme was referred to “commercial grazing for communal areas”. The model was implemented as commercial ranches were purchased to develop livestock. When all these deliberations were taking place, they had to think of what would happen if white farmers could not respond positively to the new government. They believed that if white farmers were to leave the country, then the pace of land reform would speed up. They also considered compensating the white farmers in case they did not prefer leaving the country. Despite that, they also knew that such a nationalization programme could face “stiff” resistance. UNIN’s agrarian reform plan focused on socialist transformation with the state taking a central role in all agrarian reforms and ownership of all factors of production (Wolfgang, 2001:3).

However, SWAPO and UNIN believed that it was of great importance to widen the commercial black farmers’ access to freehold land in order to attain a sound socio-economic and political reform. A black middle class was to be developed with the right as a black population to own land in urban and rural areas. The main reason for this was to uplift the living standards of black people that constituted more than half of the Namibian population. In the mid-1960’s under the Odendaal Commission, the recommendations were basically to develop the black Namibian population. Native reserve farmers known as the ‘small minority farmers’ were to be developed into a class of wealthy commercial farmers. In the 1970’s and 1980’s, due to the official
surveying and closure of communal pastures in the eastern and northern parts of Namibia, land relocation began (Odendaal Commission, 1960; Likuwa 2014:609).

Furthermore, by 1982 and 1984 the development conferences under the Directorate of Development Coordination reviewed development policies in order to analyze political demands of the time. Consequently, by 1987, the National Development Strategy of South West Africa (SWA, 1987) was developed to render full support to the guidelines of the Odendaal Commission. As a result, the “customary tenure systems were eventually changed into private ownership of land mainly for high productivity and more efficient utilization of production factors”. It was believed that communal land ownership could not improve the quality of life and the Namibians’ welfare. The Commission’s recommendations were then used by the interim government in the policy that was formulated. Customary tenure at the time would build a sound socialist society that focused on mutual respect, co-operation and responsibility. Due to these considerations customary tenure systems continue to operate in Namibia. In 1992, the Local Authorities Act Legislation was passed in order to manage the allocation of land (Odendaal Commission, 1960) (Likuwa 2014:609).

After independence in 1990, the legislation and policies on land reform were shaped by land reform concepts developed by freedom fighters in exile and the state played a central role of identifying, allocating and purchasing of land. The state’s role also was to plan, allocate and select settlers. The Land Reform Act of the Namibian government (Act no: 5 of 2002) makes provision for the ownership rights of land allocated by state. The settlers’ support is provided by the state through the Ministry of Lands. Each resettlement scheme has a manager appointed by government. By rule, freehold farm settlers were not allowed to participate in selecting farms “for acquisition and planning as well as management of resettlement projects” (Malan 2002:9).

The pace of land reform, particularly redistribution and resettlement, has been slow due to the fact that policy statements on land reform, poverty alleviation and development are “ambiguous”, as well as imbalances in political assertion due to many leaders not wanting to be removed from power. Dispossession in Namibia was only done to the pastoralists, while transhumance communities in the northern regions were unaffected. However, the colonial policies made it hard for those regions who were not dispossessed to move across their boundaries and made it difficult for the realization of redistributive land reform by the
communities and the ruling party, SWAPO. The politicians’ main concern then was only to provide water to such communities. It is also argued that the dispossession was unfairly done, since the majority of those not dispossessed are members of SWAPO. This also further complicated the redistribution process (Werner, 2000:9).

Restitution of ancestral land, according to the 1991 National Conference, was not agreed upon as the politicians believed that it could be unfair for someone to come after a few years and claim that a particular land was his or her ancestral land. The National Council in 2000 rejected a Communal Land reform Bill that was crafted by the National Assembly. This restricts communities to their allocated grazing land. The state felt that by doing so, power for property rights would mean power to land allocation by the communities. Politicians felt that it was not advisable to give traditional leaders land redistributive power (Werner, 2000:9-10).

Twelve years after independence in 2001, only two assessments on resettlement were carried out. One of the studies on resettlement projects was carried out in 1998 by a group of post-graduate students (NAPCOD, 1998). The second study on resettlement operatives was commissioned in 2000 by the Directorate of Co-operatives in the then Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MAWRD), (Werner, 2000). Analysis for the two studies showed that there were no objective evaluations of the land reform and resettlement programme. According to Werner (2000), a monitoring unit in the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation was established to bring objectivity. The main problem with the unit was that its activities to resettlement projects were limited and the progress of settlers in the allocated portions of freehold land were not monitored. Since the inception of such schemes, there has been absence of baseline data and records that hampered all attempts to assess resettlement.

Resettlements in Namibia started with cooperative schemes. There was a lack of settler selection which compromised the success of such schemes. Evicted settlers from commercial farms were also beneficiaries of the resettlement schemes. Resettlement projects were seen as a means to deal with multiple caseload needs “resulting from serious social problems of a national nature”, such as landless war returnees, unemployed, former farm workers and the San (Werner, 2000:6).

Suitable criteria for selecting settlers were not used and this made it difficult for the resettlement process as far as the socio-economy and socio-psychology of settlers are concerned. The process
mainly became social welfare projects with the mandate of the provision of free accommodation and food. However, settlers still felt that the intended purpose of such resettlement projects had not been effective or achieved. It was also observed that settlers are mainly illiterate and sometimes do not understand the need of resettlement projects. There has been a concern of the settled people, as the nature of the resettlements increased dependence on government to provide services and inputs. Training is important, therefore it could be of importance if the government advises and trains them how to manage their own farming in the new and demanding resettlement locations. However, research reveals that there was little co-operation and coordination among ministries responsible for resettlement and agricultural services at the national, regional or local levels, as well as a lack of political will. With reference to the White Paper on Resettlement Policy (RON, 1997:6), the problem of over dependency on the state by settlers was articulated and it was stated that after the first five years of resettlement, settlers are expected to be self-supporting. Not all agrarian reform projects managed to achieve this, since many projects have been dependent on government for more than 10 years (Werner, 2000:8).

Through the decentralization process the issue of land resettlement through relocations for developmental purposes begun after Namibia’s independence in 1990. When SWAPO, Namibia’s ruling party since independence promised to transfer land to those without land it was written in the Constitution that land or citizens’ properties will never be taken without compensation. Development in itself has both negative and positive implications and effects to the inhabitants of an area or country. The positive of it is that services are brought closer to the grassroots levels, whereas on the other side local people suffer if the procedures in such relocations are not done equitably. Local involvement and full participation should therefore be encouraged in order to address issues that affect the inhabitants.

The expectation for the government of Namibia to formulate a policy on land reform grew in the mid - 2000s when the Namibian Prime Minister addressed the issue. He confirmed that the principle of willing buyer and willing seller was to be married together with the principle of mandatory land acquisition designed to reclaim all land back to the hand of government with the intention to redistribute it to the landless Blacks.

This thesis therefore investigates the experiences and perceptions of land relocation in the Bukalo area by drawing upon own observations of community members and comparing the
findings derived from the literature review of other relocations in Namibia and other countries world-wide.

1.2 A Mini-survey

It was necessary to do a mini survey in order to gather factual, yet personal information on the situation in the Bukalo area. The information gathered probed feelings, opinions and ideas on the relocation and compensation of land issues.

A mini-survey was undertaken by the researcher with three respondents: one was someone who had been relocated and was happy to relocate, one was dissatisfied with relocation and the third was one of the council administrators involved in relocation processes. The one against relocation stated that life would never be the same as she observed those who were relocated some kilometers away from the settlement. Children of such families in both instances were suffering as they had to walk long distances to school, to the health centre and open market. As a matter of fact there are difficulties in the acquisition of basic services. She also stated that she was bothered by what would happen to the graves when the affected communities will relocate as some used to burry close to their villages. She indicated that there was a graveyard that seemed to have been abandoned as those who stayed at that village were already relocated.

However, the second respondent expressed her appreciation and thanked her Government for decentralizing development to rural Bukalo and that the compensation was fair enough. She believed that the programme in its entirety is not a bad idea but the ideal situation should be that an approach be introduced that would not bring chaos, and that compensation should be fair in a sense that the structures that the people move to can be of a good standard or that they should at least build houses for them. Another ideal situation would be that fair prices be given to such plots that can enable the village owners to participate in buying such land. Fast tracking development and subsidized services could address some issues. She also stated that development of the said settlement is at a slow pace and a lot of money is being wasted on clearing both subserviced and serviced land.

According to the council administrator, there are challenges despite the developments that the project brought in Bukalo such as lack of a market. The other concern is lack of development that leads to a loss of revenue through debushing as the vegetation grows annually; he indicated
that de-bushing is done yearly. Grazing of domestic animals in the town land is also a major concern as herders graze their animals in the town land disturbing the council’s operations.

1.3 Problem Statement

The Government of Namibia realized the need to grant town status to most formerly underdeveloped settlements. Through the decentralization policy, the relocation programme had been thought to be crucial in bringing government and its vital services closer to the people. This process had been regarded as the best approach to rural development. However, despite such efforts, it is evident from the Legal Assistance Centre’s reports and the media that the process of Land Relocation became futile in the sense that people who are relocated are not well compensated for their ancestral villages. Some of those reports indicate that most people who are targeted for relocation resist relocation and some reported that they were moved against their will. The Regional, Town and Village councils strive for the success of its targets. It is, however, evident that many town councils in Namibia fail to fulfill promises made to its people before relocation. They tend to give empty promises of fair compensation and better services for all that do not materialize after people are convinced to relocate. The Bukalo resettlement is no exception.

Among other challenges, some people feel that the monetary compensation received from the government was not enough and some feel that they were robbed as some of the fruit-bearing trees were not compensated for. People feel moving with less money as compensation in the long run is not fair enough as they would be pushed far away to places without basic services such as food from local markets, schools for their children, potable water and access to health facilities. Land in the Zambezi (formerly Caprivi) Region is always fought for, making it hard for people who are relocated to find resettlement places that are closer to the basic services. Even if people were to find places closer to the settlement, the compensated money could still not be enough to sustain themselves as money is involved in acquiring such services.

The study therefore seeks to find out the procedural and management issues around the compensation policy in Bukalo relocation programme with particular attention to the perceptions and experiences by the people of Bukalo area, especially those who are affected by the resettlement programme. Furthermore, people can be ordered to relocate to any place of their
choice soon after being compensated and their homes are destroyed before they are able to build good structures at the new places of relocation. The researcher is interested in finding out if objectives and goals of the relocation programme were attained and, if not, what the main reasons were/are for such failures.

The purpose of the study is to assess and measure the extent of the impact of past land relocation projects on relocates. This will enable those involved with future relocations to know how to carry out successful relocations.

1.4 Research Questions

For the purpose of this study, there will be three questions that the study will be based on:

- What are the attitudes/perceptions of community members of the Bukalo Area on compensation received from the government over their ancestral land?
- What alternatives did the government put in place in case people who are relocated do not find land to resettle, given the heated land disputes in the Zambezi region?
- What are the guidelines followed in the relocation processes at the Bukalo Area?

1.5 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are to:

- examine the literature on land relocation.
- evaluate the perceptions of land relocation by people in Bukalo area.
- understand the achievements and shortcomings of land relocation in the Bukalo area.
- find ways and means to correct the anomalies to avoid in future relocation projects.
- create the basis for policy formulation with regard to future relocations.

1.6 Research Hypothesis

H1= the majority perceive the government’s compensation on land relocation to be unfair

H2= the majority do not want to move out of the area
H3= the majority do not see the relocation as beneficial

The revelation of the proven hypotheses will help as the basis for policy formulation with regard to future relocations.

1.7 Outline of the thesis

Chapter two will focus on the literature of the research topic. In chapter three the legislative context of the Namibian land relocation, as well as the Marxian perspective on development connected to dislocation, developmental importance of land relocation in Namibia, steps taken during land relocation, key challenges in land relocation, land relocation in the Bukalo area, groups to be relocated and groups successfully relocated will be analysed. Chapter four will focus on the research methodology. The research methodology will draw special attention to the research design, population, sample, instruments, and the data collection procedures. Chapter five outlines the analysis of the collected data and discussions. In chapter six the conclusions and recommendations will be stated.
CHAPTER TWO: 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Introduction

This chapter provides a review of literature on the land relocation process and experiences of the communities relocated locally and internationally. The researcher focuses on the compensation policy, as well as the procedures undertaken in land relocations. Socio-economic impacts on such relocations are looked at. This chapter seeks to provide an analysis of the effects and consequences, as well as the rationale behind land relocation. It starts with the theoretical framework of the study with a focus of the Marxian perspective, then the global perceptions on land relocation and past settlement projects. Land relocation concepts and impacts of land relocation are outlined.

2.1 Theoretical Framework of the study

The dynamics in a typical rural community are challenging because of the simplicity in rural life on the one hand and the complexity of resettlement initiatives that they become part of on the other hand. Different authors offer different theories and perspectives in trying to explain land relocation programs in communities the world over.

Marxian theory claims that class relations generate social effects. There are five (5) conceptual elements to a Marxian approach:

i. **Social relations of production** which entail that resources or factors of production such as land, raw materials, skills, information, and labour power should be deployed. In this manner there is a need for any process or programme, such as the Bukalo relocation programme to acquire, manage and deploy these factors of production to produce a desired output in this case, town development that is aimed at bringing services closer to the Bukalo people. This element allows for full participation and use of rights and powers of all participants involved those involved with the Bukalo issue, such as the government, traditional leaders and the community at large should be able to participate fully to attain an intended result (Eric 1999:6).

ii. **Class relations as a form of relations of production.** This refers to the unequal distribution of the rights and powers during the deployment of resources in production.
This implies that where there are unequal rights and powers then there should be unequal use and utilisation resources too. For the case of Bukalo it is therefore important for the government to bear in mind that the communities are availing their resources that they need to benefit from in the long run (Eric 1999:7).

iii. Variations in Class relations (referred to as slavery, feudalism and capitalism). This refers to the time when people owned the labour power of others. Such ownership is absolute “slavery”, or when the rights and powers are jointly owned by the labourer and someone else, e.g. “Feudalism” where the rights and powers are decomposed and redistributed. It is therefore important for those involved with Bukalo to share rights and responsibilities to avoid complex issues (Eric 1999:7-8).

iv. Class locations within class relations. Class locations refer to social positions that the individuals or families in a particular environment occupies. This element claims that some causes or processes brought about the combination of rights and powers over productive resources in a particular location. It is imperative for the programme of Bukalo to have specific rights and power for specific persons to allow transparency and accountability (Eric 1999:9).

v. Micro- and Macro- class analysis. These impacts on individuals. These elements entail that the micro-level of class analysis tries to understand the impacts a policy has on the individuals, while the macro-level of class analysis investigates the effects of a structure on states. It is therefore important for the programme at Bukalo to analyse the international capital constraints that land policies have on the states and its people to be able to come up with the best policy option favourable to the Bukalo people and the nation at large (Eric 1999:10).

2.2 Key Research Concepts

This section covers two areas of conceptualization namely: forced relocation and social vulnerability.

2.2.1 Displacement and relocation studies

Fernando (2004: 14) holds that populations may be displaced because of civil conflicts and war (i.e., conflict-induced displacement), natural and technological disasters (i.e., disaster-induced displacement) and large-scale infrastructure and other development projects (i.e., development-
induced displacement), such as the construction of highways, ports, airports, dams and reservoirs, etc. The resettling of these internally displaced populations either voluntarily (compulsory) or involuntarily (forced) into new settlements has become a concern for responsible governments. Fernando (2004:14) defines resettlement/relocation as physical movement of people to a new place to live other than the previous place. People can be moved into new settlements voluntarily or involuntarily irrespective of the reason for displacement.

2.2.2 Forced relocation

Turton defines forced relocation as “persons are forced to leave their homes or home lands for whatever reason and have been allocated specific areas for them to settle down in their own country with at least minimum resources and services to re-establish their lives” (Turton, 2006:13–14). The definition of the concept also includes those who resettled under government-sponsored programmes that use relocation as a method of rural or urban development or political control, Fernando (2004:15). Turton’s definition implies that forced relocation involves the use of political power to coerce one party to relocate the other party.

Forced relocates, usually have less chance of returning back to their previous place of residence and so the state needs to take the necessary steps to minimize the negative impacts of the relocation in order to improve their living standards, Fernando (2004:15). In practice, however, studies indicate that this rarely happens (Scudder, 2005:24). This is why Turton (2006) further argued that the forced resettlers’ situation is similar to or worse than that of refugees as they may end up alienated from their government.

2.2.3 Models on forced relocation

This section dwells on two conceptual models that deal with forced relocation.

2. 2.3.1 Thayer Scudder’s stress and settlement process

Thayer Scudder developed a multidimensional stress and settlement process model after conducting studies on forced resettlers (development-induced), (Scudder, 2005:25). This model discusses physiological, psychological and social-cultural dimensions of stress that resettlers have to grapple with. Fernando (2004:16) posits that multidimensional stress is especially prevalent during the physical removal of people from their settlements and in the years immediately following resettlement. Resettlers can overcome this, only if there is a successful implementation of resettlement processes or else resettlers have to experience stress for longer periods. Adding on to multidimensional stress, relocated communities have to pass through four different stages briefly discussed below.

**Stage one, planning and recruitment** – The stage entails activities relating to the pre-resettlement period, such as planning for the removal, rehabilitation and development of the people. For successful relocation, Scudder stresses the importance of early involvement of displaced people in the planning and decision-making process as he argues that the stress level of displaced people increases owing to various concerns such as uncertain future particularly when the time of their removal draws closer (Scudder 2005:25).

**Stage two, coping and adjustment** – This stage sets on as soon as the physical removal of communities for resettlement begins. According to Fernando (2004:17), it is considered the most painful stage as it may take a number of years, depending on the number of resettlers and the time taken to construct new settlements. During this stage, it is expected that the living standards of the majority of resettlers drops, as a result of multidimensional stress and the large number of adjustments that take place in order to adapt to the new environment, such as new neighbours, new economic activities, new expenses and the host population, Fernando (2004:17). Rapid development should not be expected during this stage. On the same note most government initiatives to assist resettlers to overcome their new life challenges may last for only short periods and may not assist with stages three and four, which are crucial for improving living standards.

**Stage three, community formation and economic development** – The majority of resettlers now want to invest in children’s education, small business and other assets during this stage. They now put focus on community-formation activities more often than not. To minimize over
dependence on the state, resettlers engage in collective activities at the community level and economic development at the household to improve living standards.

**Stage four, handing over and incorporation** – This concerns the integration of relocated populations and the second generation into the national economy. Scudder states the importance of continued improvement of the living standards of the second generation of resettlers in order to strengthen them politically and institutionally, and allow them to enjoy their national resources, Fernando (2004:17). These must be done to promote the sustainable development of the settlement.

Fernando (2004:18) argues that, in support to this theory, it sheds more light on the complex relationship that exists between economic, social and psychological dimensions of stress and highlights preconditions for a successful resettlement. Nevertheless weaknesses of Scudder’s model are discussed below.

The framework does not adequately deal with variations as it uses a large number of generalizations. One can argue that a wide range of behavioral variations and different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds are associated with the resettlement process rather than homogeneous groups assumed in Scudder’s model, Fernando (2004:18). Further, it also depends on the capabilities of the resettlers, that some may cope successfully with the multidimensional stress and other issues in each stage, and may move quickly to the next, while others will not. Others are of the idea that resettlers in a particular settlement may belong to different stages, which have not been identified by Scudder.

The second weakness is that Scudder is not precise on the stages that follow each another automatically. He does not give tangible reasons why resettlers transit from one stage to another, (Cernea, 2000:19). Countering on these drawbacks, Cernea introduced the IRR model, which is discussed below.

**2.2.3.2 Michael Cernea’s Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model for resettling displaced populations (IRR model)**

The IRR model also focuses primarily on the forced relocation of communities as a result of development projects. Cernea (2000:19) argues that displaced people have a risk of economic,
social and cultural impoverishment when they settle in new locations, and that managing the social actors engaged in resettlement and reconstruction, such as government officers, decision makers, social researchers and implementation agencies is very challenging.

Cernea (2000:19) stresses the applicability of this model as a planning and monitoring tool. The government must always acknowledge that most resettlers (whether rural, semi-urban or urban) have to confront similar social and economic risks that lead to impoverishment. There are eight possible risks for resettlers which are described below.

**Landlessness** – The forced seizure of people’s land without their consent destroys the foundation of productive systems, commercial activities and livelihoods, causing people to lose both artificial and natural capital, unless they receive land elsewhere and the productive system is reconstructed or replaced with steady income-generating activities, Fernando (2004:19). Similar to Scudder, Cernea (2000:19) also stresses the importance of decision makers consulting displaced people in order to get their input for each and every step of the resettlement process to avert resistance.

**Joblessness** – The risk of losing gainful employment as a result of resettlement is very high among both rural and urban populations. The marginalized landless labourers in the rural sector lose access to work on land owned by others while shopkeepers, craftsmen and others lose their small businesses. Creation of new employment, however, is difficult as it needs substantial investment. Resettlers end up losing their sources of income. This can only be overcome by creating more opportunities for resettlers to acquire more skills, financial assistance to start new income-earning activities using these skills and also to assist them to find employment (Cernea, 2000, in Fernando 2004:20).

**Homelessness** – Some resettlers have to remain in temporary shelters for longer periods of time until they obtain a permanent place to settle. When a family loses a household, it loses its cultural space which results in alienation and status deprivation. These risks can be avoided by adequate project financing and timely preparation, (Cernea, 2000, in Fernando, 2004:20). Displaced people need to resettle in standard quality accommodation, with adequate space, safer sanitation facilities and other community facilities such as roads.
One can safely argue that, it is important to develop the infrastructure and other services in advance before new settlers arrive.

**Marginalization** – Resettled families lose economic power and become marginalized in that they lose confidence in themselves and society, they drop in social status, have feelings of uncertainty, injustice and deepened vulnerability, Fernando (2004:20). The displaced are looked upon as strangers or outsiders in new locations and may fail to get equal access to the opportunities and entitlements the host community enjoys. The government and other implementation agencies are called upon to sensitize host communities so that they become accommodative.

**Food insecurity** – Displaced people can experience food shortages in new locations. This can increase the risk of temporary or chronic undernourishment which can weaken their bodies.

**Increased morbidity and mortality** – Massive population relocation can lead to serious declines in the health of resettlers as a result of relocation-induced social stress, psychological trauma and vector-borne diseases, Fernando (2004:21).

**Loss of access to common property resources** – Every community has common assets such as pastures, forest lands, burial grounds, water resources, etc. which determine their livelihoods. Whenever there is loss of access to common property resources, resettlers end up either encroaching on reserved forest or put pressure on the host community’s common property resources. This may cause social conflicts with the host community and land degradation.

**Social disarticulation** – Resettlement fragments communities, dismantles patterns of social organization, scatters interpersonal ties with kinsmen and disrupts informal networks with friends, neighbours, etc., Fernando (2004:21). This loss of social capital as a result of relocation may cause growing alienation, anomie and lower cohesion in family structure.

The main weakness of the IRR model is that it does not deal with the behaviour of resettlers as the key actors in resettlement, but dwells on various risks people have to cope with to overcome impoverishment. According to Fernando (2004:22), Scudder also gives credit to Cernea’s model, stating that it not only makes an attempt to study impoverishment risks systematically, based on
forced resettlement (development induced), but it also incorporates necessary resettlement policies to improve the living standards of resettlers.

Otherx advocate for an eclectic relocation model, combining the Scudder and Cernea models together and broadening them to formulate a powerful tool for planning and implementing the resettlement process. The two models will complement each other to overcome some of the criticisms leveled against each model.

2.2.4 Vulnerability and livelihoods security

It is important to explore how people exposed to risks such as poverty, conflict, natural hazards and climate change deal with them. According to Adger (2006:270), two major research traditions on vulnerability, namely vulnerability because of lack of entitlements and vulnerability because of natural hazards, “acted as seedbeds for ideas that eventually translated into current research on vulnerability’’.

Chambers, (1995, in Fernando 2004:22), defines vulnerability to mean not lack or want, but defenselessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress. Chambers beliefs vulnerability has two sides: an external side of risks, shocks and stress to which individuals or households are exposed to, and an internal side which deals with individuals or households capacity to successfully cope with risks, shocks and stress without damaging loss”(Chambers,1989:1). Thus, the fundamental components of vulnerability are exposure, capacity and potentiality.

Scoones (1998:5) posits that a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living”. Livelihood security can be understood as the internal side of vulnerability since it focuses on strategies and actions to overcome, or at least to reduce, the negative effects of risks, shocks and stresses created by the external side of vulnerability, (van Dillen, 2002: 4).

The thrust of governments is to reduce individual and household levels of vulnerability and enhance security to the lives of resettlers.
2.2.4.1. Sustainable livelihood perspective on vulnerability

To date, there is no well-developed theory and no consensus on the relevant indicators of vulnerability (van Dillen, 2002:64), but the sustainable livelihood framework provides some insight.

Various scholars approach sustainable livelihoods from different perspectives. Several studies use the term “livelihoods” in an economic sense, referring to people’s income-earning activities or employment opportunities (Carney, 1998). The livelihood framework, which can be used as a tool to improve our understanding of livelihoods attempts to present the main factors that affect people’s livelihoods and the typical relationships between these.

This approach deals mainly with access to coping resources or assets, namely models of access to assets, Fernando (2004:22) argues that if people control more assets they will have the potential capacity to cope successfully with risks, stress and shocks. Assets (human, social, natural, physical and financial) are the foundation for an individual’s or household’s livelihood. People’s livelihoods and their assets are fundamentally affected by critical trends, shocks and seasonality, over which they have either limited or no control. On the other hand, access to assets is also influenced by structures and processes, such as public and private institutions and organizations, policies and legislation, etc., that shape the livelihoods of individuals or households.

Depending on the vulnerability context, individuals or households consistently employ various strategies in order to adjust to the changing environment and asset portfolio, Fernando (2004:25). These strategies finally produce either positive livelihood outcomes or negative livelihood outcomes.

The above framework has a weakness in that it does not sufficiently address power inequalities and conflict of interest between and within communities. Furthermore, by equating “assets” with varieties of “capital”, it intellectually distorts the understanding of capital as well as the causes of poverty, Fernando (2004:25).
The concepts of assets, action (or livelihood strategies) and outcomes (security or vulnerability) are viewed from the internal side of vulnerability, while context shows the external side of vulnerability, Fernando (2004:26).

**Context** represents the external side of vulnerability where people’s livelihoods are affected, mainly owing to various shocks (health, natural hazards, epidemics, pollution, conflicts or forced relocation related), risks (unemployment, conflicts between host and resettled, disease or injury, violence, including domestic violence and criminal), trends (resource stocks, demographic, technological, political and economic) and seasonality (change of prices, employment opportunities, Fernando (2004:26). Inherent vulnerabilities, such as gender, caste, ethnicity, location of residence and occupation may also create risks for others.

Research evidence indicates that people’s possessed **assets** help them to secure their livelihoods from external shocks, stress and risks situations, (Chambers, 1989:5). Low assets may be an indicator of vulnerability and more assets may allow people to overcome vulnerability.

At all levels (household, community and society), available assets constitute a stock of capital, which can be stored, accumulated, exchanged or depleted and put to work to generate a flow of income or other benefits (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002, in Fernando, 2004:27).

There two broad categories of assets namely tangible (labour, food stocks, gold jewelry, cash savings, land, water and equipment) and intangible (household relationships). Assets can be used for different purposes such as resources to build a livelihood, influence livelihood decisions and also as a buffer to protect their livelihoods. The type, number and importance of assets vary according to contexts.

There are five most commonly used household assets (human, social, physical, financial and natural) in relation to the context of forced relocation. These are briefly discussed below.

**Natural capital** – Refers to resource stocks from which resource flows useful to livelihoods are derived namely land, water and other environmental resources, Fernando (2004:28). All people deriving their livelihoods from resource-based activities depend on natural capital. In relation to the context of the present study, it is important to explore how those to be relocated, particularly those who lived on fishing-related income-earning activities will earn a living elsewhere.
Physical capital – Physical capital includes assets such as housing, basic infrastructure (transport, energy, water and communication) and production equipment that people own, rent or use to engage in their livelihoods (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Farrington et al., 2002, in Fernando 2004:28). Public infrastructure (roads, community centers, bridges, etc.) are another important physical asset. Rakodi (1999, in Fernando, 2004:29) argues that developing infrastructure, particularly among poor communities, will improve their opportunities to diversify their economic activities, while improving the availability of productive equipment will enable small-scale entrepreneurs to increase their profits or get on with lucrative activities.

Financial capital – Refers to income from the sale of labour, which is one of the key assets that the poor people possess. Most rural people are involved in informal income generation to fend for their families. The informal sector consists of economic activities characterized by ease of entry into the activity concerned, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, small scale of operation, labour intensity and adapted technology, skills acquired outside the formal school system and unregulated and competitive markets”,( Gugler 1981:73).

Access to credit from formal institutions, such as banks, has remained limited for the poor. Therefore, their ability to take financial risks in order to diversify their income strategies is also limited. Sometimes they depend on informal money lenders who worsen their poverty (Rakodi, 1999, Fernando 2004:29).

Human capital – Human capital refers to the skills, knowledge, health and physical fitness of an individual at any point during their lifetime (Scoones, 1998, in Fernando 2004:29). Physically and mentally fit household members are vital assets in generating income for the family. Further, efficient human capital depends on adequate nutrition, health care and safe environmental conditions and the opposite for inefficient human capital.

It can be concluded that availability and access to health, education and other facilities is important to maintain the quality of household-level human capital, Fernando (2004:29).

Bourdieu (1998, in Fernando, 2004:31), who developed the concept of social capital, defined it as: “contacts and group memberships (in formal and informal organizations) which, through the accumulation of exchanges, obligations and shared identities, provides actual or potential support and access to valued resources”. Grant (2001, in Fernando, 2004:31) recognized social capital in relation to both horizontal relationships of social support between members of a community, family or a household, and vertical relationships between communities and institutions. Others define it in relation to livelihood as networks, memberships in community-based organizations, relationship of trust and reciprocity, and access to wider institutions in society on which people draw in search of livelihoods, Fernando (2004:31). It implies that social capital exists among personal relationships and is acquired through social networks. Social capital is both an asset for coping with shocks and an important source of mobility. In other words strong social capital helps communities to mobilize support to demand services and rights from their government.

However at the household level the ability to obtain assistance from relatives, peers and neighbours depend on number of factors, such as household composition and structure, the level of cohesion among family members, number of relatives, peers and neighbours in the network and strength of ties among the members (Zhao, 2002, in Fernando, 2004:31).

2.2.4.1.1 Actions: livelihood strategies in the context of forced relocation

The range and combination of activities people employ in order to achieve their livelihood goals are called livelihood strategies. Different categories of people develop and pursue different livelihood strategies based on their situation. Armed with indigenous knowledge, they manage different types of assets and transform them into income, food or other basic necessities. Short-term strategies, such as coping with shocks and managing risk, and longer-term aspirations of investing in education and income supporting projects. Livelihood strategies can be positive, which help households to become more resilient and less vulnerable, or negative, when they result in the further erosion and decrease of the asset base. It is also a process of failure and success in terms of the outcomes of these strategies. Researchers argue that the poor people employ negative livelihood strategies which further complicate their problems.

Two types of livelihood strategies, namely enhancement and coping, were identified in the existing literature and are relevant to the present study. They are discussed below.
Enhancement strategies – Enhancement strategies are synonymous with accumulation strategies, long-term coping strategies or resource-maximization strategies. The primary goal of enhancement strategies is to strengthen the asset portfolio of a household by managing the existing capital as well as investing in human, financial, social and physical capital, Fernando, (2004:33). Some enhancement strategies help to improve the status of the household and also encourage people to move up the ladder.

Coping strategies – These are household responses or strategies of coping behaviour or survival strategies. In short, coping refers to people’s short-term response to an immediate shock, risk or stress situation and such strategies are primarily applied after loss or damage in order to survive and recover from such situations (Bohle, 1999, in Fernando, 2004:33).

In relation to the Bukalo study, coping is defined as the ability of the displaced households to survive from various stresses and risks caused by involuntary relocation.

Researchers identify some of the specific ways in which people cope or survive a crisis namely; reducing or eliminating consumption; changes in eating habits, less consumption of luxury goods and activities, borrowing money without interest; working longer hours; postponement of medical treatment; postponing household repairs or improvements, withdrawing children from schools and others.

2.2.4.1.2 Coping capacities

Some individuals and households are more capable of coping with risks and stresses than others because of the quantity and value of different assets they have, access to assets and opportunities to turn them into sources of livelihoods, Fernando, (2004:34). Some people conduct a cost-benefit analysis before taking any coping and enhancement action or strategy.

2.2.4.1.3 Outcomes: security or vulnerability

Outcomes are the achievements gained as a result of employing various livelihood strategies in relation to a given vulnerability context. The positive outcomes may entail increased well-being, reduced vulnerability or increased food security, while the negative outcomes may entail food insecurity, increased vulnerability and decreased income.
2.3 Global Perceptions on Land Relocation and past settlement

The terms land relocation, and resettlement, redistribution and land reform will be used in this study. Relocation refers to the transferring of people (as a family or colony) to a new settlement as after an upheaval of some kind (Oxford Dictionary, 2012). It is also the redistribution of the rights in land for the benefit of the landless, tenants and farm borrowers (Adam 1995:1).

Globally, land relocation came as a result of the dire need to develop countries so as to do away with the imbalance of power which normally comes as a result of unfair land ownership patterns. The end of the Second World War marked the onset of a chain of land distribution initiatives in countries like Japan and South Korea which adopted the land- to- the- tiller model (Bruce, 1993:8). This model was designed to give tenants ownership of land on which they worked as tenants. These countries, as argued by Griffin et al. (2002:5), suffer from a common challenge of lack of arable land over dependence on tenancy rather than trying to own land. There was a notably and worrisome unequal distribution of land. The land that was given to such countries was arable and that became the main reason for land relocations.

Communist countries like Vietnam and China took a more robust approach. McMillan et al. (1989) and Lin (1992) concur that normally individual models of land tillage bear less crop yields than corporative models of cultivation, as was witnessed in Vietnam. To that effect, there was a move in the late 1960s to want to decentralize land ownership through land reform in Latin American Countries a move aimed at improving people’s lives by removing them from the Latifundia, which are large land estates (Griffin et al., 2002:7).

The fact that owners of land property took advantage of and exploited poor peasants and landless workers became the basis for land reform (Bernstein, 2002:3). Social movements and pressure groups led to uproars and rebellions, as well as various upheavals, and such actions became a trigger for land relocation. Zimbabwe, Russia and Nigeria were some of the cases in point where armed struggles led to the Agarian reform. The same took place in Peru in the 60s whereas Nicaragua and Nigeria were in the late 70s.

Mabuseta and Lori (2006:22) suggest that all large projects should be human centered and be able to directly be of great benefit to the communities affected. They believe that development projects must consequently uplift the livelihoods of the affected people and that people must
know their rights, and are able to gain access to the resources that would enable them to shape their future generation.

2.4 Land Relocation Concepts

Adams (2000:5) argues that among the recent approaches to land relocations comes the market assisted land relocation that has involved much participation of international donors. Deinninger, (1999:97) termed this concept as “negotiated land reforms voluntary land transfers negotiated between buyers and sellers, with the government’s role restricted to establishing the necessary framework for negotiation and making a land purchase grant available to eligible beneficiaries”.

The market based land reform (MBLR) is a type of land distribution. It is yet to be known whether this approach has more advantages than disadvantages. World bodies like World Bank and IMF seem to favour this approach due to compatibility with their economic policies (El Gohemy 1999: 6). This concept of land reform is based on the need to avoid top down state interventions, as well as promotion of land markets and general deregulation of the economy (Wegerif 2004: 6). The only drawback with this concept is that the landowners normally refuse to make way for the new relocations and that becomes the sticking point to land reform that is why the world bodies advocate for MBLR. Deinninger (2003: 124 - 126) further argues that enforcing maximum land holding sizes is difficult if not impossible. However, MBLR concept is more efficient in enhancing equitable distribution of assets. It is also liberalizing the agriculture sector so as to do away with disparities and distortions in many land and agricultural markets.

According to Ibrahim (2009:26), land policies are seen as conceptual frameworks that enable the government to decide on which directives are best for development and resource distribution. He also states that any country depends on land as an essential resource and thus governments always require ‘clear policy guidelines on all land issues to help them in their project planning and investment decisions as they relate to real estates’. A good example is that of Nigeria’s Land Use Act of 1978, which looked at equitable land redistribution within the country.

2.5. Types of Land Relocation

According to Reine (1998:7), there are three main types of relocation as stated in a Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples’ document (1996). They are the developmental,
administrative and voluntary or community-initiated relocations. Developmental relocation is always as a result of national development projects with an idea of improving the livelihoods of the affected communities or getting a way of constructing industrial areas. An example of this type of relocation took place in Canada when the Chemawawin Cree inhabitants relocated to Easterville to make a way for urban development, mining and hydroelectric projects though it led to delinquency in some cases. Some people who were relocated felt that they lost their birth rights upon relocation to Easterville. They also felt that they were betrayed with the $104 dollars that they were given as compensation. Some people can be relocated if the area is to be developed due to the contamination of any form of that particular environment. This form of relocation is associated with lack of support or totally no support from government to the relocators. (Reine 1998:7) explained that the use of environment and social impacts (EIA and SIA), improved the lives of the Aboriginal people. Community involvement is important as issues that affect people can easily be dealt with. It is therefore important for every authority responsible for relocation to carry out such assessments.

Administrative relocation refers to the way in which government operations are facilitated. With this type of relocation moves are made to allow people to have their needs addressed. The Aboriginal people were displaced during World War 1 that brought about a rise of welfare state. The government in Canada relocated the Aboriginal people in order to address this by rendering services, such as education and health services (Reine 1998:9). However, the relocations which were done with a purpose of addressing people’s needs made the lives of the affected people worse than before, since they were not part of the decision-making process.

The third type of relocation as stated by Reine is the Voluntary or Community-Initiated Relocations. This is the type of relocation that the Cree Band of Fort George people used when they relocated to Chisasibi in Canada. With this type of relocation the affected community decides whether they need to relocate or as they deem it not fit to relocate. This shows that the community plays an important part in the whole planning process of relocation, as well as its implementation. This type of relocation is beneficial to the affected community as it improves their living conditions. It also had enabled people Fort George to solve challenges prior to relocation.
At this juncture it is important to note that the success of this exercise is heavily dependent on what happens when the residents are on their new land, that includes their adaptability to the new land, their productivity on the new land, as well as their ability to stay there permanently and fend for themselves without having to depend on government handouts. This is why there is a need for the development and empowerment of local authorities, as well as village councils so that they can become the hub of development. The implementation of such an empowerment drive can be done through integrating area-based focus on land relocation, as well as establishing a clearer path to be taken in the area. For instance, it could be easily known that a particular area is set aside for marula or for grazing, etc. There is also a need for proper planning with specific, measurable, achievable, reviewable and time bound (smart) targets for the availing of before, during and post relocation support by the relevant authorities.

2.6. International cases of relocation

2.6.1 Canada

In Canada there was a group known as the Aboriginal people who voluntarily relocated from Matimekoshi to Kawawachimach. According to Reine (1998:4-5), there were certain reasons pertaining to relocation such as social, cultural, economic and health impacts on the communities that must always be considered before relocating. Reine argues that though there is a vast of negative impacts there are also positive impacts with noticeable improvements in the communities. The Naskapi community decided in the 70s that they needed to initiate some relocation to uplift their living standards by becoming more decisive with regard to issues that affect them since the Europeans exploited their resources. Reine identified four categories that should be taken into account as far as relocations are concerned.

- The relationship to land, environment and culture
- Economic effects
- Social and political effects, as well as
- Health effects

According to Reine (1998:5), voluntary relocation has positive impacts, such as improved housing and education. People become responsible for their challenges as they decide to use the available resources for the benefit of their future generations. However, there were a number of
issues that led to the Naskapi relocation. It was a feeling for everyone in the community after voting that they had no proper housing in Matimekoshi. They also needed to uphold their integrity and dignity. Culture mattered most to them, hunting was integral and they needed access to hunting. The future of their children was also important, by relocating they felt that they would be able to send their children to better schools and access better paying jobs. Though some felt voluntary relocation yielded positive results, some had negative experiences.

Consequently, it was found that a number of people were prone to alcohol abuse as there were no recreational facilities; they had no proper housing as they thought and a number of people could not get jobs. In the case of the Aboriginal people, Reine explains that there are too many failures of relocations as compared to successes. Reine argues that the negative impacts are an international issue as many scholars have proved in many writings that many lives have changed negatively.

Reine (1998) explained that mostly affected people’s cultural bonds used to be weakened and their relationship to the land and environment is not always respected. People are forced to relocate without taking into consideration the strong ties that these people kept for many years. Many felt that being a man is to keep and maintain his land for many years. The places where the affected people used to be relocated to were never satisfactory since their relationships were destroyed. This has been the case because people are not always relocated to the same place, sometimes they are given an alternative of either to be relocated to the city or to the rural areas. Reine (1998) narrated that some of the Aboriginal people who were relocated to urban areas could not cope with city life because they were used to their traditional lifestyles. Such people faced tougher days in the city centers since they lacked skills to survive in new environments. The culture in city centers were mixed, which resulted in tough times to raise their children. In city centers people had to use money for every little thing they did. Reine (1998) referred to this type of non-adaptability as “culture stress”.

During the relocation process government made many promises to convince the people to relocate, which were later abandoned. Some people become suicidal due to a feeling that they can no longer manage life’s pressures. On the other hand those who voluntarily relocated for cultural reasons, suffered economic pressures. Resources became limited and the access to large portions of land was limited. Grazing land for example became scarce. When the hydroelectric
plant in some cases was successful, it brought along floods that wiped away natural resources. Dams which were constructed led to the extinction of some resources needed for the survival of the people and in turn the relocators become heavily dependent on the government for relief (Reine 1998).

Health wise, people became stressed as they found themselves in chaotic situations. Tuberculosis and pneumonia among other diseases normally affect many people at such new sites due to lack of hygienic conditions. With reference to the Easterville relocation, many people lost their lives and many fell sick due to the health conditions they were in which is associated with lack of sanitation, portable water and contaminated fish. Some people became mentally ill due to such pressures. Statistically, in both 1977 and 1978, more than 95% of females attempted to commit suicide due to relocation at Grassy Narrows Reserves (Reine 1998).

Socially and politically relocations have their own impacts on the relocates. The household heads in Canada used to be seen as incapable as they fail to provide for the wellbeing of their families. They were also accused of neglect as they could not feed them according to the nutritional diets. As stated earlier, there were many children who could not continue with their education, teenagers became pregnant, some abused alcohol so as to forget their troubles, and crime increased in most instances and families grew apart. Sadly, the leader for the Inuit people from Port Harrison in Canada lost his life after he suffered a stroke because he blamed himself for his people’s disunity. People always blame their leaders for the relocations. In some countries, the royal families are not respected and communities end up electing young leaders who lack traditional skills as they might have lost traditional values in cities. In turn they tend to fail to deal with social problems. Forced Aboriginal people lost their political power as compared to the voluntary relocators as they were awaiting the agencies that forcibly moved them to solve their social problems.

Decentralisation is seen as a good tool in bringing government to people. In many cases powers are devolved to lower grass roots so that they become self- determined in managing their scarce resources. Relocations nowadays incorporate devolution of services and programmes to better standards of life for people living in remote areas, especially those affected by any form of relocation.
2.6.2 Southern Mongolia

This case is based on the social impacts of mining development in Southern Mongolia. According to the World Bank (2007), the development of mining was seen as a way of uplifting Mongolia’s economy, as well as addressing rural development challenges whilst reducing poverty. The mining development in Mongolia brought about job opportunities, an increase in government resources as a result of town development and improvements of infrastructure. This case is seen as a special one as it took the individual and community into consideration.

Before the mining development started in Mongolia, certain factors were considered through public consultation: impeding challenges were discussed; specific roles and responsibilities were mapped, soliciting of stakeholder commitments, and institutionalization of policy through policy preparation that delivered positive outcomes to Mongolians.

However, population increase would bring about a number of negative impacts. The World Bank (2007) indicated that local residents would then not easily access jobs. It also stated that settlement patterns would differ, community dynamics and service delivery mechanisms would change. The World Bank indicated four areas that refer to the impacts of relocation:

- **Livelihoods** - mining development brought about the reduction in grazing land availability for the herders while it created numerous jobs directly to the affected communities in the mining companies. The reduction was caused by exploration and exploitation activities. Impacts of mining on Mongolian herders included positive and negative livelihood effects. As a rural economy expands, the younger generation moves away from looking after cattle and work in the mines and in this way increase their incomes to look after their families while on the other hand the younger generation lose the sense of culture surrounding traditional herding.

- **Social services/labour mobility** - there was a concern of service delivery such as education and health facilities. The ministries concerned extended their efforts to curb such challenges, e.g. use of mobile clinics in the case of HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, as jobs were created, people especially men moved from places and countries close to Mongolia leading to a high increase of commercial sex work. This led to the spread of the deadly HIV/AIDS virus. World Bank reported that in Mongolia, mobile men do not prefer
testing for HIV/AIDS to know their status; as a result productivity drastically reduces among workers. However, both the government and mining companies played a role in preventing and managing the deadly disease.

Law and order – due to the increase in population, criminality and anti-social behaviour laws were threatened. For example, alcohol consumption as a result of lack of recreational facilities of the affected people. However, the government of Mongolia made sure that there was effective implementation of laws through training of the responsible parties.

Cultural preservation - cultural properties such as gravesites were preserved.

The World Bank (2007) analysed the Mongolian case and realized that its Mineral law did not address negative impacts in terms of relocations as it only provides for the compensation of assets and relocation costs other than land as it was state owned. Livelihood restoration was not taken into account. It was also found that the households lacking negotiation skills used to be exploited and underpaid. World Bank also indicated that the local residents of Southern Mongolia called for talks with regard to benefit sharing as they never wanted the foreigners to enjoy the benefits from the mining development. Such benefits included prioritizing employment for the local residents, retaining collected revenue at the local level and local level investments.

In Mongolia, Royalties that government received were used to compensate the local people for the impacts of the mining development (World Bank, 2007).

2.7 Land Relocation in the Context of Africa

Land relocation or resettlement policies in Africa have been in place in order to help promote the livelihoods of the poor people. For review on this issue, the researcher analysed the case of three African countries, Nigeria, Lesotho and Zimbabwe. The cases clearly stipulate the key challenges in land relocation, post land relocation and most importantly what went wrong with the implementation of the land resettlement policies in the three countries that Namibia can learn from for the future.

2.7.1 The case of Nigeria

Nigeria, a federal state decided to create a new Federal capital that was named Abuja to replace Lagos. The development of the new city brought major constructions that led to the relocation of
people to Pegi, 33 kilometres from Abuja city at government expense, for those locals who were willing to move from the chosen area of about 8,000 square kilometres for development purpose, to a place of their choice. The main reasons for the relocation and development or construction of the new Federal Capital Territory (FCT), were for easy facilitation of the Nigerian trade via roads, rail and air since Lagos was too congested with lack of adequate services to the entire nation, thus giving access to the urban poor to purchase affordable land (Ibrahim 2009:28).

However, there were a series of policy inconsistencies for over two decades that brought about the development and expansion of squatters within the FCT leading to the obliteration of the master plan. Policy inconsistencies included corruption by the government chief executives as they tended to delay or refused certain transactions and consent for mortgages without giving proper reasons. The bare land was viewed to have no real value that meant that the bare land was actually not compensated for but rather the use of the land. Due to this reason people of Nigeria used to violate some sections of the law by buying and selling freely of the bare land. There was also a lack of policy review at policy implementation. The government then realized that there was a need to correct such distortions by undertaking a resettlement programme in 2005 led by the Federal Capital Territory Administration (FCTA) (Ibrahim 2009:29).

The programme was introduced in order to realize fairness, equity and justice in the control and management of land, resettlement and compensation. After agreeing to the master plan, the programme was to be a public-partnership (PPP) which included the affected population, NGOs, community leaders, banks and financial institutions, private developers and industries in order to have a proper plan. Meetings were held that prompted the government to avail plots in the name of giving an opportunity for the affected people to build in the new FCT and move away from the squatter zones. Other than formal letters, letters of intent were issued that would provide as guarantee for financial assistance from financial institutions. However, the plan did not work out as people lost their properties due to the demolition exercise that government carried out before the processions of the letters of intent and before the developments at the new location. Banks could not consider their applications and the NGOs could not extend their helping hand (Ibrahim 2009:30).

This scenario showed that the government did not sufficiently consider the impact of these issues on the affected community.
2.7.2 The case of Lesotho

Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) brought about a massive relocation with elusive promises. According to the book “The Irony of the White Gold” by the Transformation Resource Centre (TRC), the LHWP Treaty was signed in 1986 between the Kingdom of Lesotho and the South African Government to control and divert water from the Orange River. The treaty stipulated that an agreed amount of water be supplied to South Africa and that the same water was to generate hydroelectric power for Lesotho. The Lesotho Highlands Development Authority LHDA was responsible for the dam construction and maintenance, and it was as well responsible with the compensation of the resettled communities and managing development activities for such communities. People who were affected were given a choice of where they were to resettle. However, the communities around the constructed dam were unhappy with the construction of the dam known as Katse dam, Africa’s highest dam. The main aim of the project was to export water to its neighboring country, South Africa. The World Bank sponsored the project with a reason of earning money to address the poverty issue. The problem behind this is that the South Africans enjoy the fruits of that dam while the Basotho, especially those who were relocated and those living within the dam continue suffering (Cate 2008:28).

According to Lori and Korinna (2008:51), the Lesotho poorest communities especially those who were promised to gain from the construction of the dam were heavily affected and their dignity was destroyed. Some locals were asked to relocate and they agreed. Sadly the promises such as a fair compensation never materialized. Lesotho continually supplied water to South Africa while it had water shortages. Those who did not relocate were afraid to fetch water from this dam since it is so tall (186m high) that even the animals used to fall and die in the dam. No provisions were made to supply those locals who did not relocate with having access to water. The royalties made to the King never reached the local poor, especially those who were affected. The development fund that was also created for all the exports from water found itself mixed up in politics and patronage was closed in 2003. Even the compensation programmes that were initiated were ineffective and people’s livelihoods were not restored. Companies involved in the corruption were convicted in the courts as they were proven to have been bribed for provision of lucrative contracts. TRC (2004) stated that mineworkers lost their savings as they were replaced with royalties.
TRC study however states that there have been some benefits from the dam project, such as urbanization in areas around Mohale and Katse. There have been road constructions where it seemed impossible, a number of Basotho got employed, tourism level increased; the country’s economy was uplifted.

For this case the project guidelines were only good on paper but the implementation was very tough on those relocated. Not all developments benefit the locals since some of the developments are a threat to the focus group as it was proved in the case of Lesotho. Conclusively, on this massive development project, it is clear that the resettlement project plans made the affected people even poorer as it is evident that Lesotho is one of the world’s poorest countries enveloped by South Africa although it has a small population and it keeps depending on it economically. Development plans could not serve the intended goals and participation policies proved to be futile as people were no longer convinced since they experienced losses despite having their views raised in meetings (Ryan 2001:3).

According to Cate (2008:13), an assessment was only done in 1997 as the Katse dam was nearing completion to analyze the impacts of the project in order to downstream the ecosystem and communities. The LHWP EF (Environmental Flows) study proved that the dam had both social and economic impacts on the communities of Lesotho. Socially, the dam had biophysical impacts since there were losses or riverine resources. Economically, there was a loss of royalties made from the water exports to South Africa and the affected communities as the downstream of the dam was not fairly compensated. Cate also indicated that people lost their source of firewood since woods became rare as they are crucial for cooking and heating houses. The study also showed that the floods brought about by the dam flushed and wiped out all the mini- islands and the vegetation.

The Katse dam flood eroded all cultivated fields and destroyed the bridge downstream. According to Cate (1997:15), the IFR (In stream Flow Requirement Policy) was implemented aiming to fairly compensate communities and to monitor the flows of downstream rivers. The affected villages were then promised to be given back pays that constituted not even half of the losses of the affected people. People who were resettled in urban areas could not cope with the lifestyle and consumption patterns. Many starved as they waited for food promised by the state. The few new houses constructed had cracks. Hospitals and clinics were very far though with the
roads constructed they were able to hike to hospitals. Some families faced difficulties with burials as they had to carry the dead on the horses or by hands since they had no transport money. Herbalists lost clients since some herbs were not found anywhere close by. Means of generating incomes were lost and as a result children in high schools left school. Those who were relocated were affected psychologically as some felt absolutely miserable in the new place at night. Graves were dug up and bodies reburied at the new site. Many became prostitutes to make ends meet. The resettled people believe their chief was responsible for their suffering as he agreed to the development without calling or informing them about meetings.

Lori and Korinna (2008:29) also explained the situation of the majority of the people of Lesotho as disheartening as there was no access to clean water for people and livestock as proven by the relief-aid that the UN rendered to the country to address the humanitarian crises that hit that country in 2009. As a result of the dam, the locals lost not only their arable land but also basic resources that kept them alive, in this case instead of addressing poverty, it made things worse since some species were pushed to extinction. People could not find relish (fish) and medicines (from plants) used for certain diseases. According to Ryan (2001:5), communities lost resources such as thatch grass, river sand and wild vegetables. Springs dried up due to the tunnels and road constructions. There was loss of livestock as they drowned in the dam and a loss of some lives took place. Family relationships and cultures clashed. Resettled people experienced conflicts with their neighbours as it is a matter of fact that Lesotho has a lack of land. People in the highlands lost their homes and livestock.

2.7.3 The case of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe experienced a heated land issue when it forcibly took its farms owned by Whites to give it to the Black population. To bring insights into this study, the researcher focused on the two relocations (the Chiadzwa diamond field construction and the Tokwe - Mukuso dam construction), that took place in Zimbabwe.

Chiadzwa:

In the case of Chiadzwa diamond field, the government believed that villagers used to exploit the nation’s resources. The villagers were then set for relocation. Two investors for the diamond mine project at this area promised to build better houses and infrastructures for the affected
community. Villagers were also promised that they could return to Chiadzwa upon the completion of the mine project. Furthermore, small-scale mining licenses were also promised to the affected people. Almost 650 jobs were created for the community as they resisted relocation (Lovemore, 2010:9).

With regard to the 2008 agreement, no land was secured by government to relocate the 4 000 displaced families of Chiadzwa, Marange due to the inadequate land in Arda Transau in Odzi (a government farm) that was earmarked for relocation. According to Fungai (staff reporter), five years passed and only 1 000 families could be relocated and only two schools and two clinics were built with a lack of social amenities. The relocatees who refused to move did so because there were no proper arrangements for the reburial of their loved ones. There were also no proper permanent structures built for them. The first relocators lost their livestock, which made the other families resist relocation. No proper consultation between the government on the relocation and compensation programmes were done (Lovemore, 2010:10). Lovemore further stated that the communities were not refusing to relocate but that they only needed proper “dialogue”, transparency, partnership, respect of human rights and a consideration of rural relocation as they were used to that type of lifestyle. Other avenues for the relocation were considered, such as pushing the affected people 400 metres away from the project’s operation exposing them to some serious health risks.

It appears that the mining of diamonds at the site was given priority over villagers’ social welfare. The relocation was all about enriching the corrupt ones, since all the facilities promised were not rendered as the affected families were dumped at Arda Transau leaving their ancestral lands (Lovemore, 2010:10). Figure 1 demonstrates the illegal mining activities in Chiadzwa.

Tokwe - Mukosi Dam:

Tokwe - Mukosi dam was a multi-million dollar project that was funded in Zimbabwe by b10-energy (2be) group. Due to this development, 1 000 families were set for relocation from Nuanetsi ranch in Mwenezi a drought prone province with a continued food shortage. The main purpose of the city dam constructed by an Italian company (Sanlin) was for water supply to Masvingo city. The 2 000% hyper-inflation of Zimbabwe stopped the construction of the dam.
that started in 1990. There was a lack of proper infrastructure and development that was not done at Nuanetsi and brought about the villagers’ resistance to relocation (Masvingo report, 2013).

However, the dam brought about the installation of ethanol plant, a cane spirit plant, a sugar plantation and a crocodile farm. Due to these perceived benefits, the government intervened by securing land for the affected families. The relocatees agreed to be relocated north of Tokwe River in Mwenezi. ZBE signed an agreement to finance the entire relocation process and agreed to construct new houses for the affected community. Nuanetsi ranch owners tried to stop the relocation as they claimed that the earmarked area was awaiting other development projects that they could not specify (Masvingo Report, 2013).

However, the relocation programme resumed when the Zimbabwean government and the Development Trust of Zimbabwe (DTZ) signed a memorandum of understanding Nuanetsi ranch owners to facilitate the relocation of the affected families to the identified site. The ranch therefore allocated 68 000 hectares to Government so that the relocation could occur. The Zimbabwean government promised to give 17 hectares to each of the 500 families of the affected families to be used for irrigation farming; dry land farming and grazing pastures for livestock in the ranch (Masvingo report, 2013).

According to the Masvingo Report (2013), the dam could not be completed as the government could not relocate more than a thousand families living in the flood basin. This was due to a lack of funds for both the dam construction and relocation. About 400 families were successfully relocated to the Ranch (about 100km away) in October 2013. Each household was given about four hectares of land that was never cultivated and was given compensation between US$3 000 and US$8 000 for their properties. Many complained that the promises were not met and they were forced by government to relocate. There were no schools, shops, toilets, sufficient water and the mud huts were the only form of shelter. October is a rainy season but the government still relocated them knowing that it would take time for them to plough as they were still clearing trees and bushes from their new fields.

Similarly, with the Chiadzwa case the Tokwe - Mukosi Rehabilitation Resettlement Trust (TMRRT) that protects the rights of the affected people reported that the implementation of the
project was poorly done simply because the government did not play its major part in the relocation. Figure 2 illustrates the type of home Moyo was relocated to.

2.8. Summary of the chapter

The concepts introduced and discussed in this chapter include forced relocation, connected-dislocation, Stress and Settlement Process and Michael Cernea’s Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model, for resettling displaced people and the concept of vulnerability focusing both on the external (exposure) and the internal sides (coping).

As indicated by means of the case studies, land relocation is a highly thorny issue not only in Southern Africa but the world over. As presented herein, the critical aspect then becomes the challenges of post-settlement rather than pre-relocation. The most difficult issue is that of restitution or compensation. In this chapter, it was apparent that Land Reform is not a stand-alone exercise but rather needs a holistic approach where Government support stands pivotal to its success. The Namibian example reveals the existing gaps that may lead to failure of land relocation programs. There is a need for a stakeholder inclusion to have a comprehensive and integrated approach to close such gaps.

In terms of meeting Objective 1 of this study, the literature notes that development does not normally go as planned. Relocation plans are good on paper as the execution normally show that there are many negative impacts, especially on the part of the affected communities. Governments tend to not abide by their promises; this is evident as many people had been displaced worldwide.
CHAPTER THREE: LAND RELOCATION IN THE NAMIBIAN CONTEXT

3. Introduction
This chapter explores land relocation in the Namibian context, few of the cases in Namibia where relocation took place, legal perspective of land relocation in Namibia, the case study of the Bukalo area and the types of land relocation.

3.1 Background
There are several reasons for land relocation, such as development and eradication of poverty. The Namibian cabinet was reported to have stated that “without achieving a breakthrough in the land relocation programme, the fight against poverty would not succeed” (NEW ERA “2000”).

As stated in chapter one of this study Namibia as many nations have been affected by land relocation. As the government try to correct the imbalances brought about colonial segregation, people feel they are being robbed off their ancestral land thus affects the whole process of land relocation. Land relocation is not without its negative effects as was seen in the case of Mozambique where more than 1 400 resettled households linked to coal mines at Vale and Rio Tinto in the Tete province have faced “serious disruptions in their access to food, water, and work” (Human Rights Watch, 2013). Bukalo area is a remote area where food is already in short supply and school kids are benefitting from their proximity to satellite schools and now with this shake up, it is most likely going to affect the community socially and psychologically.

As mentioned earlier on, laid relocation without adequate government support is a waste of time and resources. It would also be a disturbance of traditional/ historic attachment that the residents have had to the area.

3.2 The Namibian Cases on Land Relocation
There had been some relocation in Namibia, such as Salambala relocation in the north eastern part of Namibia where a conservancy was established. According to Musialike (2014) few people who were living in the earmarked conservancy were relocated to places of choice. The community was fairly compensated.

The other relocation was that of the Eastern Zambezi flood plain. Such areas are flooded every year. Due to massive flooding that led to loss of lives, livestock and buildings, the government of
the Republic of Namibia requested the communities from the flood plains to relocate to higher grounds. This was done though many starved since the government was not able to provide for all of them. They also found it difficult to find permanent land in other parts of the region where they had been relocated.

### 3.2.1 Ekuku village

Ekuku is one of the villages in Namibia that had been in disputes over land relocation. It is located 3 kilometres (1.9 miles) from Oshakati in Okatana constituency, Oshana region, Namibia. With its population of 3 000, the government identified it as a suitable site for permanent relocation for 10 informal settlements. Flooding is one of the causes of some relocation in Namibia; it is the same with the Ekuku case. About 800 households from three informal settlements were scheduled relocation from low lying areas to higher lying areas of Ekuku (William 2012:1-2).

William stated that the Oshakati Town council had land disputes with several villagers. The council was reportedly allocating portions of land to individual business people to build warehouses, an electrical construction company, etc. without the consent of the land owners. The battle started in 2007. Sadly the Oshakati Municipality bulldozed the portions of land without informing the owners. Later the municipality and the business owners forced the landowners to sign the property registration form that had incomplete details of the owners. However, the document had calculations of the payment to be paid to the landowners. Unfortunately, the landowners refused to sign and refused to accept the money as they felt it was not fair compensation. Landowners complained that the procedures used by the council as the basis to determine payments were not clear as consultation was not done. Some people were forced to sign the document as proof of fair compensation (William 2011:3).

According to William, some Ekuku villagers’ resisted relocation as the compensation was not fair for their land. However, the governor of Oshana Region, members of the Oshakati Town Council, Traditional leaders and stakeholders convened a meeting to resolve the matter (William 2012:2).

The other dispute reported was that of Okahao village. Due to development, there had been dispute over land compensation at Okahao. Some community members of the Okahao Town
Council in Namibia claimed to have been unfairly compensated for their traditional homesteads and Mahangu fields. The Ministry of Education proposed to the Okahao Town Council the idea of building a school in the area that resulted in the unfair compensation (Shivute O 2010:6).

3.2.2 Rundu, Forced relocations in Namibia 1954 to 1972

According to Likuwa (2005:7), there were forced relocations which occurred in Rundu, Kavango Region, northeast of Namibia. South Africa colonized Namibia between 1915 and 1990. During this time, Rundu experienced forced removals. Likuwa analysed three villages that were relocated, namely the Nkondo village in the 1950s, Nkarapamwe Township in 1968, Sarasungu and Mangaranandja village in the 1970s.

Likuwa argues that all these relocations were based on the need for economic and political power over the black population rather than the need to clear space for development. Such space for development was earmarked to develop riverbanks for mass agricultural production for Kavango Region. Though people of Kavango refused to relocate, they were forced and loaded in big trucks and then dropped at the proposed resettlement areas. People lost their properties and no compensation of any loss or damages were made. Though the relocation at Nkondo was mainly based on avoiding the suffering of people from further floods according to the benevolent concern of the Commissioner Kruger, he had to use force to relocate the community to higher grounds (Likuwa 2005:26).

3.2.3 Forced removals from the Old Location to Katutura

This is one of the historic events in Namibia. The forced relocation became a historic event and is now commemorated as Heroes Day on the 10th of December each year. On 10 December 1959, innocent black people lost their lives as they opposed the relocation from the Old Location that they developed. The white settlers wanted to reside in the Old Location therefore the Blacks had to resettle at the new location. More than 4 000 people fled to the new location as they were afraid for their lives. The Old Location that is now called Hocklandpark and Pionierspark is one of the expensive suburbs in the city, where only the rich and mainly Whites reside. The Old Location was officially closed on 31 August 1968. All people relocated to the new location where they settled according to their ethnic group sections. They named the new location “Katutura”- that means “we do not have a permanent habitat”. Then three racial groups were

3.3 Legal Perspective: Land relocation in Namibia

According to a document by the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) (2013), there are a number of publications that show that land relocations and its policies are legal in Namibia. With reference to the Land Environment & Development (LEAD) project that aims at providing training to Communal Land Boards as stipulated by the Communal Land Reform Act (Number 5 of 2002). The Act provides for the establishment of Communal Land Boards which places rural land under the administration of the CLBs and their Traditional Authorities and defines the rights and duties of the Land Boards, their composition and functions.

3.3.1 The Namibian Constitution

Article 102 under chapter 12 of the Namibian Constitution recognizes the establishment of Local Authorities which oversee the need of bringing the government closer to its people for active participation in decision-making. Local Authorities, therefore, has the mandate as pledged by the members of the Association of Local Authorities (ALA) to work closely together in developing the areas they serve. They also pledged to sustain the scarce resources whilst meeting the communities’ needs, demands, problems and challenges in order to improve the socio-economic standards of its people. The Namibian Government realized a need to develop Bukalo Area into a settlement area which is hoped to be the second town of Caprivi region.

3.3.2 Rural development policy 2012 (MARCH)

National Rural Development Policy (NRDP) focuses on 18 key challenges that most rural communities are faced with. Some of the challenges are: rural urban migration, slow pace of decentralization implementation process, insufficient infrastructure facilities and services provision, poor road networks, shortage of electricity supply, rural development centres, rural markets, rural housing, transport systems, banking facilities in rural areas, high level of unemployment and an unskilled labour force, poor coordination of rural development intervention...etc. The Bukalo area is not an exception to these challenges.
The policy meets the priorities that the National Development Goals (NDPs), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Vision 2030 define. The policy guides development stakeholders, such as practitioners, service providers and rural communities in adopting sustainable approaches to rural development. Such approaches are efficient, effective and equitable in the sense that they are able to raise the matter of rural development high on the national agenda whilst broadening public perception on issues of rural development. The policy was not implemented to do away with the existing policies but it built on such existing rural development programmes. Lessons learned from world-wide efforts are also assimilated through the NRD policy.

The main aim of the policy is to close the gap between rural and urban areas. With this aim at hand, and the challenges faced in the Bukalo area, the Namibian Government saw a need in declaring Bukalo as a settlement area that would later be the second town in the Zambezi Region (then Caprivi Region). Through this policy, development will be realized in the area.

3.3.3 Small Scale Commercial Farming Units (2011)

Small Scale Commercial Farming Units (SSCFU) is a tool used to demarcate an area in order to gather data on its current status. The information was needed to ensure that the Caprivi Communal Land Board makes informed decisions before allocating the farming units.

Sadly in 2000, 9 SSCFU were identified by the government of Namibia through the Mafwe Traditional Authority (TA). However, with reference to the report on SSCFU (2011), in the Caprivi Region (now Zambezi Region), the project did not materialize due to the complaints by other traditional authorities in the same area. The other two (2) traditional authorities not in favour of the project were Mashi and Mayeyi TAs. According to some communities and local Indunas the affected communities who lived under the demarcated area were not consulted and claimed that their cattle grazing would be affected should the project continue.

In such areas, there were on-going projects when the SSCFU were demarcated. Projects such as the Namibia Agricultural Renewable Project (NAR), community forests and conservancies were in the area. However, the affected communities were relocated with fair compensation.
3.3.4 Community Based Natural Resource Management (2011) JUNE

Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) is a conservation tool aimed at promoting sustainable use of natural resources outside of Protected Areas such as conservancies. As a conservation tool and as a rural development approach, CBNRM needs to be applied in the appropriate circumstances. The National Policy on CBNRM was passed in July 2011 to provide economic opportunities and help the local communities with the decisions on wildlife, forestry and tourism integration into their livelihood activities. This tool on its own cannot attain its aim. There are a number of policies and legislations that the government enacted to help the sustainable use of natural resources, i.e. the Nature Conservation Amendment Act, 1996, the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 1975, Forestry Act, 2001, Communal Land Reform Act, 2002 and the Water Act, 2004.

The CBNRM programme recognizes the rights and needs of local communities, recognizes the need to promote biodiversity conservation and a programme that empowers present and future generations to manage integrated wildlife, forestry and other natural resources as a recognized and valued rural development option. The tool also creates sufficient economic benefits from the use of natural resources so that rural communities will view natural resources as an asset rather than a liability.

3.3.5 Land relocation and Compensation Policy

The policy allows for the relocation of people for different purposes with benefits such as money for the building structures, fruit bearing trees and graveyards. Transport is also provided for the furniture and other belongings. In 1996, the first Cabinet Compensation Policy was passed and was updated in 2009.

According to Lusia (2010:56), the compensation policy’s aim to address the benefits of the occupiers of communal land is not normally attained as it is drafted and implemented without informed decisions. Lusia argued that the compensation policy guidelines that some local authorities’ drafts are without proper consultations and some do not satisfy the natural justice as stipulated under article 18 of the Namibian Constitution.
3.4. The Case Study: Bukalo Area

Figure 3 in annexure 1 shows a board indicating the direction of the temporal office for Bukalo village council. It is visible behind the board that there was a village there for people who were first relocated 10 years ago but no developments had been done so far. While figure 4 shows a post of Bukalo town land was built in July 2014 proving the slow pace of development at Bukalo since 2005.

Bukalo is a settlement area that is geographically located in the Caprivi region of Namibia (now known as Zambezi). It has the geographical coordinates of: 17° 43’ 0” South, 24° 31’ 0” East. It is situated about 40 km on the B8 road on the national roads of Namibia east of Katima Mulilo, the town of Caprivi region. The traditional court known as the Masubia Khuta is found in the settlement. The Khuta is under the control of Chief Liswani III. The Khuta’s Chief advisor (Ngambela) is M. Muyatwa Bukalo is populated by people from the Zambezi flood plains.

Bukalo Area was declared as a settlement by the then Governor B. Sibalatani on 25 September 2002, under the MRLGH No 183 declaration of a settlement area. It was also supported by section 31(1) of the Regional Council’s Act, (Act No 22 of 1992,) as well as the Town and Town lands No. 1354. In Caprivi, Bukalo is represented by the cadastral diagram no. A554/97 and its registered under Division B. The relocation for Bukalo started in 2002, where two (2) groups were successfully relocated. There are two options that the relocators can choose from: either being fully compensated or retain two (2) plots of land and receive compensation for the remaining plots. However, the community seems to be more interested in the money as no one thus far retained the plots.¹

3.4.1 Groups to be relocated and successfully relocated

This subsection states the total number of groups successfully relocated and those that were set for relocation. By May 2014, there were three (3) more groups that were awaiting relocation in the Bukalo Area as indicated by Matengu (2014).

¹ In figure 5, the satellite image for Bukalo area is indicated.
According to Matengu (2014) there had been a slow pace in the relocation of the Bukalo area. The community of the Bukalo area seems not to be well informed though and some worry about the fact that it is not easy to acquire land in the Zambezi region. However, the community had been cooperative as two groups were successfully relocated. The costs of the first relocation was totaling N$ 500 000.00, the second group relocated cost N$ 3.8 million. The third group to be relocated soon will cost N$ 10.5 million. Two more groups are set for relocation with a total of N$ 5 million each.

### 3.4.2 Bukalo Channel

It is a channel that connects the Zambezi River to the Lake Liambezi though it has been dry in the recent decades. In 2014 the channel was flooded though it did not affect the Bukalo livelihood. Figure 13 indicates the geographical location of the Bukalo channel.

Figure 14 in annexure 1 shows the detailed photo image that (illustrates the flooding around the Bukalo channel, Inambao, 2009). Due to low rainfall at the time, people residing in Bukalo cultivated the fertile, exposed land. During the disastrous flood of March/April 2009, the channel got filled up again where crops were flooded. The same image shows a road used by villagers to cross over the channel to reach the main road. This exposes them to risks of crocodile attacks.

According to Inambao (2009:1), 20 villages were flooded in the Bukalo Area. The flood also brought along wildlife, such as crocodiles and hippopotamuses. However, fish which is a staple food of the Caprivians, especially the Masubia tribe was brought closer to the villagers.

According to the AF Press news service of 2009, the Zambezi River during April 2009 rose to such an extent that thousands of people were forcibly relocated to higher grounds close to the Bukalo Area.² The green indicates the plant- covered land where as the colour tan indicates bare earth. The red sign on the left indicates a single fire in southern Zambia. The light blue and white colours indicate clouds. The flooded plains therefore spill into the Chobe River, the Bukalo channel and Lake Liambezi. The AF Press news further stated that “The Zambezi River normally floods during the annual rainy season, but in 2009, the floods were more extensive than normal”

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² Figure 15 in annexure 1 shows water which is black in the colour image that moves across kilometres of land that were dry before rain started in January 2009.
3.5 Developments in the Bukalo area

There had been several developments at Bukalo despite its slow pace. There is currently construction of the new village council office where many developmental issues of Bukalo Area are planned to be dealt with. There is also a filling/service station and a mini shop that was opened at the end of May 2014. Roads and streets have been constructed. The area was accorded a national project where 279 houses will be built of which foundations of many of the said houses were already done (Matengu, 2014). The developments indicates that the achievements upon realization of Bukalo relocation.\(^3\)

\(^3\) Villages such as Mukena (figure 6); Shambwe (figure 8), Kwenani (figure 9) and Simasiku (figure 10) were part of the third group to be relocated. Matengu further stated that he museum on figure 7 in annexure 1 belonged to the Shambwe’s family even though the study found out that the chief was at loggerheads with the said family as to who would receive the compensation as the chief felt like it belonged to the traditional authority. It is then yet to be measured and decided who should receive the payment.
CHAPTER FOUR: 4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4. Introduction

This chapter outlines the research theory, design and methods that were used to gather data. The sampling as well as the questionnaire design or the instruments used for this research are also outlined in this chapter. Finally, the chapter outlines the data collection procedure and the actual data presentation.

Marshall and Rossman (1999:1-5) stipulate the importance of conducting research as it represents the decisions taken by the researcher in using a research design. The selected research design helps to identify suitable research objectives and methodology which helps the researcher in generating appropriate data in answering research questions.

The study on the perceptions and experiences of land relocation in the Bukalo area is intended to gather information with regard to the experiences of the Bukalo people and how they perceived land relocation with an intention of designing a framework that would assist future relocations which will address the challenges.

This required the researcher to review the literature on relocation (Chapter two) and gain understanding of the relocators’ perceptions and experiences in order to design a framework that would improve the processes leading to a fair compensation programme and relocation procedures.

4.1 Problem Formulation and Research Questions

As stated in Chapter One, the research questions for this study are:

- What are the attitudes/ perceptions of community members of the Bukalo area on compensation received from the government over their ancestral land?
- What alternatives did the government put in place in case people who are relocated do not find land to resettle, given the heated land disputes in the Zambezi region?
- How relocation guidelines were followed in the relocation processes at the Bukalo area?

The questions above were developed in order to elaborate on the research objectives so that the collected data would address the problem statement directly. Two questionnaires/ interview
questions were used in order to link the literature review and the case study that helped the researcher to reach the research conclusions. Through community observation, information from one of the programme leaders and what the affected community was saying about the relocation procedures, especially the compensation upon relocation, the researcher developed other questions concerning information gained from the observation. The affected community directly answered how they felt about the entire process and the compensation and expressed their perceptions and experiences of land relocation in the Bukalo area. They also made suggestions regarding what they would have seen as satisfactory practice in terms of the programme.

4.2. Research Design

A research design is a blueprint that addresses research questions to the research study (Mouton 2001:55). In this study a qualitative research design was chosen as it helped the researcher to collect information about the personal experiences and perceptions of Bukalo community with regard to the land relocation programme that started in 2005. This was done through interviews, observation, historical information and interactions with the people of Bukalo.

According to Polit and Hungler (1999:201), a research design helps to obtain answers to questions in the study. It is normally an overall plan used in undertaking a study. In order for the researcher to have a clear and well-presented design, the problem statement and the research objectives have to be as clear as possible. Mouton (2001:55) concurs with Polit and Hungler as he describes a research design as the plan or blueprint that enables the researcher to have the best answers to the formulated questions that relates to the study undertaken. Furthermore, some authors like Yang and Miller (2008:75) add the notion that research design refers to a process in the facilitation of building a sound argument. For this reason, it is important to know the rationale behind the argument and the facts, as well as the reasons behind a certain point of view.

The study utilized a literature review to develop a framework that clearly defines what relocation is all about and what normally happens during and after relocation, as well as the dissatisfaction of compensation given to the affected communities due to developmental projects. In chapter 2, case studies such as Canada, Southern Mongolia, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Nigeria were carefully studied to help focus on the end product which is in this case the perceptions and experiences of land relocation in the Bukalo area. This was informed by Mouton (2001:54) who stated that literature review design focuses on the end product. The literature provides for an understanding
on how other countries perceived relocations and compensation. The case of Lesotho and Nigeria most importantly gave the researcher an idea of the overview of what normally happens when people are unfairly relocated and thus brings about people’s resistance. This further helped in the formulation of the interview questions and application of new data in answering the research questions.

According to Yang and Miller (2008:75), research design serves as the first step that shapes the research as it enables the researcher to conduct valid and reliable research. In order to solve the research problem, the researcher followed the empirical research design as it focuses on a real life problem in order to answer empirical research questions (Mouton 2001:53). New data was collected to assess the perception of the affected and share their experiences during the relocation exercise in the Bukalo area. The case study of Bukalo was therefore used in order to serve as a check to how the literature was reviewed and how it was applied to the area under study.

Punch (2009:2), describes empiricism as a theory which regards experience as key source of knowledge and it is acquired through the senses. Empirical studies refer to the acquisition of knowledge through the examination of the world directly. Punch (2009:3), further explains that through observations that bring about the information from the target group answers are brought about by an empirical research rather than by theorizing or reasoning. Therefore, through the qualitative case study that was carried out, two focus target groups were chosen and gave a lot of information as compared to the questionnaires that were distributed. The information gathered indicated the knowledge that the respondents had with regard to the relocation in Bukalo.

For the purpose of this empirical study, the researcher relied on both textual and numerical data was collected. The research design guided the nature of the study, the type of data that was collected and the use of data collected.

4.3. Qualitative Research Approach

According to Mouton (2001:107), qualitative research entails that the researcher keep field notes as they engage in the fieldwork personally, normally in natural field settings. Irene (2011: 54) and Mouton (2001:107) both explain quantitative research as a research that uses statistical
calculations for data analysis and results interpretation. Comparatively, qualitative research has a focal area that requires a few respondents aiming to have an overall understanding of the matter at hand. This type of approach uses words in data analysis and results interpretation.

The researcher decided to follow a qualitative research approach over quantitative approach as the qualitative approach helps the researcher to deeply understand the situations as narrated by the target population under study. According to Holiday (2002:1-6), qualitative research analyses the social life deeply and helps to understand what happens in social life.

According to Yang and Miller (2008:141), qualitative research draws the researcher into understanding the social world with an attempt of making sense of the activity in a particular society, as well as the meanings people bring in interpreting the phenomena of a natural setting. Data drawn from the respondents’ perceptions or experiences provided to research is descriptive in nature as far as a qualitative approach is used (Brynard & Hanekom 2006:37).

A case study was undertaken using qualitative research methods that applied ethnographic tools to gather data. Yin (2003:23), explains a Case Study Research (CSR) as a research that can be used to answer the ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions in research. In this manner the researcher lacks total control over the events as the phenomena are based on real life contexts. In order to understand the real life events of this study, the researcher adopted a CSR approach to investigate the people’ perceptions about their relocation program. This helped to realize the dissatisfaction of Bukalo people as far as compensation is concerned. Data was also collected from the Bukalo communities that were affected by the programme, the programme leaders and the local leaders through the interviews, questionnaires and participant observation by the researcher.

This case study helped the researcher to gather informative information which can be applied to other developmental projects.

**4.4. Research Methodology**

Research Methodology refers to the individual process or steps on which a research is conducted with special emphasis on the procedures used to collect data and methods of data analysis.
In order to gather information from the relocates, programme leaders and local leaders, permission was granted by the Chief Regional Officer of the Zambezi region who allowed the researcher to also make use of the compensation guidelines of communal farmers. Most of the questions were based on the compensation guidelines of which many of the relocators were not familiar with.

4.5 Process and Methods in Literature Review

According to Masunda (2014:35), literature review helps to set up an assessment framework that helps in addressing the main questions of the research which is in this case the questions based on the perceptions and experiences of land relocation in the Bukalo area directly. The researcher used books from the national library which was not as easy as she had to travel a distance of about 1 200 km as the local libraries do not have enough books pertaining to the area of study. In some instances e-books and e-articles were used from the school library.

Unpublished papers and working papers for workshops used by non-governmental institutions also helped the researcher in gathering much literature that helped to develop the questionnaires. The programme leader linked the researcher to other organisations like Namibia Statistical Agency (NSA), a newly established agency from National Planning Commission (NPC) dealing with statistics on social surveys and other organisations that had information pertaining to my area of study. Finally, internet sources were used and colleagues studying different modules related to my study helped with some documents. According to (Kelly 2009:17) as cited by Masunda (2014:37-38), this can be termed ‘invisible college’ as it can be used to access informal discussions on the subject matter.

4.6 Process and Methods in Case Study

4.6.1 Sampling

Brynard and Hanekom (2006:54) define sampling as a technique employed to select a small group with a view of determining the characteristics of a large group. Thus, if selected appropriately, the sample will display the same characteristics or properties as the large group. In essence, a sample is used to simplify the research by studying the small group instead of the entire population. This saves time and costs, as studying the entire population could be time
consuming and expensive, whereas the data required could be extracted from a sample. Welman et al. (2005: 56) identify two major types of sampling, namely, probability samples and non-probability sampling.

For the purpose of this study, a non-probability sample was applied with a focus on the purposive sampling. Bukalo area has a population size of about 4 000 including the adjusted villages, while the earmarked settlement covers an area of about 860.8203 hectares National Census (2011). For the purpose of this study, population size of about 1700 was considered with a sample of 550 people. It is however important to note that, in 2011 during census, there were 257 households in Bukalo area. About 128 households were relocated after these statistics were released. At the time that the researcher collected primary data, there were only 129 households remaining.

4.6.2 Case Study Research Instruments

The ethnographic approach that was used determined the instruments used in the case study. The instruments with a high degree of accuracy are needed for data collection to provide reliable and valid data. Nieuwenhuis (2009:27) as cited by Masunda (2014:40-41) stated that the researcher is an important data gathering instrument in qualitative researches where credibility and trustworthiness are proven by producing valid and reliable data. Questionnaires attached in appendix A and B were used, and interviews and participant observation for data collection were also used. The following are the data gathering methods used.

a) Mini survey

As indicated in Chapter 1, a mini-survey was used to collect first hand data in order to understand the situation at hand in the Bukalo area as part of the research proposal phase. Three persons were chosen of which one was satisfied with the land relocation programme while the other was not satisfied as well as the council administrative officer.

b) Questionnaires

The second round of information was gathered using questionnaires A and B from the relocators and the programme leaders. A questionnaire is defined as a list of pre-set questions (Haralambos & Holborn 2000:16). Questionnaires are flexible and thus allowed the respondents to first
complete their personal information/administration information and then complete the open-ended questions. Before both questionnaires were approved and distributed, the researcher took one of the draft questionnaires to give to a programme leader. The findings were also incorporated in the final questionnaire where improvements were made. This helped much as it made it easier to administer the questionnaires, whilst focusing on what is crucial for the study.

The same questionnaire for the relocatees was used to gather information from the focus groups. The questionnaire answers and those that were analysed from the literature were used to address the research questions. The questionnaires were distributed in such a manner that the respondents were respected and the researcher’s willingness to respond to some of their questions caught their full attention. Since the researcher is a shift worker, the three days off were used to meet up with the programme leaders and some of the relocators who needed special appointments. This was done to respect the respondents’ wishes and not to cause disturbances.

c) **Key informant interviews**

Masunda (2014:42) as he quoted Nieuwenhuis stated that interviews help in obtaining the ideas, opinions, views, understandings and beliefs of the interviewee. The researcher therefore, interviewed two key informants who had the key roles in the relocation programme. The Royal Chief for Bukalo Khuta and the one leading the Masubia tradition group were interviewed after the cultural festival in August 2014. The chief has the mandate of making sure that the relocators are provided with land soon after being relocated from their ancestral land. The idea of interviewing the chief was good as he opened the flow of communication to his delegates (Indunas). The researcher was given an opportunity to address 10 delegates who are directly involved with the wellbeing of Bukalo residents. The information gathered enabled the researcher to assess if the local leaders embrace the programme or not and if they are aware of their community’s concerns.

The other informant who was interviewed was the development planner who had experience in development projects and was leading the relocation programme at Bukalo. Semi-structured questions were used to give them directions as to what the researcher’s interest was. Masunda (2014:42) explains semi-structured questions as the pre-set questions that define a line of inquiry that collaborates data which emerges from other sources. Points were always taken although the
interviewee would sometimes mention ideas which they felt were relevant. The overall aim of the key informants were to check whether there was a balance between the information from the relocates and any other information gathered in this study. This made it easier to analyse the data collected.

d) Focus group

The researcher had an opportunity to interview a group of 8 people that formed part of the sample from the Bukalo population earmarked for relocation.

e) Observation

As the researcher used to go around visiting sites where some developments were visible, she used to observe and collect some data. Observation therefore plays a role as one of the tools for data collection. According to Nieuwenhuis (2009:11) as stated by Masunda (2014:43), observation is referred to the systematic process in which the researcher records patterns and occurrences of objects and participants without asking questions without involving or influencing the dynamics. Therefore, the researcher of this study only served as an observer while taking notes of what was going on.

4.7 Data collection Procedure

The researcher adopted three data collection procedures, namely, observation, interviewing and documentary analysis. After data collection, the researcher realized that interviews played a major role in the collection of data as many respondents requested to be interviewed rather than completing questionnaires. Fortunately, the researcher found out that the chief of Masubia under which Bukalo falls had a village affected by the relocation. This created a platform where the researcher had an opportunity to interview the chief and his delegates in the traditional court.

4.8 Discussion of Findings from fieldwork

The data collected, as relevant to Objective Two, i.e. To evaluate the perceptions of land relocation by people in the Bukalo area, in other words to reveal how the beneficiaries are adapting to the relocation, Objective three: To understand the achievements and shortcomings of land relocation in the Bukalo Area, Objective four: To find ways and means to correct the
anomalies to avoid in future relocations elsewhere and **Objective five: To create the basis for policy formulation with regard to future relocations**, will now be presented.

![Bar chart showing the percentage of respondents in different categories.](image)

**Table 1: The category in which the respondent falls**

Table 1 indicates that about 25% of the respondents were council employees, whereas 70% of the respondents were relocators and 5% were local leaders. Of this 70%, 60 % of them were unemployed.

![Bar chart showing the gender distribution of respondents.](image)

**Table 2 Gender of respondent**
Table 2 indicates that 65% of the respondents were female and 35% were male. This points to the fact that there are more female household heads than male in Bukalo settlement during the period when study was conducted.

**The age of respondent**

In most cases, the head of household of the affected population in this study were above 55 years of age with the smallest age category of respondents being between the ages of 45 to 54 years representing an 8% of the respondents. About 55% of the respondents were above the age of 54, 15% were between the ages of 25 to 34 years, 12% were between the ages of 35 to 44 and 10% were between the ages of 15 to 34 years.

![Education of the respondents](image)

**Table 3: Education of respondent**

About 2% of the respondents did not have the opportunity to go to school. It was found that about 5% of the respondents attended part primary (grade 1 to 2 not up to grade 7) whereas 10% attended up to part secondary. Many respondents indicated that they attended up to tertiary level.

4.8.2 **What is the number of people in the household?**

Through the interviews from the focus group and the questionnaires distributed to the relocators, about 80% of the affected population indicated that they were heading seven people. 10% indicated that they lived with nine (9) people in their household, 5% indicated that they lived with five (5) people and the other 5% indicated that they lived with two (2) to four (4) people in
the household. The researcher also found that those who lived with more than four people per household were suffering in terms of shelter as their houses could not be renovated.

4.8.3 Are you satisfied with the compensation applied to the relocation programme?

![Satisfaction of the compensation applied on the land relocation programme](image)

**Table 4: Satisfaction of the compensation applied to the relocation programme**

It was found that 85% of those affected were not satisfied with the compensation applied and thus they perceived the relocation programme to be a harsh exercise affecting them. Many complained that their bare land was not compensated for as they were promised to be allocated plots in the near future. They also indicated that since they applied for plots of land in 2010, nothing has been done. They mentioned that they were forced to relocate whether they liked it or not as the land was not theirs but belonged to the government. Not even rejection letters were given so that they could take the matter further. Reasons for that included the failure to measure some of the trees. A large percentage was very disappointed as their fruit bearing trees were not measured. They also indicated that the main reason was that those trees were not bearing fruits at the time measurements were taken. They, however, stated that many of the trees bore fruits a few months after their exercise. They also indicated that the responsible authorities were not bearing in mind the fact that growing trees is not easy. They felt that the fruits of their hard labour will be enjoyed by the richer ones who will buy their plots.
For relocation to be fair, land for the relocators should be identified before development starts. In the case of Bukalo, the same dissatisfied population indicated that they had to hunt for land to resettle as they were waiting for their compensation. They indicated that Land in the Zambezi region was not easy to acquire. People fight for land making it difficult for them to know exactly where to relocate. The responsible authorities seemed to ignore their cry as they did not go to the people; they were left alone soon after measurements were done.

The unsatisfied population also indicated that they had no idea how much their houses, fruits, kraals and fields or cultivated land cost. This was due to the fact that during measurements, the affected population was not involved in the process as they watched those from the council do what they knew best.

A greater number of the relocators further indicated that even the compensation prices were not fair due to the fact that starting afresh was not an easy thing for them as one thought of the many years they lived in Bukalo. One old lady was quoted saying, “maintaining a place requires alot of money, labour and everything is expensive, seeing a mango for example bearing fruits one suffered my child, this not a joke, we really feel undermined”. They also indicated that the guidelines were like a secret, it is as if they did not want them to be aware of the prices. However, some respondents added that the compensation prices were fair. The only problem they had was the fact that the responsible authorities were not executing their duties properly, in some cases the council officials were not measuring the trees according to the stated compensation guidelines. They compare the amount received by those compensated against the actual guidelines, which do no correspond.

The relocatees also mentioned that their fields were not measured. One old lady of 93 years stated that “Na ne niutwile feela inge babulela kuli ba kibomucembele mu bafe feela 1 hectare- I only heard them saying that this is an old lady, let us only give her 1 hectare”. She also mentioned that other crops like cassava, sweet potatoes and peri-peri were not included. Some also stated that they had electrical appliances like TVs, fridges and radios and wondered how they were going to use them because there is no electricity where they found land to start afresh. They also voiced the issue of not renovating their houses made up of poles, grass and mud that need renovations every year. It was a major concern as they had waited for four years to be
compensated. Some mentioned that nothing could satisfy them more than living on their
ancestral land forever.

Lack of information on the part of the responsible authorities after measurements was also
mentioned as unsatisfying. One of the relocators, who were in the process of relocating after
receiving her cheque, stated that she was not happy as her form was altered. She mentioned that
the time when the measurements were done, her house cost N$14000.00, but when the cheque
was brought to her for signature, it was reduced to N$11000.00. She refused to sign it and
demanded the form that they used during measurements. It took two and a half months for them
to bring the form. “My sister advised me to just sign for the cheque as many of the houses were
demolished, I went to sign. After a month they called for the meeting and informed us to go and
verify the forms if we were not satisfied, upon checking mine I realized that my signature was
falsified, I know my signature” she stated. She complained but it was futile as she had already
signed for the cheque. . The respondent also indicated that compensation prices were not made
available to them as she saw the guidelines when the researcher went to the field.

The relocators also mentioned instances where they were forced to harvest green mealies as they
were forced to vacate the land since they were already compensated. The demolition exercise
was very painful as they watched the destruction of their villages that they used to renovate while
they waited for a long period of time to be compensated.

Despite the huge percentage of relocatees who were not satisfied with the compensation, 15% of
them were satisfied in the sense that they inquired as the measurements were done. They were
given an opportunity of keeping two plots of their ancestral land as stated in the Namibian
compensation guidelines for communal land. They were worried at the time they heard that they
were to leave their ancestral land as some were orphans. Some from this population said the
cheques they received were satisfactory as they were observant during the whole process and
were aware of what was taking place.
4.8.4 Does this household have livestock?

Table 5 shows that 95% of the affected population does not have livestock, while a 5% indicated that they had livestock. According to the interview with the programme leader, such livestock used to graze in the town land making it difficult for the council’s operations. The rest of the relocators had livestock but they had always kept them at flood plain areas where they had a piece of land for grazing.

4.8.5 Do you have arable land?

About 83% of the affected population indicated that they had arable land, while 17% had no arable land. This part of the population was either school dropouts who depended on running businesses for survival or those who migrated from flood plains only to send their children to better schools.

4.8.6 What is your primary source of subsistence?

The following table indicates the sources of subsistence for the Bukalo residents:
Table 6: Source of subsistence or Bukalo residents

Table 6 indicates that a higher percentage (i.e. 40%) of Bukalo residents live on farming, followed by 18% of mostly youth living on piece works. Brewing is one of the sources of subsistence in Bukalo with a 10%. Some survive on growing vegetables as the rain has not been seen recently. This is indicated by a 7% percent on the table. The other 7% on the table indicates that there are people who survive on businesses such as selling fish, crops and fruits. There is a number of people who survived on wood carving. Unfortunately the building where they used to practise their wood carving was not measured as the royal people claimed that it belonged to them. On the table wood carving is indicated by a 6%. There is also a 5% of relocators who were civil servants and another 5% were receiving pension grants for the elderly people and disabled. The 2% indicated on the table refers to the gifts that the royal chief and his family used to receive despite his position and farming activities that he practised.
4.8.7 How long have you been a resident of Bukalo?

Table 7: Years lived in Bukalo

Table 7 clearly illustrates the number of years the affected population lived in Bukalo: 4% of the population lived less than one year, 7% of the said population lived in Bukalo for 1 to 5 years and 9% were found to have lived in Bukalo for 6 to 10 years. 80% of the respondents indicated that they lived for more than 10 years in Bukalo with most of them indicating 20 years.

4.8.8 How many houses do you have on this plot?

Table 8: Number of houses per household
Table 8 indicates that a large number of households had 3 to 5 houses. This denotes a 44% of the respondents; 31% of the respondents indicated that they had 6 to 10 houses; 20% indicated that they only had 1 to 2 houses, whereas 5 percent indicated that they had more than 10 houses. These mainly included those with livestock as they had cattle herders who had their own houses but they were depending on one household.

4.8.9 What is the structure of your house?

About 83% indicated that their houses were made up of pole walls, grass roofs and earthed floors and 7% of the respondents indicated that their houses were made up of grass roofs, concrete walls and concrete floors. About 5% indicated that their houses were made up of pole walls, corrugated roofs (iron sheets) and earthed floors. The other 5% indicated that their houses were made up of corrugated structures.

4.8.10 How many fruit bearing trees do you have?

The relocators are a population interested in growing trees of different types. It was found that 5% of the respondents had 1 to 2 fruit bearing trees. About 15% of the respondents indicated that they had 3 to 5 trees; 9% of the respondents indicated that they had 6 to 10 trees while 71% indicated that they had more than 10 fruit bearing trees.

4.8.11 List the type and number of fruit bearing trees that you have

The following are the fruit bearing trees that were found:

- Mango
- Pawpaw
- Guava
- Orange
- Nartjies
- Bananas
- Lemon
- Marula
- Granadilla
- Palm trees
Among all the trees listed, mangoes were indicated to be the majority of trees grown in the Bukalo area. The relocators complained that some of these trees were not considered. There are other medicinal trees like moringa, peri-peri, chimbangara and mungongo, as well as muzinzila and sugar canes that were not included.

4.8.12 Is there any graveyard at this plot?

About 3% of the respondents indicated that they had graves at their homestead while 87% indicated that they did not have graves. They all used to bury their loved ones at the communal grave site.

4.8.13 What happens to it (graveyard) when you relocate?

The 3% of the respondents who mentioned that they had graves indicated that they leave the graves and that nothing was explained as to what happens when they relocate.

4.8.14 Are you familiar with the compensation guidelines used or amount paid as compensation?

About 90% of the respondents indicated that they were not familiar with the compensation guidelines. They also mentioned that during meetings they were only advised that they were to be relocated to pave a way for a town to their benefit. They also indicated that they were seeing the compensation guidelines for the first time and that the responsible authorities never showed or interpreted the guidelines for them. About 10% indicated that they were familiar with the compensation guidelines as some of their families asked the responsible authorities for a light on how their properties would be compensated but they denied that they were aware of the issue of retaining or keeping plots of land from their ancestral land free of charge.

4.8.15 How satisfied are you with the compensation measurement formula used?

About 90% of the respondents indicated that they were not satisfied with the compensation measurement formula used. They complained of their cultivated land that was not included in the measurement equation. They felt that the practice was very unfair as they suffered their entire
lives clearing the land every year for their farming activities. They also indicated that some of the benefits were narrated to them in the last meeting after the measurements were done like the issue of keeping plots. Some 10% of the respondents indicated that they were somewhat satisfied as they were not removed without compensation. They did not object to the amount compensated as they were involved in the valuation and regarded the amount as fair.

4.8.16 Were there any awareness meetings with your chief (traditional leader) before relocation started?

About 23% admitted that there were awareness meetings before the relocation started in 2005, even though they indicated that the information was not clear on the compensation guidelines used and that they were not briefed. On the other hand 77% of the respondents mentioned that there were no meetings held. They also stated that meetings that were held were to rather about renovating the traditional court yard for the chief.

4.8.17 How many times did you attend the awareness meetings?

About 15% indicated that they attended the meetings twice and 8% indicated that they attended only one meeting although it was just a briefing. About 77% indicated that they did not attend any meeting but they heard from other people that there were relocations. From the 77%, about 35% indicated that they had no radios if they had made announcements for such meetings.

4.8.18 How do you rate the development at the new settlement on the scale 1 to 5?
Table 9 Development ratings at Bukalo

None of the respondents indicated that the development was neither good nor very good. About 3% indicated that the development was reasonable as there were developments, such as a filling station whereas 7% of the respondents indicated that the development was poor. About 90% indicated that the development was very poor as they did not see a change and they stated that it was then a scary place as trees had grown where people were relocated. They also complained that moving at night was so risky. They also indicated that the electricity was just used to illuminate wild animals.

4.8.19 Are you involved in the relocation process?

No one from the relocators who were either interviewed or those who completed the questionnaires indicated that they were involved in the process as there was no platform for their views to be heard.

4.8.20 What role did you play in the relocation process?

Though the minority indicated that they were not so sure of their role, many relocators indicated that they had no role to play in the relocation process as everything was just imposed on them.

4.8.21 Are you involved in the development planning of Bukalo area?

All relocators who were either interviewed or those who completed the questionnaires indicated that they were not involved in the development process as they were not consulted for any views regarding development. They also mentioned that they requested plots from the council but they were not given any nor were their requests rejected.

4.8.22 What is your involvement in the development planning?

Relocates indicated that they were not involved in the development planning.

4.8.23 What is your understanding on resettlement?

About 45% indicated that they did not understand what resettlement was. They mentioned that they could have something to say if there was something going on in Bukalo. They also stated that the responsible authorities did not explain to them what resettlement was all about.
However, about 55% mentioned that resettlement referred to starting a fresh from the former ways of living to the way that the government wishes as they moved from one place to the other with the help of the government or responsible authorities brought about development. They also indicated that resettlement referred to the development of a village to be a town or a first step of a village council. They mentioned that as people move they make allowances for new buildings and projects in the town.

4.8.24 Are the local leaders involved in the planning process?

![Involvement of the local leaders](image)

Table 10 Leaders’ involvement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Involvement of the local leaders</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Do not know</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21%</td>
<td>21%</td>
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<tr>
<td>58%</td>
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In the pie graph above, 21% of the respondents mentioned that their local leaders were not involved in the planning process of their relocation, whereas another 21% agreed that the local leaders were involved in the planning process as their chief was also relocating. They however felt that the chief was supposed to encourage his people to stay and request the government to construct proper houses for his people. About 58% of the respondents indicated that they had no idea on whether local leaders were involved or not involved in the planning process.

4.8.25 What type of support do they provide or how are they involved?

About 21% of those who indicated that local leaders were involved in the planning process stated that local leaders were responsible for giving land to the affected community and plots of land in
the traditional portion of land that is still under the traditional authority. Traditional leaders who were interviewed indicated that they normally allocated land where possible and there had been no cases where relocatees complained that they could not find land to relocate to. These respondents indicated that the local leaders were responsible for signing the agreement with the council about the proclamation of the town. Despite the support that the leaders provide, 58% of the respondents indicated that the local leaders only supported those who were related to them. They mentioned that with regard to the process, their local leaders were not involved except during the time of the cultural festival where one realizes that they have local leaders around. They also mentioned that local leaders seem to be forced to be involved as they were afraid to lose their seats. Lack of information about the whole process clearly indicated to them that leaders were not involved. They also mentioned that they never called their people to ask about their feelings with the relocation process as they were satisfied with their monthly allowances.

4.8.26 Did you receive any support, e.g. transport from the regional council?

![Support provided by the council](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Do not know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Support provided by the council</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11 Regional Council’s support**

About 11% of the respondents indicated that the council provided support such as transport during relocation to some people. They indicated that some of their relatives who had relocated were provided with transport and they could not see why the regional council would not provide them with transport. About 26% indicated that they did not know as they were awaiting relocation. However, 63% of the respondents mentioned that transport was provided in some
cases but one had to give the council staff responsible with transport a certain amount of money per load. They stated that those families who were relocated were requested to fuel the government tractors as they were compensated stating that per load they were requested to pay N$250.00. They also stated that they witnessed their relatives running around to request transport for them to relocate. Their belongings were damaged in the process. The fellow locals charged high fees for assisting with relocation.

4.8.27 How useful is the support provided by the regional council?

The 4% of the respondents that indicated that the council provided support mentioned that the support was very useful, whereas 3% indicated that the support provided was useful. About 5% indicated that though transport was provided, they felt the support was not useful as they expected much more from the responsible authorities. About 63% of the respondents indicated that there was no support provided.

4.8.28 What are the impacts of resettlement on the affected population?

The respondents indicated the following as the impacts of resettlement on the affected population:

They indicated that money that they received as compensation was not enough to start new lives. When relatives heard that they were compensated, they came for loans which they never paid back. Some of the respondents indicated that they were suffering as they used to gather some fruits but it was not the same anymore. They also mentioned that the medicines that they used to get from trees were not easily found after the relocation started and they were scared that it would become worse once Bukalo becomes a town. Some indicated that they already saw poverty as their businesses, such as brewing that could collapse.

Water was mentioned by all respondents as a major issue as it was not easy for them to find water where they were going. Digging wells were very expensive. Those who managed to get plots of land in the traditional land explained that they were faced with the cutting off of water which they received twice a week, which was also not portable. They also mentioned that their clothes changed colour with that water.
Electricity - they indicated that where they were relocating to there was no electricity and no roads either. There were a lot of wild animals too.

Schools - the relocators indicated that there were no schools where they relocated to making it hard for their school going children to travel long distances to school. They asked the researcher to explain where one would take your kids to should they get land between Bukalo and Ngoma (possibly deep in the bush) and between Bukalo and Mubiza or Sikuzwe. During rainy seasons children who already relocated were suffering.

Transport - They also indicated that going to churches was also difficult as they were getting land 8 kilometers away from their churches.

Clinics - they also indicated that at the new villages there were no clinics

Markets - access to local markets were a challenge

Bureaucracy - it was indicated as a concern as the government was slow with the provision of funds leading to the affected community to wait for many years before they were compensated.

Promises - relocators indicated that all promises were empty as the responsible authorities were too ignorant. This also makes it hard for the unemployed to cope with the situation at hand.

HIV-AIDS - the relocators mentioned that the process of resettlement brings in investors and builders with a high possibility of being infected with the virus. This could lead to a high number of people of Bukalo being infected with the virus. They indicated that this was already happening as it was already discovered that there were some teenagers in relationships with such people. They felt that their people will just die of the dreadful disease.

Lack of land - they mentioned that relocation spaces for building, grazing and farming activities were not available. The relocators end up building one or two structures for the whole family.

4.8.29 What are the impacts of resettlement on the physical environment?

Bush encroachment - relocators mentioned that bushes have grown in the areas where people have moved to and that the council spent a lot of money for de-bushing purposes so as to keep the settlement clean.
Deforestation - a few kilometers from the town boundaries it is already overcrowded with people, especially those who were moved from their homes, many trees were cut down for building purposes and places where they were going to plough.

Debushing - the relocators indicated that debushing of the town-land had a negative impact on the environment as many species became extinct.

4.8.30 What are the benefits of land relocation in your view?

The respondents mentioned the following as the benefits of land relocation:

- Paving a way for development in terms of proclaiming new towns brings services that are closer to people
- Access to portable water as the settlement develops
- Compensation - people are enabled financially to put better structures where they will be relocated and buy other things they never had.
- Job creation - many people of Bukalo will have opportunities to find jobs
- Accommodation - many buildings will be built to cater for those in need of accommodation
- Transport - people do not travel long distances for such services like fuel for instance, with the newly opened filling station costs are cut.
- Cheaper food- as many investors are coming, food will be cheaper as it was evident with the small shop at the filling station. Many basics were very cheap.

4.8.31 What are the disadvantages of land relocation?

Respondents emphasized the part of corruption of supposedly responsible authorities as they do not follow the guidelines. Adaptation to any new place was not an easy thing and that it was time consuming and stressful to start the construction of new houses and de-bushing of the new land. The affected people are normally denied basic services after being unfairly moved from their ancestral land. The money they receive was not sufficient to start anew. There was a lack of land for relocation. Too much labor is involved when building new houses and de-bushing to places of relocation. Poor services such as water and electricity were also mentioned. This brought about long distances to school, especially for children younger than 10 years. For those who
were planning to keep plots of land it will be difficult as they will need funds in future to maintenance and upkeep of their houses. They also indicated that, during times of flooding they wonder how they would survive. They felt like it was not easy for their children to go to school during flood times. Relocatees indicated that they were not fairly treated as the rich became richer and the poor became poorer. Noise pollution and diseases due to people being overcrowded was a concern. Animals will not be seen around and the relocatees felt that their kids will not know the types of tame animals as it will require travelling long distances to visit the kraals. The respondents mentioned that burglary or all sorts of criminality would increase.

4.8.32 How well do you (relocatees) cooperate with the resettlement planners?

About 20% of the affected population indicated that they had good cooperation with the planners as they understood and knew about the relocation process, whereas 80% indicated that there was no cooperation at all as they only take measurements and they never come back to check on how they were progressing or whether they got land to relocate to. Four years could pass without the planners or the leaders making efforts to come to them for explanations. They had seen with those who were already relocated that they only came back to have them sign for their cheques. They also mentioned that they requested plots that they did not receive.

4.8.33 How well do you (resettlement planners) cooperate with the relocators?

About 25% of the council staff indicated that they cooperated well with the relocators as they were very tolerant. They mentioned that, many relocators waited since 2010 to 2014 without going to the council and ask where their compensation was. They believed that this was due to the information that was well communicated to the affected community. However, about 75% of the council staff indicated that there was no good cooperation between them and the relocatees as they move far away and never come back to them.

4.8.34 Settler involvement and decision making on resettlement issues is important, do you feel that you are involved in this whole process? Explain why.

About 5% of the respondents indicated that they were partially involved as they were available when their houses were measured even though they never came back since the said year of measurements. About 15% indicated that they were not involved because the responsible
authorities measured their plots or houses during their absence. About 80% also indicated that they were completely uninvolved as they were not given the opportunity to give input into the process. They felt that they never wanted to move from the area. They indicated that they would choose to have their houses built instead of money as compensation. They mentioned that they had adapted in Bukalo and knew all avenues of making a living in Bukalo. They felt that they were not recognized and that the whole issue was political.

4.8.35 Is there any village development committee in Bukalo area?

![Bar chart showing the percentage of respondents regarding the existence of the VDC.](chart.png)

**Table 12 VDC**

The table above indicates that 23% of the respondents did not have an idea of the existence of the Village Development Committee (VDC), whereas 20% indicated that they were certain that there was no VDC. However, about 57% of the respondents indicated that there was a VDC.

4.8.36 What support do you receive from the village development committee?

About 55% of the respondents who indicated that there was a VDC in Bukalo indicated that the only support they received from the committee were drought relief, food with which they were not satisfied as they used to be given a few bags of mealie-meal without relish in many cases. They also mentioned that they used to sometimes be cancelled from the lists of the drought relief. The local leaders also concurred with the relocatees that they were even taken off from the relief list. However, about 2% indicated that the VDC normally gives services on how to settle
problems among people. They also indicated that they used to discipline people on how to follow rules and avoid fighting. They also mentioned that they organize markets for their people to sell their goods and provide and initiate for their people to access services, such as water and plots.

4.8.37 Are you a member of the village development committee?

About 1% indicated that they were members of the VDC, while 99% indicated that they were not members of the VDC.

4.8.38 Does the village development committee members know their roles? Explain.

![Certainty of VDC roles](chart.png)

**Table 13 VDC roles**

About 32% of the affected population indicated that they were uncertain as to whether the VDC members knew their roles or not. About 67% indicated that they were certain that the VDC members did not know their roles as they seem not to know what they were doing. The respondents mentioned that they were not satisfied with a lot of things but they did not know where to go for their issues to be resolved amicably. The respondents also indicated that failure to follow up and feedback to the community on the development projects proves that they had no idea of what they should and should not do. Lack of regular meetings with people who voted for them was also indicated as one of the reasons why they were certain that the VDC did not know what is expected of them. However, about 1% of the respondents stressed that the VDC knew
their roles as they used to go for induction courses twice a year even though it was noticed that corruption was a disease that affects any nation and that they were no exception.

4.8.39 How do you rate the relocation procedures?

![Graph](https://scholar.sun.ac.za)

**Table 14 Relocation procedures**

In the graph 18% of the affected population indicated that they did not know anything about the relocation procedures while 82% of the affected population indicated that the procedures were inadequate as the pace of relocating people was very slow. They also mentioned that there was a lack of information of the procedures of the relocation in the Bukalo case as people only knew that those who were relocated were to receive a certain amount of money to start afresh. Procedures were not clear which brought about a lack of cooperation. They also mentioned that the government was ignorant of the situation at Bukalo. They stated that there were irregularities that the top officials knew about but they turned a blind eye on them. The local leaders interviewed indicated that the council officials used to take some time before they gave feedback about any failures and successes.
4.9 Discussions of Findings from the Council staff

The following are the findings and discussion from the council staff.

There were 10 council employees who received questionnaires to complete. At least 7 employees managed to complete the questionnaires, among them were employees who obtained grade 10, grade 12, an Accounting Certificate and National Diploma.

The following questions and answers were directed and answered by the programme leaders or staff of the Bukalo council such as drivers, laborers, administrative accountants, a senior administrative officer and a control administrative officer. This section relates to Objective five: To create the basis for policy formulation with regard to future relocations.

4.9.1 How will the resettlement investments be financed as soon as the settlement flourishes in order to recover the servicing costs?

The staff of the council stated that they had plans of selling the serviced land to try and recover the costs. They also mentioned that they would recover costs through the collection of fees or levies charged on services provided to the residents such as water, electricity, and sewerage and rates and taxes on properties.

4.9.2 Are there any reviews on the existing laws on land acquisition and land compensation?
Table 15 Existing laws

No one indicated that there were reviews done on the existing laws. About 15% of the respondents indicated that they had no idea of whether there were reviews done or not. They also stated that if there were reviews then the central government did those reviews. About 85% of the respondents were certain that there were no reviews done on the existing laws.

4.9.3 How often are the reviews done?

All respondents indicated that they had no idea on how often and if there were those reviews.

4.9.4 After reviews, are there any challenges with regard to the compensation guidelines?

All respondents mentioned that they had no idea of whether there were any challenges as they were not responsible for the reviews and these were not mentioned during meetings.

4.9.5 Mention a few critical challenges

There were no critical challenges mentioned as they had no idea if there were reviews done.

4.9.6 The compensation guidelines state that the relocators are allowed to keep two plots from their ancestral land; do the relocators prefer money over plots of land? Explain
Table 16 Preference on the form of compensation

About 5% of the respondents mentioned that relocators were more interested in the money than plots of land as they were properly informed that the residents preferred money and their choice was therefore to relocate completely from the town land as they assumed that they might not afford the town life. About 5% indicated that they had no idea, whereas 95% indicated that the relocators did not prefer money over plots of land. They stated that people were not properly informed about the compensation guidelines, especially the issue of keeping plots from their ancestral land as they were willing to do.

4.9.7 List the types of valued resources (e.g. water, wood, grazing fields…etc) that the people of Bukalo have access to:

The following were listed as the valuable resources:

- Water
- Wood
- Grazing land
- Farming land
4.9.8 How soon do you plan to secure these resources after the affected relocators had moved?

About 98% of the respondents indicated that there were no plans to secure such resources as they believed that as long as the area is proclaimed a town, all resources become part of the town and thus in the process will be secured by those who will share such scarce resources. However, 2% of the respondents indicated that most people who relocated from the town land had already communal land outside town land. They also indicated that in terms of water, it was either the relocators who benefitted from the rural water supply or that they draw water from wells out of the compensated money.

4.9.9 Are there any feasibility studies done to ensure that such resources will be found at the new sites?

No one stated that there were feasibility studies done. About 53% indicated that they had no idea about the studies undertaken. About 47% of the council staff indicated that there were no feasibility studies done. The government only decided as no place was secured for the affected population.

4.9.10 What were the findings?

No findings were mentioned.

4.9.11 What is the difference between compensation rates and sales prices of the new units?

About 80% of the council staff indicated that they had no idea as the plots that were compensated for, were not yet sold but merely allocated to people where rates of about N$53.00 per month were paid. They also indicated that the status of the settlement could not allow for the sales of the plots making it difficult for them to differentiate. About 5% indicated that the prices were fair, especially for people who used the IBR sheets because it is far above the market prices of IBR sheets. About 5% indicated that they thought that selling of plots was more expensive as land prices were escalating as seen all over Namibia. However, about 10% indicated that the plots were much cheaper compared to the compensated amount. They stated that plots of about 1182 square meters cost about N$ 24 000.00 while the same plot was compensated at about N$90 000.00.
4.9.12 What are the challenges that you face with the current compensation policy when relocating Bukalo residents?

The staff stated that people were not willing to relocate; they were interested in staying where they had settled for many years. They also mentioned that relocators were not satisfied with the money they received as compensation. Moving from developed land to underdeveloped land was a concern they stated as a challenge. Amongst all the reasons, funds were a major challenge as the council did not have enough funds to compensate and sustain the affected communities during the relocation and after that thus taking long to pay the affected community. They mentioned that they had no budget and their submissions through the regional council to the central government used to take long to be approved. There was a current dispute of about N$4 million that was supposed to be resolved. Due to the fact that the affected population searches for their own land to relocate, statistics have shown that they were only relocating 2 kilometers from the settlement, thus promoting squatting.

4.9.13 According to many studies, it has been proven that resettlement is not an issue until in project implementation as funds are normally diverted to other project purposes during implementation, what plans did the council put in place to avoid the diversion of funds to other projects?

About 40% could not tell if there were any measures in place or not. However, about 25% indicated that, in the case of Bukalo they had not yet experienced any situation where funds earmarked for compensation had to be diverted to other projects. The regional council did not have a specific budgetary provision on its budget for compensation as they often request from the line ministries. They also indicated that investors were already invited and approvals were underway. They mentioned plans for investors such as Woermann stores that requested 20 to 30 hectares that was approved. There was also National Mass Housing, the biggest project covering four categories: low income earning, middle income earning group, highest earning groups and social group that had already started at Bukalo. Through the implementation of this project, the staffs were certain that people will buy such houses and then pay rates and taxes. About 35% indicated that they were sure that proper planning was not done but they suggested that for an upcoming town like Bukalo, funds need to be budgeted in order to implement the process of compensation and not necessarily having to request funds when they need to compensate
residents. They also suggested that regular monitoring and evaluations were important to ensure that proper management and implementation are done effectively.

4.9.14 Are there any monitoring and evaluation policies to evaluate the impacts imposed on the target population?

None of the respondents indicated that there were monitoring and evaluation policies to evaluate the impacts imposed on the target population. About 30 percent of the respondents were certain that there were no monitoring and evaluation policies as they would be aware of them. About 70 percent indicated that they had no idea at all.

4.9.15 How often is the programme monitored and evaluated?

100 % of the respondents indicated that they did not know anything regarding monitoring and evaluation of the relocation program.

4.9.16 Land pressures in resettlement areas in Namibia and elsewhere worldwide are critical as settlers do not move far away from the project area, how do you plan to avoid this in Bukalo case?

About 25% of the respondents mentioned that they used to encourage relocators not to move from their ancestral land but keep the plots and develop their own land. About 75% indicated that it was important as they had been doing so to identify the town lands first, and making sure that people relocate one kilometre away from the town land boundary and make them understand that there would be no compensation should they be requested to relocate as the town extends. They also indicated that it was important to make regular visits on the town land boundaries to make sure that people were not building within the town land boundaries. They also felt that the government was supposed to meet and sensitize the communities about the disadvantages of building within the town land. They also mentioned that the best way was for the government to construct houses for the relocators and encourage them to pay for the town services other than giving them insufficient money that does not meet their needs.
4.9.17 What are the future perspectives with regard to the relocation?

About 80% did not have an idea of the future perspectives. However, about 20% of the respondents indicated that for any normal town, there should be enough land and thus they planned on educating people not to build within the boundaries as that would affect them in the near future. They also indicated that they planned on securing a place where the affected population should be relocated hence providing for them basic services such as schools, clinics, portable water and other basic services that they would need. They mentioned that they planned on encouraging people to go for the option of getting the serviced plots and settle there and construct permanent building on the town land out of the compensated funds. Educating the relocators about the compensation guidelines was viewed as a priority and they felt it could help with making the best choices of going about relocations.

4.9.18 What are the shortcomings of the compensation policy?

Despite the challenges of lack of funds to pay relocators and the lack of information indicated, the respondents indicated that the clause of how they compensate for the relocators’ fields was not fair. They stated that the vegetation of Bukalo allowed for clearing of the fields every year. This showed that the communities suffered and had to pay a lot of money through the years to keep ploughing their fields. The clause stated that for cultivated land, such a piece of land will only be compensated for if it was equal to one (1) hectare of which they gave N$ 600.00/ha. For those with less than that they were not getting anything. They also indicated that in one hectare, the relocators could get more than N$600.00 with a good harvest, whereas the government only gives them so little for all the years.

4.9.19 With regard to the channel at Bukalo area, and its geographic location prone to floods, how do you plan to manage this in future?

About 50% narrated that there would never be any overflow as history has proven itself. They mentioned that the heaviest flood was in 1958, then in 1978 but in both incidents there were no people affected. They stated that the channel simply directed water from the Zambezi River to Muyako (Liambezi River). However, the other 50% suggested that it would be important to have a disaster risk management committee that would oversee any natural disaster that may occur in Bukalo. They suggested that funds were supposed to be made available to deal with such
disasters, for example harvesting and putting the water into dams or making canals. Interestingly, the control administrative officer mentioned that the relocation of people to new land was the responsibility of the traditional authority. Nobody was relocated within the vicinity of the town land. He stated that they had an intention of cleaning the channel and de-bushing it, as well as deepening it to harvesting the flood and establishing recreation facilities.

4.9.20 What provisions are put in place to ensure that land is made available for the relocators given pressures of land in Namibia, especially the Zambezi region?

The programme leaders mentioned that there were no provisions made for the availability of land for the relocators as that responsibility was vested in the traditional authorities. It is left to them to request for land to relocate from their respective traditional land to help them with land to resettle after compensation. They also stated that with the transport provided they used to see that the relocators indeed found places to settle.

4.9.21 How do you ensure that the relocators are satisfied with the compensation?

About 20% indicated that the community was properly informed and that the applicable tariff pre-determined to be applied across the country and that there be no manipulation of the tariffs as they were straightforward and simple to calculate. About 80% indicated that there was a lack of proper information and people were not satisfied with the compensation.

4.9.22 What mechanisms are put in place to avoid resistance to relocation?

The respondents indicated that the communities used to be educated on the importance of development through regular consultative meetings convened by the traditional authority where clarification needed from the regional council used to be interpreted in the local language. They indicated that in 2013, rates (water and refuse removal) paid by those who were in the settlement area were ploughed back to the community as 30 youths were employed to de-bush the settlement area.

4.9.23 Are people willing to relocate and why?

About 5% indicated that people were willing to relocate as they were not resisting as they saw other people being relocated, especially those who were affected. However, 95% of the
respondents mentioned that relocators were not willing to relocate but had no choice as they were ordered to. Relocators felt that the money was not enough to satisfy their needs. The money was not enough to compensate for the labour of their hands through the years.

4.9.24 How many times have you de-bushed the settlement area?

The respondents indicated that the settlement was de-bushed four times since 2005.

4.9.25 What could be the reasons behind the failure to develop plots?

The respondents mentioned that those who acquired the plots did not have enough funds to develop the plots. They also mentioned that the issue of the status of Bukalo made it difficult as people could not obtain title deeds as security for securing funds from financial institutions. Among the people who acquired plots, there are a number of people who were not working to be able to build good structures.

4.9.26 How is the boundary between the settlement and the Royal Khuta affecting the operations at the settlement?

The respondents indicated that the portion of land that was still under the traditional authority had a few negative effects on the council’s operations, such as:

- Grazing - the residents at the traditional land are allowed to keep livestock which used to graze in the town land where they caused damage to the infrastructure, such as water-pipes and roads.
- The traditional authority and its community were not following the council’s rules as they used to put their structures even on sewage and water pipe lines.
- The respondents also stated that the residents in that location used services without paying.
- The traditional authority was blamed of promoting squatting as they gave many people plots of land on that limited space, thus leading to health hazards and crime.

4.9.27 What plans are in place to convince the population on the royal traditional land, to relocate?
The respondents indicated that a reasonable compensation could help to relocate them. They stated that it was just a matter of time; they would realize the implications of their presence in the town land. They also mentioned that officials from the Ministry of Regional and Local Government Housing and Rural Development went to the community and advised them to think ahead and promised to build houses for the chief and his delegates in places of their choice.

4.9.28 What do you think could be the best way for the relocation process in Bukalo?

Respondents indicated that government was supposed to take lead in the whole process and provide houses for them, as well as basic services. Awareness was supposed to be done in a way that it reaches all the affected parties.

4.10 Discussion of Findings from the Local Leaders

It is important to note that some of the questions asked to the community were also asked to the local leaders for interest sake as the chief had a village that was compensated for. The following were the findings emanated from the meeting held with the local leaders.

4.10.1 How long have you been a resident of Bukalo?

All the respondents indicated that they lived in Bukalo over 20 years.

4.10.2 The council stated that the residents of the royal land are allowed to tame animals, and thus disturb the daily functions of the council. How do you plan to deal with that situation?

The local leaders indicated that it was not an easy thing though they used to ask those with cattle and goats to look after their animals. They had to only promise to do their best.

4.10.3 Are you satisfied with the compensation applied to the relocation programme and the compensation measurement formula used??

The local leaders indicated that they were satisfied with the programme and they applauded the government for the great move.
Two respondents indicated that they were not satisfied with the compensation measurement formula used. They indicated that people spent energy and a lot of money maintaining their villages. They felt that other regions were given more than what their community was given. The majority of the respondents indicated that they were satisfied since their people were compensated. They were not having much issues with the amount used as they took part in all the measurements and were very much sure that the amount used was fair.

**4.10.4 Were there any awareness meetings held with the community before relocation started?**

The local leaders indicated in 2005 that there were awareness meetings before the relocation started, and other briefings about the programme were done even though few people attended such briefings.

**4.10.5 How do you rate the development at the new settlement on the scale 1 to 5?**

![Image of bar chart]

*Table 17 Development ratings at Bukalo2*

About 90% indicated that the development was reasonable as there were developments, such as a filling station and good street roads as well as houses being constructed, whereas 1% of the respondents indicated that the development was poor. About 8% indicated that the development was good as they saw a change.
4.10.6 Are you involved in the relocation process?

The local leaders indicated that they are involved and act as mediators between the community and the council.

4.10.7 What role do you play in the relocation process?

They stated that as explained already, they make sure that the relocators get the information needed on relocation, such which group to be relocated next.

4.10.8 Are you involved in the development planning of Bukalo area and how??

The respondents indicated that they were involved especially in the decision making process. They stated that the council staff cannot execute their functions in the relocation process without consulting them who later informs the community. They also stated that they were responsible for giving land to the affected community and plots of land in the traditional portion of land that is still under the traditional authority. Traditional leaders also indicated that they normally allocated land where possible and there had been no cases where relocators complained that they could not find land to relocate to.

4.10.9 What are the benefits of land relocation in your view?

The respondents mentioned some of the views stated by the community:

- Purified water
- Services are easily accessed
- People are compensated
- The youth are employed

4.10.10 What are the disadvantages of land relocation?

The respondents mentioned that burglary or all sorts of criminality would increase. Not all that is on paper can be put into practice. They also indicated that as already seen, time taken to compensate those affected takes long.
4.10.11 As indicated earlier that there is a population on the royal land, and thus is hampering the development of Bukalo are there any plans to relocate?

The respondents indicated that a reasonable compensation could help to relocate them. They stated that it was not an easy task to do as they needed to see much progress before giving away the royal land.

4.10.12 What do you think could be the best way for the relocation process in Bukalo?

Communication was one aspect the respondents enforced. Without proper communication and consultations less can be done.

4.11. Conclusion

Chapter 4 outlined the research design and methods and the actual data presentation of the study. The data will be discussed and analysed in Chapter 5 and the main findings will be presented.
CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

5. Introduction
This chapter presents the findings and data analysis of the study. The chapter further elaborates on the themes of the study as referred to in the objectives of the study. The chapter then gives a conclusion of the chapter.

5.1 Data analysis
This section presents the analysis of the primary data. The primary data in this section was organized according to the objectives of the study that was collected through the interviews. The questionnaire attached on the appendix was used to obtain information from the council employees and the residents of Bukalo area, as well as the focus group from the same residents.

**Objective two- To evaluate the perceptions of land relocation by people in Bukalo Area, - in other words to reveal how the beneficiaries are adapting to the relocation.**

According to the National Census conducted in 2011, it was found that there were 257 households in the Bukalo area. With this information at hand, it is important to note that a number of households were relocated during the period of 2011 to 2014 when data was collected. According to the programme leaders, there were 128 households relocated between 2011 to June 2014. For the purpose of this study it is important to note that the population affected by the relocation programme to be interviewed drastically decreased. Only 129 were still under the proclaimed village council soon to be the second town in the Zambezi region.

The researcher had an opportunity to also interview the Chief and his delegates (Ngambela, Natamoyo and Indunas) in the Bukalo Khuta to find out how their people were adapting to the relocation process.

5.1.1 Interview results with the focus group
The focus group mentioned that they were really struggling with the relocation process. They stated that the most difficult aspect was the fact that those responsible for the relocation programme are not visiting them to find out how they are coping. Some indicated that since 2010
when their houses were measured, the programme leaders never came back to compensate them hence they were warned not to renovate their houses. They are exposed to rain and sun due to a lack of shelter. A lady from the focus group indicated that she was pleased with the process as she sought clarity from the programme leaders. They also indicated to her that she had a choice of keeping a plot from her ancestral land as long as she developed it in line with the town standards. She however felt pity for those who did not ask but she blamed the programme leaders for not giving proper information to the affected people of Bukalo.

They were also warned not to plough in their fields as it belonged to the government. They feel left alone as the situation at hand is unbearable. They feel that the government is cruel to them for chasing them from their ancestral land like “dogs”.

However, the chief and the Indunas mentioned that they welcome the idea of a town but they were not happy with the slow pace of the development in the area as it is evident that the roads and the electricity were developed in the bush where people lived. Despite complaints from a large number of people awaiting relocation, the researcher interviewed one old lady of 95 years who was among the 8 people who took part in the focus group. She indicated that she was relocated in the first group ten years ago. The old lady and her family relocated 3 kilometres from her ancestral land. She complained that though the compensation and procedures were fine, she was not happy as she was told that she was part of those affected as the earmarked town land was beyond her village. “Esi nibazuwi kuti kete ni tulihwe hape kakuli tuba lihwa hatukulila kunu, 10 years yonse ina, munitwale kuhi bana bangu hanu, cituba kulisantite maswe hounu muzi”-I even heard that they won’t compensate me for this new village because they already gave me money when I was relocated 10 years ago, where will I go with my family I was already enjoying my new village”, she said.

Objective three: To understand the achievements and shortcomings of land relocation in the Bukalo Area

5.1.2 Interviews with the programme leader
The programme leader mentioned that though the pace of development in the Bukalo area seems to be slow, there had been some achievements brought about by the relocation programme. The achievements include the newly opened filling station with its kiosk where cheaper basic items are sold. There is also an ATM for Bank Windhoek, as well as a mobile FNB ATM. There had been improved road networks and a water pipeline from the town of Katima Mulilo is about to reach Bukalo. An office for the local council is also underway.

However, there had been shortcomings experienced during this programme as the programme leader explained. He mentioned that funds were a major concern. There is a lack of funds to relocate people; some have waited for more than 3 years before they were relocated. This makes it difficult to speed up development in the area. He also stated that plots were allocated to people but were unable to acquire loans from the banks as it took time for Bukalo to be gazetted. Banks cannot give out loans to upgrade places that are not gazetted.

5.1.3 Interviews with the focus group

The focus group concurred with the programme leader on the issues such as the filling station that brought some of the basics closer to their reach. People no longer travel almost 40 kilos to town just for fuel and mealie-meal. They however regarded that as temporary because they were to be relocated further from these services as they have seen some of the families travel long distances to have access to such services. Despite that, school children for those families who were relocated travel long distances to go to school. They felt that the promises that the government uttered were just a trick to “swindle” them.

It has been noted that during relocation, many relocatees are not provided with transport and were surprised when the researcher read to them the phrase from the compensation guidelines of communal settlers in Namibia that state that “transportation shall be provided by the acquiring authority”. Few people were provided with transport during the previous relocation. For those who are still in the settlement waiting to be relocated stated that the programme leaders told them that they will need to fuel tractors to help them relocate to where ever they received land.
Objective four: To find ways and means to correct the anomalies to avoid in future relocations elsewhere.

5.1.4 Interview with the program leader

Due to the weaknesses realised so far, the programme leader was of the opinion that there should be monitoring and evaluation mechanisms in place. This would enable the leaders to know where and what brings about the slow pace and dissatisfaction of the relocators other than lack of funds. He was of the opinion that some expertise was needed for any development.

5.1.5 Interviews with the focus group

The focus group mentioned that in order to avoid the same situation to happen especially for those who were not catered for, they must not accept things they are not sure of for in the “name of money”, money cannot last them a life time. Dialogue between the programme leaders and the relocators must be clear. All the advantages and disadvantages must be clear before the programme starts. Promises must be kept other than luring people and leaving them wondering around.

Objective five: To create the basis for policy formulation with regard to future relocations

5.1.6 Interview with the programme leader

The programme leader stated that careful management of the implementation phase is critical in any development. He was of the opinion that if the implementation phase was well managed some of the anomalies could be avoided. He further indicated that enough funds must be available for the success of the actual plan.

5.1.7 Interviews with the focus group

The focus group believed that the guidelines for relocation and compensation were clear, and that the only problem was the disease known as “corruption”. They felt that should the group responsible for relocation follow those guidelines people could be satisfied. They also felt that
lack of settler involvement is a lead to some of the failures with relocations. The issue of lack of land for the relocators is supposed to be availed before any relocation.

5.2 Discussion of Findings from literature review

Objective one- To examine the literature on land relocation

In order to answer the first objective of this study, the researcher came up with seven (7) questions or themes as follows:

5.2.1 What are the main challenges faced by the relocators worldwide during the relocation process?

Anjan and Anup (2009:11) clearly stated that in the past reasons for relocations were as a result of colonial wars and conflicts. People had no choice as their human rights were not respected. However, things have changed especially in this 21st century to place the needs of the locals within a certain standard. The interests of the poor had been at the top on the national agendas worldwide even though it is evident that those who are hit by natural disasters like earthquakes are well taken care of compared to those dislocated due to government initiations.

Large projects such as dam constructions and town development aimed at benefitting target societies tend to affect the relocates negatively. Through the literature, it has been found that there are several challenges during the relocation process. The main challenges are:

- **Loss of life** - many people die or become poorer as in the case of India. Children are left without guardians as government turn a blind eye on the poor communities.
- **Squatters** - the affected communities tend to squatter due to a lack of proper procedures in place. They also fight for the use of scarce resources at their disposal. This is also as a result of policy inconsistencies as it was the case during Abuja’s extensions.
- **Lack of shelter or housing** - this is a major concern in relocations. This is so as the literature entails in the case of Abuja after the original master plan was reconsidered. It is evident that the local communities from the squatter area around the FCT lost their homes as government demolished their homes before letters of intent were issued. No one managed to acquire even a formal letter. This made it very difficult for them to own plots,
leaving them homeless. The Lesotho case also concurs with this as it is evident in the reports that 27 000 people who used to live in the highlands lost their homes.

Loss of arable land - in all the cases reviewed it is evident that the affected population lost their land that they cleared and maintained through their life time.

Lack of government assistance - that leads to people losing their valuables, such as furniture.

Access to portable water is a major challenge especially in the case of Lesotho; no provisions were made on the accessibility to portable water from the dam for the Basotho community who did not relocate.

Communities lose their livestock for example in the case of LHWP; animals or livestock used to fall and die in the dam making it hard even for them to fetch water from the dam.

5.2.2 What are the main challenges faced by the governments and project developers during land relocation?

The following are the main challenges faced by the governments and project developers during land relocation according to the literature review:

- Through the literature, corruption was indicated as one of the challenges during relocations, for example the royalties for LHWP that was meant for the Basotho community was only enjoyed by the royal family.
- Policy inconsistencies in the case of Abuja that led to a massive growth of squatters.
- Lack of mechanisms in place to allocate or sell units in a developed settlement, the case of Abuja after realising its mistake in 2006.

5.2.3 What are the long term impacts of land relocation?

The following are the long term impacts according to the literature review:

- Species are pushed to extinction for example fish, traditional medicines from plants that vanished due to dam Katse construction in Lesotho.
- Alcohol abuse - this is due to a lack of recreational facilities as noted in the case of the Aboriginal communities in Matimekoshi.
In Canada, teenagers could not continue with their education leading them to abuse alcohol and get pregnant at an early age adding to poverty.

Adverse change in lifestyles of the poor people as their relationships to their environment is not respected.

Diseases increase due to a lack of training on how to be hygienic, especially when they are relocated to urban areas.

Mental and stroke related illnesses - brought about by the pressures exposed to them.

5.2.4 What are the reasons for the reluctance on the part of project authorities in supporting research that might tend to show the project as failing to achieve its objectives?

The following were reasons for project authorities’ reluctance in supporting research:

- Ignorance
- Lack of consideration for the needs of people

5.2.5 In order for project or programme implementation to be successful, dialogue between the government and the affected population is needed at an early stage in project design, why then do most relocation fails at the implementation stage?

The following were reasons why most relocation fails at the implementation stage:

- Policy inconsistencies
- Failure to review policies and
- Failure to review the implementation phase - for a term of five years as was the case of the FCT/ Abuja.

5.2.6 What are the hardships in the process of settling down after families are displaced from the project area?

The following hardships were indicated:

- Settling on its own is a challenge and is of great concern. It is not easy for the elderly people to simply adapt to any new environment. Some suffer psychologically as they feel lied to. At the start of the project communities are convinced that it is for their benefit that development is brought about. The World Bank for example in the case of Lesotho,
sponsored the Katse dam project in order to address poverty issues, while in reality the South Africans rather enjoy the water supply from the dam than the Basotho.

Lack of basic resources.

5.2.7 What are the benefits of land relocation?

The following are the benefits of land relocation based on the literature:

- Job creation - in the case of LWHP, a number of people were employed, as well as employment for Chiadzwa communities in Zimbabwe
- Tourism level increased in Lesotho.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the main findings from the literature, as well as the data collected from the fieldwork where the researcher had an opportunity to interview the lay people, as well as the programme leaders. The study indicated that the majority of the affected population was not satisfied with the compensation. It was also found that the majority were not aware of what the compensation guidelines entails. This made it difficult to cope with the situation at hand, especially the issue of not renovating their houses as they waited many years to receive their compensation due to a lack of funds from the government. The next chapter will give the conclusion and recommendations of this study.
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6. Introduction

This chapter briefly indicates the conclusions derived from the observation and as well gives the recommendations on how to avoid failures and also provide guidance for policy formulation in future.

6.1 Conclusions

Namibia is one of the developing countries in Africa that is still striving towards uplifting the standards of its people’s lives through developmental projects. Such projects are intended to bring services closer to the rural and urban poor people. It is therefore important to note that the land relocation programme at the Bukalo area had not been successful due to a number of factors, such as funds and a lack of information on the part of the responsible authorities of the affected community.

It was observed that the purpose of the programme was a failure in that the majority was not satisfied with the procedures during the relocation process. The lack of information resulted in the people making wrong decisions as they later realized that money was not all they needed but also the question of ownership of land. It was found that the community of Bukalo did not understand why the programme was needed as the responsible parties did not make them fully aware of the whole programme and its benefits. The slow pace of development at the new settlement was of great concern as it showed signs of failure.

They therefore concluded that the compensation procedures were not fair due to the fact that services that were intended to be brought closer to people pushed the people further away from the services. People were relocated to areas without basic services, such as the source of water, markets, electricity, schools and clinics.

The procedures were also not fair in that the councils and the government at large were well aware of the land fights in the Zambezi region, but people were still left alone in search of land to relocate to once they were compensated, thus making it difficult for many to reorganize themselves as their houses were demolished just after compensation.

The study also concludes that the compensation procedures were not fair as the affected people were not allowed to renovate their houses as they waited for many years to be compensated.
The study concludes that there had been a lack of co-operation between the programme leaders and the affected community as they were not involved in the decision-making process of the programme. The community also had to wait for a period of time for their compensation, leading to psychological torture as their responsible authorities did not go back to them and assess how they were coping during the waiting process.

The relocation process and its compensation were not satisfactory as there was a lack of local involvement and full participation in order to address the issues affecting the relocators.

The relocators of Bukalo were not willing to relocate but they had no choice as they were not given any platform to utter their concerns. They were not satisfied with the compensation of their fruit-bearing trees and fields. Many trees and fields were not considered for inclusion in the measurements set for payment. The responsible parties did not mention anything about what would happen to their graves when they relocate.

The study also concludes that the programme was not fair as their relationship to their land and environment were not respected, as they were ordered to relocate without proper consultation. Settler engagement was not considered also. Family ties were also broken in the process as they were not relocated to the same place.

The study found that the objectives and goals of the relocation programme were not attained as there was not much done since the relocation started. Plots were not developed due to financial “bottlenecks”.

The researcher therefore concurs with the Marxian theory for the study that the rural poor of Bukalo will indeed subsidize the lifestyles of the richer ones.

The literature indicates that lack of policy preparation and awareness would lead to failure. There is a need to do policy preparation and make people understand the project’s benefits. Conclusively, funds and the right staff (free from corruption with people’s interest at heart) should be readily available to run any project successfully.

### 6.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, it was necessary to consider answering the main questions and objectives; therefore, the researcher recommends that:
The government should take the lead in the relocation at Bukalo to make sure that the relocators are satisfied with the compensation received for their ancestral land.

The government should put in place monitoring and evaluation strategies in order to monitor and evaluate the progress at the new settlement.

The government should have a budget for the relocation programme at Bukalo, because if it is not in place it delays the process of relocating people.

The government should look at alternatives for providing adequate land for the affected people as they are well aware of the land disputes of land acquisition in the Zambezi region, particularly east of the Zambezi region.

The government should create a platform of assessing how the traditional authorities are providing land to its people.

The government should also monitor how the measuring team are measuring and recording people’s properties.

The government should review the compensation guidelines and make sure that it is transparent as it was unfair how the programme leaders handled the programme. The majority did not know that they had an option of retaining plots from their ancestral land.

In order to create the basis for policy formulation with regard to future relocations, the government should review its compensation guidelines and look into amending the clause that allows for the compensation of communal fields only covering 1 hectare and above.

In order to correct the anomalies in future relocations, the government should look into providing its people with the necessary basic services, such as shelter and food or through building affordable houses for the affected communities.

The government should also allow for settler involvement and full local participation, as well as local decision-making.

Responsible authorities should be transparent with the information regarding relocation and compensation.

An awareness of the rights of the affected community should be made and they should be educated to enable them to make informed decisions before they relocate.

The responsible authorities should give training to the affected communities on how to cope with lifestyles at the new environment to avoid “culture stress”.

100
The government should avoid sweet, yet futile promises and be realistic to avoid failures bearing in mind that there is a balance between cultural and economic pressures. To avoid heavy dependence on government, the communities should be given the opportunity of deciding what works best for them.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
Land Relocation and its Compensation Policy Survey Questionnaire for the relocates

SECTION A: Site and Location
A.1 Questionnaire number:  A2. Village Name  A3. Plot Name  A4. Plot Number

A5. Total Arable Land (Acres/ Hectares) (Owned + Accessed)

SECTION B: DEMOGRAPHICS (Write the appropriate response in the space provided)

B1. Gender of household head (HH): (M = male  F = female)

B2. Marital status HH Head
A = single/ never married B = married C = divorced/ separated D = widowed

B3. Number of people in the Household

B4. Education level of respondent
No school = 1
Part primary =2
Part secondary =3
Secondary & above =4

B5. Age of respondent
25-34 (a)…
35-44 (b)…
45-54 (c) …
55-64 (d)
>65 (e)

B6. Are you satisfied with the compensation applied on the land relocation programme?
Yes □1
No □2

Explain why
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B7. Does this HH have livestock?

B9. Do you have arable land?
B10. What is your primary source of subsistence? e.g. Agriculture

SECTION C: Rates used in the compensation Policy in Namibia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Current Rate</th>
<th>Proposed Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homestead enclosed with strand of wire, poles and droppers</td>
<td>N$70 / m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homestead enclosed with wooden poles only</td>
<td>N$60.00 / m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huts with pole walls, grass roof and earth floor</td>
<td>N$100.00 / square metre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huts with cement brick walls, grass roof and concrete floor</td>
<td>N$150.00 / m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrugated structure</td>
<td>N$180 / m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional building (brick wall IRB roofing, concrete floor)</td>
<td>N$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marula tree

C1. How do you perceive the compensation prices with regard to land relocation in the Bukalo area? A
= adequate I
= inadequate (briefly explain either choice)

C2. How long have you been a resident of Bukalo?

<1 year ☐ 1
1-5 years ☐ 2
6-10 years ☐ 3
>10 years ☐ 4

C3. How many houses do you have on this plot?

1-2 ☐ 1
3-5 ☐ 2
6-10 ☐ 3
>10 ☐ 4

C4. What is the structure of your house?

Huts with pole & mud walls, corrugated roof & cement floor ☐ 1
Huts with pole & mud walls, grass roof and earth floor ☐ 2
Huts with cement brick walls, grass roof and concrete floor ☐ 3
House/s with cement brick walls, corrugated roof & cement floor ☐ 4
C5. How many fruit bearing trees do you have?

1-2 □1

3-5 □2

6-10 □3

>10 □4

List the type and number of fruit bearing trees that you have
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C6. Is there any grave yard at this plot?

Yes □1

No □2
C7. If yes, what happens to it (grave yard) when you relocate?

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C8. Are you familiar with the compensation guidelines used or amount paid as compensation?

Yes □1

No □2

C9. How satisfied are you with the compensation amount used?

Satisfied □1

Very satisfied □2

Partially satisfied □3

Not Satisfied □4

Neutral □5
SECTION D: Experiences and Perceptions of Land Relocation

D1. Were there any awareness meetings with your chief (traditional leader) before relocation started?

Yes □1
No □2

D2. How many times did you attend the awareness meetings?

1-3 times per month □1
2 times per month □2
3 times per month □3

D3. How do you rate the development at the new settlement on the scale of 1 to 5 below?

Very poor □1
Poor □2
Reasonable □3
Good □4
Very good □5

D4. Are you involved in the relocation process?

Yes □1
No □2
Do not know □3
D5. If yes what role do you play?

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D6. Are you involved in the development planning of the Bukalo area?

Yes □1
No □2
Do not know □3

D7. If yes what is your involvement in the development planning?

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D8. What is your understanding on resettlement?

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D.9 Are the local leaders involved in the planning process?

Yes □1
No □2
Do not know □3

D10. If yes, what type of support do they provide or how are they involved?

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D11. Did you receive any support e.g. transport from the regional council?

Yes □1
No □2
Do not know □3
D12. How useful is the support provided by the regional council?

No support provided □ 1

Not useful □ 2

Useful □ 3

Very useful □ 4

D13. What are the impacts of resettlement on the affected population?

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D14. What are the impacts of resettlement on the physical environment?

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D15. What are the benefits of land relocation in your view?

D16. What are the disadvantages of land relocation?
D17. How well do you (relocate) cooperate with the resettlement planners?

D18. Settler involvement and decision making on resettlement issues is important, do you feel that you are involved in this whole process? Explain why.

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D19. Is there any village development committee in Bukalo area?

Yes □1

No □2

Do not know □3
D20. What support do you receive from the village development committee?
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D21. Are you a member of the village development committee?

Yes □1

No □2
D22. Does the village development committee know their roles and responsibilities?

Uncertain □1
No □2
Yes □3

(Please explain your answer)

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D23. How do you rate the relocation procedures?

Do not know □1
Inadequate (not sufficient) □2
Moderately □3
Absolute adequately □4

(Please explain your answer)

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Response category

Completed □1
Partially Completed □2
Refusal □3
Non-contact □4

Official use only

Comments

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Thank you so much    LuitumeziahuluTwalitumelaahulu
APPENDIX B
Land Relocation and its Compensation Policy Survey Questionnaire for the program leaders

SECTION A: Site and Location

A.1 Questionnaire number
A2. Position held
A3. How many years have you been employed in the regional council
A4. Level of academic qualification

SECTION B: Rates used in the compensation Policy in Namibia

20 zinc house N$
Marula tree N$

B1. How do you perceive the compensation prices with regard to land relocation in the Bukalo area? A = adequate I =inadequate (briefly explain either choice)
B2. How will the settlement investments be financed as soon as the settlement flourishes in order to recover the servicing cost?

B3. Are there any reviews on the existing laws on land acquisition and land compensation?

Yes  □ 1
No   □ 2
No idea □ 3

B4. If yes, how often are the reviews done?

B5. After reviews, are there any challenges with regard to the compensation guidelines?

Yes  □ 1
No   □ 2
No idea □ 3
B6. If yes, mention a few critical challenges
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B7. The compensation guidelines state that relocatees are allowed to keep two plots from their ancestral land; do the relocatees prefer money over plots of land?

Yes □1
No □2
No idea □3

Explain your answer
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B8. List the types of valued resources (e.g. water, wood, grazing fields…etc) that the people of Bukalo have access to.
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B9. How do you plan to secure these resources so on the affected relocates move?

B10. Are there any feasibility studies done to ensure that such resources will be found at new sites?

Yes □1
No □2
No idea □3
B11. If yes, what were the findings?

(SECTION C: Policy Formulation Basis for Future Relocation)

C1. In your view, what are the impacts of resettlement on the affected population?

C2. What are the impacts of resettlement on the physical environment?
C3. What is the difference between compensation rates and sales prices of the new units?

C4. What are the challenges that you face with the current compensation policy when relocation Bukalo residents?

C5. According to many studies, it has been proven that resettlement is not an issue until in project implementation as funds are normally diverted to other project purposes during implementation, what measures are put in place to manage the implementation of the project?
C6. Are there any monitoring and evaluation policies to evaluate impacts imposed on the target population?

Yes □1
No □2
No idea □3

C7. If yes, how often is the programme monitored and evaluated?

Do not know □1
Not at all □2
Not often □3
Very often □4

C8. Land pressures in resettlement areas in Namibia and elsewhere worldwide is critical as settlers do not move far away from the project area, how do you plan to avoid this in Bukalo case?
C9. What are the future perspectives with regard to the relocation?

SECTION D: Experiences and Perceptions of Land Relocation

D1. What are the shortcomings of the compensation policy?
D2. What are the benefits of land relocation in your view?

D3. What are the disadvantages of land relocation?

D4. How well do you (resettlement planners) cooperate with the relocates?
D5. With Regard to the channel at Bukalo area, and its geographic location prone to floods, how do you plan to manage this in the future?

D6. Settler involvement and decision making on resettlement issues is important, do you feel that you are involved in this whole process? Explain why.
D7. What provisions are put in place to ensure that land is made available for the relocates given the land pressures of land in Namibia especially the Zambezi region?

D8. How do you ensure that the relocates are satisfied with the compensation?

D9. What mechanisms are put in place to avoid resistance to relocation?
D10. Are people willing to relocate? And why?

D11. How many times have you de-bushed the settlement area?
D12. What could be the reasons behind the failure to develop plots?

D13. How is the boundary between the settlement and the Royal Khuta affecting the settlement’s operations?
D14. What plans are put in place to convince the population in the royal traditional land, to relocate?

Response category

Completed □1
Partially Completed □2
Refusal □3
Non-contact □4

Official use only

Comments

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APPENDIX C

Literature Review Analysis

(This part gives answers to the first objective of this study)

1. What are the main challenges faced by the relocates worldwide during relocation process?

2. What are the main challenges faced by the governments and project developers during land relocation?

3. What are the long term impacts of land relocation?

4. What are the reasons for the reluctance on the part of project authorities in supporting research that might tend to show the project as failing to achieve its objectives?

5. In order for project or programme implementation to be successful, dialogue between the government and the affected population is needed at early stage in project design, why then does most relocation fail at the implementation stage?

6. What are the hardships in the process of settling down after families are displaced from the project area?
ANNEXURE D

Figure 1 Illegal diamond diggers in Chiadzwa before the army moved in

Fortune hunters...

Figure 2 Wadzanai Moyo sits outside her new home soon after being relocated

New home...
Figure 3 Bukalo Village Council
Figure 4 Bukalo Townland

This post was built in July 2014 proving the slow pace of development at Bukalo since 2005.

This picture shows the town land of Bukalo.
Figure 5 Bukalo image

Satellite Image of Bukalo Area

The images below are some of the villages awaiting relocation

Figure 6 village 1 awaiting relocation

*Mukena’s village*
Figure 7 Open air museum to be compensated

Figure 8 Village 3 awaiting relocation

Shambwe’s village
Figure 9 village 4 awaiting relocation

Kwenani’s Village

Figure 10 village 5 awaiting relocation

Simasiku village
Figure 11 above shows how easily Bukalo area can be affected with flood from Lake Liambezi, Chobe River and the Zambezi River.
Figure 13

![Figure 13](image1)

Figure 14

![Figure 14](image2)
Figure 16: village council under construction

The picture above is the new Village council under construction, estimated to be completed in 2016.
Figure 17 Bukalo Filling Station

This is the filling station that all the residents appreciate ever since relocation started 10 years ago. It was opened end of May 2014.

Figure 18 Streets under construction

Bukalo streets under construction, this shows that development will soon be evident in the Bukalo area.
Figure 19 Mass Housing at Bukalo

![Image of Mass Housing Project sign]

**Figure 20 Mass Housing**

![Image of construction site]

*Houses being developed at Bukalo (photo taken in July 2014)*
Figure 21 Bukalo open market

Open market at Bukalo

Figure 22 Graveyard close to Shambwe’s village

Gravesite close to Shambwe’s village
Figure 23 growing vegetation

De-bushed area in 2013 (picture taken in July 2014)

Figure 24 Cattle grazing

Cattle grazing in town land