

**LAND AND THE PURSUIT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
PATHWAYS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW**

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BY

**JOSEPH ZANO ZVAPERA MATOWANYIKA
REGIONAL COORDINATOR, GENDER, BIODIVERSITY AND LOCAL
KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS (LinKS) PROJECT BY FOOD AND
AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION, c/o SADC-CENTRE OF
COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT, BOX 3730, HARARE,
ZIMBABWE.**

EMAIL: jmatowanyika@sadc-fanr.org.zw

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Land and Sustainable Development in Southern Africa

It is a truism that those who seek sustainable development in any society must look to many facets of people's livelihoods and search for multidimensional solutions to the many problems that are encountered. This process must necessarily interface human and biophysical realities presented to the society. Such realities are multifaceted and demand that holistic and comprehensive attention is given to a number of those issues that are critical in society. In Southern Africa, one such crucial facet is that of land. There is a regional land question which needs unbundling. This is largely because the land issue is very much an unsettled matter, indeed it is in almost all countries a highly contested matter as noted by such analysts as Palmer (1997) and Matowanyika and Marongwe (1998). These and other matters represent major development challenges for the region. Any debate or consideration of sustainable development would be quite partial without paying close attention to the land issues pertinent to the social and economic realities of each country and the region as a whole. Indeed, if sustainable development is treated as being conditional on a number on a number of complex and very much interrelated factors deriving from social, political, economic and environmental factors, then land has to be at the centre of any useful development policy and practice. Land has multiple functions ranging from it being the source of inputs and and sinks for a wide range of economic sectors, supporting key ecological processes and providing a basis for social, spiritual and political identity.

Because of the high level of contestation on the land issues and the increasingly elevated expectations by the majority of the region's populace who depend on it, land is perhaps the most serious social issue confronting the region even though this has not been publicly stated in the regional process of governance. It is the concern of all strata in the societies of the region, from the very rich to the poorest. It therefore forms the very foundation of political and economic relations within the region and between the region and the larger global political economy. As such, it is at the core of sustainable development issues. There is a growing recognition of the centrality of the land issue in sustainable development process in the region as witnessed by a number of regional initiatives and meetings (for example; Chisvo and Chipika, 1997; IUCN-ROSA, 1998; Matowanyika and Marongwe, 1998; Marongwe and Matowanyika, 1998; Moyo, 1995; National Land Committee and others, 1997; Negrao, 1996; Palmer, 1997; Quan, 1997). Different perspectives are emerging and the land question is now attaining a more central role in such issues as food security considerations.

This paper explores a sample of some of the issues that form the basis of the land question in Southern Africa and is predicated on the premises that it is a regional matter requiring a regional vision in addition to orchestrated policy and action at the national level. Such a perspective is based on the observation that many countries in the region obviously share the land resource and its distribution emanates from historical colonial legacies that have created the *status quo*. There are similar responses to the land issues within the region and the majority of the region's people still depend on the land resource for their main economic activity. Land therefore defines many fundamentals

of social and economic relations in the region. Indeed, land can be posited as an important intermediary in the social relations in the region in addition to its role as a medium of production and social reproduction. The paper is based on observations from secondary materials and seeks to synthesize those issues that are of regional nature which each country must resolve while noting those lessons that could be applied across the region. It describes issues at a broad conceptual level and leaves the details of issues each country must address to others involved in the meeting. Before highlighting a few issues, the paper will describe the array of issues that have been identified by a number of analysts as the significant ones in the land and sustainable development interface in Southern Africa.

2. AN OVERVIEW OF LAND AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT ISSUES FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

A number of issues have been identified by way of studies and meetings of various types. Below are some of these, summarized from a number of sources, principally Chisvo and Chipika, 1997; IUCN-ROSA, 1997, 1998; Matowanyika and Marongwe, 1998; Marongwe and Matowanyika, 1998; Moyo, 1995; National Land Committee and others, 1997; Palmer, 1997; Quan, 1997. They are not presented in an order of priority. From a number of these and other sources, Matowanyika and Marongwe (1998) define a number of issues and problems on the land question in the region:

2.1. Fragmented Nature of Discourse on Land Issues

- Hitherto integrated regional visioning on land issues has been weak although the situation is changing with a number of regional meetings among non-governmental actors. Intergovernmental SADC processes are, however, undeveloped and the place of the land question as a regional issue is unclear
- Debates are largely driven by purely economic and market oriented dictates with little attention paid to other social and ethical/spiritual perspectives which could lead to different reform processes, as noted by Schluter and Ashcroft, 1990. This has also led to undervaluing peasant driven perspectives on land and resource management perspectives including those of social justice.
- Further, the philosophical basis on which land tenure and land policies especially during the colonial period has not been fully critiqued and remains largely in place in fashioning land policies in the region. Whereas all recognize the need to redress inequities from the past, the social engineering role of land is not adequately addressed.
- Because the land question has been treated as a sectoral rather than a fundamental foundational issue in the societies of the region, it has not been placed into sustainable development dialogue.

2.2. Economic Facets of the Land Question

- Land reforms are not effectively used as fundamental drivers of macroeconomic, especially rural development tools in economies largely agriculturally driven
- Macroeconomic instruments in most of the countries are heavily determined by globalization and export oriented imperatives. Much land is now being put to such sectors as tourism and mining in a situation where land issues are unsettled. Using the

land question as a cushion especially for the poor is weak. Balanced and integrative national policy making to give priority to national needs is called for.

- The incentives for land redistribution and more efficient use of land are unclear. Land taxation may have a much larger role to play especially where land ownership is in the hands of few.
- Further, there are enduring differential values of land with land under commercial holding being significantly valued much more than that under customary holding. This has led to unequal distribution of opportunity and public investment
- A dilemma is also posited in that the conditions for promoting equal valuation may not lead to greater productivity. Moreover the issues of social and ethical values already mentioned need to be addressed.
- Urban-rural land linkages are also becoming even more important in the light of poor economic performances and increased dependency of the urban populace on rural products.
- The above issues are of importance with respect to such issues as alleviating poverty in the region (Quan, 1997)

2.3. Inequities in Land Allocation

- The issue of inequitable distribution of land and resource rights has been at the centre of the land question in Southern Africa and led to much conflict over the last century and more. The case of South Africa's apartheid is the most dramatic but no less important in countries such as Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique and others. It will likely continue if a number of issues are not addressed.
- Such inequities have also persistently translated into poor access to other critical resources, rural energy deficiencies, major resources degradation, water shortages and others. Sustainability is not possible under such conditions.
- One such issue is that of women's access to the land resource. The region manifests problems experienced elsewhere of women being the main food providers and yet they have extremely insecure rights as well as limited influences in land administration and land policy formation
- Most countries, South Africa being an exception, have ignored the need for restoration of lost rights. Historical land rights and lost cultural heritage and spiritual values are not attended to. Because there was often violent land acquisition by colonial forces, sometimes leading to near decimation of local populations, such as in Namibia, and massive relocation of people into poorer land such as in Zimbabwe, the issue of compensation is indeed an important one in a world that is seeking retribution for wrongs on many peoples.
- Farmworkers are especially vulnerable in countries like Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia as their land rights are often very insecure. This issue does need to be addressed at a regional level.
- In addition, the land rights of indigenous minorities such as the Basarwa and San peoples whose economies depend on hunting and other forms of extensive land use, need addressing.

2.4 Pressures on the Land Resource.

These derive from a number of sources:

- Population growths, have created higher demands for food and energy. Population migrations within and between countries, triggered by wars and conflicts, have been experienced in almost all countries over the last fifty years and especially within the last two decades. Interstate migrations prompted by people seeking opportunities, such as into Botswana and South Africa, have all added to the problems. These addressing.
- Pressures on the land emanating from degenerative processes including inappropriate land uses, increased natural and human induced droughts all leading to insecurities such as those of lack of food and other sources of survival.
- Pressures emanating from policy environments and investment choices, such as the decisions by countries such as Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to import Afrikaner farmers from South Africa to form special settlement zones for commercial agricultural purposes. The dilemma is that often this process is imposed on an unsettled situation. Policies are also in favour of promoting extensive land use options, such as tourism, presented as an important vehicle for macroeconomic development. The sustainability of such directions can be questioned when the larger issue of land redistribution and the interests of local communities are posed.

2.5 Conflicts Over the Land Resource

- Southern African countries are now very significantly affected by conflicts over the land resource. This source of conflicts and disputes represents perhaps the most serious challenge to sustainable development. There are a number of conflicts:
- Interstate conflicts over land such as between Botswana and Namibia which has resulted in military exchange. There are potential disputes between Zambia and Zimbabwe over some islands in Lake Kariba, between Mozambique and Malawi, Malawi and Tanzania, South Africa and Lesotho and Swaziland and South Africa. The potential could be increased when considering water issues and also transboundary migrations.
- Intrastate conflicts over land are noted in South Africa in areas such as KwaZulu/Natal and western Cape provinces.
- There are also heightening disputes over land between communities and within communities over critical resources as well as conflicts emanating from clashing expectations from the land resource base by different social strata.
- Disputes also derive from unsettled and often discordant institutional arrangements over the land resource base, such as those between central and local government systems, between different land uses such as mining and agriculture and other public land use and conservation needs.
- The development process itself has also fomented conflicts often between competing demands and perceived differential benefits from development. The issue of tourism has already been mentioned.
- The land reform process itself has increased fears among those groups who hold onto land, such as in Zimbabwe and South Africa and in the process harbours major forms of conflict. As well the cases of corruption that have been reported in many countries

related to land reforms have been known to trigger conflicting demands on the same pieces of land.

- Conflicts of an ideological and philosophical nature have already been referred to. They extend to the posing of questions of the need for redistributive justice versus environmental sustainability issues. Such dichotomies are often linked to different entrenched interests and can fail to address some fundamentals of seeking broader social sustainability. Countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe are having to grapple with such matters.
- Conflict is a major issue needing clear views of its management in seeking a sustainable South Africa.

2.6 Discords Emanating from Policy and Institutional Arrangements in Land Reforms

Sometimes there are areas of fundamental discords between various policy arenas. Land policy need to be at the root of other policy areas, such as food security, gender balances, macroeconomic policies especially in such areas as tourism, biodiversity conservation and other parts of societal needs. There is clearly a need in most countries fo the region to harmonize land laws, instruments of land administration, fiscal instruments to reflect the importance of land in the development process, rural development and resource tenure issues; urban land management; rural-urban linkages among other issues.

2.7 Technocratic Aspects of Land Issues in Southern Africa

There are a number of technocratic issues pertaining to the land issues in the region:

- Land reforms are generally not supported by a number of critical technological support systems. The case of mechanization systems to support land reforms is rarely addressed (J.Made, personal communication). If land reforms are to be an aspect of fundamental agrarian reform and sustainable development, then this issues needs much serious attention. Making people to have greater access to the land resource without packages on technology support in addition to other social and economic support systems has undermined rural people's abilities to significantly increase their production or enhance their livelihood options
- The matter of the physical degradation of land has exercised the minds of practitioners and policy makers for more than a century in the region. It has often been laced with many ideological positions, some of which have been overtly racial especially during the colonial periods. The very strong technocratic and blueprint approach to dealing with the land degradation which forms the basis of much public sector planning is beginning to give way to other more holistic forms of thinking. Hence, there is a growing attention to organic farming methods and to different range management perspectives requiring more adaptive planning to suit very diverse micro-environments in the region. Land degradation is being given a much more human dimension than has been the case. This is especially so as ordinary people in the region have resisted top-down methods in such areas as land use planning in preference for participatory methods.
- Inadequate capacities for land use planning, land registration, land allocation and land administration frustrate land reforms. The systems in place are often not flexible and

this has led some to call for innovative and popularly based systems deriving from the interests of the majority of people in the region. One area requiring attention is that of land surveying, viewed as essential in land titling. The methods used for survey follow very rigid procedures are expensive and often not internalized within especially rural communities. Calls are being made to have easier and more community friendly systems of land demarcation, registry, allocation and reallocation, and transfers, and adjudication. Such views offer some fundamental challenges for the region.

2.8 The Role of Communities in Land Resource Management

- The state has taken centre stage in land issues in all countries of the region. This has not recognized the view that ordinary members of communities are the principal day-to-day decision makers on land within their domain. Communities are rarely party to the fashioning of land reform policies and are often seen as merely recipients of the outcomes of such policies. Transparency is lacking in most cases. The perspective that land reform has to be an open people driven process is growing. This presents challenges for the region with respect to providing user friendly information, changes in visioning on the role of state functionaries in the land reform process and related matters.
- This also calls for placing the role of community social and cultural values and capabilities in land management issues. As mentioned above, there are some fundamental social cultural values and ethics that have to be at the base of land reforms. For example, the question has to be raised on what the indigenous views on land are. Another one is that of the indigenous African perspective of gender equity with respect to land resources. Yet another is that of the place of such issues as biological resources in food security in the minds of people and their role in food security. These are questions being asked in some initiatives in the region such as a Food and Agricultural Organization project that is promoting the linkages between gender, local knowledge systems, biodiversity and food security in Tanzania, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe (FAO, 1998).
- It further strengthens the view that land issues such as land rights and obligations by communities are intimately linked to broader issues of community participation in natural resource management. Land rights cannot be divorced from resource rights in this broader sense. The view also supports the position that there is the need to fundamentally change the basic institutions such as laws and policies on resource tenure and resource management so that communities have much greater controls, a major challenge to the current arrangement whereby statutes demand that the state takes the onus (Katerere and Guvheya, 1998). A new form of institutionalism is called for as has been suggested by such community base approaches as the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe, Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE) programme and conservancy approaches in Namibia, community approaches to wildlife and other resource management processes in Mozambique, Malawi and Tanzania. These are schemes which do provide some useful pointers and possibilities for the countries in the region. They suggest that the issues can be tackled. They also broaden the debates on issues of security.

2.9 Land Tenure Security

Southern Africa has not been spared the long debates on what it is that forms the basis of land tenure security for the region. The question underlies most of the issues discussed above and has been a central aspect of the land reform policy formulation for all countries over the last several decades. The debates

3. SOME CHALLENGES FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

A number of challenges present themselves for the region.

3.1. A Land Question for Each Country in the Region: How Can the Policy and Practices be Shared?

Almost all countries in Southern Africa are currently addressing major aspects of the land question ranging from policy issues, tenure arrangements, management of the land resource or looking for ways to deal with land degradation. Those countries not currently in the throes of major national debates or major policy shifts have been through major commissions of inquiry or some other land administration process within the last ten to fifteen years. Moreover, reforms started in the 1970's and 1980's are now presenting new and often major challenges for the countries and hence the state of flux in the land issues. This is all in addition to nagging problems and issues which in many cases have been on the statute books or in policy instruments of almost all countries in the region. For conceptual purposes, the countries in the region can be divided into a number of groups:

- a) Those countries that are seeking major land policy shifts including commissions of inquiry. In this group, the largest, are Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, South Africa, Lesotho, Malawi and Tanzania.
- b) Countries that have had a number of reform processes in place and are currently assessing the progress of these, either in major areas or in specific aspects of the land issues without seeking major policy shifts as would be suggested by commissions of inquiry. These include Botswana, Swaziland, Seychelles, and Mauritius, seeking solutions to specific issues such as land degradation;
- c) Countries that have not as yet addressed a number of land related issues because of war and major political conflict, specifically Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This typology does not represent mutually exclusive policy and action. It simply suggests that each of the countries is addressing the land question from different vantage points with the majority of countries seeking some fundamental processes to redirect their land policies. The fact that most are seeking such fundamental changes reflects on the very unsettled nature of the land issues.

In the process, there are a number of issues that many countries are addressing:

- a) redistribution of the land resource such as in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa through a process of public acquisition of land by the state and its transfer to hitherto marginalized parts of the society and the implementation of resettlement programmes.

Acquisition is undertaken different processes such as compulsory purchases or under market conditions of willing seller-willing buyer conditions;

- b) the establishment of forms of resettling people on acquired land and presentation of models for such resettlement as in Zimbabwe. There are different forms in South Africa with communities and groups being given some level of opportunity to acquire and settle on land through public grants. Resettlement of people on customary land under different social arrangements have been mostly effected in Tanzania under the *ujamaa* programme and the collectivization programmes in Mozambique
- c) restitution built on lost land rights, principally in South Africa
- d) tenure reforms with a number of approaches suggested, such creating unitary tenure arrangements in South Africa to rid the country of racially based tenure systems; creating a regime of some community and people based control over the resource base, such as in Mozambique who have proposed community controls and registration of land and Namibia who are proposing conservancies under which communities will have some controls on the land resources within defined boundaries; enhancement of private individual ownership of land especially by those who are expected to invest in the land through a number of licensing processes and the registration of long term leases and permits such as in Zambia, Tanzania, Lesotho, Zimbabwe
- e) suggestions for multiple tenure of land to reflect on varied forms of land ownership and interests. The challenge is to allow all these forms of tenure to gain equal standing in law as suggested in Tanzania and Zimbabwe. The region is moving in the direction of accepting the principle that no one form of tenure is inherently superior to the other. Hence, no tenurial arrangement will of itself provide security if it is not ingrained within the society's values. This is a pragmatic approach which leaves many systems in place. It also poses the challenge to the region to ensure societal values are truly reflected in land reforms and land matters.
- f) suggestions on institutional changes to allow for greater community participation in land administration with the establishment of such institutions as village assemblies taking control over land in their areas. Most countries call for less control of the state in managing the affairs of land administration.

There are many other issues, such as seeking technical survey solutions, reigning in ever increasing desertification and others. The one major challenge for the region is have national land policies that reflect clearly spelt out social policies. If the multidimensional aspect of the land question and its fundamental position as a bedrock in the social relations are agreed upon, then there needs to be a clear social policy which then informs issues of gender balances, land tenure, distribution and other related issues. Unclearly on such broader social policy must necessarily mean land policies will not be properly guided to be the important social engineering tools they have always been. In fact, there is the need for a process of social re-engineering that places the land issue as one of the main drivers of national and regional development. The challenge needs to be placed at the SADC Ministerial and Summit level and serious consideration given to creating a Land Coordination Sector responsible for linking up with other sectors and orchestrating regional perspectives on this matter.

3.2. The Regional Dimension of Land Question in Southern Africa: How does the region Create a Common Vision?

There are several reasons for creating a regional vision on land. One is historical, such the movement of people as migrant labour within the region which contributes to the farmworkers problem in countries like Zimbabwe; the encouragement of the migration within the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation such as from into specific parts of Zambia forming specific agricultural settlements. Transborder population movements remain an important aspect of interstate activities in the region. Sometimes this is part of state policy, such as the already mentioned export of Afrikaner peoples into a number of countries in the region. Others are inevitable as a result of many social and cultural linkages as well as political and economic ties in place over the last several decades. In addition, land laws commonly derived from British colonial policy instruments including the identification of the region as one for settler purposes. There are current issues such as the interstate land disputes mentioned above. These need regional, possible through a number of SADC instruments. Moreover, there is much to be shared between the countries with respect to harmonizing approaches and to sharing experiences on such issues as restitution.

The challenge for the region is how to envision the land issue in this regional context and establish common approaches in a situation where individual countries have complex policies and laws matrices, conflicting instruments. The issue of a SADC organ is also pertinent here. It would support efforts that are based on the universal interests on land.

3.3. Land as the Concern of All Strata in Society in Southern Africa

As each of the countries seeks to address its land issues, there is an interesting emerging trend. On the one hand for political, social and ethical reasons, land reforms are seeking to redistribute the land asset to the majority of the people in the countries. This process is meant to allow the very poor to gain access to the resource. On the other, such access is also designed to allow an indigenization process to enter into commercial farming or commercial ownership of land by the indigenous peoples of the region. The latter groups represent senior public and private sector officials. This results in the land issue being of greater significance to all strata of society as the better off seek an enhanced social and economic status in national affairs. This is made more so when gender inequalities are considered. Even the poor are seeking to enhance their options for survival, prevalent economic arguments for redistributing land take centre stage without allowing clear and equitable processes of support to the poor, especially women, to use the land resource as a major entry point into the national economies. Dualistic tendencies, a major phenomenon in the economies of the region for the last century, are reinforced. The problem is further compounded by reported cases of often rampant corruption which festers on the state inability to put in place adequate resources to support the poor. This scenario is repeated in all countries often leading to open conflict between the poor and the better off stakeholders. In Zimbabwe it has resulted in violent conflicts (e.g. The Herald, 1998). In Tanzania, the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land matters reports many cases of conflicts that reflect the class nature and differences in land needs (United Republic of Tanzania, 1992). In Botswana there are manifestation of problems as well as well as in Malawi, Mozambique, and other countries. Often the problems are heightened because of lack of information on the part of the rural poor, especially women. The better educated stand to gain in most cases at

the expense of the poor. Information dissemination in a form that is useable by marginalised populations, especially women, is critical (Essof, 1998; Kloeck-Jenson, 1997; Marongwe and Matowanyika, 1998).

In short, the land issue is of concern to all strata of the societies in the region. For the well off it represents opportunities for major investments and a chance for getting into the real estate business. Hence land is part of speculation for many. For the majority of the populace who could hardly at this stage be seriously involved in real estate issues, the concern is on survival. In fact with a dwindling industrial base and increased poverty, especially among women, the majority of the people are being made more and not less dependent on the land resource. Moreover, the place of land in the social and spiritual well being of all the strata of society requires attention. The value of land for the Afrikaner peoples in South Africa are indeed quite different from those of the dispossessed Xhosa or Zulu people from a spiritual needs perspective. This kind of issue needs closer attention. It points toward a greater need for the state machinery to promote balancing of various interests over land while also allowing it to remain a matter for everyone's attention. The challenge is to clearly unbundle the linkages that exist and have better understanding of the place of people and communities within the natural resource arena and then draw up policy instruments that support them. Proposals that base on going reforms on what people already know and their own systems will likely go a long way in placing the land issue within the social and cultural value system of the people of the region. This is a major challenge especially when it comes to overcoming barriers on gender inequalities on the land issue.

3.4. The Challenge of Creating Gender Equity on the Land

Perhaps facing up to and reversing gender inequalities and actually achieving balances in the access to and distribution of the land resource is one of the most difficult challenges for the region. The problem can be summarized in following statement, an observation on Zimbabwe (CUSO, 1998:5):

In modern Zimbabwean society, as in traditional society, women constitute the bulk of the labour force in agricultural production. But while in traditional society women owned land in their own right and owned exclusively the produce of the land, changes in the social structure brought about by colonialism eroded women's rights to land along with the erosion of a woman's status in general. By defining women as minors, this process confined women to second class status, dependant for their survival and well being on the whim of men in society. It also eroded women's most important power base, deriving from their direct access to and benefits from resources for agricultural production. The new social order also removed women from the political and economic arenas and isolated them from decision making processes. This situation left very little room for women to negotiate for their own rights. Women's dependency status has continued to this day and has become acceptable to many people despite efforts to empower them and to reverse the situation.

86% of Zimbabwe's women live in rural areas and are almost totally dependent on land for not only their survival but that of their families. They produce the bulk of the food and also constitute the majority of farmworkers in Zimbabwe. Similar conditions obtain in all countries of the region. Land laws and practice act against the interest of women. Many constraints abound including absence of national gender policies, poor information and its dissemination on land and gender issues, the politicization of the land issue and hence the sidelining of issues such as gender, cultural attitudes toward women and land and limited mobilization of women as a constituency. Fundamental issues within the social policies of the nations of the region and also a clear bias in favour of women is called for. One major area of concern is that of customary land

inheritance, in addition to unfavourable Christian and Islamic inheritance practices in most countries. Yet there also exist many opportunities that can contribute to the solution of the issues here. SADC has adopted a gender policy and established a gender desk. There are a number of international instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Beijing Plan of Action, the various United Summits and others to most countries subscribe. The challenge is to harness the potentials and implement programmes that give women and men equal opportunities to make contributions to national development. In all this we need to face the challenge that the state has played a central role in land issues.

3.5. Land Has Been Largely a State Matter

Historically land issues have been a matter for states to handle in most societies. Southern Africa is no exception. During the colonial period, the ruling regimes created land management and distribution systems to entrench the driving force from metropolitan countries. In southern Africa, that force had a major interest for permanent European settlement. The mosaic of land distribution in the region reflects this need and resulted especially in the grossly skewed distribution of the land resource in such countries as Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The colonial states put in place a number of legal mechanisms to protect the interests of the settler societies and deliberately created constitutional arrangements that protected racial interests. Dualistic interests were entrenched from the onset. Following this was a process of social engineering that was built on racial discrimination in **all** countries in the region. Such social engineering was most advanced in the apartheid system that was in place in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The difference is only one of degrees but the process was similar in all countries. The responses of the indigenous peoples in all the region was similar as well. Hence such resistance as the *maji maji* in Tanzania and *Chimurenga* in Zimbabwe.

Such armed resistance further entrenched the need for state support to the settler European communities and the protection of imperialist interests of the conquering nations. Major land commissions were common in the region from the outset. An example is that of Zimbabwe where there has been a major land related commission or similar in the country almost in each decade from the turn of the twentieth century (Matowanyika, 1997). Similar patterns are evident in most of the region. The instruments of land administration set during colonial Southern Africa remained largely in place after independence and affect the manner in which the land issues in the region are tackled (United Republic of Tanzania, 1998). Post independence Southern Africa has retained a strong central role for the state in land issues. In most countries, all land is vested in the President of the country. Sovereignty and the protection of the integrity of the state and nation are some of the major arguments used to retain this role. Another is that of promoting development often with strong political and philosophical bases such as the *ujamaa* villagization programme in Tanzania, the Tribal Grazing Land Programme in Botswana, the resettlement programme in Zimbabwe and the state farm and collectivization programme in Mozambique. These, in essence, followed the approach of social engineering process as well, albeit with drastically changed perspectives and under differing governance systems.

There is an enduring central state role in land matters in the region. Policy making has tended to favour elites and not ordinary people. As noted by Melmed-Sanjak and Lastarria-Cornhiel, 1998, often land policies tend to be anti-peasant. Biases are direct and indirect, explicit and implicit. For example, the assumptions in market oriented approaches are that the average peasant can get into the land market by using non-land assets. This is a dubious assumption. Credit access and financial markets are generally not available to rural farmers especially in macroeconomic circumstances of high interest rates and inflation. The risks and transaction costs increase for smallholder farmers and they have failed to register land titles and hence become less secure, as in Kenya. Current policies, such as those built on resettlement have tended to largely serve the administrative and political needs of the states. Policies that clearly favour the interests of especially the rural poor and women and other disadvantaged groups and whose costs are realistically within the capability of the rural poor are needed toward social sustainability in the region. Mozambique appears to be taking the lead in this regard by especially providing clear roles for communities in land administration. It may be among the vanguard in reviewing a number of enduring ideological and philosophical perspectives on land issues in the region.

3.6. Conflict over the Land Resource

3.7. Enduring and Persistent Ideological and Philosophical Bases

That the state is central to land issues has just been mentioned. Nonetheless, there are other issues germane to this. Principally these refer to a number of misconstrued and misunderstood issues. A few are mentioned next.

3.7.1. Land Issues Viewed as a Sectoral Policy Issue and a Highly Political One

Land has not been placed at the centre of the the development policies of most countries in the region within the last few decades. Whereas land was seen as a major tool for establishing the colonial state and economies, this has not been the case in post independence Southern Africa. As noted by Matowanyika and Marongwe, 1998: 12:

It is essential to understand the underlying philosophy of the colonial powers in placing the land issue at the core of their policies, especially in the early parts of settler regimes in the region. Southern Africa was identified as a region for permanent settlement of Europeans. Subsequent economic activity and political power bases were built on this, including the apportionment of land resources.... And especially the allocation of a number of rights such as those for mineral prospecting, farming and ranching.... Post colonial efforts have rarely managed to fundamentally review this aspect of the region's history and have tended to see it as highly political and too ingrained in the economies of the countries to be fundamentally changed in pursuit of stability.

Discourse that places the land question at the core of the sustainable development process in the region is called for and must be cultivated. As noted by Chilundo (1998), researchers in academia and other areas have tended to be led by this kind of perspective and have not placed the land question at the core of research in the region. This must be redressed.

??? SOME NOTES

MISCONSTRUCTION OF A NUMBER OF ISSUES ON LAND:

:ON UNDERSTANDING CUSTOMARY TENURE RIGHTS AND SOURCES OF SECURITY (see URT, 1992; Migot-Adola; changing perspectives in World Bank

:ON GENDER RELATIONS WITH RESPECT TO LAND RIGHTS

:ON THE CENTRAL ROLE OF LAND AS A SOCIAL ASSET EMBEDDED IN CULTURAL VALUES OF THE AFRICAN. It changed with much influences within and between African societies. Sometimes through conquest and also social interaction say between pastoralists and sedentary agriculture.

:NEED FOR A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE LAND SYNDROME JUST LIKE WE ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THE CATTLE SYNDROME. LAND FOR MOST PEOPLE IS NOT ABOUT REAL ESTATE AND THIS IS WHERE MUCH OF THE SOURCES OF PROBLEMS WITH EUROPE AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD AND AFRICA.

POOR AFRICAN SCHOLARSHIP AS LAND HAS BEEN SEEN AS STATE MATTER

TECHNOCRATIC PERSPECTIVES PLANNING

:ON LAND DEGRADATION

:EMERGING DIVERGENT VIEWS, SUCH AS

:Drinkwater, Moyo

:NEED FOR INNOVATIVE THINKING

:THE POINT IS THAT WE ARE NOT SURE ON THE LAND DEGRADATION ISSUES

:ON LAND USE

2. SOME ISSUES IN THE REGION

2.1. ENDURING INEQUITIES

LAND A MAJOR SOCIAL ENGINEERING TOOL USED BY ALL COUNTRIES IN CREATING CURRENT SOCIAL ARRANGEMENTS WHICH HAVE A MAJOR

WOMEN AND LAND IN THE REGION

:A MAJOR ISSUE

:REFLECTIVE OF LARGER STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS IN SOCIETY

GENERAL PROBLEM OF INEQUITIES AND PERSISTENT POVERTY

CONCERN WITH TENURE ARRANGEMENTS

COMMON TENURE ISSUES

REASONS FOR TENURE EMPHASIS EMANATE FROM POLICY AND HISTORY; PERSPECTIVES TO SUPPORT COLONIAL AND ELITE INTERESTS, NEED TO SUPPORT ORDINARY PEOPLE

:GENERAL TREND IS TOWARD HAVING THE STATE AS PRINCIPAL ACTOR, A PROCESS THAT HAS EXISTED SINCE BEGINNING OF COLONIALISM

:COLONIALISTS NEEDED TO HAVE THE STATE MACHINERY TO BE IN PLACE TO CHAMPION THE INTERESTS OF SETTLERS
:POST-INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENTS HAVE KEPT MANY OF THE ASPECTS OF THE COLONIAL ARRANGEMENTS IN PLACE
:DRIVE TOWARD FREEHOLD TENURE: PROBLEMS
:SECURITY IS SOUGHT IN STATE STRUCTURES
:YET THESE ARE CONTESTABLE ON A NUMBER OF COUNTS

:PERHAPS THIS ALSO COMES FROM THE REAL ESTATE background we come from.

:in fact the stances we take with respect to tenure and the kind of concern we have developed on security and the forms of security we seek do not ideologically and practically come from those issues most easily understood by ordinary people or those that mostly affect them.

:Hence issues of titling and registration are seen as necessary by the technocrats. Are these issues of concern to ordinary people whose transaction costs with respect to land acquisition, registration or titling increase as a result of land reforms?

2.3. POLICY ENVIRONMENTS

THE ABOVE TWO HAVE LED TO SEEKING CHANGE

:WITH RESPECT TO INSTITUTIONALISM
:WITH RESPECT TO GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT OF LAND RESOURCES
:WITH RESPECT TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNED AND GOVERNMENTS
:FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL POLICY ISSUES

2.4. LAND AND ITS MANY DIMENSIONS

THE MULTIFACETED NATURE OF THE LAND PROBLEM AND HENCE THE NEED FOR COMPREHENSIVE ALL ENCOMPASSING LAND REFORMS NEEDED.

:LINK THIS ISSUE TO SOCIAL ENGINEERING AND SUGGEST A RE-ENGINEERING PROCESS

:LINKAGES SOUGHT, SUCH AS IN LINKS PROJECT
:LINKAGES BETWEEN URBAN POVERTY AND LAND PRESSURES
:INCREASED URBAN AGRICULTURE

MACRO AND GEOPOLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS AND IMPACTS ON LAND ISSUES

3. MANY STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS:

:MISCONSTRUCTIONS

:ANTIPEASANT POLICIES
:FIXATION WITH DIFFICULT PROCESSES, SUCH AS DEMARCATION AND SURVEY OF LAND USING TOOLS WHICH SOME HAVE SUGGESTED DO NOT TALLY WITH THE NEEDS OF THE COUNTRIES

4. MANY GOOD EFFORTS AT TRYING TO RESOLVE:

;ALMOST ALL COUNTRIES SEEKING SOME SOLUTIONS
:ALL SEEKING TO SAFEGUARD THE INTERESTS OF A BROADER BASE OF SOCIETY THAN THAT HAS BEEN HITHERTO LANDED

5. IMPLICATIONS FOR SUSTAINABILITY

:NO PEACE NO STABILITY
:IF WE TAKE SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY AS ENTRY POINT AND ALSO IF WE TAKE SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
:SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS TO ADDRESS A NUMBER OF ISSUES
:VISIONS ARE NEEDED, NATIONALLY AND REGIONALLY

approaches to the problem. Such processes are seeking to allow greater access to the land resource by all members of society. For the poor, such access is
IT IS A VERY UNSETTLED ISSUE IN THE REGION

:FROM POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES
:FROM AN ECONOMIC ONE

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