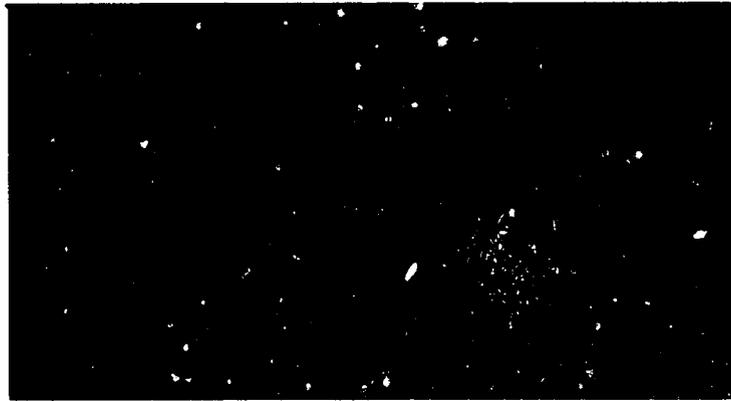


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REPORT ON THE WORKSHOP ON NEW  
LANDS SETTLEMENT AND AREA DEVELOPMENT

by

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NOT FOR QUOTATION

## I. INTRODUCTION

The third in a series of three workshops under the auspices of the Clark University/Institute for Development Anthropology Cooperative Agreement on Area Development was held in Binghamton, New York on April 30-May 1, 1982. (Earlier workshops on rural-urban linkages and area-based resource management were held in March and April, 1982 at Clark University.) It focused specifically on regional experiences with new lands settlement and ways in which new lands settlement programs can better promote area development. The New Lands Settlement workshop assembled more than twenty specialists from the Clark/IDA core group, the academic community, and the Agency for International Development. Background documentation for the workshop came from the Executive Summary and Chapters 2 and 5 of Thayer Scudder's report on Th Development Potential of New Lands Settlement in the Tropics and Sub-Tropics: A Global State-of-the-Art Evaluation with Specific Emphasis on Policy Implications (prepared under contract from AID to the Institute). Scudder's report provided a basis for much of the workshop discussion, and this paper summarizes the main issues there explored.

## II. THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS

Discussion centered on a number of important aspects of the settlement process. Different topics regarding the settlement process are summarized below.

1. Management. Participants emphasized the importance of flexible management systems in settlement projects. Often management is locked into a policy or strategy (one participant referred to this as being "fixed in concrete paper") which becomes dated once the settlement process begins. The uncertainties involved with settlement programs are immense and require a management system that is flexible enough to alter plans as circumstances change and in response to

improved information. Activities such as small-scale industries and vegetable and food production for local markets often emerge from the settlement process itself. Over time these may become more important to settlement tenants than the official program (e.g., export crop production) supported by scheme managers and donor organizations.

2. Participation. Although difficult to define and implement, workshop members overwhelmingly supported increased participation by settlers in scheme decision-making and management. It was stated that women are often excluded from settlement producer organizations and cooperatives, and in most cases they are excluded from legal access to settlement plots. For example, no provision is made in Zimbabwe's resettlement legislation for ownership of land by women, yet more than 100,000 households in Zimbabwe are headed by women. Appropriate mechanisms for involving settler participation are local government organizations, women's groups, and producer and marketing cooperatives.

3. The Settlers. Particular attention needs to be paid to the composition of settler families. Often extended families are important in settlement areas allowing a family to exploit opportunities both inside and outside the scheme. In many cases the contribution to total income of family members off the scheme is greater than from tenants. This is the case in some of the group ranching areas of Kenya and in the Ujamaa villages of Tanzania. Another important dimension of settler family organization is the fate of the second generation. Settlement schemes should account for the children of present scheme tenants, preferably by supporting opportunities for non-farm activities or by providing more land.

4. Training. Training should have two components: the training of settlers and the training of scheme personnel. Recruitment of settlers should be based, in part, on the types of skills and requirements which are needed in the settlement area. Craftsmen likely to be needed in settlements are masons, carpenters, and mechanics. There should also be a recognition that in many settlements farmers must learn an agricultural system substantially or entirely discrepant from their previous experience. In many cases these new systems involve export crop production and the use of such inputs as fertilizer and pesticides. Extension services should be made available to settlers, particularly in the first few years when farmers are faced with a new production system. Training of scheme personnel should reflect the needs of the scheme (e.g., extension, agronomy and community development). Special on-site training may be involved for those persons responsible for monitoring and evaluating scheme activities (discussed in the next section). Scheme success is often dependent on the caliber and training of scheme personnel.

5. Evaluation. Evaluation of settlement schemes is particularly problematic because of the length of time necessary for benefits to accrue. The initial learning time and problems (social, ecological and administrative) associated with early stages of settlement programs often lead to misleading evaluations after the first five or even ten years of implementation. A settlement with an unimpressive performance in a five-to-ten year framework might appear much better when viewed after a longer time. Evaluation should also take account of non-scheme activities, rather than only on-scheme development. The need for flexible planning and management on settlement schemes requires evaluations to be conducted more frequently than three-to-five year intervals. In fact, it was suggested that research and monitoring/evaluation units be established in

larger settlement schemes. Such a unit was designed by the Institute for Development Anthropology, with Ford Foundation support, on the Rahad Scheme in the Sudan. A research/monitoring unit can gather data at monthly or even weekly intervals. It can suggest to project management ways in which policy or programs might be altered to account for new trends identified by the monitoring team, and can serve as an early warning system to signal unanticipated dysfunctions.

### III. REGIONAL EXPERIENCES WITH NEW LANDS SETTLEMENT

Most of the workshop was spent relating the theoretical or normative aspects of new lands settlement to empirical examples from Africa, Asia and Latin America. Participants with strong regional experience discussed specific project experiences in their geographical area of expertise.

1. Settlement Schemes in Tropical Africa. Recent donor policy in Africa suggests that the smaller settlement efforts provide more opportunity for development than do large-scale schemes. The latter approach particularly characterized settlement experience in Africa up until the 1970s. The new interest in smaller settlement schemes reflects the assessment of certain inefficiencies associated with large settlement projects. These include (a) very high infrastructure costs; (b) and overemphasis on export crop production; (c) inefficient management practices by large government parastatals; and (d) tenant production that may be less efficient than on smaller schemes. Mainly due to political factors, however, large settlement schemes in Africa are likely to remain important. Much of the discussion on Africa centered on the upcoming AID Manantali resettlement project in Mali. This program will support the resettlement of twelve thousand rural Malians who are to be displaced by the Manatali dam. Construction of the dam is

to begin in 1982 and should be completed by 1987. A particular concern of AID and the Mali government is the avoidance of social and economic problems that were associated with the earlier Selinque resettlement.

Workshop participants suggested to AID officials several ways that the resettlement component could be improved. These include:

- The project should provide essential materials such as housing material to settlers, but it should not "overplan". Construction of housing and selection of cropping activities should be left to the settlers themselves. As much as possible, the settlement should be spontaneous.
- Studies should be conducted on the land tenure system in the affected villages to minimize subsequent conflicts from competing claims. How will land be distributed and allocated in the new villages?
- The planned reduction in the number of villages from thirty-nine to twelve may have serious implications for both agriculture and sociopolitical organization and field studies are needed to assess the consequences and to recommend mitigative action. The concern focused on the emergence of larger population agglomerations than may be feasible given the ecology of the resettlement area and the nature of Malinke community structures.
- Participants saluted the proposed project's intention that the resettled areas be integrated into the larger regional economy. Phased investments in marketing, non-farm enterprises, and roads may be required to facilitate that integration.
- It was suggested that Malian counterparts be involved in the pre-resettlement studies to provide the core personnel for on-going monitoring and evaluation.

2. Transmigration in South Asia. Much of the discussion regarding new lands settlement in southeast Asia focused on the Indonesia experience. The Indonesia settlement program stems from the policy of reducing population pressure on Java where approximately seventy percent of Indonesia's estimated 140 million citizens live by resettling Javanese on the outer islands. To date the transmigration program has only had minimal impact on Java's population problem. Difficulties with Indonesia's transmigration program relate to several different factors. These are listed below:

- Ecology. Most of the areas in eastern Sumatra which are listed as uninhabited have very poor soils. This is a disincentive for many settlers.
- Farming Systems. Official settlement programs impose very strict and unreasonable farming systems on settlers. Diversified crop patterns which are preferred by the settlers often are not permitted by the government.
- Host Populations. In areas such as Kalimantan the rights of the host population are ignored. In some cases this exaggerates existing tensions between settlers and the host population. Tensions between different ethnic groups also create problems.
- Large Scale Investments. Large investments in minerals and lumber in the low population areas are seldom integrated into the regional economy. Rather they establish enclaves, often foreign owned, in these regions; smaller supplemental investments which would better promote area development in these regions are usually not made.
- Research. There is only minimal institutional capacity in Indonesia to conduct applied socio-economic research and monitoring of the transmigration process.

Indonesian settlements which have been spontaneous and where settlers had freedom to develop their own farming systems have prospered. Present studies are under way to determine the factors affecting success in these settlements.

3. Colonization and Settlement in Latin America. Motives for new lands settlement in Latin America differ from those in most other areas of the world in that they are usually a mechanism for land reform. Most colonization programs in Latin America have overriding political concerns; in the Andean countries the concern is what to do with the Indian populations. Often settler groups in Latin America are politically vulnerable and weak. General characteristics of colonization programs in Latin America are:

- Most programs do not provide settlers with titles to their lands. This often results in disputes over land and increases settler insecurity and anxiety.
- Because colonization programs result from political rather than development concerns, there are only minimal support mechanisms for agricultural development. Agronomists are usually not available and infrastructure for markets remains undeveloped. Often settlements are located in isolated areas where access to markets is limited and costly.
- The lack of social services and infrastructure in settlement areas discourages people from moving to them. The lack of police security in settlement areas also serves as a disincentive.
- The rights of host indigenous populations are rarely recognized.
- Because many of the settlement schemes are in tropical, lowland areas, farmers from the highlands have no experience with the requirements for successful farming.

Successful settlement schemes in Latin America often have either a strong ethnic base (e.g., the Japanese in Brazil) or are spontaneous. Large, government-sponsored schemes perform very poorly.

#### IV. NEW LANDS SETTLEMENT AS A MECHANISM FOR AREA DEVELOPMENT

Workshop discussion reiterated Scudder's position that successful new lands settlement programs should promote area development. Success should be measured by the degree to which the settlement scheme promotes regional development, strengthens linkages between such different sectors as agriculture and non-farm employment, and supports the emergence of a spatially rational hierarchy of centers that links these two sectors and assists in agricultural and small-scale industrial development. Constraints to the achievement of area development in a settlement context are many and include:

- Very large investments which inhibit their being integrated into a regional economy. This is particularly so when on-scheme production focuses on a limited number of export crops which promote vertical rather than horizontal marketing linkages.
- Management structures that are often concerned with specific agendas related only to the scheme. In most cases they are responsive to and dependent on national ministries and other bodies located outside of the settlement area.

On the positive side, new lands settlement programs present excellent opportunities to promote area development because:

- They are usually large enough (in terms of population) to promote the simultaneous growth of agriculture, non-farm employment (small-scale industries), and service centers.

- They often inject a large amount of cash into the regional economy in the form of increased producer incomes. This may support new consumption patterns by local people and increased demand for consumer products which often can be produced locally.
- They may provide needed infrastructure that can also be used to promote non-scheme activities.
- Although scheme administrative structure is usually oriented to scheme activities, it provides an institutional basis which might be used to plan for broader regional development.

Perhaps the most appropriate step for promoting area development in settlement zones is a gradual phasing of investments in non-scheme activities. These ancillary investments may be in small-scale industries or in food production schemes which will supply local markets, rather than commodities that are strictly for national or international consumption. The key is to identify those non-scheme investments (which often involve minimal funding) that promote what one participant referred to as a "catalyst for area development". The proper timing of such investments must also be assessed. The settlement literature reviewed in Scudder's report indicates that many of the multiplier effects of settlement schemes can be identified, and that these show recurrent, predictable patterns. For example, research on settlement schemes in Eastern Africa reveals that in the middle and later stages of settlements, production for local food markets is often more profitable to the tenants than is export crop production. The growth in local markets and settlement centers is a pattern that emerges from the settlement scheme itself. Other patterns such as small-scale craft development (carpentry, tailoring, etc.) are easily identified and in some cases

can be predicted using available data. Pressures resulting from the settlement process itself result in off-scheme investment by tenants and non-tenants who settle in the region. It is beneficial that scheme planners recognize this likelihood and that they coordinate investment to complement these non-scheme activities. These spontaneous developments, as noted earlier, often are the most beneficial for both the tenants and the region.

The Clark/IDA Cooperative Agreement recognizes the high probability that settlement schemes, whether for political, economic or other reasons, will remain a reality in LDCs for many years to come. While smaller, less capital intensive settlement schemes show great merit, it is recognized that the large scale settlement programs will remain important in many LDCs. Workshop participants felt the Clark/IDA team could assist AID in several ways in settlement efforts. First, by identifying at the project design stage those internal mechanisms of settlement (recruitment, management, participation) which must be addressed. (Research methodology and issues relating to these are discussed in the Scudder report.) Secondly, ADCA can assist USAID Missions in planning phased investment schedules that promote greater integration between the scheme and the region. Many AID-financed projects, such as Mahaweli (Sri Lanka), are becoming more concerned with investments in non-scheme activities and in the regional economy in general. As the Sri Lankan participant noted, his government presently evaluates settlement schemes by examining both on-scheme and off-scheme benefits. Thirdly, ADCA can assist Missions in evaluating settlement schemes, particularly as they relate to area development. ADCA recommends the establishment of permanent evaluation and monitoring units which provide continuous analysis to scheme management and government officials. Finally, ADCA can help USAID Missions

redesign settlement programs when the original design has become dated. As noted before, settlement schemes often are narrowly conceived. This may be preferred in the first few years, but in the longer run it impedes the effective integration of the scheme in the larger regional economy.

WORKSHOP ON NEW LANDS SETTLEMENT AND AREA DEVELOPMENT

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WORKSHOP ON NEW LANDS SETTLEMENT AND AREA DEVELOPMENT

April 30 - May 1, 1982  
Binghamton, New York

Agenda

All sessions at NY-PENN HEALTH SYSTEMS AGENCY, INC. Conference Room, 3rd Floor, Press Building, 19 Chenango Street, Binghamton, New York.

April 30

Introduction - M. M. Horowitz

Session I : New Lands Settlement as a Mechanism for Area Development.  
9:00-12:30 Discussion Leaders: D. Brokensha and E. Berry

1. Summary of Scudder report and IDA position.
2. Promotion of Multi-Sectoral Activities and Linkages.
3. Factors Impeding Regional/Area Development in Settlement Areas.

Lunch

IDA (99 Collier Street)

Session II  
2:00-5:30

Regional Experiences with New Lands Settlement and Area Development.  
Discussion Leaders: P. Doughty, D. Maxwell, W. Coward and  
M. Salem-Murdock

1. Latin America and Colonization.
2. Large-scale Settlement Schemes in Tropical Africa.
3. Transmigration Experience in South Asia.
4. AID Experience with River Basin Development and New Lands Settlement

6:30

Dinner and reception at the Horowitz's (22 Crestmont Road, 797-2820).  
Transportation from Ramada Inn will be provided.

May 1

Session III  
8:00-11:00

Workshop Summary and Results  
Discussion Leader: L. Berry

1. Implications for the Design, Implementation and Evaluation of New Lands Settlement Programs.
2. Application of Workshop Findings to Area Development.