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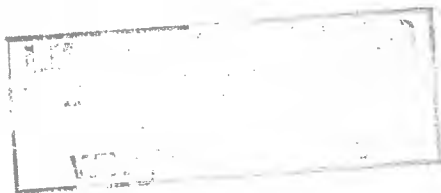
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## Development of Urban Settlements in Independent Namibia

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The investigation presented here was conducted as a doctoral thesis at the Department of Geography at the Bavarian Julius-Maximilians-University of Wuerzburg and has therefore been published in German. The English Version given in this paper does not contain the whole thesis, but focuses on those aspects, which are of significance for the Namibian institutions and for those persons who have expressed their interest in the research. Therefore, it mainly contains the chapters on the empirical investigation in Namibia and does not render the whole methodological and theoretical discussion.

# 1 Introduction

Namibia is a young nation: before it became independent just one decade ago in 1990 the territory was under external administration for more than a century. After it had been colonized by the Germans until World War I it was placed under the South African mandatory and became subject to the apartheid system, which restricted the public and private life of black people to the highest degree. Thus, the liberties and obligations of democracy are new to the majority of the population and have changed its life fundamentally. The 1990s in Namibia are characterised by social deregulation and economic liberalization, which have an impact on all levels of the new nation from the parliament in Windhoek to the citizens on the omahangu fields in the north of the country. The cities function as intersection between these various spheres of living and working, and their development reflects the socio-economic transformation of the country. Urban centres, however, are not only subject to the new conditions but gain themselves more and more significance in the formation of the new society and economy. The most important cause for this is the strong urbanization process, which, starting at beginning of the abolishment of the apartheid laws in 1977, is still ongoing today. Windhoek is the main destination for the migrants, but the regional centres in the north of the country see a significant growth, too. This has only become possible due to the freedom of movement, which was not granted to most inhabitants before it was guaranteed in the constitution of 1990. Since then all Namibians have been able to move and settle according to their own needs and, thus, react to external events such as economic changes or natural disasters. This “freedom of movement” does not only mean a choice between rural and urban areas but also the choice between different parts of a city, whose living areas of the ethnically defined populations groups had been clearly segregated before. In consequence, a number of changes in the settlement systems are a result of the socio-economic changes in Namibia such as the shifting of functions between settlements, the establishment of new administration centres, the discovery of the cities in the former *homelands* as a market for South African mass products as well as changes in the innerurban structures with the turn to more heterogeneity in the urban areas and, thus, more or less the transformation of the apartheid structures.



## 2 Objectives of the Investigation

In the last 20 years small and intermediate cities in developing countries have gained in significance in planning as well as in the scientific discussion. The rather pragmatic reason for this is the fact that in the long term the growing problems of the capitals and bigger cities cannot be solved in the metropolitan areas only. Thus, small and intermediate cities are of interest mainly in their function as relief for the metropolises. This is true for Africa, as well. Even though urbanization here set in later than in other parts of the world, it has since created socio-economic problems to which so far no solutions are visible.

However, a profound analysis of the smaller urban areas is still problematic, since data on the specific local features and information on the relation between settlements of different sizes and functions are lacking: "The paucity of fact is demonstrated by the lack of Third World based studies on how urban systems grow and develop, and the influence of social, economic and political forces on this process. (...) Government policies for small and intermediate urban centres must be based on careful assessment of the local needs, local resources and local potentials which are particular to each urban centre" (Hardoy & Satterthwaite 1986, 3).

Therefore the study presented here aims at analysing the development factors and processes, which are of significance for the small and intermediate urban centres of the Namibia farming zone. By pointing out trends in the transformation of these settlements after the political change in southern Africa it will contribute to the research in urban development as well as to the theoretical discourse on urbanization.

During the last decades in Namibia politics, planning and scientific research concerning urban development have been focussing mainly on Windhoek as the capital, Walfish Bay as the main harbour and Swakopmund as a centre of tourism, administration and education. A major part of the national resources is accumulated in these cities (capital, industry, administration, technical and social infrastructure) and a tenth of the population of Namibia lives in Windhoek, a fact that can be accounted for by its high immigration figures. Unfortunately migration figures exist only for the capital. There is neither quantitative nor qualitative data on the migration from and to smaller cities, e.g., the significance of these centres for the population living there - why, for instance, these people do not move to Windhoek - has so far not been analysed. While Windhoek has been the main subject of research regarding the innerurban social and spatial structures<sup>1</sup>, during the second half of the 90s some studies have

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<sup>1</sup> Graefe & Peroux 1995, Frayne, 1992, Simon 1991, City of Windhoek 1996 a etc.

been conducted in centres of the former homelands in the north of the country<sup>2</sup>. They are of special interest nowadays since population and capital concentrate here increasingly. The urban settlements in the farming zone, however, which are negatively affected by deregulation and market liberalization, have been neglected since independence.

Small and intermediate cities - those settlements which form the medium level between rural settlements and the national centres - are no homogeneous category in Namibia. Because of the almost hundred years of spatial segregation of the various cultural complexes in Namibia, settlement structures developed differently in different parts of the country. Solely in the cities of the farming zone the population was already ethnically heterogeneous during colonial times and under apartheid, which was the reason for the continuous efforts of the European settlers to enforce segregation. These endeavours finally led to the creation of the typical social and spatial Apartheid structures. Cities in this part of the country were subject to rigid planning principles and were laid down according to a fixed pattern. Cities in the former homelands, on the other hand, developed less systematically. In addition, the Apartheid system of administration, which was based on many restriction, created an "artificial world", in which the towns of the farming zone were favoured above those in the homelands. It was not before independence that a real competition for resources developed between the Namibian cities and only recently more and more planners and politicians and - even more important- investors has begun to turn to the north of the country. Consequently, the small and intermediate cities in the farming zone face serious changes.

One of the topics of this study is the transformation of the segregative urban structure, which was once created with an immense expenditure. The research concerning "post-apartheid cities" since the 1980s has focussed chiefly on the South African metropolitan areas<sup>3</sup> and does not allow conclusions for smaller places in Namibia. At the same time recent developments in the urban centres concerned are analysed regarding the new conditions for political and economic actions, and the local resources and bottlenecks. The study is focussing on those processes of acting and decision-making which determine the development. In consequence, it is based on an actor-orientated approach. The basis is the ascertainment of the perceptions of inhabitants as well as of decision-makers (representatives of public and private institutions which have an impact on the urban development).

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<sup>2</sup> Tvedten & Pomuti 1994, Devereux, Melaku-Tjirongo & Naeraa 1993 etc.

<sup>3</sup> Dewar 1995, Napier 1994, Lemon 1991 b, Saff 1991, Bähr & Jürgens 1990 a, 1990 b and 1996

### 3 Methods

The study is based on the assumption that the transformation of urban settlements is not only determined by the larger political and economic development, but is mainly influenced by the decisions and actions of individual persons or interest groups. These actors are not mere rational subjects following the legal and economic frame conditions, but decide on the basis of their own values, their social and cultural milieu with all its unwritten rules and on the basis of the actions of other people concerned, or, at least, on their interpretation of these actions. Therefore, the interpretative paradigm forms the methodological background of the research, which was accordingly conducted with methods of qualitative research.

The aim of qualitative social research is to develop a comprehension of “the process of the constitution of reality” (Lamnek 1995, 25). Thus, it does not intend to explain, but to explore and understand the actions and behaviour of people. Hypotheses are not defined in advance but derived from the results of the investigation and related to each other to develop data-based “grounded theories”<sup>4</sup>. Following this methodological approach the study presented here was conducted according to the main principles of qualitative research procedure: openness, flexibility and reflexivity. Openness and flexibility refer to the objectives and the particular procedure of the research, the latter of which was continuously adjusted to the results obtained. Reflexivity means the interrelation between the single results (statements, events etc.) and the whole context, since one cannot be understood without the other. To illustrate the use of qualitative methods in this study, the particular research procedure in the empirical investigation shall be explained in the following.

#### **3.1 The Research Procedure**

The research was conducted in three phases (table 1): In the first stage, the main topic of the investigation was defined (processes of socio-economic transformation in small and intermediate urban settlements in the Namibian farming zone since independence) and the towns for the empirical investigation were selected (three towns in central Namibia, for the reasons of the selection see chapter 5.5). In the second stage the empirical investigation in the selected urban settlements as well as in some national institutions was conducted. In the final phase, the results were analysed and integrated into the superior questions of the research,

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<sup>4</sup> Glaser & Strauss 1980 and 1998, Glaser 1978

combining the empirical findings with the larger socio-economic development background of Namibia and the theoretical discourse on urban development.

First phase	Definition of the topic of the investigation, development of an investigation guideline, choice of the towns for the empirical analysis.
Second phase	Empirical investigation (including the development of the interview guideline) in - the three selected urban settlements (Kalkfeld, Omaruru, Otjiwarongo), - some national institutions.
Third phase	Integration into the superior questions of the research, combining the empirically gained results with the broader socio-economic development of Namibia, interrelating it with the theoretical discourse on urban development in developing countries.

*Tab. 1: Research Procedure*

The empirical investigation was based on the assumption that urban centres depend on various development factors, of which the actors are the most important ones. Thus, the investigation followed a three-perceptions-approach, in which the perspective of the inhabitants of the town is compared with the one of the decision-makers and supplemented with an external view (frame data and the perspective of the researcher). The methods used for the interviews with inhabitants and decision-makers were guideline-based, non-standardized interviews, the method for the external view was participant observation and the interpretation of statistical data from public and private institutions.

Before the beginning of the survey two investigation guidelines were developed. The first one aimed at determining the topic of the investigation more in particular. It was used as a guideline for the whole second and third stage of the investigation (collection and interpretation of data), but it was continuously modified according to the results gained in the previous steps (following the principles of openness towards the objects of the investigation and flexibility towards the procedure). The leading questions were:

- Which advantages and disadvantages do the urban centres offer their inhabitants and all decision-makers involved into their development?
- Which socio-economic and spatial developments exist?

Subject	Residents	Decision-Makers
Demographic Development	<p>Which changes occurred during the last years?            What is the opinion on these changes?</p>	<p>What is the size and structure of the local population?            Which changes occurred?            Which migratory tendencies are visible?            Which reasons are assumed as cause for the urban development?</p>
Individual Assessment	<p>Which advantages does the town offer as place of living and working?            Which problems exist?</p>	<p>Which advantages does the town offer as place for living and working?            Which problems exist?</p>
Social Development	<p>What is the relationship between the various inhabitants (groups of inhabitants, if existing) like?            What is the relationship between the inhabitants and the decision-makers like?            Which changes occurred during the last years?</p>	<p>Is the social situation of the local population changing?            Are tendencies of integration or segregation visible?            How can they be explained?</p>
Economic Development	<p>What is the assessment of the current situation with regard to the businesses and employment opportunities?            Which changes occurred during the last years?</p>	<p>How many and what kind of economic enterprises exist?            What is the assessment of the economic situation?            Which trends are visible and how can they be explained?            Is there any promotion of the economy?</p>
Actors	<p>In whose initiative do the mentioned developments have their origin?            What is the relationship between the different actors like?</p>	<p>Which actors are participating in planning and policy of the town?            Who is acting in the economic sector?            Which NGOs are represented?            Are there any individuals who are exceptionally active?            In whose initiative do the mentioned developments have their origin?</p>

Processes of deciding and acting	How did certain developments or occurrences emerge? For which reasons have the own decisions been made ( the choice of place of living, change of job etc.)?	In which fields does a co-operation between the various actors exist? Who participates in the decision-making of the different sectors? Is the assignment of responsibility adequate?
Interrelations	Is the influence of superior institutions felt ?	In how far do superior institutions participate in local decision-making? What is the co-operation between the various decision-makers like?
Survival economies	How much is the own income, how much that of the household? Which additional sources of income exist? How many people depend on the income? Which expenses exist besides accommodation, clothing and food (school fees, health expenses etc.)? Is there any subsistence production (vegetable, small livestock, clothing etc.)?	What is the income situation of the population like? What is the informal sector of the town like? Which self-help projects exist and how are they seen?
Existing institutions and infrastructure	Which social institutions exist ? Which technical and constructional infrastructure exists ? Is the water supply sufficient? How much are the fees for municipal services, electricity and water? Is the infrastructure regarded as satisfactory?	Which social institutions exist? Which technical and constructional infrastructure exists? Is the water supply sufficient? How much are the fees for municipal services, electricity and water? What are the future developments in planning?
Personal/ institutional data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Period of residence in the town</li> <li>• Place of origin</li> <li>• Size, structure and income of the household</li> <li>• Place of living of further family members</li> <li>• Age, profession, income</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tasks and organisation of the institution</li> <li>• Function of the interviewee within the institution</li> <li>• Development of the institution in the town</li> <li>• Number of jobs of the institution</li> </ul>

Tab. 2: Guidelines for the interviews with residents and decision-makers

➤ Which factors and processes determine the development of the urban centres?

Thus, the focuses of the investigation can be summarized as follows:

- Development trends relating to
  - migration,
  - economy,
  - social integration and segregation;
- control mechanisms relating to
  - participation,
  - processes of deciding and acting;
- survival economies
  - of individuals,
  - of the whole town;
- interrelations between
  - the individual actors,
  - different levels of administration.

These questions served as guideline not only during the survey, but during the interpretation of the data as well. They are not identical with the interview guideline (table 2), which was developed on the basis of these focuses, but was also modified according to statements and assessments of interviewees.

### **3.2 The Selection of Interviewees: Theoretical Sampling**

The selection of interviewees was also consistently done according to the qualitative methodology and followed the principles of “theoretical sampling”, which means a systematical selection of the participants according to the existing (and permanently broadening) pre-knowledge: “Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is *controlled* by the emerging theory. (...) The basic question in theoretical sampling is (...): *what* groups or subgroups does one turn to next in data collection? And for *what* theoretical purpose?” (Glaser & Strauss 1980, 45f.).

The participants were selected on the basis of a number of several topic-orientated factors. The basic idea was to conduct interviews with representatives of the various social groups of the towns to cover a broad range of interests, on the one hand, and to interview representatives

of the different public and private institutions as well as “key figures” who prove a competence in certain topics, on the other hand.

The relevant social groups could not be defined in advance but were determined on grounds of statements of the local population. As a first step the field was approached according to the spatial urban structure, which can be justified with the strong social segregation of (post-) apartheid cities. From the interviews it could be derived which groups exist in the mind of the local population and according to which factors they were differentiated. Further statements and assessments of the interviewees led to the selection of others with this choice being based on a combination of various factors: It could be members of certain social groups (chosen for their “being typical”) as well as persons explicitly standing out from the norm. The selection of the interviewees of another group (representatives of the different public and private institutions) was easier, since it became clear during the process of investigation which institutions have an influence on the local development and should therefore be included. The third group of people, the “key figures” were people whose behaviour has a special significance for the urban development (e.g. much initiative, prestige) or who have a special function outside the public authorities (e.g. traditional leader, preacher).

### ***3.3 The Investigation on National Level***

Parallel to the above described procedure on the local level a second investigation was conducted on the national level of private and public institutions which operate interregionally and have potential to influence the development of intermediate cities. Again the perceptions of their representatives regarding the small and intermediate urban centres was ascertained. This meant focussing especially on their interest in investing or in conducting development projects in the urban centres of various sizes and functions. In this context representatives of four administration and planning institutions, two banks and four trading companies were interviewed. While the representatives of administration and planning were interviewed in a problem-centred manner according to the objectives, tasks and procedures of each institution, the interviews with the representatives of the public sector were half-standardized. The introductory questions were:

1. In which Namibian cities does your company have branches?
2. In which Namibian cities did your company have branches which have been closed? Why were they closed?
3. In which Namibian cities do you plan to open further branches?



4. According to which factors does your company decide on the location of new branches? Based on the answers some aspects could be deepened in the following open interview. This was necessary, for example, if the answers didn't explain the location of the existing branches sufficiently. An additional subject of the interviews was the co-operation between businesses and public authorities.

### **3.4 Interpretation of the Data**

The interpretation of qualitative data aims at pointing out main features of the case studies. On the one hand, the individual statements have to be understood, on the other hand, the common reality, which is formed in a mutual process between the individual and the society, has to be reconstructed. According to the principle of hermeneutic interpretation the comprehension of reality develops in a circular process. The knowledge of an entire situation (common reality) evolves from the comprehension of the individual cases and the comprehension of the individual cases is extended by the knowledge of the entire situation. There is no universally valid procedure for the interpretation, but it is adjusted to the subjects and objectives of each analysis. This is one of the strengths of qualitative research.

In this study the first stage was the interpretation of the individual interviews regarding their contents (almost all of them have been recorded on tapes). A transcript was made of all relevant parts of the interviews and the single statements were related to the topics of the investigation guideline. Comparing the different statements common perceptions and contradictions could be found out. Factual contradictions (which did not reflect personal opinions) were clarified. The results of this first step of interpretation are presented in chapters 6 to 8.

In the next stage the findings of the topics were mutually connected to achieve a superior context. This process of abstraction, which cannot be standardized<sup>5</sup>, leads to "grounded theories"<sup>6</sup>. On the one hand, these theories form a superior structure based on empirical data, on the other hand, they are continuously subjected to modifications. They are characterized by never being "ready" or complete<sup>7</sup>. They reflect a limited part of the ever-changing social reality.

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<sup>5</sup> Wiegandt 1989

<sup>6</sup> Glaser/Strauss 1980 and 1998

<sup>7</sup> Glaser 1978

In this study the context was constructed at different levels: For each of the selected towns, for all towns together, and finally in relation to the information given by the national institutions. Relations and dependences between the individuals, the socio-economic networks and the spatial and administrative developments were thereby ascertained. The local situation was integrated into the entire Namibian development and complemented by theoretical findings.

## **4 Urbanization and Intermediate Cities in Sub-Saharan-Africa: Features and Tendencies**

Although urban development in Africa is not homogenous, some common features exist in the countries south of the Sahara as far as the development of intermediate cities, their role in the settlement systems and their significance for economy and society in the countries is concerned.

### **4.1 Urbanization**

The process of urbanization in southern Africa can be subdivided into stages which are related to its political history. The fundamental order for the actual city system was laid in colonial times. Unlike in western Africa there were no considerable cities on the territory of today's Republic of South Africa and the neighbouring countries before the arrival of European settlers<sup>8</sup>. The most important cities in the region emerged not before the end of the 19th century. Johannesburg was founded in 1886, Harare in 1890, Windhoek in 1891. The colonialization developed differently according to the local conditions and to the motherland of the settlers, but still there are some common features in the settlement process which can be described in accordance with Vance's model as optimizing of trade<sup>9</sup>. This led to the high significance of a harbour city in each country (export of raw material, import of goods for the settlers). Between the harbour and the point of origin of the raw material settlement axes developed. Secondary centres did not develop before the military and administration grew considerably. These early settlement structures still determine many countries today. Examples are the bipolar developments in South Africa (Cape Town and Johannesburg) and Kenya (Mombassa and Nairobi) where the separation of harbour and capital is dominant or in

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<sup>8</sup> An exception is Great Zimbabwe of which the origins can be traced back until the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The buildings which still exist today have been constructed at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The fortification probably served as the core of an urban settlement (Davidson 1987).

countries with primate cities combining trade and administration, e.g. Tanzania (Dar es Salaam), Angola (Luanda), Mozambique (Beira).

Originally urbanization meant the foundation of European cities which only in their further development became home to Africans, too. With their interest in cities a new phase of urbanization began which was of a different nature from the first stage. Migrants of rural areas came to find work, above all - firstly in private homes, later in mines or manufactories. Because of their work their centre of daily life shifted into the cities, yet they kept contact to their families remaining in the villages. Thus, their identification with and their ties to the urban areas were much less intensive than those of the European settlers.

Migration focussed more and more on the bigger centres, a development which was influenced by political decisions and planning: Regarding public investment and economic initiatives the established cities were favoured above smaller places concerning <sup>10</sup>. Growth of economy and population growth mutually strengthened each other and hence formed the basis for primate structures.

A third wave of urbanization followed in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa when independence replaced colonization (which occurred in each country at a different time). Independence in most cases meant the transition to democracy. Restrictions concerning the freedom of movement of the citizens were abolished and an influx to the cities began. Usually the largest rural-urban migration took place right before and after the beginning of independence (Gaebe 1994), causing the problems of too dense populations and informal settlements with a very low standard of living in the cities - problems which are still not solved.

#### **4.1.1 Current Urbanization**

The growth of larger metropolitan areas has in average world-wide been lower since the beginning of the 1980s than during the 60s and 70s<sup>11</sup>. In the countries south of the Sahara, however, this is not visible since the focuses of urbanization shifted from Latin America and the Middle East to Africa. Between 1980 and 1990 the annual urban growth rate in sub-Saharan Africa was 5,9%, while it was 3% in South and Middle America (Gilbert 1993,

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<sup>9</sup> Vance 1970

<sup>10</sup> Prestele 1989

<sup>11</sup> Habitat 1996

722f)<sup>12</sup>. An essential feature and problem of the African urbanization is additionally that it does not go along with considerable economic growth but is accompanied rather by a decline of many economic indicators<sup>13</sup>.

Many factors can be named as cause for the continuing urbanization. The individual decisions are based on the push-and-pull-factors such as overpopulation in the rural areas (in Namibia the former *homeland*) with insufficient food supply, lack of technical and social infrastructure and income opportunities as well as the hope for jobs, the modern lifestyle and better infrastructure in urban areas. Schools, in particular, form a main attraction of cities. The abolishment of the legal restrictions, which before independence prohibited migration, triggered its sudden onset. Yet, the reasons for urbanization cannot be found in the individual behaviour only. The advantaged development of urban areas was pushed by the *urban bias* which means a favouring of cities towards rural areas concerning public and private investments, the location of industry and administration etc<sup>14</sup>.

Rural-urban migration, however, does not solve the migrants problems and enlarges the bottlenecks already existing in cities. Additionally new problems are created or removed from the rural to the urban areas (unemployment, low health and education standards, lack of shelter, crime). Most of the new urban inhabitants live in informal settlement with insufficient dwellings, no or little technical infrastructure, a lack of access to clean water, no reliable income and therefore no chance to take part in modern urban living. These problems are not necessarily new in the life of the migrants but become visible in the city only now.

At the same time the concentration in the primate cities is not the only migration trend in developing countries. In some cases *polarization reversal* can be observed: “the turning point when spatial polarization trends in the national economy give way to a process of spatial dispersion out of the core region into other regions of the system” (Richardson 1984, 67). This leads to a higher significance of secondary centres (in contrast to *counterurbanization* which is a real turn to rural areas). Since the first observance of polarization reversal planners tried to push this development ahead since it promised a relief for the metropolises. However, this measure has not yielded the desired results so far.

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<sup>12</sup> Habitat presents lower figures with annually 4,4% (Africa) and 2,86% (Latin America) for the period between 1975 and 2000 (Habitat 1996, 447), but still with much higher growth rates in Africa than in Latin America.

<sup>13</sup> Gilbert 1993

<sup>14</sup> Gaebe 1994

The migration process has been analysed more in detail for South Africa where the model of *differential urbanization* was developed. It describes the “simultaneous occurrence of more than one migration pattern in the same area” (Geyer 1989, 276). Summarizing it can be explained with wealthier people leaving the large cities (named as *environmentalism*) and poorer people still immigrating to the primate centres (*productionism*)<sup>15</sup>. Although the model describing the various stages of development, aims at reflecting the complex reality of migration as far as possible, it is not of major importance in Namibia since the countermovements to *urbanization* are quantitatively not of much significance. Besides this the model was based on investigations conducted before the abolishment of Apartheid and has little significance for the period of independence.

#### 4.1.2 Urbanization and Development

Urbanization and socio-economic development of a country are related to each other. Usually it is assumed that growing urbanization goes along with a positive economic development. According to this assumption, which is based on the model of western nations, the countries with the highest urbanization rate have the highest GNP. In this concept cities are regarded as motors of development which determine the economic, technological and political transformation. The advantage of urban growth is the concentration of resources in a comparatively little space thus multiplying their potential. The resulting economic effects can stimulate social developments: improvement of the education and health system, decrease of birth rates, development of a common value system which contributes to the nation building of the young African countries<sup>16</sup>. Yet at the same time new problems are occurring in the cities with a high population density, the rise of unemployment and poverty, crime, lack of infrastructure and the destruction of the traditional social value and security system. In Europe these problems have arisen, too, but finally the positive features of urbanization have outweighed the disadvantages. This, however, does not necessarily mean that African countries will follow the same path. So far the problems which are generally related to urbanization emerged in Africa, but an accompanying economic stimulation is only remarkable in few places. While European cities always served as centres for the accumulation of resources the African metropolises have from the beginning been points where the natural resources of the countries were removed. The integration of the new nations

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<sup>15</sup> Geyer & Kontuly 1993

<sup>16</sup> Stals et al. 1987

into the global economy has not much changed their role: They continue to be providers of raw materials without receiving adequate inputs. There is no parallel development of urbanization and economic development which is why urbanization in Africa might rather be a problem than a solution. It does not enable progress but makes it necessary.

#### **4.2 Intermediate Cities**

Intermediate cities form a relative category for which there is no universally valid definition. They need to be differentiated in the context of a national settlement system. The absurdity of general quantitative definitions becomes evident if applied to Namibia: Aka (1991, 175), for instance, defines intermediate cities in small countries with 100,000 to 250,000 inhabitants. Accordingly only Windhoek would be a Namibian intermediate city, which is incompatible with qualitative criteria given, e.g. by Habitat, which demands that intermediate cities must not own primary central functions. In general it is accepted that there is a need for qualitative criteria, but usually they are not unequivocally named. Some authors demand that intermediate cities should have accumulated enough economic activities to give them a larger significance for the national production and service sector<sup>17</sup>. At the same time they have to combine urban and rural character in the view of others<sup>18</sup>. More precise is a definition of the German "Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit". According to their interpretation intermediate cities have a regional significance determined by three functions: supply, development and relief. Supply relates to markets, education and health institutions as well as to superior institutions of trade, finance and administration. Development comprises consultancy for agriculture and manufacture, accumulation and exchange of agricultural products and consumer goods, industrial production, services directed towards businesses, vocational training, and exchange of information. Relief is defined by the location of industry and private services as well as national and parastatal institutions as alternative to the location in bigger cities<sup>19</sup>. Yet even this definition cannot be used universally since it obviously refers to countries with a dense population. No Namibian intermediate centre can fulfil all these demands. In particular the development activities only exist in few places.

The present study does not create its own criteria for the definition, but it follows the categories laid down in the Namibian Local Authorities Act. The urban centres defined in this

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<sup>17</sup> Blitze et al. 1988

<sup>18</sup> Poutier 1993

<sup>19</sup> Drewski, Kunzmann & Platz 1989

act, as *municipality II*, *town* or *village* are summarized here as small and intermediate cities, although they have very different standards in centrality and productivity.

### **4.3 Inner Structure of Southern African Cities**

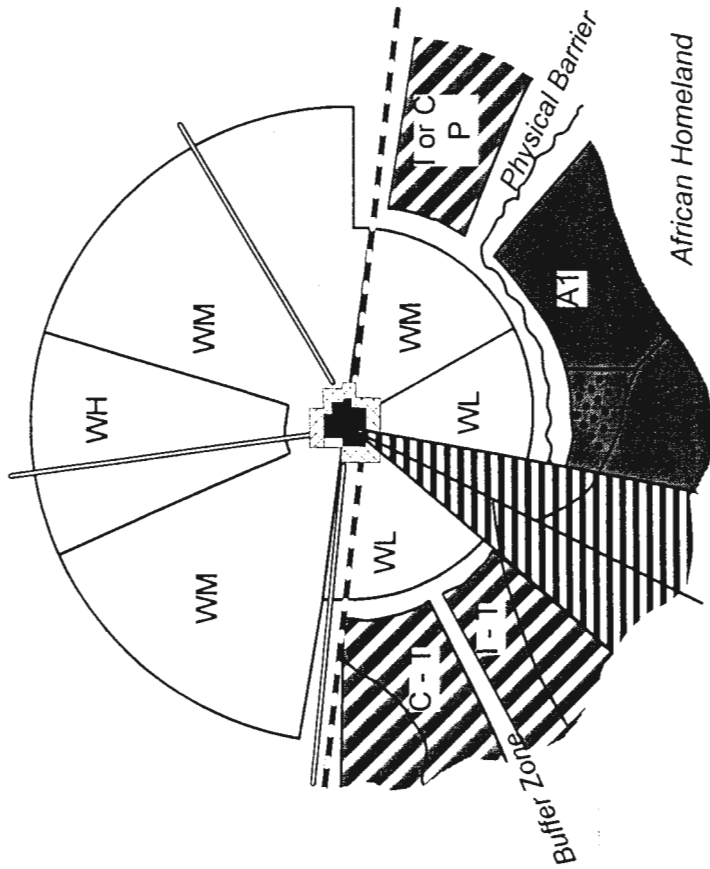
Since cities in sub-Saharan Africa were founded by the European settlers their structure has been determined by the colonial settlement policy, the main feature of which was the spatial segregation of the European and African population. The most obvious manifestation of this was the creation of inner urban residential areas allocated to the different ethnic groups with the white population having access to the major part of the city and the African and Asian inhabitants crowded in much smaller quarters. At a later stage, in some countries such as Zimbabwe, pure “dormitory suburbs” without any supply structure were established. The most extreme form of racial segregation, however, took place under the South African apartheid regime which was finally implemented in Namibia, too. The spatial separation of the races was complemented by a package of laws restricting the freedom of movement and economic activities of the non-white population.

The first *townships* outside the city for which a resettlement of African residents became necessary were established in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg at the beginning of the century. Some years later the occurrence of plague epidemics was used as a pretext to further restrict the permission to stay outside these areas<sup>20</sup>. 1913 the *Native Urban Land Act* expropriated blacks of their real estates in urban areas, 1923 the *Natives (Urban Areas) Act* underpinned the creation of separate residential areas for the African population and 1948 finally apartheid became the official political programme of the government. It imposed for segregation of four races, arbitrarily defined by the government: blacks, coloureds, Asians and whites. With the exception of the whites all races - above all the blacks - had to suffer considerable restrictions in their personal freedom. Apartheid was exercised on three levels: on the macro-level (the national level) *homelands* were established - territories in which the black people had to stay as long as they were not working in another part of the country. On the meso-level apartheid meant the segregation within the cities (described in the following) and on the third level micro-apartheid provided for the separation in daily life (in public space, public institutions). While Micro-Apartheid was not legally established in Namibia, macro- and meso-apartheid were realized there as well as in South Africa.

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<sup>20</sup> Beavon 1981

### Modell of the Apartheid City (Davies 1981)



White C.B.D. Indian C.B.D. C.B.D. Frame Industrial

#### Residential Areas:

White Group Area

Economic Status: H = High, M = Middle, L = Low

Indian and or Coloured Group Areas:

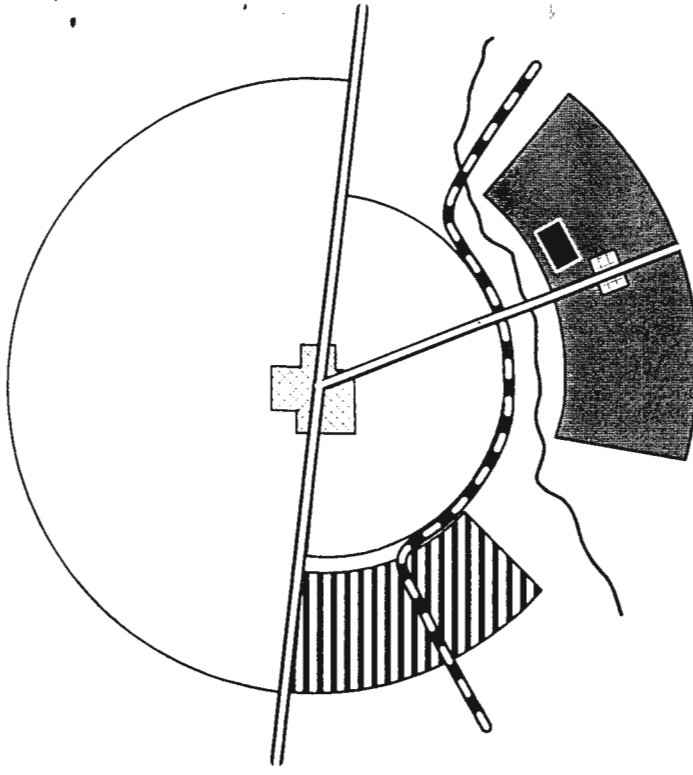
I = Indian, C = Coloured, T = Township, P = Privately developed

African Group Areas • Hostels A 1 = Municipal Townships

Economic Status of Black Group Areas not differentiated

Domestic servant quarters not shown

### Apartheid Model of Namibian Small and Intermediate Cities (based on Davies 1981)



Black residential area  
White residential area  
Industrial area  
Commercial center  
"Single quarters"  
River

A. Seckelmann

Fig. 1: Model of the apartheid city according to Davies 1981 and apartheid model of Namibian small and intermediate cities.



The spatial structure of the apartheid-city as well as the legal basis, which made the systematic realization possible, have been often described<sup>21</sup>. Davies' model of the apartheid-city (figure 1) illustrates the social element of segregation: While the major part of the urban area could be used by the white population, the residential areas of the non-white population were crowded, at the periphery of the city and separated from the white quarters and the city center by a wide strip of undeveloped land, the *buffer zone*. Additionally the Asian and coloured residents were settled between blacks and whites, thus serving as another buffer. The black population was regarded as the labour reservoir of the urban areas and therefore settled next to the industrial zones. Infrastructure was insufficient in the black *townships* and private property of real estate was not allowed (the houses belonged to the local authority). Moreover, the economic activities were restricted, e.g. trade was strictly controlled. Supermarkets and department stores were not allowed to be located there, and the floor space of stores in general was limited to 1500 ft<sup>2</sup> (later 3500 ft<sup>2</sup>). In this manner businesses in the city centres were secured against competition<sup>22</sup>. The black quarters had local authorities of their own, but these had so little financial means that they could not do anything to improve the very low standard of living. Consequently dissatisfaction rose in the population and found its expression in the boycotts of rents and fees in the 1980s. The black residents did not only want to force constructional and technical improvements in their areas but to achieve the abolishment of the separate administrations and the establishment of democratic bodies<sup>23</sup>.

The structure of cities described here was, of course, only established in such centres where the population was ethnically heterogeneous. Urban centres in the *homelands* which were allocated by government to specific ethnic groups were more homogenous. There was no need to establish a differentiation here because the segregation had been conducted in advance. The spatial structure of these cities depends until today rather on the respective social, cultural and economic conditions. (An exception were places in the *homelands* which had a special function for the whites, e.g. the military bases Oshakati and Opuwo in north Namibia.)

The social and spatial transformation of the apartheid-cities is a lengthy process which began already in South African cities at the end of the 70s by circumventing the laws<sup>24</sup>. *Grey areas* evolved in former white residential areas into which non-white households moved with the

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<sup>21</sup> Davies 1981, Bähr & Schröder-Pateley 1982, Lemon 1991 a etc.

<sup>22</sup> Turok 1994

<sup>23</sup> Swilling, Cobbett & Hunter 1991

<sup>24</sup> Bähr & Jürgens 1990 b

assistance of middlemen. The government tried to react to this *bottom-up*-development by using a *top-down*-strategy. It established some free residential and trade areas<sup>25</sup>. The labour and housing market, however, developed their own dynamic and even liberalizing laws could not keep pace with it. As a result soon the emigration of white residents out of their former quarters began. Thus, not all *grey areas* are still “grey”. Yet the refusal to live in mixed neighbourhoods was not the sole reason for the whites to move. An increase in poverty and a decrease of the birth rates also influenced their behaviour<sup>26</sup>.

For the future development of the cities in southern Africa forecasts have been made since the end of the 80s. For *post-apartheid-cities* the continuation of the described processes of invasion and succession has been assumed<sup>27</sup>, while at least Bähr and Jürgens regarded a considerable movement of blacks to the wealthy white suburbs as unlikely. Parallels to the American block development have been drawn, too, but in general America does not seem to be a model for South Africa, since the conditions are too different: America has a much better economy, a higher urbanization level and, above all, blacks are a minority in America but the majority in South Africa. Thus, it is assumed that the large ghetto-building of the American kind will not occur in southern Africa where rather small scale heterogeneous developments are expected<sup>28</sup>. Other scenarios foresee a less dynamic development and assume that only few blacks will gain a profit from the political change, while the majority will have to fight poverty and unemployment in future, too. A fundamental problem is that the apartheid structure has been established with immense expenditures. It was an actively planned process whereas the abolishment of the apartheid laws does not directly change the spatial structure. The transformation is rather passive and not centrally organised. Planners often remain in their office and may be tempted to continue with the planning on the basis of the existing structure. The disadvantaged city quarters with their insufficient technical and social infrastructure would then remain as they are now (Lemon 1991 b).

Alternatively compact and integrative urban models have been proposed. Open space could be filled with housing for lower income groups and smaller units in general could become the foundation for planning to break the monotony of South African residential urban areas.<sup>29</sup> One

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<sup>25</sup> Cloete 1991 etc.

<sup>26</sup> Bähr & Jürgens 1996

<sup>27</sup> Bähr & Jürgens 1990 a, Lemon 1991 b

<sup>28</sup> Saff 1991

<sup>29</sup> Dewar 1995, Napier 1994, Lemon 1991 b

intended effect is to awaken at least the awareness of the social groups for each other: "They would help, if not to integrate city populations, at least to bring the separate worlds of the apartheid city closer to one another's consciousness" (Lemon 1991 b, 212).

## 5 Namibia

### 5.1 *The State of Research in Namibia*

In Namibia urban research followed the same path as in the rest of Africa. It focussed in the first place on the primate city before small and intermediate urban centres became a subject of interest, too. In the 70s studies of geography or social sciences were conducted only concerning Windhoek.<sup>30</sup>, but the interest in general was little and the studies had a mere descriptive character. At the end of the 80s for the first time interest in the disintegration of the apartheid structures arose<sup>31</sup>. The works of the 90s deepen this topic and deal above all with the changes caused by the amendment and abolishment of apartheid legislation. Main topics are the continuous growth of the capital and the problems this entails, the living conditions in Katutura, and finally the development, conditions and significance of informal settlements<sup>32</sup>. The squatter settlements as well as the lack of infrastructure show that the influx exceeded the capacity of Windhoek to absorb migrants. Therefore the interest of researchers and planners shifted to the rural areas of origin of the migrants and to those levels of the settlement hierarchy in-between the small and intermediate urban centres.

First studies on the settlement system, however, are much older<sup>33</sup>. They demonstrate that during German as well as South African rule the colonial pattern determined the settlement structure. Considerable new development trends did not occur before independence when the focus of urbanization shifted to the north.

For a long period investigations of single towns and cities in Namibia were of a historic nature. Yet, since the 1990s problem-orientated analyses have been conducted<sup>34</sup> and first investigations of cities in the former homelands have been published<sup>35</sup>. They analyse critically

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<sup>30</sup> Bähr 1970, Pendleton 1974

<sup>31</sup> Simon 1986 & 1991

<sup>32</sup> Frayne 1992, Pendleton 1994, Windhoek Municipality 1995 b, Graefe & Peroux 1995, Seckelmann 1997 & 1998

<sup>33</sup> Schmidt 1922, Klöpffer 1967, Leser 1982, Bähr 1983, van der Merwe 1985, Weigend 1985

<sup>34</sup> Philippi 1993, Devereux 1993

<sup>35</sup> Hangula 1993, Kim 1993, Hangula & Tvedten 1994, Tvedten & Pomuti 1994, TRP Associates 1994

the socio-economic situation of the population as well as the means of the local authorities to influence these conditions. They are complemented by political reflections on the intentions and realities of the new Namibian government and its decentralization programme<sup>36</sup>.

After independence the interest in the urban centres of the farming zone declined, since they lost significance in relation to the cities in the former *homelands* in the north. The present study aims at closing this gap with an analysis of their transformation and their role in the Namibia urbanization process.

## **5.2 Historical Development of Namibian Cities**

The development of the Namibian cities can be traced back to the activities of European settlers which began approximately 200 years ago with the first economic use of the coast of the territory. Permanent concentration of population, however, took place only about 100 years ago. Nevertheless, even the early settlement patterns of the 19th century have had as fundamental an influence on the city system as those of the beginning of the 20th century. The much older pre-colonial settlement did not have a considerable impact on urban development.

### **5.2.1 First exploration by Missionaries and Traders (1793-1884)**

The first economic explorations at the Namibian coast took place under the Dutch and the Britons. Since 1793 the Dutch used the Isle of Halifax, the Britons Walfish Bay, Spencer Bay and Lüderitz Bay as bases for whaling. In 1844 they expanded their activities to the exploitation of guano on some neighbouring islands, but no permanent settlement emerged as the deposits were soon depleted (Schmidt 1922). Settlement rather took place in the inner country with missionaries and traders advancing from the south. Especially mission posts were of great significance, since they often formed the core of the succeeding development. In the first stage of exploration they led to a settlement axis along the north-south-route from the South African border to Windhoek (fig. 2)<sup>37</sup>. Usually the missionaries constructed the first buildings and established contact with the local population in the vicinity. Thus, they attracted traders which hoped to do business with the Europeans as well as with the Africans. Although there were few traders during this first stage of exploration they contributed significantly to the creation of a second settlement axis in east-west-direction. Due to the connection of the inner country with the coast 1836/37 a row of small places developed along the routes, which

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<sup>36</sup> Weiland 1992, Simon 1996, Graefe 1997

<sup>37</sup> The missions in Windhoek (founded in 1842) and Gobabis (founded in 1856), however, did not exist anymore in 1884 (Schmidt 1922).

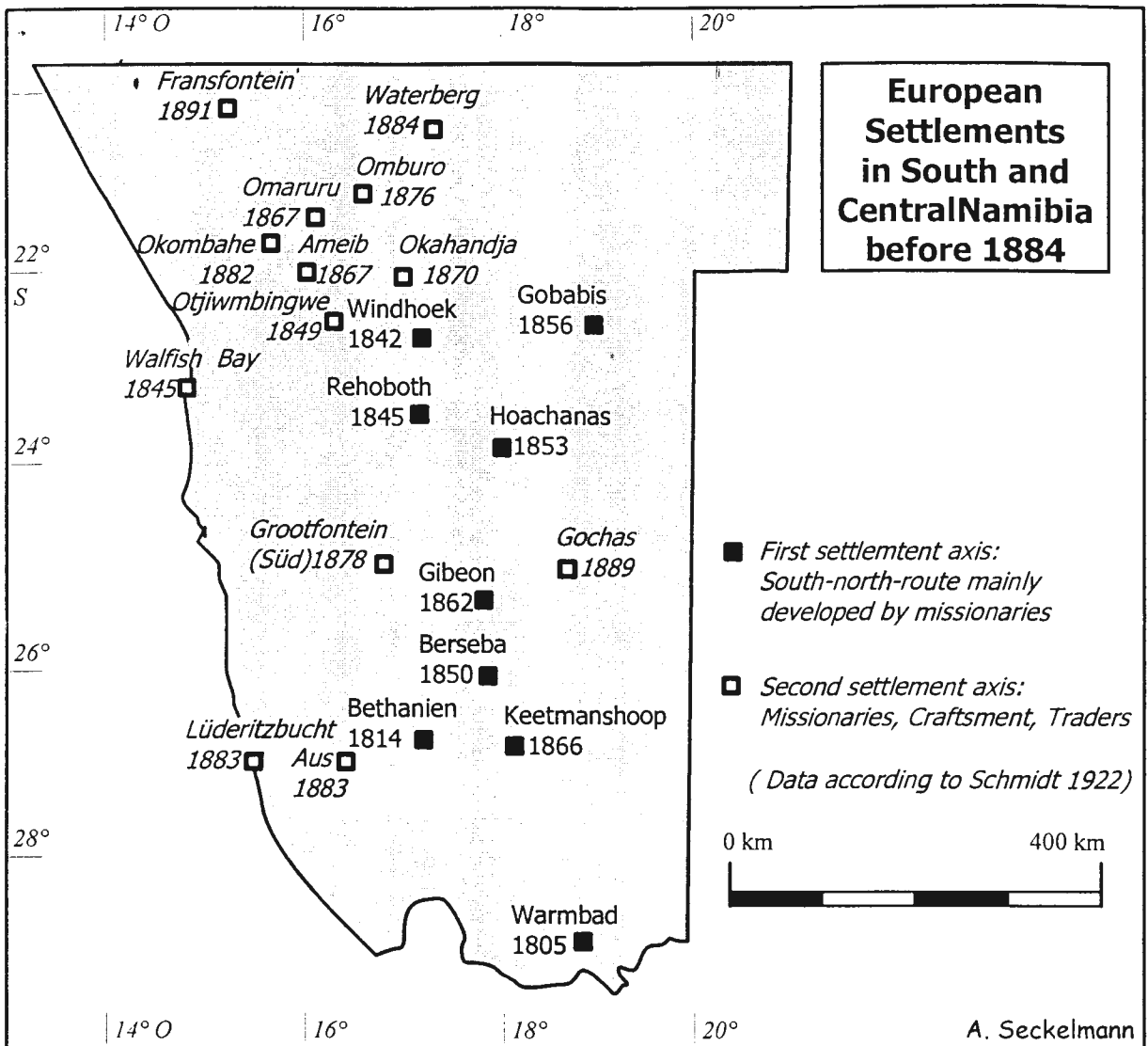


Fig. 2: Historical development of European Settlements in South and Central Namibia before 1884.

led from Walfish Bay to the centre and the north of the country (figure 3): Walfish Bay 1845, Otjimbingwe 1849, Omaruru 1867, Okahandja 1870 etc. (Schmidt 1922). At the same time rural settlement began with some scattered British and South African (Afrikaner) farmers. The time until 1884 can be regarded as a first settlement period<sup>38</sup> which was mainly determined by missionaries, in some cases additionally by traders and craftsmen. At the end of this period Windhoek, Otjimbingwe and Omaruru were the largest centres of the territory.

### 5.2.2 Systematic Colonization by German Civilians and German Military (1884-1915)

From 1884 onwards, when German troops took over the rule in the territory, the development path changed. From now on settlement activities followed the location of military posts.

Often, though, military posts were established next to existing settlements, e.g. 1894 in Lüderitz, Warmbad, Gibeon, Keetmanshoop, Bethanien, Okahandja, Omaruru, Otjimbingwe and Grootfontein-South (Schmidt 1922). In this manner, these places became multifunctional as centres of church, trade and military. Probably this is the reason why they exist as more or less significant towns and villages until today while other military posts could not attract civilian population (e.g. Heusis, Nonidas, Tsaobis). 1888 Otjimbingwe became the capital, but already in 1891 it had to leave this function to Windhoek where a fortress had been built.

Equally important for the foundation and growth of urban centres in Namibia was the decision of the German government (“Deutsches Reich”) to promote the colonization of the territory systematically. A resolution to that effect was passed by the German Colonial congress (“Deutscher Kolonialkongreß”) in 1902. The official German interest focussed in the beginning on agriculture, namely on cattle breeding. An important measure to reach this target was the creation of wells and dams. A further step after the end of the war with the Herero was the resettlement of soldiers who wished to stay in the territory. Farms the size of 5,000 hectares were given to them under special conditions (Weigend 1985). The systematic expansion of rural settlement is significant for the urban development in so far as the many German farms in particular contributed to the growth of rural centres of supply and trade. Some of them still exist today, others experienced a decline caused by the crisis of certain agricultural sectors (e.g. Kalkfeld which depended on karakul-breeding).

In this early settlement period the abundance of raw materials had already a large impact on settlement development. Little centres grew next to mines and developed according to the richness of the deposit into more or less significant towns.

An important feature of this stage of German rule was the formal separation of the spaces of living of the white and the non-white population. It was realized in urban areas with the establishment of “native areas” (“Eingeborenenwerften”) and on a larger scale in rural areas with the division of the territory into two large parts: Southern and central Namibia was declared as *farming zone* (“Farmzone”), in which only whites had the right to own land and to stay permanently. Blacks were not allowed to live in the farming zone unless they had a job there. The North of the country was “reserved” for the African population. Although this part of the country offered better climatic conditions for agriculture, it was insufficient for the total number of its inhabitants. Men in particular had to leave the region to be employed as contract

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<sup>38</sup> Schmidt 1922, Weigend 1985

workers in order to gain an additional (monetary) income in mines or other European enterprises.

1915, the year in which the Germans handed over the territory to the South Africans, marks the end of this period. While until then the significance of the settlements had depended on their military and strategic function it now began to be based on their economic function. Of what were the main centres in 1894 only Windhoek retained its importance in 1915. Instead of Otjimbingwe and Omaruru Swakopmund and Lüderitzbucht had a leading position. While Otjimbingwe lost more and more significance during the following decades, Omaruru could remain an intermediate city because of its function as rural service centre.

### **5.2.3 Unbalanced growth under the South African Mandatory (1915-1977)**

The third settlement period was determined by the policy of the South African Union, which became the Namibian mandatory by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. According to the League of Nations a mandated territory was to be administrated with regard to the interests of the local population. South Africa, however, transferred the apartheid system to the Namibian territory and did not even retreat when the United Nations withdrew the mandate. At the heart of the apartheid policy was the spatial and social segregation of the ethnically defined population groups. So far the South Africans could continue and deepen the politics of the German colonial power. The innerurban as well as the regional separation were not only maintained but expanded. The foundation for this was laid by a number of laws which were progressively widened and became more restrictive. As a result, Africans were tolerated in the cities only as long as their labour was needed. Some of the most important laws in this context are

- the “Native Administration Proclamation” (1922), which introduced the pass control to Namibia,
- the “South West Africa Constitution Act” (1925), which enabled the adoption of South African Law in the mandated territory,
- the “Prohibition of Credit to Natives Proclamation” (1927), which made it almost impossible for blacks to start an independent business or build a house,
- and finally the “Native (Urban Areas) Proclamation” which comprised a number of rules such as
  - the establishment of black urban locations,
  - the imposition of a curfew for blacks in white areas,

- the prohibition of acquisition and property of land in urban areas by blacks,
- the prohibition for blacks to remain in urban areas for more than 72 hours (without special permissions),
- the removal to the rural areas of all blacks who were not needed in the local labour market anymore or who remained otherwise illegally in a city.

The two last regulations formed the basis for the “influx control”, which was meant to prevent uncontrolled rural-urban migration.

As a result of this law the municipalities faced the problematic task of creating enough dwellings for the black population living in the municipal territory. They copied the South African concept of simple, small, identical houses. The resulting monotony was heightened by the grid pattern of the street layout. The street layout and the entrance to the *townships* were outlined according to military and strategic principals, so that in case of uprisings it was possible to quickly block off single areas. Houses were rented to the inhabitants (not sold). In view of the very low standard of living and the resulting many social problems the rent boycott soon developed into one of the most popular forms of protest against the apartheid regime.

Outside the urban areas the segregation of the population groups was pushed forward, too. Based on the spatial division made by the Germans the Odendaal-plan was introduced in 1964. Following the South African model it was meant to create independent *homelands*. A certain part of the territory was earmarked for each ethnic group and supposed to be handed over to political autonomy. This last step was never realized in Namibia, but the separate territories were established and the ethnic groups were forced to live there (figure 3). The *homelands* were used exclusively for agriculture, but their capacity was often not sufficient to provide for the entire population who lived there. The white settlement area, the *farming zone*, comprised south and central Namibia where precipitation, but also population density, was much lower. The *farming zone* was used for extensive livestock farming (with the exception of the triangle between Tsumeb, Grootfontein and Otavi which is climatically favoured and could be used for the cultivation of crops). Until today, commercial and export-oriented livestock breeding is pursued only in the *farming zone*, since in other parts of the country there is not sufficient veterinary control. Therefore the border between the *farming zone* and the former *homelands* has remained a dividing line until today preventing the crossing of livestock. In the *homelands* subsistence economy prevailed, and the land was usually not indi-



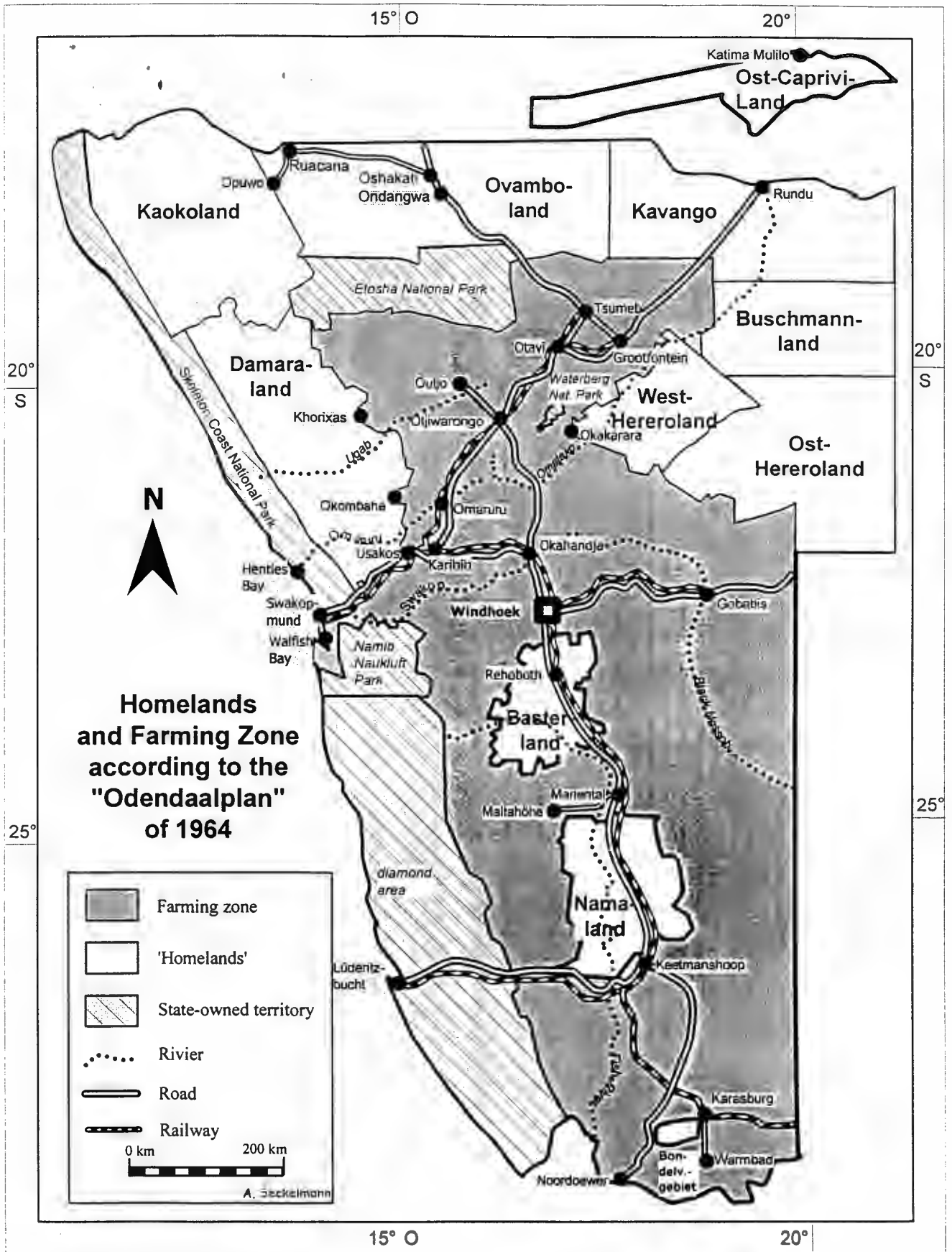


Fig. 3: Borders of 'homelands', farming zone and state-owned territory according to the Odendaal Plan of 1964.

vidual property but was owned by the community or a traditional chief. Up to the present day these areas are predominantly “communal lands”.

In spite of the insufficient natural living conditions in the *homelands* no non-agricultural activities were promoted there. As a result the dependence of the black population majority on the white minority increased. Men who could not produce enough food for themselves and their families were economically forced to become “contract workers”. The system of contract work had been established under German rule already binding the workers for a number of months (usually a year) to a company. In Namibia this meant that the workers had to leave “their” *homeland* for this period to work in the central or southern parts of the country<sup>39</sup>. In the cities or at the mines the workers were accommodated in very simple hostels, the *single quarters*. During this time the women, which were not allowed to follow their husbands, had to sustain the families. This periodic labour migration caused new social and economic problems, which in many families had consequences beyond the end of the contract system.

Besides contract labour little migration took place, since the unemployed were not allowed to stay in an area not assigned to “their” ethnic group. As a result of these conditions economic growth in the white urban and rural areas took place without the uncontrolled rural-urban migration which usually accompanies development in Third-World-countries. In case of need there was enough manpower available in the north of the country, and when the workers were not required anymore, they were sent back to the *homelands*. In the *homelands*, on the contrary, the population number increased without an adequate economic growth or an expansion of the social and technical infrastructure.

For the white population, however, lasting migration is proven even for the time before independence. From the 60s onwards small rural centres lost population and decreased in significance<sup>40</sup>. At the same time towns in the farming zone were the only urban centres with a heterogeneous population, since members of all ethnic groups could live there as long they worked there. In the *homelands*, where no immigration from other regions of the country took place, the urban population was rather homogeneous. For this reason the rigid rules of spatial segregation were not applied in the cities in the *homelands*.

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<sup>39</sup> This was caused by the dependence on deposits in the economy of the country. In South Africa, on the contrary, industry was located next to the *homelands*, which enabled the workers at least to stay with their families.

<sup>40</sup> Bähr 1983

In 1966 PLAN (People's Liberation Army of Namibia) and the South African Defence Force (SADF) entered an armed conflict which took place in the densely populated northern Ovamboland next to the Angolan border. Consequently, many of the families of this area fled into exile or migrated to the cities further in the south, above all to Ondangwa and Oshakati. Yet, the employment opportunities were limited in these places, because there was and is almost no industry in Ovamboland. Thus, many households were forced to move on to Windhoek, which became a reservoir for the majority of the refugees.

In view of the migrant movement the Southwest African planning authorities took over the task to direct the growth of the centres. They aimed at the promotion of four cities in particular which they defined as "regional centres": Keetmanshoop, Tsumeb, Otjiwarongo and Swakopmund. They intended to deconcentrate institutions of supply and education. Because of the changing political situation, however, these plans could not be realized. Likewise a newly planned urban centre named "Brukkaros", was to be located between Mariental and Keetmanshoop but was never actually established<sup>41</sup>.

#### **5.2.4 Deregulation and Urbanization during the Period of Transition (1977-1990)**

Improvements in the lives of the non-white population did not occur before the end of the 70s. While PLAN continued with the armed struggle, some political changes developed. In 1971 the International Court of Justice declared the permanent presence of the SADF in Namibia unlawful and demanded the end of the occupation. A government of transition was established and in 1977 the step by step amendment of apartheid laws began. After the repeal of the prohibition of credits to natives, the 72-hour-clause, the influx-control, the curfew, the prohibition of acquisition and property of urban land for blacks and some other regulations, eventually all racial discriminations relating to urban areas were abolished. With the abolition of the influx control a heavy rural-urban-migration set in. In addition, many expatriates (at least 42,000 until 1990) returned to Namibia in expectation of its independence (Simon 1991, 187). Windhoek became again the destination of most of the job-seekers and developed even more than before as primate centre.

Finally, in 1990, Namibia became independent. In the first elections the "South West Africa People's Organisation" (SWAPO) won the majority and has formed the government ever since. The new constitution guarantees freedom of movement to all Namibians:

Article 21: "All persons shall have the right to: (...)

(g) move freely throughout Namibia

(h) reside and settle in any part of Namibia.”

Many Namibians know and make use of this newly achieved right, as the drift to the cities shows. With annual urban growth rates of 5,4% in Windhoek (City of Windhoek 1996, 5) and 6,5% in Rundu and Katima Mulilo (Tvedten & Mutopola 1995, 9) some Namibian cities rank among the cities with the world-wide fastest growing population<sup>42</sup>. Independence, however, did not only cause rural-urban-migration, but also intra- and innerurban population movements. For the future not only further spatial, but social and economic developments are expected, since the abolition of restrictions does not only affect the freedom of movement, but also the property and economy.

### **5.3 The Current System of Urban Centres in Namibia**

A universally valid definition of cities according to functions, population size, life-style or social structure does not exist. The conditions prevailing in each country are too different to be directly compared to each other. Namibia is, above all, distinguished by a very low absolute population number which causes small cities and a minimum of central functions. Many places regarded as “city” in Namibia would not be regarded as such in other countries. In the following the legal administrative determinations of the Namibian *Local Authorities Act* (LAA) will be used in order to have an unequivocal definition with relevance for the Namibian context.

#### **5.3.1 Definitions and Responsibilities of the Namibian Local Authorities**

The *Local Authorities Act* (1992, 1996) provides for the delimitation of different settlement categories and lays down their responsibilities. 30 centres are defined as cities of three different hierarchy levels with varying levels of autonomy of finances and decision-making. Windhoek and Swakopmund were ranked as *municipalities I*, which have slightly more liberties in the raising of credits and the disposal of real estates than the 14 *municipalities II*. The third level is formed by 14 *towns*, which do not have to cover their expenses themselves, but can demand support from the central and regional authorities. They have, however, less autonomy than the municipalities (for details see table 3). Furthermore, the LAA defines *villa-*

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<sup>41</sup> Schneider & Wiese 1983

<sup>42</sup> For the period between 1975-2000 urban growth rates above 5,4% could be found only in Qatar and some African countries (Angola, Gabun, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mauretanië, Mosambik, Togo). More than 6,5% growth exists solely in Mauretanië (6,8%) and Mosambik (8,6%) (Habitat 1996, 447).

<i>Level of Hierarchy</i>	<i>Executive bodies</i>	<i>Powers</i>
All local authorities only with the approval of the minister		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to buy, hire or otherwise acquire immovable property</li> <li>• to borrow money (exception: municipality I)</li> <li>• to grant loans or other financial support</li> <li>• to establish a housing scheme</li> </ul>
Municipality I + Municipality II	Municipal Council: 7-12 councillors Management Committee: 3 or 5 members Town Clerk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to establish, carry on and maintain <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- quarries</li> <li>- a public transport service</li> <li>- a housing scheme</li> <li>- abattoirs, aerodromes, museums, nurseries</li> <li>- buildings for the storage of perishable goods</li> <li>- parking areas and railway sidings</li> </ul> </li> <li>• to allocate bursaries and grant loans for educational purposes, to confer honours</li> <li>• all powers exercised by town councils</li> </ul>
Town	Town council: 7-12 councillors Management Committee: 3 or 5 members Town Clerk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to supply electricity or gas</li> <li>• to acquire, hire or let movable properties</li> <li>• to establish, carry on and maintain <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ambulance service</li> <li>- a cemetery</li> <li>- any building or structure for community requirement</li> </ul> </li> <li>• to determine charges and fees payable in respect of any service rendered</li> <li>• all powers exercised by village councils</li> </ul>
Village	Village Council 7 councillors Management Committee: 3 members Village Secretary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to supply water</li> <li>• to establish, carry on and maintain <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- a system for the removal of sewage and waste</li> <li>- streets and public places</li> <li>- markets</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

*Table 3: Tasks and responsibilities of the Namibian local authorities according to the Local Authorities Act. By approval of the minister towns and villages can obtain powers which they previously did not have.*

ges, which have few responsibilities, but still have some self-governance through their village councils. The lowest category are *settlements* which are not a subject of the LAA, since they are mere rural centres under the administration of the corresponding regional authorities.

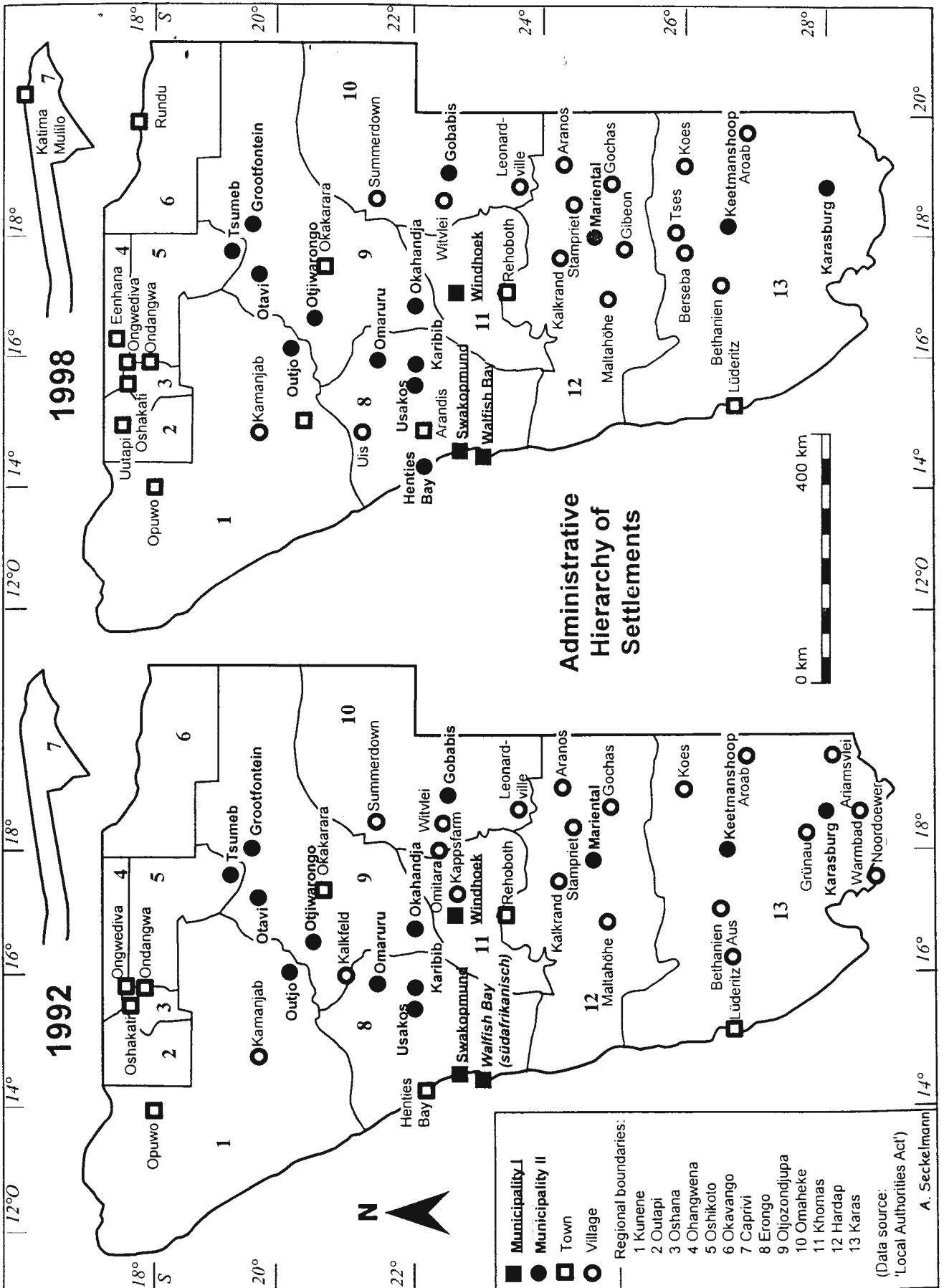


Fig. 4: Administrative hierarchy of settlements according to the 'Local Authorities Act' of 1992 and 1998.

This classification of urban centres was conducted for the first time in 1992 and was published in the LAA. Since the political and economic conditions in the country changed during the following years, some of the places had to be redefined (figure 4): Walfish Bay was proclaimed a *municipality I* as soon as it was integrated into Namibia. Henties Bay, which had developed from a pure holiday resort to a permanent urban centre during the 90s, became upgraded from a *town* to a *municipality II*. The law was applied for the first time to some centres in the north of the country which did not fulfil the conditions for proclamation before, because the centres in the former *homelands* had never been surveyed (Katima Mulilo, Rundu, Opuwo, Khorixas, Arandis, Eenhana, Uutapi). Four places were newly proclaimed as *villages* between 1992 and 1998, while 11 *villages* were degraded to *settlements*. The reasons for these decisions were the insufficient financial resources of the authorities to provide the population with the main services such as water, sewerage etc.

### 5.3.2 Criticism of the Local Authorities Act

The classification of an urban centre as *municipality I* or *II*, *town* or *village* is based on a number of conditions which reflect its financial and administrative performance. Consequently the unbalanced status quo between the former *homelands* and the farming zone continues to exist. According to the Local Authorities Act (Part 1,3) the following demands must be fulfilled for each category:

#### Municipality:

Existence of an approved township;

- ability
  - to exercise and perform the powers, duties and functions conferred and imposed upon a municipal council in terms of the provisions of this act,
  - to pay out of its own funds its debts incurred in the exercise and performance of such powers, duties and functions,
  - to comply with all its other liabilities and obligations so incurred.

#### Town:

- Existence of an approved township or a town which complies with the requirements of an approved township;
- ability

- to exercise and perform the powers, duties and functions conferred and imposed upon a town council in terms of the provisions of this act,
- to pay, whether with or without any financial or other assistance by the Government of Namibia or any regional council, out of its own funds its debts incurred in the exercise and performance of such powers, duties and functions,
- to comply, whether with or without any such assistance, with all its other liabilities and obligations so incurred.

#### Village:

- Existence of a community which in the opinion of the President is in need of the services which are required to be rendered or may be rendered in terms of the provisions of this Act by a village council;
- ability to exercise and perform, whether with or without any assistance by the Government of Namibia or any regional council, the powers, duties and functions conferred and imposed upon a village council in terms of the provisions of this Act.

The main precondition for the proclamation of *towns* and *municipalities* is the existence of an “approved township”, which is defined in the Townships and Division of Land Ordinance of 1963, Section 1 as “an area of ground that has been surveyed into streets, erven and public open spaces”. As a result of this requirement the proclamation in the former *homelands* was delayed for some years, since they had never been surveyed before. Furthermore, without the survey no public land could be sold, thus preventing the location of business and industry. The “Permissions to Occupy” which were given to investors, did not guarantee sufficient security in the long term. Thus, the northern cities faced a further obstacle to their development. Without commercial use the municipal income from land tax is lower which again reduces the chances to be proclaimed as *municipality*. Therefore it is much more difficult for the cities in the former *homelands* than for those in central Namibia to achieve the status with more autonomy.

### **5.3.3 Local Politics**

Since the passing of the Local Authorities Act two local elections took place. They showed very different results. Most remarkable was the difference in participation: While in 1992 more than 80% of the voters took part in the elections it were only about 40% in 1998. Therefore the current political landscape in the cities is not necessarily representative of the



majority of the urban citizens. Yet, the dissatisfaction with urban politics during the first five years of independence is manifest.

All in all SWAPO still dominates on the local level, but the composition of the council changed in many places. This can be traced back mainly to the occurrence of “Residents Associations” of which two even won the majority (in Rehoboth and Otavi) and of which further four got seats in local councils. At the same time in Opuwo and Henties Bay the majority changed from SWAPO to DTA and in Katima Mulilo in the opposite direction. In four cities no majority could be achieved.

#### **5.3.4 Population Distribution**

The most noticeable feature of the Namibian settlement structure is the low population density, which was at 1.7 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> in 1994. This average figure, however, has little significance since the distribution of the population is not homogenous. Simplifying one can say that the population density increases from the south to the north, a fact which can be accounted for mainly by the natural conditions (more rainfall) and by the historical development (reservation of the farming zone to whites). To be more particular, however, the urban centres have to be taken into account. In all parts of the country they form points of population concentration. Especially remarkable are the primate city of Windhoek, the economic growth centre of Walvis Bay and the resort town of Swakopmund at the coast as well as the bigger cities in the Oshana-, Kavango- and Caprivi-region.

According to the last population census conducted in Namibia (1991) 72% of the population lived in rural and only 28% in urban areas. Of these 28% more than a third lived permanently in Windhoek (Central Statistics Office 1994, Appendix C, 9). The urbanization rate has probably been growing since then. An average growth rate of 4,5% p.a. is supposed for the Namibian cities during the 90s (Tvedten & Mutopola 1995, 7), excluding Windhoek where already in 1995 a growth rate of 5,4% could be stated (City of Windhoek 1996 a, 15).

#### **5.4 Small and Intermediate Cities in Namibia**

Small and intermediate cities in Namibia usually form the centre of a large area with relatively few inhabitants. Consequently most of these centres have above all a supply function for their hinterland. According to the size of the urban centre and the size of the hinterland the range of goods and services offered broadens. A clear assignment of functions to each settlement category is not possible, but there is a trend to a more diversified supply in the cities of the farming zone than in the former *homelands* (with the exception of Oshakati which does not

only have a strong but also a broad trade sector). Goods for day-to-day needs are offered in almost all centres, goods for periodic and episodic needs in fewer places. A post office and at least one bank are located in most small and intermediate cities, but the range of services offered by these institutions change according to their clientele. Non-commercial services such as institutions of education and health are widely spread and can often be found in small centres, too, although again the range and quality of services offered might be low. AGRA, an agricultural co-operative is also represented in many centres.

Relations between the small and intermediate cities and the hinterland are usually one-sided. The cities serve as service centres, but not necessarily as market for the goods produced on the farms. While the products in the commercial farm area (farming zone) are sold through a few centres and enterprises, they are informally traded in the communal lands (if they do not serve the subsistence economy).

Non-agricultural production exists in few Namibian cities. Most towns and municipalities assign an area for industrial use, but mostly the plots are used by non-industrial businesses (e.g. by the building sector) or not used at all. Industrial activities concentrate in Windhoek and Walfish Bay, but Okahandja, which can be regarded in this case as an expansion of the neighbouring capital, also accommodates some industry. Otjiwarongo has a strong manufacturing and crafts sector. In other small and intermediate cities some agricultural products are processed.

#### **5.4.1 Physical Structure of Small and Intermediate Cities in Namibia**

Regarding the social and spatial structure certain differences exist between the cities of the former *homelands* and the farming zone. The European urban centres are for the most part planned settlements with clearly segregated zones. Their formation is based on the South African planning principles which are founded on the British Town and Country Planning Act of 1932<sup>43</sup>. Unlike the cities in Europe, however, not only are the functions segregated, but social (before: ethnic) groups are separated, too. Yet, in small and intermediate cities the zones are not as rigidly delimited as in the bigger South African cities (figure 1). Usually there is no tripartition (with white, coloured and black quarters), but a bipartition with white and black residential areas and the borders between residential, commercial and industrial areas are smooth.

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<sup>43</sup> Frayne 1997

Between the city centre and the black residential areas there is the *buffer zone* which in recent years has become more and more used (assuming residential as well as commercial functions or public institutions).

The structure of the residential areas is not homogeneous. While in the *townships* the ethnic groups were strictly segregated, this system was not applied to the same degree to the smaller cities. The new quarters, which were erected after independence are characterised rather by a socio-economic structure, because the purchase of these houses mainly depends on the financial means of the customer (if no conditions are prescribed). At the fringe of the *townships* large informal areas have evolved in all cities and only few squatters settle between the formal residential areas. With the exception of Tsumeb there are no informal settlements next to upper class housing, a situation that does not need the control of authorities. New immigrants prefer the neighbourhood of their friends and relatives and profit from a social and economic network in the informal settlements and *townships*. While there are no formal shops or businesses in the informal settlements, there are some in the former *townships*, but still the majority of trade, services, and industry is located in the city centre. Some subcentres evolved in the *townships*, but the range of goods offered is much smaller and the prices are higher than in the main centre.

The inner structure of the cities in the *homelands* is different from that in the farming zone. Depending on the history some of these settlements have a European core, too, but the expansion of the cities took a less systematic course. In general the building density is much higher, since even in the upper class areas the houses are not of the same standard as in the southern cities. There is no clear differentiation of ethnic and functional areas and the informal business sector is much stronger and visible all over the town (street traders, street markets, *cuca shops*, small workshops etc.). Industrial areas were not assigned and manufacturing activities do scarcely exist.

#### **5.4.2 Intermediate Cities in the Perception of Supraregional Institutions and Companies**

For supraregional institutions and companies the different Namibian cities do not have the same significance. Preferences are visible in the location of public institutions and commercial branches. It is interesting, however, that allocations do not accumulate only in bigger cities, but also in some intermediate cities, while other urban centres do not receive any attention. The decisions for allocations are based on the assessment of the significance of a place by the

various actors in the institutions and companies. In order to find out their perception of the city system in Namibia interviews with representatives of national and private institutions were conducted, whose decisions concern small and intermediate cities (for more details on the methods see chapter 3). Representatives of some large retailers, banks, private consultancies, the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing (MRLGH) and the Association of Local Authorities (ALAN) were interviewed.

As a result it became manifest that apart from the three large municipalities (Windhoek, Walfish Bay and Swakopmund) three intermediate cities in the north of the country are of highest significance for the private retail and banking sector: Otjiwarongo, Grootfontein and Oshakati. Especially more and more furniture and textile companies have settled here. Otjiwarongo and Oshakati cover the central north while Grootfontein is regarded as the main centre in the east. The banks have branches in most intermediate cities, but for one of them Otjiwarongo has a special importance, since its vocational education centre has been established there. Reasons given by the representatives for the location of branches in these three centres were

- the local customer potential (population size, employment and income situation of the population, existing trade and industry),
- the infrastructural conditions (availability and prices of real estates, provision of electricity and water, telecommunication networks),
- the residential situation of the (management) staff.

Yet one of the retailers follows a different location strategy. This company did not open similar department stores in all selected places, but developed a hierarchy of branches with large shops only in Windhoek and Oshakati, but smaller “core stores” in Walfish Bay and perhaps later more cities (Grootfontein, Rundu, Karasburg). The idea of an “online store” with the opportunity to choose and order online in a smaller store in Grootfontein was not realized. This South African Company, like others, regards the north of Namibia as the starting point for further expansion:

*“We first want to do three stores in Namibia, give it a rest for a while, settle down, and then look for future expansion. We will go to the east and to the south. Definitely.”* (Nat 04)

For this company, which plans to expand all over southern Africa, border traffic is an important factor. It is not planned, for example, to have a branch in Katima Mulilo, since a store in Zambia is planned to cover parts of the Caprivi-Region.

Banks, too, work with a hierarchical system of branches. Besides the main branches they establish “agencies” which offer a limited range of services and even “mobile agencies” exist, which offer only the most necessary services. At the same time the “mobile agencies” serve as a test whether it will be rewarding to open later a permanent agency. “Mobile agencies”, however, become more and more replaced by automatic teller machines. Regarding new locations for banks the question of competition is most important. If a majority of the population is customer of a bank already it is very difficult for competitors to enter the market. Thus, in some Namibian cities only one bank exists without real competition. During the last years in the north some branches have been opened (e.g. Ombalantu, Eenhana, Oshakati), while in south and central Namibia, especially in some villages, agencies (even “mobile agencies”) have been closed (e.g. Kalkrand, Maltahöhe, Kalkfeld). One representative summarizes this development:

*“The north is the focus in any case. In the south not enough happens. (...) The focus of the government is the north, too, concerning money, support and so on. Thus, it is logical, that we go there further.”* (Nat 01)

All companies agree that it is preferable to employ local staff. In new branches the leading positions are given to experienced personal from outside (older branches) who train the local personal.

The retail companies do not purchase their goods in Namibia. All of the interviewed representatives gave the information that they buy at South African wholesalers with the reason that goods are either not available in Namibia or too expensive.

The representatives of the MRLGH and the consultancies which are all involved into the process of proclamation of *villages*, *towns* and *municipalities* confirmed the tendency to more development in the north than in south of the country. While in the north new *towns* were proclaimed, in the south a number of *villages* were degraded to *settlements*. Oshikango, a trading place at the Angolan border, is assumed to be the fastest growing settlement in Namibia.

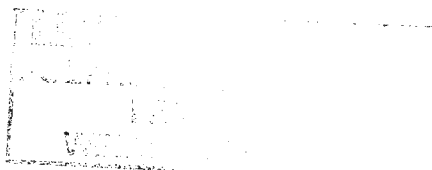
The Association of Local Authorities aims at developing the underdeveloped Namibian cities. It understands itself as mediator between the state and the cities and started two initiatives which are of significance for the small and intermediate urban areas: On the one hand, it coordinates the marketing of Namibian cities towards (foreign) investors. City profiles are gathered and passed on to interested companies. The self representation of the cities in these profiles are nevertheless not always professional and inviting. The idea in the longer term is to

establish a “one stop shop”, where potential investors can achieve all information necessary for their business decisions without contacting more authorities. The establishment of such an institution could, if managed well and used by investors, become an important tool in the marketing of small and intermediate cities. The second initiative of ALAN is the support of city partnerships. Of such an exchange again an increase of foreign investments in small and intermediate cities is expected. So far, however, no such success could be achieved.

### **5.5 The Selection of the Case Studies**

Based upon the spatial separation of the different cultures during the last century the settlement structures in the various Namibian regions developed very differently. The focus of the study presented here is on the small and intermediate cities of the farming zone. Almost all of them were founded in the second period of settlement (see chapter 5.2.2) under the German colonial rule. In this respect these centres have common features regarding their history and function (central places in the farming area). Under the apartheid regime again their development was determined by the same conditions since they were assigned to the white settlement area and according to the *Native (Urban Areas) Act* developed to apartheid cities. In how far local development factors are of significance besides these common determinants has to be shown in the three following case studies. As places for the investigation centres of different size and function were selected to cover a broader spectrum of the medium settlement hierarchy and to point out dependencies between the cities. Since the relations between Namibian cities are mainly determined by distance it was sensible to select neighbouring centres. They offer at the same time the advantage of a homogeneous agricultural and cultural background. Since in the farming zone only two places are proclaimed as *town* and both of them (Arandis and Lüderitz) have very special functions (harbour and mining) none centre of this category could be included into the investigation. Instead, two *municipalities* which differ significantly in size and function were included. As case studies selected were finally

- **Otjiwarongo**, a regional subcentre (administration, trade, manufacturing) proclaimed as *municipality II*;
- **Omaruru**, again a *municipality II*, but in size and central function less significant than Otjiwarongo, which is 130 km north east of Omaruru;



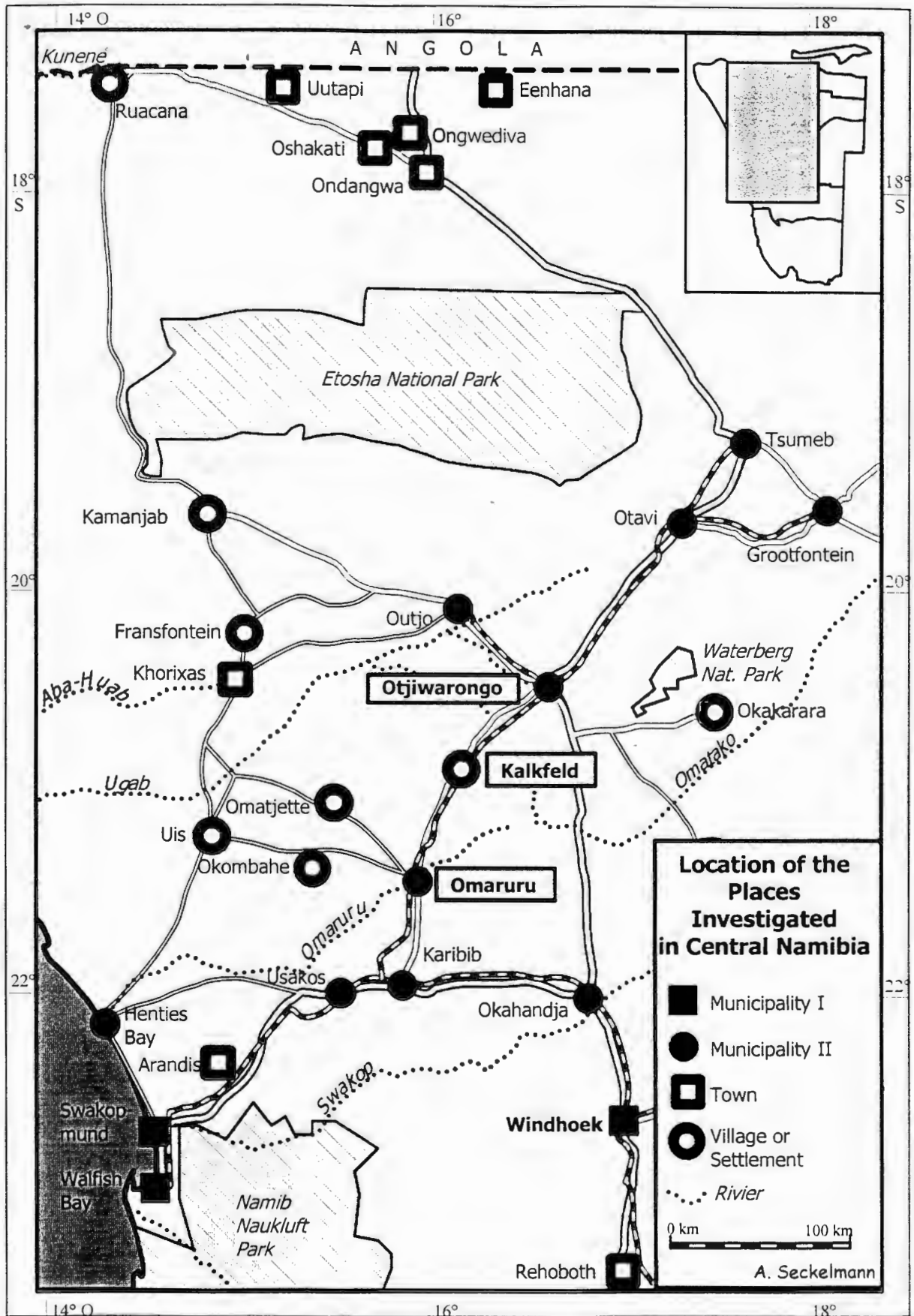


Fig. 5: Location of the places investigated in central Namibia

- **Kalkfeld**, which is located in the middle of the two bigger cities. At the beginning of the investigation it was proclaimed as a *village*, but lost this status during the research period and was degraded to a *settlement*.

The three centres are located in the export-oriented commercial farming area. With rainfalls of 300 mm p.a. in Omaruru and up to 500 mm p.a. in Otjiwarongo cattle farming forms the basis of agriculture in the region. More and more farms replace or complement this economic activity with wildlife farming and tourism. All of the three centres are located along the traffic axis (road and train) which leads from the coast to the north. Only Otjiwarongo is at the same time on the main axis in south-north direction forming the junction between the two routes. Kalkfeld and Otjiwarongo belong to the Otjozondjupa-region with the administrative centre being in Otjiwarongo, while Omaruru is part of the Erongo-region which is administered from Swakopmund.

## **6 Kalkfeld**

Today Kalkfeld is everything but a favoured location: There is a lack of water and electricity, there is no deposit worth to be exploited, no traditional rural life, no modern urban life. The agricultural areas in the hinterland can be used exclusively for extensive cattle farming and thus only provide for a small population. The needs of this population are covered by bigger centres of trade and services in the vicinity. Although Kalkfeld is situated in the centre of the country it is at the periphery of development. Kalkfeld is one of the poorest communities in Namibia, since there are neither any employment opportunities nor is there enough land for an agricultural subsistence economy. Yet, in the first half of this century, Kalkfeld was a prosperous place. Today it is still the centre of life for its inhabitants many of whom have never left it for a longer period of time and hope to make their living there in future, too.

### **6.1 History**

#### **6.1.1 Foundation and Growth**

The development of Kalkfeld was caused by the railway construction on the Walfish Bay-Grootfontein-route as well as by farming activities. The first station was build in 1906 on a German farm and during the following years more and more settlers came to the area. First central buildings (hotel, post office, police station) were erected next to the Omuramba-Rivier



and became the core of the further development. In the beginning the station had the Herero name “Okóvakuativi”, but in 1907 the settlement was renamed into “Kalkfeld” meaning “field of lime”, since lime was covering large parts of the area.

As a rural service centre Kalkfeld reflected in its development the fluctuations in agriculture. In its hinterland extensive livestock farming prevailed with cattle being one important product, karakul sheep the other. Karakul sheep were used for the production of fur (“Persianer”), which was exported and led to prosperity in the region since the beginning of the 1930s. The “Südwestafrika Persianer Verkaufsgesellschaft” (“Southwest Africa Persianer Trade Association”) had its head office in Kalkfeld and as a result the banks there had the second highest turnover in the whole Southwest African territory (with Windhoek ranked first)<sup>44</sup>. A second economic pillar for Kalkfeld was the exploitation of iron on the neighbouring farm “Eisenberg”. With the economic prosperity the settlement assumed more and more central functions (hotels, stores, a repair shop for motor vehicles, a farmers association, a post office, a jail, soccer and tennis courts, a school, a church with German and Afrikaans services). Kalkfeld became not only the centre of trade but of culture and entertainment of its hinterland.

The history of the African population in Kalkfeld began soon after its foundation by European settlers and is closely related to the ensuing employment opportunities. Damara and Herero, who had been living in the region long before the European colonization, became labourers at the railway, in the mine, on farms or in other wage jobs. In the beginning they lived in some small settlements around Kalkfeld and it can be assumed that their number was soon exceeding that of the Europeans. In spite of this they were powerless when their employers decided to resettle them altogether in a residential area north of the centre<sup>45</sup>, which today still forms the core of the *township* “Ondundu Yovitenda”. The houses had and still have a very low standard without water supply or sewerage and the inhabitants were excluded from European urban life. Nevertheless they appreciated life in Kalkfeld, since they had a monetary income and could buy goods to which they had no access in rural areas. Furthermore, social networks and a strong community feeling evolved in Ondundu Yovitenda.

Coloureds, who form the economic basis of Kalkfeld today, settled not permanently in the area before the end of World War I. In 1942 their community acquired a piece of land and with the help of the congregational church a school, a church and a number of houses were

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<sup>44</sup> Municipality of Kalkfeld 1956

built. Only as they grew more numerous, some coloureds moved into the white city centre. The plan to establish a coloured *township* “Dinosdal” (demanded by the white population) was never realized (Fig. 6).

### 6.1.2 On the Road to Decline

World War II did not affect Kalkfeld’s development seriously, although most German men were in internment camps during these years. Usually their wives took over the farm management successfully, so that the economic life of the area and the village did not suffer. The turn in the development of Kalkfeld came not before the end of the 50s with the beginning of the crisis in the agricultural sector. This contributed dominantly to the decline of the village during the following 20 years. Yet this was not the only reason for the end of Kalkfeld’s prosperity. The following factors can be regarded as main causes for the transformation of the village:

#### 1. Decline of the purchasing power of the farmers

The decline of the purchasing power of the farmers was caused by economic and ecological developments. One reason was the transformation of the structure of agriculture, since Karakul breeding, which so far had been a highly profitable sector of farming in the Kalkfeld area, shifted more and more to the south. The climatic conditions there (less rainfall) turned out to be more suitable for the animals which have their origin in central Asia<sup>46</sup>. In the Kalkfeld area the focus consequently shifted to cattle breeding which was less profitable and which became additionally problematic because of the foot-and-mouth disease, another reason for the decline in the income of the farmers.

#### 2. The emigration from farms

In the view of droughts, animal diseases and the resulting economic crisis a number of farmers decided to sell their land. Especially South Africans who had received cheap land as a reward for their military services during World War II wished to return to their motherland. The sold farms, however, were not bought by new settlers, but attached to existing properties. Thus, the total number of farms and population decreased rapidly. In 1982 61 farms were in the property of 22 owners in the Kalkfeld area<sup>47</sup>, and as a result the trade in Kalkfeld declined.

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<sup>45</sup> Köhler 1959

<sup>46</sup> Karakul sheep were imported at the beginning of the century from Uzbekistan in Central Asia.

<sup>47</sup> Bähr 1983

### 3. Closure of the Eisenberg-Mine

When the mine was closed in the middle of the century, the deposit was not totally exploited, but its further use was not profitable anymore. The loss of the jobs in the mine contributed to the recession.

### 4. Improvement of transport and growth of the neighbouring cities

The spread of motor vehicles and the improvement and extension of roads enabled the farmers to buy regularly in the neighbouring cities of Omaruru and Otjiwarongo which had grown much larger than Kalkfeld. They offered not only a broader range of goods and services, but also the high schools were located in Otjiwarongo leading to a continuous exchange between the farm households and this city and, thus, contributing to further losses in Kalkfeld.

### 5. The establishment of a *township* for coloureds and the resulting withdrawal of whites

The above named problems resulted in the emigration of whites from Kalkfeld as early as the 1960s and 70s. But their total withdrawal was caused by a political decision and an administrative process which confused the white residents who had so far remained in the village. The event was based on the apartheid principle of separate administration for blacks, coloureds and whites. In 1979 the authorities decided to buy all land in Kalkfeld still in white hands to transform the settlement into a location for coloureds only<sup>48</sup>. At this time roughly 270 coloureds lived in the village. They did not stay anymore on their land around the congregational church but also settled in the white residential areas. Some white inhabitants were annoyed that coloureds had started to live in the area they perceived as reserved for themselves. In a letter to the authorities one of them complained about this situation and demanded that the authorities should give loans to the coloureds so that they could buy the land of the whites. This demand was supported by the “Blanke Advisierende Komitee” which emphasized that it would be much cheaper to transform the former white settlement into a coloured one instead of developing a new coloured *township* (the building of the coloured *township* “Dinosdal” had been planned before). The “Blanke Advisierende Komitee” claimed to speak on behalf of all whites in Kalkfeld. In reality, however, the proposal was not supported by all whites. Some of them did not even know about the proceedings and were

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<sup>48</sup> The description of this proceedings is based on the correspondence between the “Direkteur vir Plaaslike Bestuur” and the “Raad vor Buitestedlike Ontwikkeling” (the two authorities responsible for rural development under the South African mandatar). The demand to establish a settlement “for coloureds only” meant apparently the absence of whites, but not of blacks, who are not even mentioned in the letters. This non-perception of the majority of the population underpins the disregard of the authorities for the Africans.

surprised when they received an offer of the authorities to buy their properties<sup>49</sup>. Nevertheless all Britons, Germans and Afrikaners sold their plots, since they were afraid they would never again have the opportunity to purchase after the coloured settlement would be established. Yet, the main question concerning this event is why the whole process was started. Kalkfeld has never become a “coloureds only” settlement. The plots and houses which had belonged to the white population were never sold to coloureds and most of them have not been used until today. One reason could have been the abolishment of apartheid laws and the corresponding dissolution of the separate administration. But the abolishment of apartheid started in 1977 and could have been taken into consideration in local planning and politics in the years after. Still, some former white residents assume, that the whole process had only been initiated, because a few house owners could make a good profit in selling their houses to the authorities. They may have regarded this as the last chance before the end of apartheid to profit from their favoured positions as whites. Other white residents, however, who were not involved in the process lost a lot of money, because they achieved a very low price not enough to buy real estate in any other place. Yet, there are not sufficient documents available on the transactions to confirm or reject the suspicion of corruption.

The total withdrawal of the white population contributed considerably to the decline of Kalkfeld. The economic activities of European settlers had led to the foundation of the village and the end of these activities led to its decay. The deserted former city centre enhances this impression. In reality, however, Kalkfeld is not “dead”, as former white residents describe it. Although the former prosperity does not exist anymore, still 1500 people are living here. Yet their centre of living is not the old city centre, but Ondundu Yovitenda, the old “black location”. It became the new social and cultural heart of Kalkfeld’s community.

## **6.2 Situation and Development after Independence**

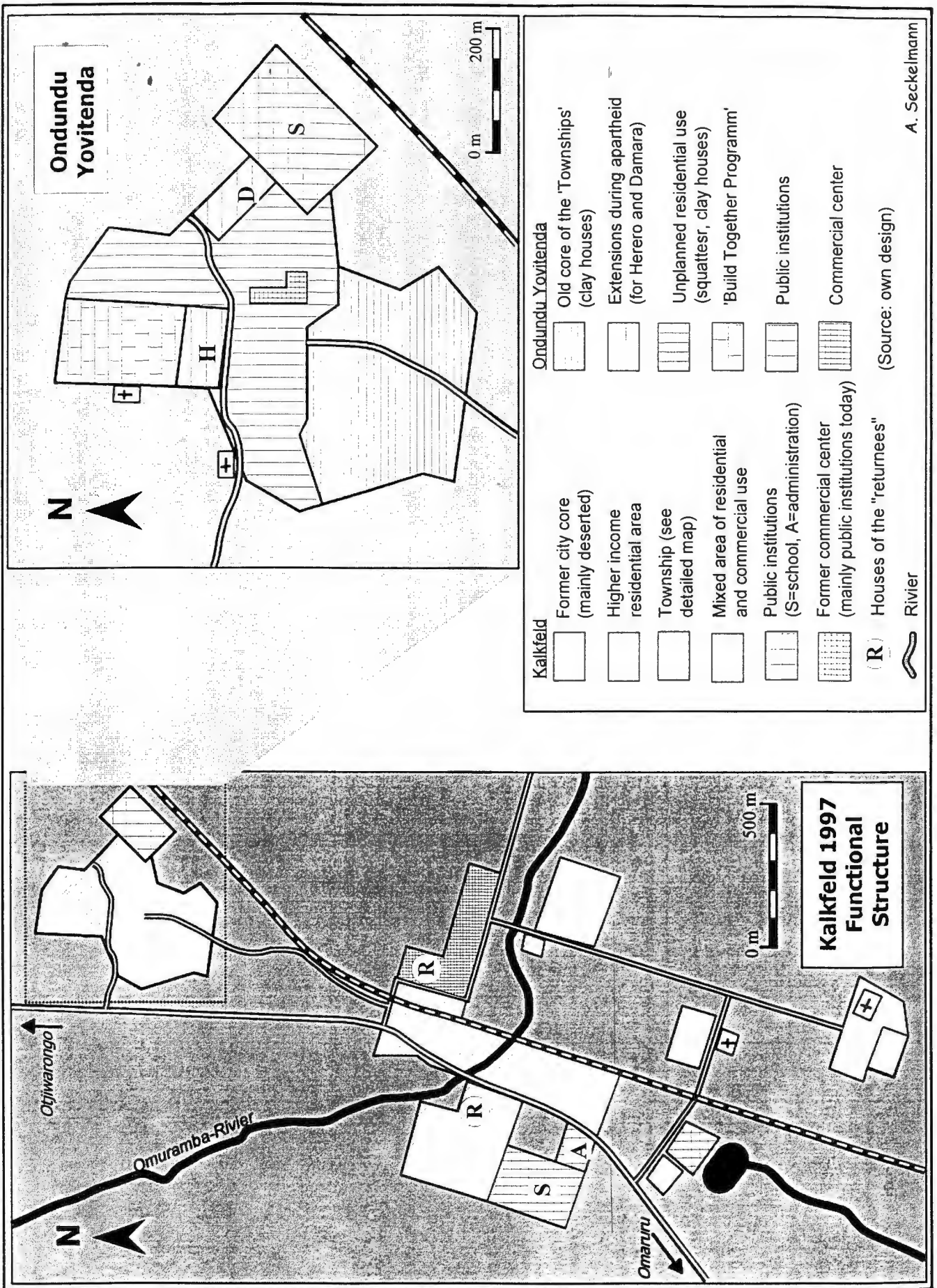
### **6.2.1 Physical and Demographic Structure**

Currently a population of approximately 1460 lives in Kalkfeld<sup>50</sup> with the majority of who being pensioners or pupils. While most of the households live in Ondundu Yovitenda, mainly civil servants (teachers, staff of the local authorities) moved into houses in the old city centre. 20 returnees were also accommodated here, yet, only a quarter of them still remains in the vil-

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<sup>49</sup> B K 02, B K 01

<sup>50</sup> The estimation of the village secretary is based upon a count of the houses (268) and an assumed household size of 5 persons (= 1340 people). Finally 120 students in the hostels are added (= 1460 people) (ET K 16).



A. Seckelmann

Fig. 6: Functional Structure of Kalkfeld in 1997

lage. The majority preferred to start anew in other places. Finally, there are 22 coloured households (95 people)<sup>51</sup>, who mostly do not live in the former *township*, but in the southern part of Kalkfeld. The result of this demographic structure is a spatial tripartition of the village (fig. 6):

- the old city centre with public institutions and business buildings, which today are mainly deserted;
- next to this and further in the south a not densely developed area with bigger residential buildings;
- Ondundu Yovitenda (in the north of the city centre) with small and simple houses in a densely built-up area.

In Ondundu Yovitenda itself different development stages are visible. More than 50 year old clay houses form the historical core next to which apartheid-style houses for Damara and Herero (divided into two blocks) were built later. The most recent extension, a group of buildings still under construction, was started as part of the national “Build Together Program” after independence. Between these areas some squatter huts can be found.

Although the standard of living in Ondundu Yovitenda is low, the inhabitants prefer life here to life anywhere else. Neither did they move into the houses left behind by the white residents nor did they agree to move into new buildings which the village council offered to construct during the 90s. Instead they enlarged their old houses with material taken from the empty houses in the city centre. Thus, they “moved” these building into their *township* instead of moving out themselves. Even the business sector moved more and more to Ondundu Yovitenda. During the 90s not only a shop and a bottle store, but *cuca shops*, *shebeens* and many other informal trade and service activities started up here. At the same time a bottle store, banks and other services in the former city centre closed.

### 6.2.2 Infrastructure

Technical infrastructure is poor in Kalkfeld: Only the main road is tarred, trains stop, but no tickets are sold, electrical power was not available until the end of the 90s; the water supply is insufficient during parts of the year and most households (especially in Ondundu Yovitenda) do not have water taps inside the houses and are not connected to a sewerage system. Most residential buildings are damaged, the worst houses being in the oldest part of Ondundu

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<sup>51</sup> Definition of “coloured” and estimation of the number of people according to members of these households.

Yovitenda (clay houses of the 1940s) and better houses being in the centre and in the south of the village.

The social infrastructure, too, does not meet the needs of the population. Above all health care is at a very low level. Although a little health centre had been built with money of the EU during the 90s, it was not used in 1998. One reason was the lack of furnishings and power supply: Neither the planned solar unit had been built nor a generator had been installed. The other reason was the size of the rooms, which had been integrated into the building to accommodate nurses. They are far too little to house a whole family. Thus, it is difficult to find staff willing to work in Kalkfeld. To solve this problem the Kalkfeld community offered a flat outside the health centre. For the time being the education sector is not as problematic as the health sector, but still schools are not satisfactory. The two primary schools differ significantly in quality and equipment, a situation which is reflected by the different fees demanded for one term<sup>52</sup>. The poorer households therefore cannot afford the higher standard of education. A further problem is the lack of hostel rooms. The only existing hostel does not offer enough beds for all pupils whose parents do not live in Kalkfeld. Consequently the families are either forced to move to the village (at least one of the parents) or to pay for the accommodation of the students in other households (often pensioners). The same applies if the students wish to go to a high school which does not exist in Kalkfeld so that they have to move to Omaruru or Otjiwarongo.

Business is poor in Kalkfeld. The two largest stores are situated at the through road, but the black inhabitants increasingly use the smaller shops and the informal sector in Ondundu Yovitenda. All in all there is only a basic supply with goods and services. Specialised shops as well as manufacturing or processing activities do not exist in Kalkfeld.

Three civil servants share the administration building in Kalkfeld: The *village secretary*, an employee of the regional administration (responsible for the collection of fees and rents), and a representative of the *Directorate of Community Building* (a department of the MRLGH), who initiates and supervises self help projects. The *village secretary*, too, is employed by the MRLGH, but co-operates closely with the regional administration. He is responsible for the administration and management of Kalkfeld, which does not have any autonomy, since it was degraded from a *village* to a *settlement* in 1996. The *village secretary* was only appointed half

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<sup>52</sup> Fees are staggered according to grades. In the one school they range between 5 and 10 N\$ per term, in the other between 15 and 50 N\$ per term.

a year later, which meant for the population that in the meantime no one was responsible for their situation and problems.

### 6.2.3 Economy

Although 1500 people live in Kalkfeld, only 95 jobs in the formal economy existed there in 1997 (table 4). The majority of the households makes a living either in the informal sector or depends on private or public allowances.

The most important employer in Kalkfeld is the government (village management, ministerial departments, parastatal organisations, schools). The private sector does not even offer a quarter of all jobs in the formal economy (shops, bottle stores, a drilling and an installation business). Not all shop owners live in Kalkfeld, a fact which is leading to the withdrawal of capital<sup>53</sup>. New in Kalkfeld is the attempt to breed ostriches, which until 1998, however, was a family business without effects on the job situation.

Members of many households work on farms in the surroundings of Kalkfeld. Their jobs are subject to the economic and climatic conditions in the Namibian agriculture with its seasonal and annual deviations. Many farmers, for instance, were forced to dismiss a large number of their workers as a result of the drought at the beginning of the last decade. A positive impetus for the farm sector, on the contrary, was the integration into the Treaty of Lomé, which allows the export of meat into the European Union. According to estimations this export forms 5% of the farming income of the region<sup>54</sup>.

In most households the income of the formal economy does not suffice to make a living. It is complemented by informal and subsistence activities (cultivation of corn, breeding and trade of chicken and eggs, sale of “vet koek”, roasted meat, dried mopane worms, some small services such as plait braiding etc.). Informal activities are usually done by women with the exception of the construction sector which is dominated by men, who work usually in teams and are engaged on farms. Other important pillars of the informal economy are the work in private households (usually in southern or central Kalkfeld) and the accommodation of school children whose parents do not live in Kalkfeld.

Nor clear border-line exists between the informal sector and the various self-help projects which are supported by the *Directorate of Community Building*. The projects are meant to create a permanent income for its participants by providing training and giving them a basic

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<sup>53</sup> ET K 03, ET K 05

<sup>54</sup> B K 03



<b>Employer</b>	<b>Number</b>
G.K. Wall Primary School (Teachers)	8
(Cleaning)	2
(Secretary)	1
(Kitchen)	1
(Hostel)	14
Kalkfeld Primary School (Teachers)	13
(Cleaning)	1
(Secretary)	1
Public administration (Workers)	7
(Clerks)	1
Department of Works, Transport and Communication	12
Directorate of Community Building	1
Police	7
Telekom	4
Post	2
Trans Namib	?
Drilling company	4
Installation company	3
Shop 1	2
Shop 2	4
Shop 3 and Bottle Store 1	3
Bottle Store 2 (closed since 1998)	1
Bottle Store 3	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>

*Table 4: Jobs in the formal sector of Kalkfeld (own survey 2/1997)*

capital to start a business. Activities initiated in this context are brickmaking, gardening, sewing and the opening of a kindergarten. Yet most of the projects face serious problems or even failed because of unsustainable management of the project capital and resources, theft, conflicts among the participants or between the participants and the directorate. But not all projects aim at income creation. The national *Build Together Programme*, e.g., is meant to create shelter. The inhabitants are trained to build their own houses and receive grants with

low interest rates to buy the material and equipment. In Kalkfeld 25 households take part in this programme, which entails many problems. Only few houses could be finished as planned. The progress was very slow and often the money had been misused for other purposes<sup>55</sup>. The new *village secretary* solved this problem by reorganising the distribution of the money. The outstanding loans still due were not given to the individual households but transferred to a common fund out of which the completion of the houses by a construction team was paid.

The income of many households in Kalkfeld is not based on jobs, but comes from public or private support. Public allowances are received in the form of pensions or drought relief. Since the pensions are very low and not paid regularly, drought relief was an important income for approximately 600 people in Kalkfeld until its distribution was suspended in 1997. Therefore many households struggle even more than before and rely more than ever on remittances of family members outside. But not all family members have the possibility to give monetary support. Especially farm workers are lowly paid and their income is partly in food, which they often pass on to their relatives in Kalkfeld. Some residents of Kalkfeld still have a share in small stock or cattle staying with their family in rural areas.

### **6.3 Perceptions**

The perceptions of Kalkfeld differ according to the social group the residents belong to. An absolute classification of perception groups is not possible, of course, but some tendencies are visible: Pensioners, most of whom have lived in Kalkfeld for decades, have a very close relationship with the settlement. They usually moved there because their parents, their spouses or they themselves found a job in the village or on a farm in the neighbourhood. Thus, Kalkfeld was significant for them in two respects: First, as the place of work, second, as the place where family and friends lived. This history has influenced their attitude towards the settlement until today. They have a high local identification and are not willing to move. As reasons for this behaviour they name

- that they “have been living here always”,
- that the community cares and provides for them even if they do not have money,
- the graves of their relatives.

Furthermore, the ones of this generation who did not like the place have moved away already which is another explanation for this group’s overall high acceptance of Kalkfeld. Problems named by this group are the high unemployment rate and the resulting hunger and poverty.

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<sup>55</sup> ET K 17, B K 30, ET K 16

The older people complain about the moving out of the white population since they regard it as the cause for the disappearance of the jobs.

A second group of different perception comprises the people of employable age who have lived in Kalkfeld for several years at least. Some of them have grown up in Kalkfeld, but many of them moved in during recent years or the last decades. Reasons for their migration were usually jobs, schooling or relatives. For them Kalkfeld has above all a significance as a place of work and education. They, too, complain about unemployment, but do not regard the migration of the whites as the cause. They rather regard the lack of electricity, insufficient investment activities and the neglect by government policies as the origin. The unemployed explain, that they stay in Kalkfeld, because they do not expect to find a job anywhere else. As advantages of life in Kalkfeld they name the low crime rate and the good relations between the residents. This group specifies as disadvantages the lack of a high school, the insufficient health care and the periodical water shortage.

Young residents and people who have been in Kalkfeld for a short time or occasionally form a third group. Their staying is explained by a job, school or the visit of relatives. They complain about boredom, a lack of sports facilities and the general deficiencies of the infrastructure, particularly the lack of shelter, electricity, and water.

All groups complain about the low endowment with shops and services: a small range of goods, high prices, the absence of banks, doctors, pharmacies and other specialized dealers. At the same time all groups assume, that the economic situation is not better in other parts of Namibia.

The decision-makers (school principals, employers, Herero-chief, representatives of the regional authorities) and businessmen share the view that there are - besides the deficiencies named by the residents - further problems: the high indebtedness of many inhabitants towards the shops and the authorities (for services rendered), the abuse of alcohol and dagga and the poor situation in the schools. They explain the stagnation of development with the disregard of their problems by the government (which supports the north with priority), a shortage of investments by private persons and the passivity of the population which is shown by a lack in initiative and commitment.

## Kalkfeld in the eyes of residents and decision-makers

### Advantages

- Familiarity with the people and the place (“home”)
- Assistance among neighbours
- Place, where family members are buried
- Desire to be buried here oneself
- Employment opportunities
- Distribution of drought relief
- Low crime rate
- Healthy way of living
- Little noise
- Wood can be gathered (instead of buying it)
- Intermediate size (“not as large as Otjiwarongo and not as small as Fransfontein”)

### Problems

- High unemployment rate
- Poverty and hunger
- Lack of qualified teachers and a secondary school
- Insufficient school buildings
- Unreliable and insufficient health care
- Insufficient shopping facilities (range of goods is too little while the prices are too high)
- No specialised shops (pharmacy, shoe-shops etc.) and banks
- No fresh goods such as milk products and meat
- Housing shortage
- Bad transport facilities
- Absence of a regular train service and a waiting room
- High costs for the transport to the neighbour cities
- Lack of entertainment opportunities
- Absence of a community hall
- Lack of manufactories
- Irregular payment of pensions
- High indebtedness of the residents
- Depressions because of the many problems
- Misuse of alcohol and dagga
- Passivity of the residents

*Tab. 5: Kalkfeld in the eyes of residents and decision-makers*

## 6.4 Factors and Tendencies of Development

1. Kalkfeld's development cannot be explained by local factors and processes only, but is related to

- changes in the region (such as the developments in agriculture and the closing of the “Eisenberg” mine),
- alterations of functions within the Namibian city network (such as the fast growth of Kalkfeld's neighbour cities Otjiwarongo and Omaruru which cover, e.g., the education and health needs of the farmers),
- national politics that do not consider Kalkfeld's development a priority (which becomes manifest, e.g., in the late electricity connection and the lack of a plan to improve the water provision),
- international relations (such as the Treaty of Lomé, which allows an additional income to the farmers, and development aid, of which, for instance, the health centre was build).

2. Kalkfeld is economically and administratively dependent on external actors and support.

The behaviour of the inhabitants of Ondundu Yovitenda is contradictory: On the one hand, they show a high identification with Kalkfeld, on the other hand, they show little initiative and commitment to keep the local economy alive. Old people regard the absence of white people as the reason for unemployment, younger people demand more efforts on the part of the government. Passivity characterizes all segments of the population.

This situation is a sad heritage of apartheid times, since the South African government systematically denied the black population to take responsibility for themselves or the community. Regarding all vital questions (jobs, housing etc.) they were dependent of white businessmen or the government. Today the degree of dependence is no lower than before. Most households would not survive without public allowances or private support from outside. Yet, Kalkfeld is not only economically, but also administratively more dependent than before. Because of its degradation from a *village* to a *settlement* the place lost its *village council* which had allowed at least a minimal participation of the population in decisions and actions taken. Now Kalkfeld is subordinated to the regional authority in all matters.

3. The high significance as home and focus of life which Kalkfeld has for its residents is not respected by the authorities.

Authorities on all administrative levels show an indifferent attitude towards Kalkfeld. A first indicator for this is the process of the re-classification from a *village* to a *settlement*, which was explained with financial problems by the regional representative:

*“No income was coming into town, especially from the community for services rendered to them. Which means no income except the subsidy from central government. (...) Since the place is no more generating funds, it is just depending on subsidies from central government. (...) So that’s why its title was lowered.”* (ET K 19)

At the same time the payment lists of Kalkfeld’s administration<sup>56</sup> prove that the biggest single debtor was the government itself (the *Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation*) and not a citizen of the village. Thus, the government withdraws the right to self-government on the grounds of outstanding debts to which it contributed itself significantly.

Another indicator are the negotiations with potential investors who planned to open an enterprise for light aircraft production in Kalkfeld. One investor became interested, since not only cheap land was available in Kalkfeld<sup>57</sup>, but an empty building of a former warehouse could be renovated and re-used for the production. But Kalkfeld had no central authority competent enough to negotiate with the investor, who had to discuss the plans with several regional and central authorities instead which in their turn had to co-operate with each other. Thus, the negotiations lasted for years without any result.

Finally, the treatment of civil servants shows indifference: Teachers complain about the insufficiency or even complete lack of shelter and the *village secretary* was not informed on the infrastructural situation before he took up his office. He moved to Kalkfeld with a refrigerator, TV, video etc. only to learn afterwards that there was no electricity in the settlement<sup>58</sup>.

4. Schools have a high significance for the local development.

Almost half the formal jobs in Kalkfeld are provided by the schools. The salaries of the teachers flow mainly into the local money circulation, since they are used for informal servi-

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<sup>56</sup> According to a list of the 31.12.1997 the relevant ministry owed 6447,27 NS for rendered services.

<sup>57</sup> The plot and the building together were offered for the symbolic price of 10 NS.

<sup>58</sup> ET K 11, ET K 16

## Statements

*"I like to be here for living, I like it, I like it. When I am dead, I don't want to be buried in another town, but must be buried here in Kalkfeld. (...) I am 71 now and I am born here. Why should I go to another town? I don't need that."* (ET K 21)

*"In the past Kalkfeld had been. Here we looked to. Kalkfeld is broken. Look over there in the city, where the white people were, there is nothing. All gone. (...) We were before under South African rule. Only when the Namibian independence came, everything was mixed up."* (B K 19)

*"The main problem here in Kalkfeld is that most of the people are jobless. The government also must think in that way to create something that the people get jobs."* (ET K 11)

*"I am born here in Kalkfeld. I cannot do anything else. There is no work here - but where should I go to? I have to stay here until I am dead."* (B K 17)

*"I grew up here. My husband died here. Therefore I need to stay here and can't go to another city."* (B K 06)

*"Before independence white people have been here. But now there are no more whites. Coloureds, Baster, Herero, Damara, Ovambo - that is all that is here. But there is no work here. Here is no work. (...) If there are white people, than there are jobs, too. But this coloured one or what it is, who is here, he also has no more work."* (ET K 21)

*"My mother and my brother are on the farm. I am alone here. I have children in school here, that is the reason why I am here. (...) But I have to go to the farm to get some food for the children today."* (B K 20)

*"I live of the maize meal I get from the government. (...) Otjiwarongo, Omaruru, there they need nobody else. Therefore I have to stay here and get some maize meal from the government."* (B K 11)

*"Let me going to tell you: the whole problem is electricity. (...) Maybe you want to buy meat and there is nothing where you can buy meat. So as people don't have electricity, they can't hold meat here. (...) The government promised that they are going to bring electricity. And they are going to make an airport here and then they are going to make a tourist centre here. That is the promise from the government. (...) The problem is, it is so boring. There is nothing of activities like sports, whatever. If you want to watch sports, you have to travel to Windhoek. There is no kind of activity here."* (B K 04)

*"There are no facilities to enjoy. Like a room to relax and dance. Really, it is quite boring in Kalkfeld. (...) There are only just these places and churches. It is a poor place. No money."* (ET K 09)

*"A lot of ministers or people from the government are coming here. They are making their promises. We are going to do this and that. But we are waiting for. With open hands."* (B K 30)

*"And all the funds are going up north. I understood those schools were neglected all the years, but why... - it is not my fault. They neglect us now. (...) All the ministers - when they came here, it was in a rush: We have another appointment. And that's why they were always neglecting Kalkfeld. (...) And another thing is the people themselves, they are not interested in upgrading themselves, their living standards. Most of them are just watching when the truck comes for the maize and the beans and they are rushing there to get food from the government. They are not trying themselves."* (ET K 10)

ces and trade. Further incomes are earned by households which accommodate students during the school term. Schools are at the same time a main reason for migration. If not both parents are in the position to move to Kalkfeld, at least one of them often establishes a second household here.

#### 5. Migration leads to a selection of the remaining population.

“Brain Drain” in Kalkfeld does not only mean the migration of the educated residents, but of the young and active population in general. As a result, the unproductive part of the population (pensioners, children) remains in the settlement. The few new shops in Kalkfeld have not been opened by local residents but by people who moved in after independence. Also the posts in the administration which demand a higher education have not been filled with locals.

#### 6. Kalkfeld follows a cyclical development path.

Kalkfeld today has the same meaning to the farm workers as it had to the farmers some decades ago. Nowadays it is a centre of supply, entertainment and education for the employees of the surroundings. Still there is an important difference: The farmers visited Kalkfeld because the transport situation did not allow longer travels and frequent visits to the neighbouring towns. Today, in contrast, the technical development of roads and cars would allow these travels, but the employees cannot afford them. Thus, the catchment area of Kalkfeld did not change spatially, but socially. While Kalkfeld was a centre for higher income groups during the first cycle, it serves lower income groups nowadays. This transformation is reflected in the physical structure: Until the middle of the century Kalkfeld had a relatively high standard of technical and social infrastructure, but afterwards the level went down significantly.

#### 7. The focus of Kalkfeld is shifting from the former “white” centre to “black” Ondundu Yovitenda

With the migration of the white population the center of urban life left the former core. Most of the houses of the white residents remained deserted with no people moving in, but some of the buildings were taken apart and the bricks re-used in Ondundu Yovitenda. In the former *township* more and more new houses are constructed while most of the houses in central and southern Kalkfeld (especially in the residential area next to the Congregational Church) are empty now. At the same time shops in the old centre closed - only few services are still



offered there - and new (although little) stores opened in Ondundu Yovitenda, which serves more and more as the new commercial and social centre.

#### 8. Segregation between ethnic groups deepens social differences and causes migration.

Segregation is a problem in Kalkfeld since the coloured population prefers to live separate from the black community. The coloured population models itself on European values and rejects the African life style. After the migration of the white population the coloureds became the motor of the economic development of Kalkfeld. Their desire for separation is expressed socially (separate churches, friendships and entertainment) and spatially (the coloureds live either in houses of the old white core or in the south of the centre). This innerurban situation, however, is not the only reflection of the segregation. Migration, too, becomes more and more important. Traditionally the activities of Kalkfeld's coloured population were directed towards Otjiwarongo. During apartheid, however, there was not enough shelter provided for coloureds in the bigger city, so that they had to commute. After independence the situation changed and more and more people are moving continuously to Otjiwarongo. A main reason for this development is the quality of schools, which is much higher in the regional capital than in Kalkfeld.

## **7 Omaruru**

The history of Omaruru is less varied than that of Kalkfeld, but shows different development stages, too. Since 1970, when Herero and missionaries settled permanently here, Omaruru developed into a regional centre until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It had significance as a centre of trade and manufacture, but had been experiencing economic problems for about the last 30 years<sup>59</sup>.

### **7.1 History**

#### **7.1.1 First Influences by Damara, Herero and Few Europeans (until 1894)**

First human use of the area in which the town of Omaruru is situated can be traced back to 1500 BC according to rock paintings and carvings found there<sup>60</sup>. Permanent settlement, however, can be proved for the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century only, when some Damara lived next

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<sup>59</sup> Details of the recent history can hardly be ascertained, since the latest chronicle of the city ends in 1969 (Bourquin 1969) and statistical data and oral statements are accessible for the time since independence only.

<sup>60</sup> Theron 1971

to the river Omaruru<sup>61</sup>. At the same time Herero, whose history is closely related to the further development of the city, were in the area, too.

Omaruru owes its existence to rock banks in the river. Because of their dam effect water and sand, which prevents fast evaporation, are accumulated and therefore settlers were attracted. The water is of a high quality and enables the growth of dense vegetation on the river banks. Among others the bush, from which Omaruru's name was derived, grows here. If cattle eats the leaves of this bush their milk gets a bitter taste. Therefore the name of the place was derived from the Herero words "omaere" (sour milk) and "ruru" (bitter)<sup>62</sup>.

Between 1867 and 1869 a christianized group of Damara lived on the territory of today's town, but they moved on to Springbokfontein. Therefore only 1870 is regarded as the year of the urban foundation. In this year two events took place, which formed the basis for permanent settlement: First, the Rhenish missionary Gottlieb Viehe settled in Omaruru, second, Herero chief Zeraua moved his main residence from Omburo to Omaruru, which at this time was still named "Okozondje" ("place of scorpions"). During the next years European hunters and traders, who had before used the banks of the river for temporary camps, settled here, too. Thus, right from the beginning a variety of cultures and social groups lived in Omaruru (Herero, Germans, Swedes, missionaries, traders, hunters). Yet their spatial organization was not unsystematical but it was laid down by the Herero chief. According to his direction the christianized Herero settled next to the mission house at the right river bank<sup>63</sup>. The European hunters and traders had to live on the same side of the river, but were located further in the east (upstream) in some distance of the Christian community<sup>64</sup>. The non-christianized Herero lived opposite on the left river bank<sup>65</sup>. Thus, from the beginning Omaruru's social division was reflected by its spatial structure. Yet in the course of time the criteria for the segregation changed. While in the beginning voluntarily chosen characteristics (such as profession and religion) formed the basis, it was pure ethnical aspects during apartheid.

The different population groups had each their own significance for the developing urban centre. The power of the Herero was in the first decades not only reflected by their

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<sup>61</sup> Bourquin 1969

<sup>62</sup> Jänecke 1970

<sup>63</sup> Bourquin 1969

<sup>64</sup> Anonymous: Überblick über die Geschichte Omarurus

<sup>65</sup> Bourquin 1969

responsibility for the spatial organisation, but their power of decision about the land use in a broader sense. They granted the right to use the pastures in the area as well as to open stores in the settlement. Furthermore, they intervened decisively in problems between different white settler groups, for instance between the protestant and catholic church (which lead to the expulsion of catholic missionaries who tried to settle in Omaruru between 1879 and 1881). The contribution of the European missionaries to the development of Omaruru was significant in the sectors of education and culture. They disseminated Christian values through schools and services and they constructed some buildings which form the core of Omaruru until today. The European traders, as a third important group, had less influence on the inner development of the town but were its representatives for the outside world. The South African envoy W. Palgrave described Omaruru in 1876 as “the trading centre of northern Hereroland, from where the Amboland, too, is supplied with goods” (quoted according to Bourquin 1995). 10 years later Omaruru had 70 European inhabitants which made it the third largest “city” of the territory. Like Windhoek and Otjimbingwe it was proposed as the capital of the country by the secretary of the governor<sup>66</sup>. Already 10 years later in 1896 112 European settlers of six nationalities lived in Omaruru. Among them were 27 German soldiers.

### **7.1.2 Expansion under the German Colonial Power (1894-1915)**

In 1894 the territory of South West Africa was put under the command of the German military and barracks were build in Omaruru. Urban life in Omaruru was now based on three functions: church, commerce and military. As a result the trade and the crafts sector grew and the town saw a small boom at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Still it was suffering under the two wars which took place in the region during the first 20 years of the new century.

The war between Germans and Herero (1904-07) was of a special significance for Omaruru, since both population groups were dominant in the town and used to live peacefully next to each other. The war, however, ended with the killing or expulsion of the majority of the Herero people. Although Omaruru remained the residence of one of their royal houses, the Herero never recovered the power they had before the war. In the town itself the battles were short and already ended in the first year of war with the victory of captain Franke, for whose memory a tower was erected later next to the battle field.

After the battle of 1904 the activities of the European settlers in Omaruru continued undiminished. In the following year the place was connected to the railway line, in 1905 a

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<sup>66</sup> Anonymous 1978 (Allgemeine Zeitung 3.1.1978)

post office was established. In 1907 the "Felsenkeller" brewery was opened (and closed again in 1920) and in 1909 the troops moved from Omaruru to Outjo. In the same year Omaruru was formally proclaimed a city and therefore had a town council for the first time. Until the beginning of World War I a school and a hostel were opened, a landing strip constructed and an agricultural fair took place<sup>67</sup>. The farming community grew in the period between these two wars, but faced many problems because of several drought years. In the surroundings of Omaruru mainly high quality cattle and in few cases Karakul sheep was bred. Settlement in the area grew rapidly. While there were only 5 farms registered in Omaruru in 1900, it was already 175 in 1913<sup>68</sup>. At the same time smaller farming units developed along the river specialising on the cultivation of fruits and vegetables.

World War I had few direct consequences on Omaruru. In June 1915 the South African general Botha marched into the city which was handed over to him without fighting. Later indirect consequences of the war was an influx of refugees from the northern and southern border of the territory who stayed in the mission house for a few years.

### **7.1.3 Economic Changes and Population Development under South African Rule (1915-1990)**

The official handover of the territory to the South African Mandatory Power did not bring immediate changes in Omaruru. The local development was determined more by agriculture than by politics. Only in the 1960s, when apartheid policy was transferred from South Africa to the Namibian territory, the frame conditions on the local level changed.

Between the two world wars the town grew further: the school had to be expanded (1924), a creamery was opened (1925), the townhall completed (1927), a flight connection between Omaruru and Windhoek established (1931/32, closed later because of too little profitability) and finally the construction of a power station was decided after many discussions (1939). The main function of Omaruru during this time was that of the commercial and social centre for the farmers in the hinterland. Due to the poorly developed transport facilities they often had to stay overnight if they wanted to visit the city. Therefore three hotels were opened.

Although during World War II the male German population was interned, Omaruru still had a prospering commercial sector afterwards. The economic decline did not set in before the 1960s. One reason for it was the establishment of the Damara homeland: In order to realize

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<sup>67</sup> Bourquin 1969

<sup>68</sup> Köhler 1959

the Odendaal plan several commercial farms had to be sold and given to the Damara community which used them for subsistence economy. At the same time Khorixas was transformed into the capital of the *homeland* a fact that added to the loss in significance of Omaruru. During the 70s and 80s the economic crisis of Omaruru deepened because two mines in the hinterland of the town closed and offices of two ministries (Department of Water Affairs, Department for Work, Transport and Communication) were transferred to other places. As a result 120 households left the town.

The number of non-white residents was constant in Omaruru until 1953 but from then on increased steadily. In 1959 1339 people lived in the black township "Ozondje" which was expanded and formalized during the 1960s.

## 7.2 Developments after Independence

### 7.2.1 Spatial and Population Structure

The stages of the historical development are reflected in today's spatial urban structure (fig. 7). The through road still forms the main axis running along the right river-bank. On the eastern side of this road is the commercial centre, and the old core (the mission house and the Evangelical Lutheran Church) is located further in the west. The latter is surrounded by some non-commercial institutions such as the municipality, a library, the police station and a little park. Residential areas are situated mainly north of the main axis and on the opposite river bank. The area between the main road and the railway is functionally heterogeneous with commercial use (mainly craft) and public institutions (church, school). Although the area north of the railway was initially earmarked for industrial use, later a residential area was constructed for the employees of the fluor spar mine (which is closed now).

In Ozondje, too, various development stages are visible. Starting from the entrance in the north-east the area was step by step developed in south-west direction. The oldest residential areas, the single quarters, churches, an office of the municipality and the biggest stores are located next to the entrance. The first squatters also settled in this area, because of its favourable location with a comparatively short distance to the city centre. The establishment of a *site-and-service-area* much further in the south-east, however, caused their resettlement. Mainly young people live in the informal settlement<sup>69</sup> having moved there either from Ozondje or from rural areas. Not all of them are unemployed but even those who have an in-

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<sup>69</sup> ET OM 05

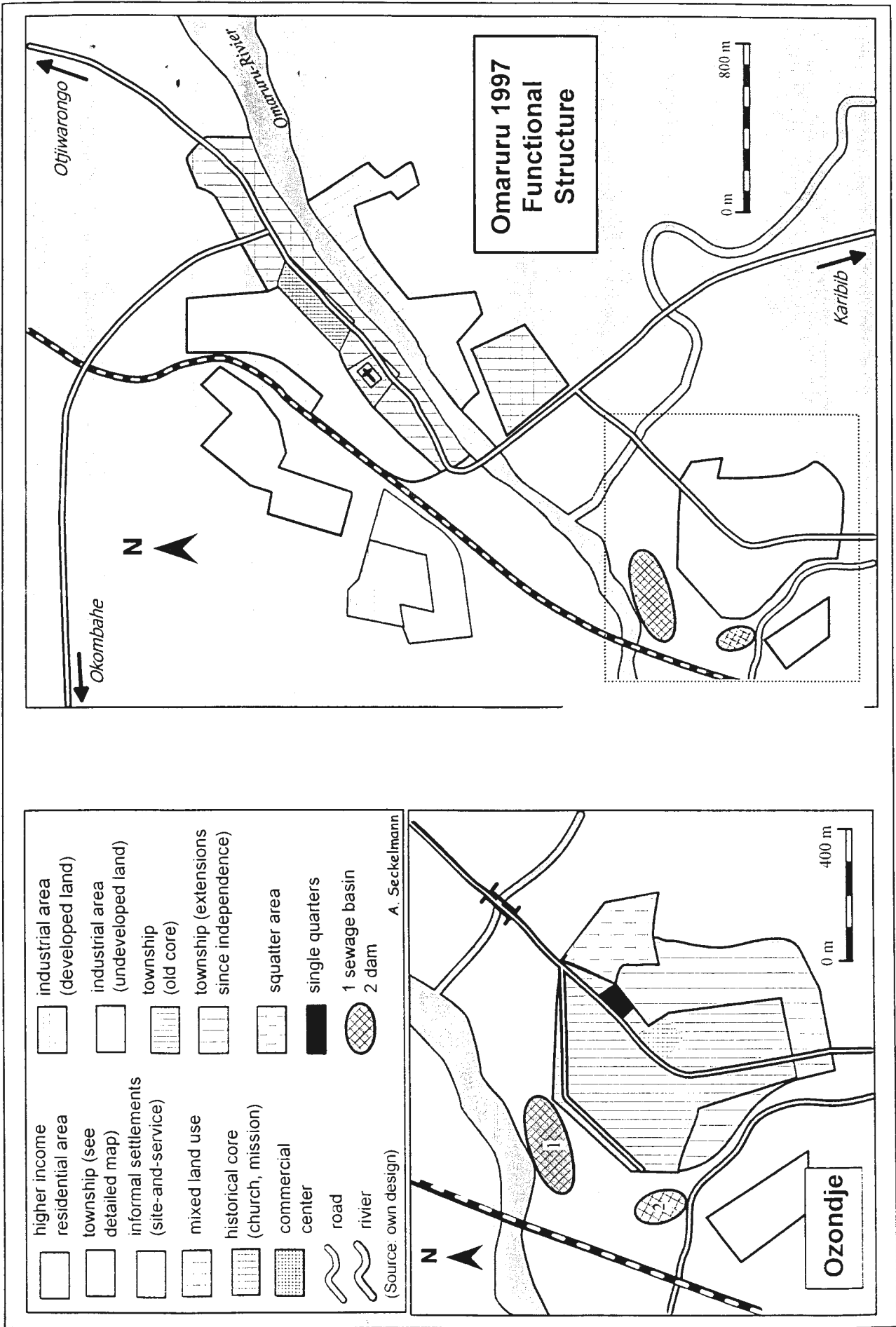


Fig. 7: Functional Structure of Omaruru 1997

come cannot afford the construction or the purchase of a house<sup>70</sup>. The BTP, for instance, demands a minimum income of 1250 N\$ which in a small town like Omaruru is often not even achieved by clerks<sup>71</sup>. While private investors provide houses for the higher income groups, the lower income groups depend on the Ministry of Local Government and Housing (MRLGH) to which the responsibility for low income housing was given after independence. According to the mayor it was a mistake to withdraw this task from the municipalities, since the local authorities could much better adjust the supply to the needs of the population and control the use of the loans. Like in other towns a major problem in Omaruru are the *single quarters*. Already in a very bad condition, they are now additionally overcrowded by the families of the workers who followed them into the city.

The exact population figure of Omaruru is not known. Estimations for the middle of the 90s given by different representatives of the municipality range from 6000 to 11250<sup>72</sup>. It is clear, however, that it is a heterogeneous population with not only different ethnic origin, but different social classes and age groups.

Contradicting trends can be observed concerning the issue of migration. Labour migration leads to emigration from Omaruru to bigger cities, on the one hand, and brings workers from villages and rural areas into the town, on the other hand. Often project-bound migration can be found with migrants moving to Omaruru (especially to Ozondje) for only a short term. At the same time the town has become the destination for many pensioners, especially farmers. These migrants usually buy houses in the higher income residential areas and stay for a long term.

### **7.2.2 Infrastructure**

Because of its situation at the main road and the railway Omaruru is well connected with all bigger urban centres of the country. Furthermore there are roads (of a lower quality) to the north-western areas (Okombahe, Uis, Khorixas). Inside the town the standard of infrastructure differs distinctly between the quarters. Until independence the road to Ozondje crossed a river bed and during the rainy season people had to struggle to leave the township. For this reason the municipality has since built a bridge which provides a safer connection.

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<sup>70</sup> ET OM 04

<sup>71</sup> ET OM 03

<sup>72</sup> ET OM 01, ET OM 02, ET OM 03

Taxis run between Ozondje and the city centre. Since the fare depends on the distance, transport from the informal areas is more expensive than from the other parts of Ozondje<sup>73</sup>. The water provision is reliable, because the boreholes next to the river offer sufficient water of a high quality. Sewerage, in contrast, is a problem which is why the municipality started right after independence with the construction of a modern sewage canalization. Electricity does exist in the city centre and the neighbouring residential areas while there is a lack in Ozondje. Parts of the *township* have been connected to the power system, but this led to an increase in rents and purchase prices of the houses. Therefore only a minority can afford this luxury.

Social infrastructure comprises several schools, kindergartens and hospitals, but still the supply does not meet the demand. Not only is the number of beds in hospitals and hostels too low, but the equipment in general is a problem and the quality of doctors, nurses and teachers is inadequate.

The commercial sector offers goods and services not only for daily, but for periodic needs, too. Most of the shops in Omaruru are managed by local businessmen and do not belong to franchising companies. Food stores exist in the city centre and in Ozondje. Since the prices are higher and the range of goods is lower in the township, most inhabitants prefer to buy in the centre.

### **7.2.3 Economy**

After the crisis in the 70s Omaruru has recovered steadily. Trade has been the main pillar of the local economy since independence. The boom in this sector is explained by the opening of the communal lands in the hinterland. In the former *homelands* public infrastructure was improved (schools, health centres, police stations) but the commercial sector is developing slowly leaving the inhabitants dependent on bigger cities. A further factor contributing to the upward trend in Omaruru's trade sector is the increasing number of public servants. In order to give jobs to the former PLAN-fighters the government employed them as prison guards or policemen. At the same time the public service salaries were raised. Thus, there is now more money in the local money circulation than before.

Manufacture and industry are of little significance in Omaruru. There is still a producer of building material, but a food plant (margarine and oil) was forced to reduce its production and to dismiss half of the staff, since the Namibian company could not compete with the low

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<sup>73</sup> In 1997: 3,50 N\$ from the *site-and-service-area* and 2,50 N\$ from the other parts of Ozondje.



prices of South African products. A fodder plant, which was processing waste of the food producer was bought up by a bigger company and transferred to Windhoek.

A further factor in the economy of Omaruru is tourism. Yet the town profits mainly indirectly from this sector. The hinterland of the town is the centre of the Namibian hunt tourism. Therefore many farms in the area were partly or entirely transformed into guest farms. This has three advantages for Omaruru: First, new jobs were created on the farms and were partly filled with residents of Omaruru. Second, tourists visit the restaurants and souvenir shops in town. Third, farmers need to provide their guests with food and beverages. This supply, however, is not regularly bought in Omaruru, since stores do not offer the same range and prices as those in Otjiwarongo or Windhoek.

Informal trade is not of major importance in Omaruru. Some *cuca shops* exist in Ozondje, but trade mainly takes place privately inside the social networks. Rather it is the informal employment relations between Omaruru and Ozondje (which consist of jobs in private households and gardens as well as in the construction sector) which are of economic significance<sup>74</sup>. Agricultural activities on a subsistence basis are scarcely found in Omaruru, but the close interrelations between urban and rural family members lead to the exchange of urban and rural goods. Additionally pensions are an important pillar of the monetary income of many households in the town.

The *Directorate for Community Building* supports some self-help projects in Omaruru (such as brick making, gardening, sewing) which so far, however, have not shown any results. The reasons for this are, among others, conflicts between the project members and the municipality. For instance, neither the two felt responsible for the payment of water or the lease of a plot. The municipality expected financial independence from the project, whereas the members expected support from the local authorities. Problems of the BTP in Omaruru, where the construction of 30 houses was started, are the misuse of loans and too few efforts to complete the construction of the houses.

The local actors in Omaruru disagree about the best strategies for the promotion of Omaruru's local economy. While the municipality wishes to direct foreign investments to Omaruru, the local businessmen would prefer a stronger support for the already existing businesses.

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<sup>74</sup> ET OM 03

### 7.3 Perceptions

Residents and decision-makers have a positive attitude towards Omaruru. This is reflected in the fact that many inhabitants were not born there, but chose the town out of a range of possible places for living. The particular perceptions vary according to the individual conditions of living. General advantages named are the pleasant climate, the central situation, the richness of water and vegetation and the close bonds to the place, which have developed over the years. Additionally, the history of Omaruru, which is closely related to Herero history, contributes to local identification<sup>75</sup>.

The factors regarded as disadvantages are mainly those, which contribute to the deterioration of the individual living conditions, such as the high unemployment rate, the lack of shelter and the high rate of crime. Furthermore, all social groups of Omaruru are dissatisfied with the political developments on the local as well as on the national level. In the informal settlements especially the squatter resettlement was criticized<sup>76</sup>.

The population of Omaruru is very heterogeneous and cannot be easily classified into socio-economic categories. Nevertheless two groups of residents were distinguishable during the investigation. They do not represent the entire population, but two very different spaces and ways of living: On the one hand, there are German pensioners who chose Omaruru as their home in old age. The majority of them spent their whole life on farms and are now living for the first time permanently in an urban centre. Because of their rural past they did not want to move to a big city like Windhoek and usually chose between Tsumeb, Swakopmund and Omaruru. In Omaruru they like the mild climate and the water situation which allows them to cultivate fruits and vegetable. Most of them live in the higher income residential areas and form a community of shared activities and close relationships. On the other hand, there are (spatially and socio-economically at the opposite end of the town) the informal settlers. Many of them have lived in Omaruru for years, but had to leave the houses of their parents or other relatives in Ozondje because of overcrowding. Since they cannot afford a house of their own they open new households in the informal settlement. In their view the advantages of Omaruru are the existence of jobs, the high quality of the water and the close bonds they have to the town (feeling of home). They criticize the municipality for their resettlement and demand an improvement of their situation. Although they had to move to a *site-and-service-area*, waste

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<sup>75</sup> B OM 16, B OM 01, B OM 09, ET OM 06, ET OM 07

<sup>76</sup> B OM 16, B OM 01 09, ET OM 06, B OM 21

disposal and sanitary facilities are still in a very bad condition and the costs for travelling to town (by taxi) are higher than before.

Although overall positive the perception of the decision-makers of Omaruru is different from that of the residents. They do not complain about the infrastructural problems but are concer-

<b>Omaruru in the eyes of residents and decision-makers</b>
<p><u>Advantages</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Familiarity with the people and the place (“home”)</li> <li>• Employment opportunities</li> <li>• Plenty of water of a high quality</li> <li>• Plenty of vegetation</li> <li>• Good conditions for gardening</li> <li>• Central situation in the country</li> <li>• Pleasant climate</li> <li>• Tranquillity and beauty</li> <li>• Close bonds to the place because of its history</li> <li>• Low crime rate</li> <li>• Low land prices</li> <li>• Friendly people</li> <li>• Multicultural population</li> <li>• Deposits of raw material in the surroundings</li> </ul>
<p><u>Problems</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High unemployment rate</li> <li>• Poverty</li> <li>• Housing shortage</li> <li>• Segregation and conflicts between the different population groups</li> <li>• High costs of water and electricity</li> <li>• Lack of manufactories</li> <li>• Existence of crime</li> <li>• Irregular payment of pensions and public salaries</li> <li>• Insufficient equipment of the hospital</li> <li>• Insufficient infrastructure in the informal settlements</li> <li>• Insufficient attractiveness for investors and qualified personnel</li> <li>• Lack of a city marketing</li> <li>• High indebtedness of the residents</li> <li>• Misuse of alcohol</li> <li>• Rejection of the responsibility for the improvement of the living conditions by the residents</li> </ul>

*Tab. 6: Omaruru in the eyes of residents and decision-makers*

ned with the economic crisis of the town. The advantages they name are the existence of sufficient water of a high quality, the central situation, the beauty and tranquillity of the town, a relatively low crime rate, low land prices, the existence of marble and ore deposits in the surroundings and the multicultural population<sup>77</sup>. At the same time the main problem, in the eyes of the decision-makers, are the conflicts which are a result of the heterogeneity of the population. They criticize the lack of co-operation between different language groups and nationalities, which fulfil special functions in town. Therefore the various actors (the municipality, the businessmen, the representatives of ministries, the regional council, the self-help projects, the residents) cannot work together<sup>78</sup>. Further problems in the eyes of the decision-makers are the lack of manufactories, the unfavourable situation of the town (not on the main road from Windhoek), the lack of a good city marketing, insufficient incentives for investors and qualified workers and finally the high unemployment especially among the youth and the resulting misuse of alcohol and increasing crime rates<sup>79</sup>.

#### ***7.4 Factors and Tendencies of Development***

##### 1. Urban planning policies: Balanced development

The newly elected town council focuses on the improvement and expansion of the infrastructure in those quarters which had been neglected before. Four large construction projects were conducted during its first years in power:

- the consolidation of the road leading to Ozondje (covering with asphalt and construction of a bridge over the rivier),
- the electrification of Ozondje,
- the modernization of the sewerage system in the city centre,
- the resettlement of the squatters (causing conflicts between the informal settlers and the municipality).

These infrastructural projects mean an important progress for the residents concerned, but their financing became a problem. They are mainly paid for by resources which had been saved by the former authorities before independence. In addition the prices for water and electricity were raised to achieve a supplementary income. A problem for the municipality is, however, that the payments are not made regularly by the users and the outstanding debts

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<sup>77</sup> ET OM 01, ET OM 02, ET OM 04, ET OM 08, ET OM 011

<sup>78</sup> ET OM 01, ET OM 02, ET OM 04, ET OM 06, ET OM 011

<sup>79</sup> ET OM 01, ET OM 02, ET OM 04, ET OM 06, ET OM 09, ET OM 11, ET OM 12

increase monthly. Concentrating on the infrastructural development the municipality neglects other policy fields. E.g., special policies to fight the general economic crisis in Omaruru have not been developed so far.

## 2. Conflicts between different social and ethnic groups prevent development.

Conflicts between the various actors exist in Omaruru on the horizontal as well as on the vertical level. A main problem are the differences between the residents and the municipality. One reasons for this conflict are the high expectations of the population (based on electoral promises made by the local councillors) and the low realization by the local authorities. Although infrastructural improvements have been made, in the view of the residents the lack of shelter and the high unemployment still dominates life in Omaruru and they expect the municipality to find solutions. At the same time the local councillors express their dissatisfaction with the residents, who, they say, do not to rely on black politicians and who are not willing to take over responsibility themselves.

Further conflicts exist between the various decision-makers. The most negative effects on the town have the differences between the municipality represented mainly by black people and the businessmen represented by the white "Chamber of Commerce". They accuse each other of aggravating the situation. While the local authorities complain, that the businessmen do not take them seriously, the "Chamber of Commerce" criticizes the municipality for its unwillingness to co-operate. Their members do not believe that the local authorities are capable of promoting the local economy.

The white population, too, is not undivided. There are differences between the European language groups which find their expression in the establishment of two small private schools (German and Afrikaans) and the high competition between the businesses of Germans and Afrikaners.

Finally problems between the local and the regional authorities occurred. They became visible in the resettlement project, when the municipality planned to move the squatters into a *site-and-service-area*, while the regional representative supported the refusal of the informal settlers to move.

All these conflicts result in the stagnation of development in Omaruru, although the natural conditions (especially the water situation) are favourable for economic activities. Only the Herero chief in Omaruru (the "Chief of the Royal House Zeraua") has mediating functions between the various actors. Although he belongs to a certain ethnical group, he succeeded in

being accepted by other local groups, too. He regards himself as a mediator between local authorities and residents, but also as a representative of the town to which he feels closely related because of the Herero history in this area. Nevertheless he will not succeed in promoting Omaruru if not all actors return to co-operation.

### *Statements*

*"It's a beautiful town. Definitely looking at investors. I would like investors to come to Omaruru, because Omaruru has the most beautiful water. (...) And then you find the people: we have, of course, a multilingual, multicultural community. And that is not a weakness, it is the strength of any nation."* (ET OM 04)

*"First of all, Omaruru has a lot of water. Secondly, apart from Omaruru itself, we have two reserves here, which makes it sort of a bigger centre. (...) It is not very far from Walfish Bay. It is two and a half hour to Walfish Bay, to Windhoek and Otjiwarongo and it is very close to Tsumeb. It is actually sort of a centre of its own with a good railway station, tar roads connected to it. Therefore, apart from businesses which can be kept alive by the inhabitants and in the surrounding for which it serves, it can also go into businesses, where it can export things and by doing so supply jobs for the inhabitants."* (ET OM 02)

*"Omaruru is a very unfortunate town. After independence and with the policy of reconciliation, which is supposed to bring the people closer together and to start working together for a better future, there is a lot division in Omaruru. The first division is between whites and blacks, but also among blacks themselves. Although the division between blacks doesn't have much economic significance, it is still demolishing to our society, while the division between blacks and whites is keeping the economy at a very low point and even brings any development away from the town."* (ET OM 02)

*"Omaruru has been forgotten. (...) It is not at all mentioned and taken notice of (...). No, it is going down. They can do whatever they want. In Windhoek, of course, these large buildings and all that and it is talked of all that we wish and do. The little citizen does not at all understand what they are talking about."* (B OM 21)

*"There is sort of a cold war. Cold war between white and black, white and white. You will find the Germans and the Afrikaners. They are not supporting each other. You will hardly find and Afrikaner going into a shop owned by German people and vice versa (...) We are supposed to work hand in hand. But the opposite is true as far as Omaruru is concerned. This regional councillor and the municipal council, the majority of the municipal council are from the same party. (...) Everyone claims to be the boss. (...) At this moment, leadership hungriness has spoilt the whole thing."* (ET OM 01)

*"When we came, the councillors here, it was so difficult for us to take over these functions, because we never knew what is going on here. It was a total new set-up to us. Most of us are teachers and clerks. We never ran such a big institution. It was a totally new thing. And even how this budget operates. We made promises we never reach, because we never understood the inside things. (...) And if I find it so difficult to understand, and I am a teacher, how do you explain it to someone who doesn't have any schooling? (...) And even the attitude of our black people to accept another black man in authority is also a problem. They rather accept a white municipality (...) as a condition of over hundred years."* (ET OM 02)

### 3. Omaruru changes from a rural to an urban centre without meeting the resulting requirements.

The significance of Omaruru as a centre for a rural hinterland is decreasing as it is taking on the function as a place of living and working for a growing urban population. New requirements such as jobs in the non-agricultural sector as well as urban housing, education and entertainment facilities are the results out of this development. Until now Omaruru has not been able to meet the new demands. In general it is not prepared to accommodate such a large population number. Furthermore the commercial sector is changing from a centre of production to a mere trade centre. While the plants of the secondary sector had to close or at least to reduce their production, the number and size of shops is increasing. The increase in trade activities is caused by the opening of the Damaraland as well as by the growing number of civil servants in Omaruru who have a comparatively high and reliable income. Therefore trade in Omaruru is to a high degree dependent on the government policies towards its employees.

### 4. Migration behaviour in Omaruru is complex and demands flexible solutions by the authorities.

Omaruru cannot be clearly identified as either origin or destination of migration. Being an intermediate city it offers jobs and attracts people from the hinterland, although the labour market and housing do not suffice for all (old and new) inhabitants of the town. Therefore parts of the population leave the place. Some of them move to bigger cities, others find work on farms, especially guest farms, in the surroundings. These migrations occur on short term basis and are subject to seasonal conditions. Thus, the authorities can hardly make long-term plans and provide infrastructure and housing for the whole population. Flexible solutions are needed in this field, and the economic situation needs to be generally stabilized to support more stable individual living conditions.

## **8 Otjiwarongo**

When Otjiwarongo was founded it was at the periphery of the territory colonized by the European settlers. Today it is in the centre of the new independent country Namibia. Although the origins of and the conditions for the initial growth of Otjiwarongo are similar to those of

Kalkfeld, the town finally followed a contrary development path and became an administratively and economically important regional capital.

## **8.1 History**

### **8.1.1 Precolonial Settlement by Damara and Herero (1390-1904)**

In 1390 a group of Damara started to live permanently in the territory of today's Otjiwarongo<sup>80</sup>. At least in the recent past their life was based on cattle breeding which lead to conflicts with a group of Herero in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Herero were coming from the north and under the leadership of chief Ruhaka moved into the area of Otjiwarongo. In fights between the two groups the Damara were defeated and subjugated by the Herero<sup>81</sup>. Although the Herero finally settled further to the east in the Waterberg area, they named the place "Otjiuarongo" which means "beautiful place" or "good place"<sup>82</sup>.

### **8.1.2 Foundation as traffic junction and rural service centre (1904-1915)**

First permanent European settlements, which laid the foundation for the city, started in 1904. In this year the Herero were driven away from the region during the war with the Germans. Thus, the territory was now easily accessible for Europeans, who did not only open farms but extended the railway line into this area. It was planned to connect the coast with the Tsumeb mines and with Angola. After a survey and technical calculations km 378 km was appointed as junction for the lines in east and west direction. Soon a station was build at this point and in 1906 a police station was established next to it. Local historians regard the completion of the police building as the foundation of the city of Otjiwarongo. In 1907 already 34 Europeans lived here, although a plan for the development of the settlement was only submitted in 1908<sup>83</sup>. Otjiwarongo soon became an emporium in the trade with Outjo and the Waterberg. The railway to Tsumeb was constructed during the following years, but the extension to Ovamboland and Angola was never finished and it only ever reached Outjo. Construction stopped with the beginning of World War I.

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<sup>80</sup> van der Merwe 1981

<sup>81</sup> Hoeflich 1965

<sup>82</sup> van der Merwe 1981

<sup>83</sup> Hoeflich 1965



### 8.1.3 Further Development as a Centre of Administration, Trade and Education (1915-1990)

Between World War I and World War II Otjiwarongo was subject to some changes. First of all, the Omaruru district to which the city belonged until then, was divided and Otjiwarongo and its hinterland became a district of its own. Not before 1939, however, was Otjiwarongo proclaimed a city.

At the end of the 1920s the composition of the population in the region and in the city changed. There was a heavy influx of Afrikaners to whom the South African government had allocated farms in the Otjiwarongo area<sup>84</sup>. In the 30s and 40s the steady growth of the population continued and accordingly the number and range of services and shops broadened. The three most important churches were established (Dutch Reformed in 1930, Evangelical Lutheran and Roman Catholic in 1935), schools, banks, hotels, a creamery and an abattoir were opened. Retail flourished<sup>85</sup>.

Most important for the city was the development of agriculture in the hinterland. Especially in the Waterberg area with its natural water deposits farming was profitable with cattle breeding as the main branch. In the decade from 1926 to 1936 the number of farms in the district trebled (from 620 to 1715) and accordingly the European urban population increased from 120 to 370<sup>86</sup>. During World War II the city did not grow further, but in the following 20 years it developed into the fourth biggest city of the territory (after Windhoek, Walfish Bay and Keetmanshoop) with 3,200 European inhabitants. At the same time it became the largest centre of trade and education in the northern part of the territory (Hoeflich 1965). Industrial developments, in contrast, were not of significance at this time in Otjiwarongo. It was only with the improvements in the provision of water and electricity during the 70s and 80s that the manufacturing sector started to grow.

Important for the city was another development which started in 1965: the foundation and extension of the black residential area Orwetoveni. Until then the African population had been neglected in urban planning. First descriptions of their quarter were not given before the year 1956, when already 2,427 people were living there. At this time their number already exceeded that of the white population (tab. 7).

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<sup>84</sup> German Ev. Church

<sup>85</sup> Barter 1965

<sup>86</sup> German Ev. Church (There are no figures on the African urban population at this time).

Year	Total Population	Whites	Non-whites
1907	..	34 <sup>I) a)</sup>	..
1908	..	24 <sup>I) a)</sup>	..
1926	..	120 <sup>I+II+III)</sup>	..
1930	..	ca. 300 <sup>IV)</sup>	..
1936	..	369 <sup>III)</sup> 371 <sup>II)</sup>	..
1946	..	> 900 <sup>II)</sup>	..
1951	..	1 382 <sup>I)</sup>	..
1954	..	1 980 <sup>II)</sup>	..
1955/56	4 427 <sup>V)</sup>	2 050 <sup>II) b)</sup>	2 427 <sup>VI) c)</sup>
1965	6 800 <sup>I)</sup>	3 200 <sup>I)</sup>	3 600 <sup>I)</sup>
1971	..	..	4 389 <sup>II)</sup>
1981	9 087 <sup>VIII)</sup>	..	5 853 <sup>II)</sup>
1988	11 000 <sup>VIII)</sup>	..	..
1991	15 921 <sup>IX)</sup>	..	..
1998	25 000 <sup>X)</sup>	..	..

**Sources:**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| I) Hoeflich 1956  | VII) Population and Housing Census 1991 (Tvedten/Mupotola 1995)               |
| II) van der Merwe 1981  | VIII) Estimation of the Municipality Otjiwarongo                              |
| III) Dt. Ev. Kirche 1954  |   |
| IV) Barter 1965   |   |
| V) Number of whites in 1955 added to number of non-whites in 1956 | a) It is not evident, whether women and children are included in this figure. |
| VI) Köhler 1959 b   | b) 1955   |
| VII) Population Census 1981 (Statistisches Bundesamt 1992)        | c) 1956   |
| VIII) Estimation of Statistisches Bundesamt 1992                  | .. no data available  |

*Tab. 7: The overview of the population development in Otjiwarongo does not only show the continuous growth of the city, but the insufficient data.*

The African settlement was divided into three sections for Damara, Herero and Ovambo, but some Bushmen and Coloureds were living among them. In 1965 the reconstruction of the quarter began and the new *township* Orwetoveni was established. It was built according to the apartheid principles and separated from the city centre by a *buffer zone*. In the beginning the standard of infrastructure was low, since the single houses did not have individual water and power supplies, but in 1976 the *township* was extended and modernized. Later more than 1000 houses and *single quarters* for more than 300 workers were built. Still, the standard of living remained much lower in Orwetoveni than in any other part of the city.

## 8.2 Development after Independence

### 8.2.1 Settlement Structure

The physical structure of Otjiwarongo is determined by natural conditions and the borders of the neighbouring farms. Rivers form the northern and eastern borders of the urban area and also divide the different urban quarters (Otjiwarongo, Orwetoveni, Usaraxa Aibes). In the west, however, the neighbouring farms limit the urban development. Consequently extensions of the city are only possible in the south (fig. 8). The spatial structure of the city changed over the years. Today the commercial centre lies in the northern part of the main south-north-axis (Hage Geingob street) and extends to the area of the former *buffer zone*. The industrial area whose growth is approaching the station is in the west of the commercial centre. The area in the south is characterized by a mixture of residential use and public institutions. Only the newest extensions at the southern border are pure residential areas.

Orwetoveni is situated in the east of the city centre (fig. 8 and 9). Special about Otjiwarongo is the development of the *buffer zone*, which already began before the end of apartheid. The residential area of Orwetoveni was extended step by step in the direction of the city, so that today the two parts of the city interlace. A row of public and commercial institutions has been established at the entrance road to Orwetoveni. The efforts of integration becomes also manifest in the location of a new shopping complex which connects the city centre with the new residential areas of Orwetoveni. In Orwetoveni itself only few shopping possibilities exist. Besides the *cuca shops* and other informal trade in 1997 only eight formal shops could be found which concentrated in a little commercial centre in the old core of the *township*. The houses which were constructed under apartheid still exist and have a much lower standard than the new houses which are developed now in the former *buffer zone* for middle income groups. New houses for low income groups are mainly developed in the east of Orwetoveni. Housing programs of the parastatal housing institution as well as of a private investor and of the "Build Together Programme" are located here. Squatters can be found only next to the *single quarters* and along the rivier which forms the eastern border of the *township*. Most informal settlers have moved to Usaraxa Aibes, the newest part of the city. It is a large *site-and-service-area* which was originally meant to accommodate not only the existing squatters but future migrants, too. Meanwhile the number of migrant households, however, exceeds the number of serviced plots and the problem of insufficient infrastructure and wild squatting

occurs again. In addition, not only migrants moved to Usaraxa Aibes, but people of the overcrowded houses in Orweto'veni moved to the *site-and-service-area*, too.

Migration did not only cause growth in the informal settlement and the former *township*, but also in the high income residential areas. The migrants moving to Otjiwarongo have diverse origins. Many of them are from the communal lands in the north of the country or came from other cities while others had been working and living on farms before coming to Otjiwarongo. For migrants from the north Otjiwarongo is often the first step on their way further to the south and to the centre of the country, but not all of them really move on. Some go back to their rural homes, but most decide to stay permanently in Otjiwarongo. The number of immigrants into the city is much larger than that of emigrants. In 1997 Otjiwarongo had approximately 25,000 inhabitants 19,000 of whom living in Orweto'veni and Usaraxa Aibes.

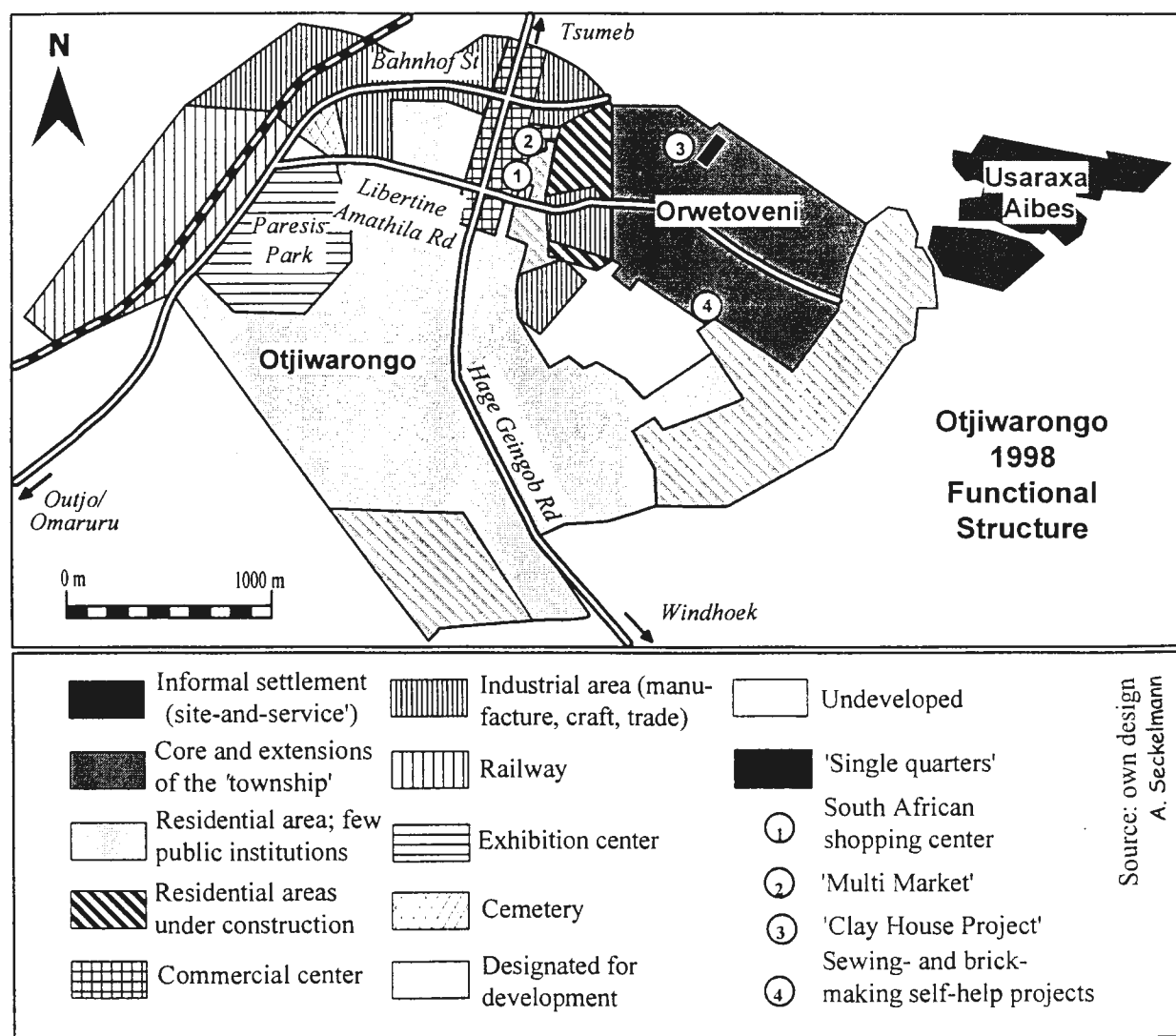


Fig. 8: Functional Structure of Otjiwarongo in 1998

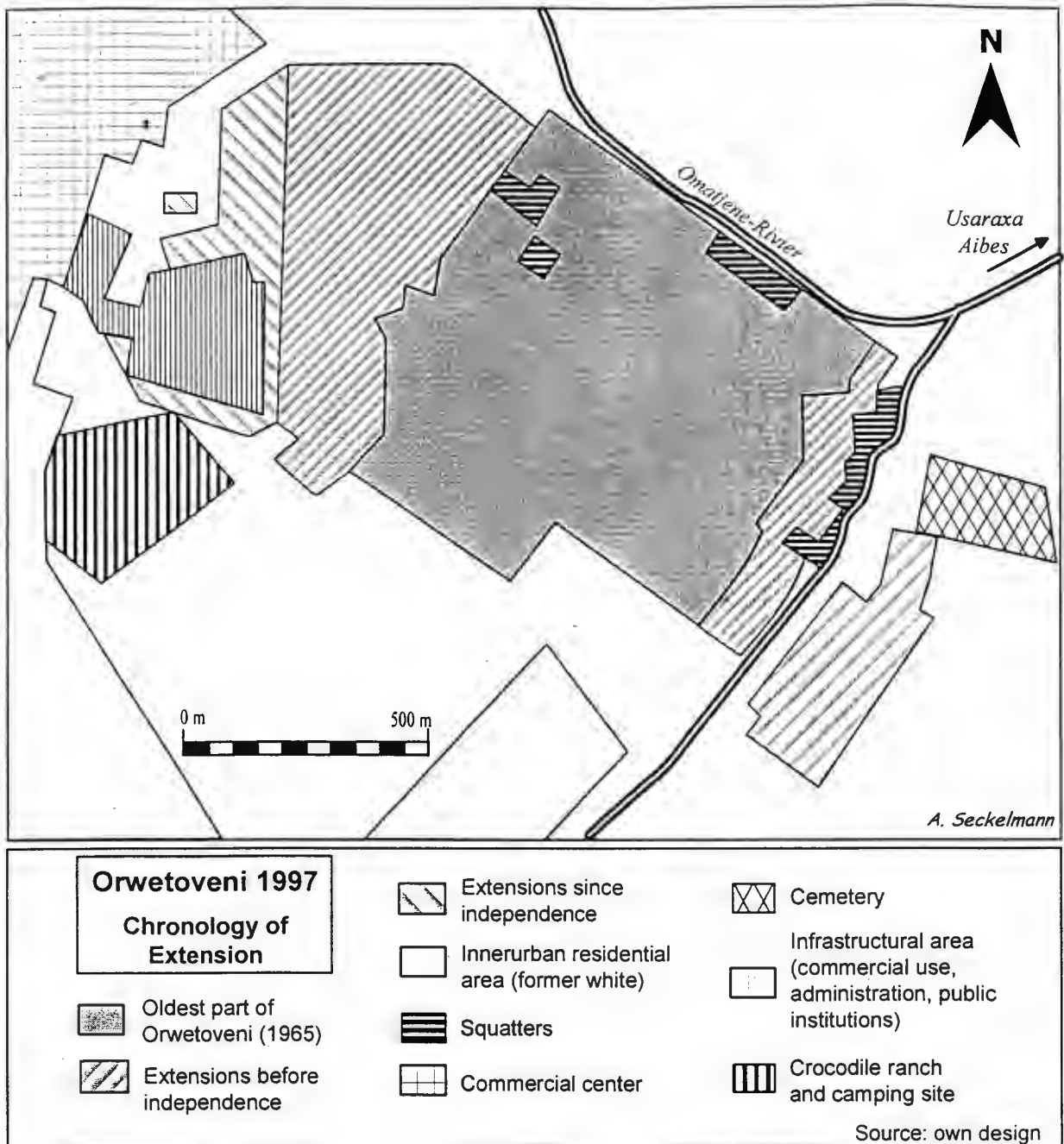


Fig. 9: Chronological development of Orwetoveni: old core and extensions before and since independence.

### 8.2.2 Infrastructure

Otjiwarongo is characterized by its function as a regional traffic junction. It has railway connections to Windhoek, Walfish Bay, Tsumeb and Outjo and well developed roads lead into all parts of the country. Even the innerurban roads are in a much better condition than in other towns. The roads are tarred not only in the city centre and the high income residential areas, but in large parts of Orwetoveni, too. Only in Usaraxa Aibes there is no asphalt which usually leads to damages in the roads during the rainy season (because of erosion). The distance between the outer border of the informal settlement and the city centre is 4 km.

In the former white city as well as in the former *township* water and electricity supply and sewerage exist in each house. Until the end of the 90s the supply was sufficient and in contrary to Kalkfeld no periodic lacks occurred. In Usaraxa Aibes there is neither a sewerage system nor electricity.

The social infrastructure reflects the significance of Otjiwarongo as a regional service centre. In 1998 there were 6 kindergartens, 5 primary and 3 high schools which were visited by 6,565 children. Health care is also on a high level with a public and a private hospital. The city's administrative function is obvious as it is the location for the regional council, offices of several ministries and a regional court. The commercial sector offers a broad range of goods for daily, periodic and episodic needs.

### **8.2.3 Economy**

Otjiwarongo's economic development is positive. In September 1997 305 businesses with seat in Omaruru were registered at the "Namibian Chamber of Commerce and Industry". Most of them, however, belonged to the trade sector and offered little employment opportunities. Otjiwarongo is gaining more and more significance for supraregional trading firms, which use the city as a location on their way to the north. Several South African department stores which, until independence, were only located in Windhoek and at the coast, opened branches in Otjiwarongo before they went further to the north. As a result there is a trend for local businesses to be replaced by supraregional firms. Several local businesses had to close even before this process set in, because they could not compete on the free market. During apartheid the number of retailers in each city had been restricted, but after independence any number was allowed and the older shops lost their favoured position<sup>87</sup>.

The customers in Otjiwarongo are either inhabitants of the city itself or they come from the smaller cities and from the farms in the region. The farming community in the area is ranked as one of the richest in the country and the farmers buy approximately 80% of their goods in Otjiwarongo. Therefore agricultural articles are an important part of the trade supply of the city. Specialized shops can also be found in the construction sector and providing for motor vehicles. In the service sector a number of finance and insurance companies as well as some offices of the transport and computer sector are located in Otjiwarongo.

Manufacturing also has a share in the local economy of Otjiwarongo. Most important is the cement factory which covers the needs of the whole country (Statistisches Bundesamt 1992).

In 1998 there were furthermore processing plants for agricultural products (wood, food), a pharmaceutical plant and some producers and distributors of construction material. Further companies were planning to move to Otjiwarongo, some of them wished to produce in the scope of the "Export Processing Zone"-programme. This programme supports the location of industry as long as 85% of the production is earmarked for export. Unique for Namibia is the crocodile ranch which is located not far from the city centre. Here crocodiles are bred and used for the production of leather and meat.

Tourism is not much developed in Otjiwarongo. There are some hotels and pensions, but they are mainly used by businessmen. One of the hotels even specialised on the conference business which covers 90% of its income. Otjiwarongo is selected as a place for conferences because of its central situation between Windhoek, the city "triangle" in the north-east (Otavi, Tsumeb, Grootfontein) and the northern towns in the former *homelands*. The local authorities want to promote tourism in Otjiwarongo and hope to attract tourists for at least one night.

The informal sector in Otjiwarongo is located less in the city centre than in the former *township* and in the informal settlements. In particular in the squatter areas next to the single quarters and in the east of Orwetoveni there are many informal activities. Furthermore, there is a network of individual trade and exchange relations. In addition, many inhabitants of the low income areas are employed as personnel in the houses and gardens of the high income residential areas, an employment that constitutes a significant part of the informal sector.

As in other towns there are self-help projects supported by the "Directorate of Community Building". Some of the projects in Orwetoveni (sewing, brick-making, kindergartens) are successful and co-operate with each other. The brick-making group, e.g., produces mainly for the local group of the "Build Together Programme", which had to face the usual problems of unfinished buildings and inadequate repayments of the loans.

The significance of pensions for individual households should not be underestimated in Otjiwarongo but is in many cases not as high as in the smaller towns, because of other existing income opportunities.

#### **8.2.4 Urban Planning and Politics**

The following development trends and features have characterized urban planning and politics in Otjiwarongo since independence:

### 1. Improvement of the local business environment and promotion of external investments

Otjiwarongo was the first city in Namibia to form a committee where representatives of the municipality and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry are represented. The objective is to develop ideas to promote the economy and to improve the living standard of the population of Otjiwarongo. The municipality furthermore is busy working on a marketing concept which could bring not only shops but industry to the city. Therefore, the municipality has invested a lot in the development of industrial land and offers favourable conditions (such as low land prices) to potential investors, if they employ local labour force.

### 2. Land use: Spatial integration and social segregation

In Otjiwarongo attempts to integrate Orwetoveni and the city centre were made relatively early. The *township* was extended in the direction of the centre and the *buffer zone* was developed as a residential area already before independence whereas in other cities extensions of the *townships* were usually made at the side most distant from the centre. At the same time another part of the *buffer zone* was filled with commercial and public institutions which underpinned the segregative nature of this area. Today Orwetoveni is surrounded by a zone of public institutions, shops and other commercially used buildings, so that the clear distinction between the social groups continues to exist. New extensions for the higher income groups are situated only in the south, those for the lower income groups in the west of the city. Very pronounced is the segregation of the new informal settlement which is separated from Orwetoveni by a rivier and a strip of undeveloped land.

### 3. Participation of residents and external consultants in the planning process

In Otjiwarongo planning is regarded as a common task into which various actors have to be integrated. The establishment of Usaraxa Aibes was realized according to this comprehension. Far-sighted, the *site-and-service-area* was planned soon after the influx into the city began. The area where the first squatters had settled was accepted as the site for the new development, basic infrastructure was constructed there and plots the size of 400 m<sup>2</sup> were demarcated. During this process the municipality was assisted by commercial consultants. All further decisions concerning the development of Usaraxa Aibes, however, were made in co-operation with the residents. The settlement was divided into 10 communities each of which sends a representative to the weekly meetings with the municipality. This committee decides on all matters concerning the residents such as the location of public institutions or the distance between water taps. Although the development was started early and was meant to



accommodate all immigrants to Otjiwarongo, the influx in the end was larger than expected. At the end of the 90s all plots were used and new squatter areas emerged in Orwetoveni. Future plans exist already to develop a new *site-and-service-area* with a mixed land use combining residential and commercial functions. This would enable more residents to open small shops or workshops to work self-employed in the formal or informal sector. Again, the plan is far-sighted but expensive and might fail because of the lack of money<sup>88</sup>. Further co-operation exists between Otjiwarongo and its Canadian partner city. So far the official exchange has not shown direct results but contributes to the development of ideas and is planned to be expanded to the private sector in future.

### **8.3 Perceptions**

The residents of Otjiwarongo basically have a positive attitude towards their city. Reasons are the relatively good infrastructure of the city and the living together which is in most cases perceived as harmonious. Inhabitants regard the atmosphere as friendly and personal and they emphasize the mutual assistance between neighbours. Often Windhoek, which is perceived as more anonymous, was cited as a contrast. Otjiwarongo has the advantages of lower prices, smaller distances in the urban area and a lower crime rate. In comparison with the rural areas the inhabitants see the advantages of Otjiwarongo in the chance to find a job with a foreign employer and in the lower belief in witchcraft and traditional healers<sup>89</sup>.

Different opinion exist on the small distance between Usaraxa Aibes, Orwetoveni and the centre of Otjiwarongo. While some residents regard this proximity as an advantage<sup>90</sup>, others fear conflicts because of the clash of the social groups<sup>91</sup>.

In the view of the residents the main problems in Otjiwarongo are the lack of jobs and shelter. Insufficient training and education opportunities are criticized as causes for this situation. As further ensuing problems were named: the abuse of alcohol, crime and a high number of teenage pregnancies. The residents of different residential areas varied in their perceptions of crime: While the inhabitants of the city centre and the higher income areas complained mainly about car theft, the youth in Orwetoveni and Usaraxa Aibes regard violence and duress as

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<sup>88</sup> ET OT 01, ET OT 02, ET OT 12

<sup>89</sup> B OT 03, B OT 08, B OT 11, B OT 12, B OT 13

<sup>90</sup> B OT 11, B OT 13, B OT 14

<sup>91</sup> B OT 09

main problems. The young people criticize also the lack of entertainment opportunities, the small range of goods available in Otjiwarongo and the insufficient health care<sup>92</sup>.

Decision-makers in Otjiwarongo are mainly concerned with the economic development of the city and its inhabitants. They, too, have basically a positive attitude towards the place. To summarize their perceptions it can be said that they regard the economic development in Otjiwarongo as positive, the population development, on the other hand, as negative. In the

<b>Otjiwarongo in the eyes of residents and decision-makers</b>
<p><u>Advantages</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Central situation in the country</li> <li>• Large catchment area</li> <li>• Low crime rate</li> <li>• Low wages</li> <li>• Familiarity with the people and the place (“home”)</li> <li>• No anonymity, assistance among the residents</li> <li>• Security because of the familiarity among the residents</li> <li>• Contacts between the different populations groups in the private as well as in the business sector</li> <li>• Employment opportunities</li> <li>• Low costs of living</li> <li>• Urban way of living (“little belief in witchcraft”)</li> <li>• Tranquillity</li> </ul>
<p><u>Problems</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High immigration rate</li> <li>• Open and hidden unemployment, in particular among school graduates</li> <li>• Low incomes (“creeping poverty”)</li> <li>• High indebtedness</li> <li>• Housing shortage</li> <li>• Lack of water</li> <li>• Misuse of alcohol. High rate of teenager pregnancies</li> <li>• Existence of crime (rape, car theft)</li> <li>• Bad relationship between residents and the police</li> <li>• Lack of entertainment opportunities</li> <li>• Lack of facilities for higher education and vocational training</li> <li>• Insufficient health care</li> <li>• Small range of goods in the shops</li> <li>• Unbalanced ratio of the employment in the public and the private sector</li> </ul>

*Tab. 8: Otjiwarongo in the eyes of residents and decision-makers*

<sup>92</sup> B OT 09, B OT 10, B OT 13, B OT 14

view of the actors the main advantages of the city are its location in the centre of the country and the comparative wealth of the farmers in the hinterland. Further qualities named were the co-operation between the municipality and the businessmen, the relatively low wages and the low land prices. The decision-makers regard above all the strong influx of migrants as a problem. It is expected that the municipality will not have enough financial means to continue with far-sighted developments such as Usaraxa Aibes. Yet, it is not only the municipality that lacks money, but the residents, too. The interviewees observe an increase in the indebtedness of the urban and rural population leading to a “creeping poverty”. The social consequences are a further problem. The decision-makers, did not only name crime, but corruption, too<sup>93</sup>.

#### **8.4 Development Factors and Tendencies**

##### 1. Otjiwarongo has profited from the political changes before and after independence

Otjiwarongo gradually grew, because it profited from its central situation between Windhoek and the north of the country. At the time of its foundation the city was located at the periphery of the territory colonized by Europeans. But with the advance of the settlers to the north (especially after the development of Tsumeb, Otavi and Grootfontein), it became an important centre for the exchange and distribution of goods and services. Furthermore the division of the Omaruru district contributed to its growth, because Otjiwarongo then became a regional centre of administration itself. With the implementation of the “Odendaal-plan” the city functioned as a transit centre between the national capital and the partly autonomous *homelands* in the north. With the abolishment of the *homeland* status this axis even gained in importance, while the south of the country lost in economic and political significance. Therefore Otjiwarongo shifted to the centre of the new independent country, although its geographical location is more to the north. Finally the improvements in transport contributed to the growth of Otjiwarongo. Because of its situation at a traffic junction it became the centre not only for a growing rural area but for the inhabitants of many smaller cities, too.

##### 2. Co-operation and diversification contribute to the positive economic development of Otjiwarongo

The municipality is striving for an investor-friendly atmosphere in Otjiwarongo. It is with this purpose that it promotes the co-operation of businessmen, politicians and planners. These efforts have already shown some positive results: the recent location of some businesses is

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<sup>93</sup> ET OT 01, ET OT 02, Et OT 05, ET OT 06, ET OT 08, ET OT 11

explained by municipal incentives such as low land prices and the supply of enough water even for manufacturing. Further initiatives such as the entering into city partnerships and the contacts with foreign embassies contribute to the positive image.

The local economy is guarded against large deviations by diversification. It is based on several pillars: First, the city functions as a rural service centre. Second, small manufactories and crafts as well as a few industrial plants (cement, medicine, food) contribute to the income of the city. Third, the large trade-and-service sector attracts customers not only from the rural hinterland, but of other urban centres, too. Fourth, the local and regional administration offers jobs and attracts clients. Finally, the municipality plans to expand the tourism sector. Thus, Otjiwarongo's economic strength is based on a broad range of economic activities in the city, something lacking in many other Namibian cities.

3. The former bipartition of the city is replaced by a tripartition. Inside the individual parts, however, heterogeneity increases.

Like most Namibian small and intermediate cities Otjiwarongo was not divided into three quarters during apartheid (for blacks, coloureds and whites). It consisted only of the white re-

#### **Statements**

*"At the moment Otjiwarongo is such a place in which everybody wants to invest. I don't know why. In Otjiwarongo in the last time buildings for 28 million Namibia Dollars have been built. And all of them make money. All of them say, it is going well and there is not even one who says it's going bad."* (ET OT 02)

*"Omaruru is like a village. The feeling of belonging to a village community is very strong. Otjiwarongo is at the border of being a city. I could not say I belong to an Otjiwarongo-community here."* (ET OT 06)

*"If the house is with four rooms, there is no sitting room, there is no kitchen, every one of these rooms is used for sleeping, the people are sleeping in all of these rooms. Five here, five here, five here, five here." - "Don't you regard it as a problem to live so dense in one house?" - "No, it is not, it is tradition."* (B OT 12)

*"Even if you are hungry, you go to some room and they will give you."* (B OT 13)

*"Otjiwarongo is very centrally located. It is a town with a great potential (...) and it is also surrounded by the farm sector. Otjiwarongo is a gateway, where all the traffic can go through. In the middle of various roads coming in. If you come to Otjiwarongo you have to decide which one you want to take. So it is very centrally located. Otjiwarongo is big."* (ET OT 02)

*"A small town which has development. I just don't know from how and from where. Well, the government invests some times here and one or another private, private sector, but how everything is related I don't know."* (ET OT 08)

sidential areas, which included the city centre, and Orwetoveni as the *township* for the non-white population. After independence, however, a new area was set apart, the informal settlement Usaraxa Aibes. Accordingly the spatial structure of Otjiwarongo now consists of three parts representing different socio-economic classes of the urban society. Nevertheless the population inside these areas is becoming more and more heterogeneous. This is caused by the general lack of housing in the city forcing some overcrowded households in Orwetoveni to move partly to the informal settlements. At the same time some smaller squatter areas have developed in Orwetoveni. The ethnic homogeneity also is losing in significance, since money became the main factor for the selection of a place of living now. Today higher income families of all ethnic groups live in the residential areas in the southern city. The ethnically heterogeneous development is especially supported by private investors who develop housing projects according to economic criteria only (e.g. in the former *buffer zone*).

Remarkable is, however, that in Otjiwarongo the city centre is gaining in significance without similar commercial developments in other parts of the city. Although the population growth is concentrated in Orwetoveni and Usaraxa-Aibes the main shopping centre is still in the old core of the city and even informal activities have shifted to this part, since a market project offered incentives to small traders. In the former *township* and the informal settlement only few shops exist and they offer, as usual, a small range of goods at relatively high prices. The existence of one commercial centre only causes high transport costs for the residents.

#### 4. In Otjiwarongo at present opposite developments are taking place at the same time: economic growth and the aggravation of the existing problems.

While the private sector is still booming in the city, the public funds have already been exploited. Although the municipality developed long-term plans for further developments there are not enough financial means for their realization any more. Therefore the local authorities cannot react to the continuous population growth and the corresponding problems of housing shortage, unemployment and poverty. At the same time typical urban problems such as crime, corruption and indebtedness of private households (which, anyway, could only be solved with complex concepts) assume alarming proportions. At the moment the municipality can only support the private sector. The policy of diversification is appropriate in this context, because it cannot be expected that the boom in the trading sector will last. The current competition will decrease as soon as the north-Namibian market is covered. When the “winners” are determined, other enterprises will close their recently opened branches in

Otjiwarongo. Thus, the success of the policy of broadening the range of economic activities might be decisive for the further development of the city.

## **9 Transformation Processes and Development Factors in Small and Intermediate Centres of the Farming Zone in Independent Namibia**

With independence Namibia became for the first time subject to the conditions of democracy and market economy. Two important changes for small and intermediate cities resulted from this development: First, the abolishment of the apartheid laws which had restricted the freedom of movement and the economic opportunities of the population. Second, the administrative reform of the cities and regions which defined the new responsibilities and tasks of local authorities. The resulting changes in population, politics, society and economy are taking place in very different paces and with different intensities. The rural-urban migration of inhabitants of the former *homelands* became soon the dominant process of the “post-apartheid era”. In contrast to this, the formation of a democratic society, the strengthening of the economy and the enhancement of social justice are advancing rather slowly. Namibia faces a twofold backlog: On the one hand, like all developing countries it has to struggle with its low economic standard by international comparison. On the other hand, it has to close the gap within the country between the majority of the population, which had been disadvantaged in many ways until independence, and the formerly ruling minority. Especially in the urban areas, where the various social and ethnic groups co-exist, the consequences of this unbalanced development are visible. Nevertheless in several fields of urban life some progress is noticeable and determines the social and spatial structure of small and intermediate urban centres. The dominant processes of transformation and the most important development factors are summarized in this chapter.

### **9.1 Inner Structure**

The spatial transformation of the urban areas is probably the most evident change since independence. It started already with the beginning of the abolishment of the apartheid laws in 1977 and is characterized by two contrary processes: the persistence of the functional and social separation on a large scale and, at the same time, the heterogeneous development on a small scale. On the large scale the former bipartition is replaced by a tripartition (fig. 10). In

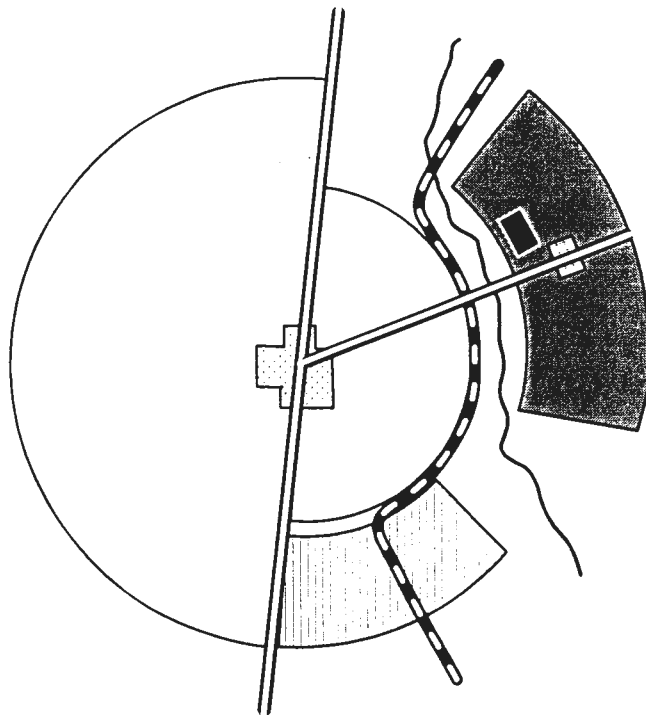
addition to the higher income (former white) areas and the less developed (former black) *townships*, a third part evolved as informal settlements. These *site-and-service-areas* (or squatter areas, respectively) accommodate not only migrants, but inhabitants of the overcrowded *townships*, too. They are usually located far away from the city centre, clearly marked off by an often undeveloped strip of land or a rivier (thus, a new *buffer zone*), which separates them from the other parts of the city.






There are also other spatial reflections of the growth and transformation of the intermediate cities. E.g., the development of a new intermediate residential category, which can be traced back to the emergence of a socio-economic middle class which did not exist before. These new middle income housing areas are constructed next to the *townships*, since their future inhabitants usually come from there. In general in the post-apartheid small and intermediate cities the social structure persists even with new housing projects (high-income residential areas are built next to each other and low-income areas are build next to the townships).

The functional structure, too, is still adhered to after independence. Shops are situated in the commercial centre, manufactories and workshops in the industrial areas and housing in the residential quarters. Mixed land use exists only, where it had already existed before independence. Although the majority of the population lives in the *townships*, even there no bigger shopping centres and therefore no real competition with the city centres have evolved. Solely the informal sector is growing here significantly and concentrates at some points. These "*cuca shop centres*" are one component of the heterogeneous development inside the large planned structure. Further indications of this process are the small units of squatters on some undeveloped plots and the gradually upgrading of houses. In originally homogenous areas residents expand and improve their houses according to the changes in their income situation. Thus, the planned uniformity of the *townships* is circumvented. Finally, the ethnic homogeneity of the high-income residential areas is broken up by the non-white population with access to high-income positions who move into these areas.

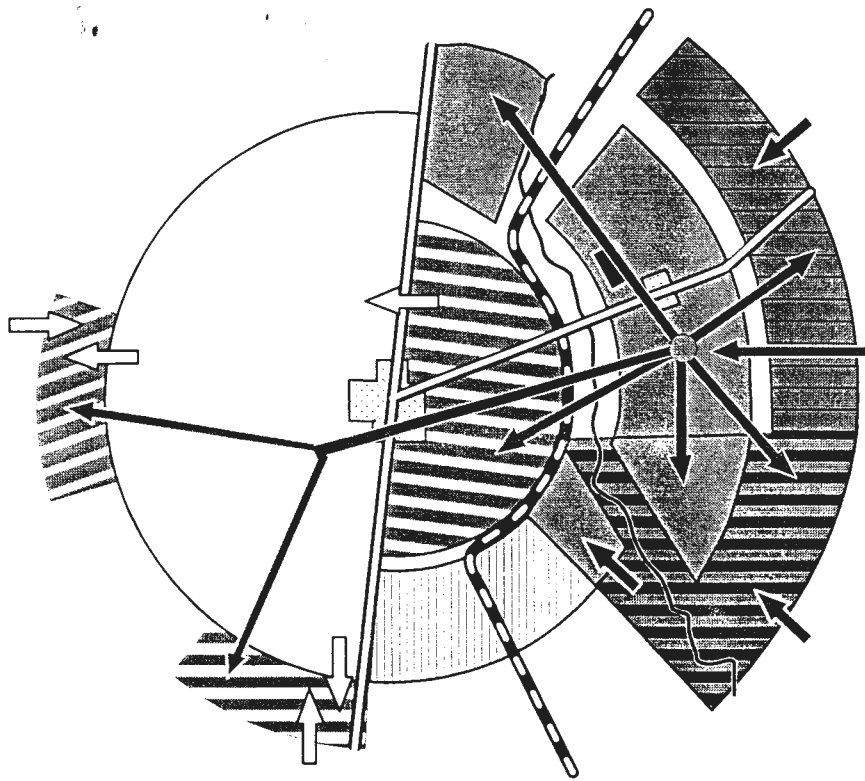
Two reasons can be given for the persistence of the structure on the large scale: First, planning in southern Africa is determined by the British planning principles, and the relating paradigm of the separation of functional spaces has not lost in significance in Namibia since independence. Second, the structures of the apartheid cities were created with huge expenditure and equivalent efforts would be necessary to abolish them. This would neither meet the demands of the people concerned nor be according to the financial means of the local authorities.








### Apartheid Model of Namibian Small and Intermediate Cities



-  Black residential area
-  White residential area
-  Mixed residential area
-  Commercial use (manufacturing, craft)
-  'Site-and-Service'

### Post-Apartheid Model of Namibian Small and Intermediate Cities



-  Squatter
-  'Single Quarters'
-  Commercial Center
-  'Site-and-Service'
-   Direction of migration
-  Rivier

A. Seckelmann

Fig. 10: Apartheid and Post-Apartheid model of Namibian small and intermediate cities. While urban settlements were characterized by a rather static spatial structure during apartheid, they are dominated today by the dynamic migration development. (apartheid model based on the "Model of the Apartheid City" of Davies 1981, see fig.16).



## 9.2 Perceptions

Regardless of the many existing problems the residents hold their particular urban centre in high esteem as their place of living, as their “home”. Considering the often harsh conditions of life in the small and intermediate cities this might surprise. Reasons for their being content with their place of residence are

- the high local identification which can be traced back to the familiarity with the place and the personal relations among the residents;
- the lack of comparisons (since many residents never lived in another city);
- doubts that the individual situation would be better in another city.

The principal reason for the positive evaluation of the local situation is the social network which is based on mutual assistance among the residents. When the individual resources are not sufficient to make a living the social networks guarantee a minimum provision. It does not only mean food or money but services, too (e.g., looking after children). A further reason for the high estimation of the small and intermediate centres is the combination of urban and rural features which characterizes the places. On the one hand, there are urban qualities such as jobs, shops and an urban life-style, on the other hand, the crime rate is comparatively low, it is quiet and life is not anonymous. The costs of living can be kept low engaging in small livestock breeding, gardening (mainly maize cultivation) and the gathering of wood. In addition particular location qualities such as the abundance of water and vegetation, a mild climate, deposits of raw material or a central situation contribute to the positive view of the cities.

Nevertheless many inhabitants suffer from the harsh conditions of life in the small and intermediate centres. In their view main problems are unemployment, the resulting poverty, indebtedness, and a housing shortage all aggravated by the irregular payments of pensions and salaries by the government. Furthermore the insufficient technical and social infrastructure is criticized. Finally, social problems resulting from these conditions add to the situation: an increase in crime, psychological problems (depression, abuse of alcohol and drugs) and social segregation.

Most residents do not feel the responsibility to change their living conditions. They expect an improvement of the situation from the local politicians, the government and private enterprises. Especially from the white population, which often functioned as the economic driving force before independence, a leading role is expected once more. Even participants of

self-help projects, who take over an active role in the development, still expect more assistance from the authorities.' Reasons for this passive attitude among the residents are:

- The fact, that the majority of the population was systematically denied all responsibility for their housing and working situation under the decades of apartheid. Therefore the “vendredisme-phenomenon”<sup>94</sup> could develop - a systematically created dependence which left several generations of black citizens with the feeling of inferiority and the loss of self-confidence. They take their dependence on local or national authorities and white entrepreneurs in a matter-of-fact way.
- The high expectations of the residents from the new political leadership. It was hoped that the SWAPO, which stood up for the rights of the black population majority during the struggle for independence and the following election campaign, would redistribute the resources. Neither the new local politicians nor the residents were, however, familiar with the complex democratic system in which a limited budget exists for each sector. Many electoral promises raised hopes among the electorate but could never be fulfilled. Many residents are still demanding the improvement of their conditions of living from the authorities.
- The insufficient education and training which is the reason why many people are not able to use the various support programs which are offered by the government as well as by NGOs. Therefore they are not able to found a self-supporting business.

Summarizing it can be said, that a strong positive attitude of the residents towards their places of living is accompanied by a mostly passive behaviour regarding their potential contribution to the improvement of their living conditions. It can be concluded that the dissatisfied and the active part of the population left the cities. Consequently, “brain drain” in the Namibian small and intermediate cities does not only mean the loss of the highly educated residents, but of the active people with initiative and commitment in general. The remaining population consists in large parts of pensioners and students.

The perception of the decision-makers is focusing more on the economic than on the living function of the small and intermediate urban centres. In their view the main advantages of the places are the low labour cost, the low land prices, the existence of a larger catchment area (including neighbouring communal lands) and the central situation between the capital, the

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<sup>94</sup> The conception of “vendredisme” was developed by Kabou (1995, 45) borrowing from Daniel Defoes “Robinson Crusoe”. In this novel a stranded European establishes a distinct hierarchical role model between himself and a native inhabitant of the island.

coast and the densely populated north of the country. They agree with the residents about the disadvantages such as the insufficient infrastructure, poverty and unemployment. Only local businessmen (who have grown up in the particular town) show a high local identification. Although they criticize the negative conditions they do not wish to move their house and business to another city. They expect, however, more support from public authorities, and want to see changes in the general economic conditions which would lead to a higher protection of local businesses from foreign investors. Thus, they address with their demands less the local than the national politicians.

Local politicians view the development chances of the small and intermediate centres not as pessimistically as the residents and the businessmen. They emphasize the various qualities of the places, but their political actions focus more on the location of new enterprises than on the support of the existing local businesses. The local representatives do not regard themselves as main actors in the economic development but demand more efforts from the private sector and the national authorities. It is obvious that the rejection of responsibility for the development of the small and intermediate cities is widespread on all levels concerned (fig. 11): The residents regard almost all public and private institutions as in charge of the improvement of the situation (public authorities, businessmen, foreign investors and NGOs). The local businessmen expect more support from the government. Local politicians demand that the private sector (foreign and local businessmen) creates employment opportunities and that the government creates the necessary corresponding legal and financial conditions. The government representatives, on the other hand, expect more efforts from the local authorities and the residents and hopes for economic initiatives from foreign enterprises or NGOs. The international organisations assume that the government offers favourable frame conditions (low land and labour cost, tax and tariff reductions etc.). Furthermore NGOs hope to cooperate with the local authorities and expect an initiative from the residents. As a result there are no authorities or institutions which feel responsible for the development in the smaller and intermediate urban centres and who could co-ordinate the various actors and demands.

### **9.3 Migration**

The migration pattern of the small and intermediate urban centres in Namibia is complex. On the one hand, there is a group of old-established residents who do not wish to leave their homes although the conditions of living are very hard. On the other hand, there is a group of young, very mobile households, who adapt their lives to the changing conditions by repeated

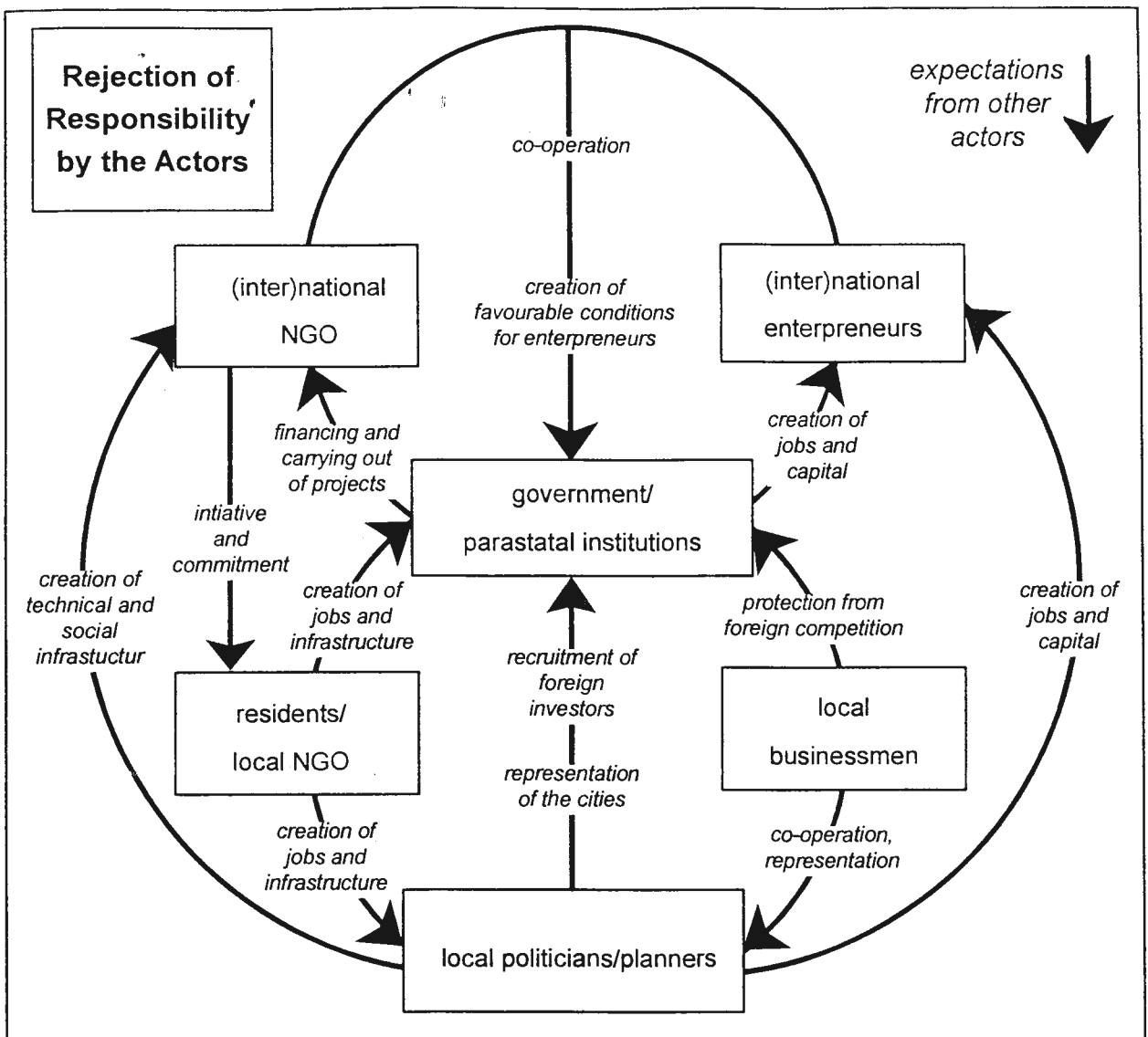


Fig. 11: The actors reject the responsibility for the economic and infrastructural development and expect the necessary measures from other people or institutions.

migration. As a consequence, all urban centres see immigration from and emigration to several parts of the country. Unlike those in the north of the country, which attract mainly people from the neighbouring rural areas, the cities in the farming zone accommodate migrants from farms as well as from the neighbouring communal areas, the northern regions (especially the Oshana and Ohangwena region) and from other cities in the farming zone. At the same time people leave the small and intermediate urban centres, if they find jobs on a farm or in another town. Thus, migrations patterns are multi-directional.

Reasons for migration are mainly jobs and education, but only the interplay of various factors leads to the final selection of a destination. Financial and social conditions are often decisive for the migration. Migrants who do not have a particular employment usually start their search

for a job in a place where relatives or friends of them are already living (who will care for them as long as they don't have their own income). The character of migration has changed in the course of time. In the older generation migration was usually exactly planned and was undertaken to enter a particular working contract. Apart from the jobs it was only close familiarly relations (marriage, parents-children) that could also cause migration. The same attitude still exists in this generation: Old people - at least in lower income groups - are usually less mobile than the younger ones. The young generation, on the contrary, does not wait with moving until they have the security of a certain employment. Younger migrants often move to a city hoping to find a job there later and they are flexible enough to move a few times if the situation is more promising in other cities.

#### **9.4 Social Developments**

The social transformation of small and intermediate urban centres in the farming zone is mainly caused by the changes in the quantitative and qualitative composition of the population. With the increase in the total number of inhabitants also the number of members of ethnic groups, who previously had no free access to the cities, increases. Although the population of cities in the farming zone has always been more heterogeneous than that of cities in the homeland, still the settlement of Africans was limited. Since independence their share of the total urban population grows much faster than that of the whites.

In the cities the awareness of belonging to a certain ethnic group is still strong. This leads to the formation of social and spatial separations, although the "racial segregation" has been abolished with the end of apartheid. This is the phenomenon of "subsequent urban subdivision" (Parnell 1995, 18), which means, that not only the residents form their city, but that the strongly divided apartheid cities also formed the perception of their residents. The resulting ethnic identification still influences the urban society. It becomes visible in various fields:

- Spatially: Not only does the large apartheid structure with ethnically separated living quarters in the *townships* still exist, but similar developments take place in the new informal settlements. While the persistence of the old structures can be explained with the low mobility of the inhabitants, the new ethnical blocks in the informal settlements show the will of the migrants to live in their own cultural environment.
- Economically: Members of a language group usually prefer "their" shops (if existent). This applies to the residents of European origin (Germans, Afrikaner, Britons) as well as

to the Africans. Furthermore the competition between businessmen of different language groups increases and more problems arise, if urban functions are dominated by one group, if, e.g., the local politicians who belong to another group than most of the businessmen or the members of the self-help projects. The resulting conflicts hinder a continuous development.

- Politically: The residents choose those politicians who belong to their own language group and they do not accept local politicians belonging to another group. Therefore co-operation between the elected representatives and minorities is often impossible on the local level.

Conflicts and the lack of co-operation are negative effects of the segregation, but there are advantages, too. The close relations among the members of each group function as a social network which guarantees all participants socio-economic security.

The social segregation persists parallel to the ethnic segregation. Ethnic and social groups are, however, less than before one and the same. Especially the abolishment of the restrictions in the labour market led to the emergence of new classes in the cities. While non-white residents were previously excluded from many income opportunities, they now occupy posts in the administration and in the private commercial sector which make a social advancement possible for them. As a consequence, those higher-income residential areas which were previously reserved for whites only accommodate more and more non-white residents today. Yet, in small urban centres a social improvement is impossible, since there are neither higher education opportunities nor high-income posts. If inhabitants of these settlements strive for a higher social status, they have to migrate.

Changes take place also in the low-income groups. Although *townships* and informal settlements are still inhabited by African population, the poverty among whites is growing. It is mainly farm households that are highly indebted. At the same time *affirmative action* causes unemployment even among the better educated young white people. This is not overt, however, since they often return to their parents place and assist them in the farm work, yet it contributes to the increase in hidden unemployment.

### **9.5 Dependence and Autonomy**

The "Local Authorities Act" determines the different degrees of autonomy of the Namibian cities. According to their status in the hierarchy they have a broader or smaller range of self-determination. So far the municipalities in the farming zone have used their resources mainly

for the improvement of the living conditions in the previously disadvantaged *townships* (infrastructure projects, land use planning). Yet their power of action is limited by their financial means and their restricted responsibilities. According to the LAA *towns and municipalities II* are politically and administratively mainly dependent on the national authorities. In reality, however, it is the economic dependence, which dominates the relationship between the two levels. This is reflected in the need for subsidies in some fields (e.g. housing) and in the dependence of the local trade on public salaries and pensions. The incomes of public servants often form the backbone of the local economy, and they are furthermore an important basis for informal services (e.g. in the field of housework). Like the pensions, however, they are not paid regularly, sometimes not at all. Thus, not only the public servants and pensioners suffer from these failures but their families and the local traders as well. In the small settlements the degree of dependence is even higher: The food provision of the population is mainly based on public allowances (pensions, drought relief) or private remittances (from family members living elsewhere). These settlements would not be able to survive without the public sector and continued external support.

Regarding administration the local authorities and politicians would like to have more autonomy in the fields of financing and housing. In the field of housing problems exist in the low-income sector. While the needs of the high- and middle-income groups are covered by the private sector, the MRLGH took over the responsibility for low-income housing. According to the local administration and politicians, however, the higher authorities are not able to meet the existing needs. The municipalities themselves would be in a much better position to assess the demand, to survey the construction process and to control the repayments.

## **9.6 Economic Change**

The local economies consist mainly of trade and services which are based on the agriculture in the hinterland as well as on the civil services in the urban areas. Consequently the cities are dependent on external factors and the removal of public offices or crises in the farming sector (e.g. caused by droughts) have already caused immense problems in the urban economy.

As explained above, today the dependence on public allowances and salaries is significant. This was not always the case. It was a gradual development with an onset already before independence, when the economic activities which had caused the foundation of the settlements (mining, farming) declined. It was at the same time that the mobility of the farmers grew and therefore the smaller settlements lost part of their clients. Yet, the most

significant factor was the rapid population growth beginning in 1977 with the first stage of the abolishment of the apartheid laws. The cities did not have enough economic potential to cover the needs of the rapidly growing population. The influx increased the labour force, but the productive enterprises did not grow correspondingly. Only the number of shops and public institution increased. With every school, hospital or administration office, which opened, the number of public servants in the cities grew and the clientele for trade broadened. Furthermore, with new migrants more and more pensions and external remittances came into the urban areas. Thus, retail is the only growth sector in the small and intermediate cities.

The retail sector, too, is subject to changes. While the shops were previously owned by locals, the number of foreign investors increases now. In the small centres the “foreign investors” are usually Namibians who do not live in these places themselves. The bigger centres (such as Otjiwarongo) become locations for more and more branches of South African department stores. Otjiwarongo became the point of contact of the migrants on their way from the north to the capital with the trade on its way from the south to the north. The city is regarded as first step for the distribution of goods in the north of the country. There is high competition especially in the clothing and furniture branches. Smaller local businesses have no chance to compete any more. The resulting advantage for the residents is that the range of products which are locally available broadens and the prices decrease. At the same the difference between these intermediate cities and the smaller centres deepens and even more people are attracted to the bigger places. As a negative consequence, the profit is no longer accumulated in the cities themselves but transferred to the main offices of the enterprises which are usually in Windhoek or South Africa.

### **9.7 Local Politics and Administration**

The most drastic changes in local politics were caused by the transition to democracy, the introduction of *affirmative action* and the administrative reform of cities and regions. The democratic elections and the policy of *affirmative action* led to an almost complete change in the positions of local councillors and the staff of the local administrations. With the replacement of the personnel new priorities were established in local politics which can be summarized as “closing the gap” between the formerly neglected *townships* and the favoured parts of the cities. Large infrastructural projects have been carried out which exhausted the financial means of the municipalities.



Consequently economic problems are now the focus of the attention of local politicians and planners. Main objective is the creation of jobs, and usually the location of manufactories is regarded as the most appropriate means to this end. Thus, it became the biggest challenge of the new municipalities to find investors. The main problem is the high competition, since the objectives of the small and intermediate urban cities are usually identical: to find foreign investor and to promote tourism. Both markets, however, are limited in Namibia and a city would need to promote itself in an offensive way in order to set itself off from the others. The local authorities are not aware of this situation and rely mostly on the services of national institutions such as the “Association of Local Authorities” or the “Investment Centre”. With such little initiative the small and intermediate urban centres will not only have problems to survive the national competition but also will not have any chance on the international market. In order to attract the kind of foreign investments the planners and politicians want, the Namibian cities would have to compete with the whole of Southern Africa, if not with all developing countries world-wide.

A further problem is the lack of co-operation between all actors. During apartheid the potential for conflicts was kept artificially low, since few interest groups could take part in the decisions. Now, under democratic conditions, the range of interest groups has become broader, but none of them is used to democratic procedures. Hence, besides the solution of the pressing economic and social problems, it is conflict management and co-operation that have become a new challenge for all parties concerned with the development of small and intermediate urban centres.

## **10 Potentialities and Problems of Small and Intermediate Urban Centres in the Process of Urbanization**

Urbanization has been the dominant development process of Namibia ever since independence. The existing problems of poverty, unemployment, housing shortage and insufficient infrastructure, however, show that the cities can not cope with the growing influx. The former government restricted rural-urban migration with an extensive system of control and administration to prevent this situation. In contrast to this, the new democratic nation accepts the right to freedom of movement. Urbanization is a process which takes place in all countries of the world and causes a reduction of the population pressure in rural areas.

Development should lead to equivalent living conditions in rural and urban areas and not favour the one above the other. The population should be able to decide according to their own needs where they want to live. The small and intermediate urban centres still need support to become the permanent places of living for their current population and future migrants. Development strategies should fight the causes of the existing problems in the cities. Three basic causes could be ascertained:

1. Unbalanced frame conditions:

- strong population growth,
- low educational level of the majority of the residents,
- lack of political experience of the new local councillors,
- insufficient autonomy in some fields of local administration (e.g. in the housing sector),
- agricultural decline of the hinterland,
- homogeneous local economies (mainly trade, little production and services),
- strong dependence on the public sector.

2. Attitudes and behaviour of the actors:

- rejection of responsibility by all actors,
- conflicts caused by ethnic (linguistical-cultural) differences,
- lack of the re-investment of capital because of loyalties towards the family.

3. Insufficient development strategies:

- focus on the infrastructural improvement of the previously neglected *townships* (“closing the gap”),
- one-sided promotion of foreign investments and tourism,
- lack of city marketing.

### **10.1 Unbalanced Frame Conditions**

The structural features of population growth and education cannot be changed in the short term. They will form the scope for the development of small and intermediate urban centres for at least one, probably more generations. They will add to the problems of poverty and unemployment, if there no successful multiplication of redistribution of the existing resources takes place. In comparison to the other countries of southern Africa Namibia has a very high annual per capita income with US\$ 1970, but its distribution is one of the most unbalanced in

the world<sup>95</sup>. Also in the intermediate centres of the farming zone exist very different income situations, but it is the small centres which are often some of the poorest communities in the whole country, since their inhabitants neither have the chance to gain a monetary income nor do they have enough land to engage in subsistence agriculture.

The current political, administrative and economic conditions, however, do not allow an increase or a redistribution of income. The economic potentials improve only in the bigger centres of the farming zone which become gradually less dependent on the commercial farming sector. The smaller centres lack the experienced, well trained staff and the capital which is necessary to react appropriately to the problems. With the aim to give them more freedom of action the Namibian government passed a decentralisation program, which enables the local authorities to levy local taxes and to adjust the extension of technical and social infrastructure and housing better to the needs of the residents. Yet, experiences in other former colonial countries have shown, that decentralisation efforts often fail, since national authorities tend to extend their spheres of influence rather than reduce them. Centrally trained staff usually has problems supporting the concept of decentralisation<sup>96</sup>. In this respect it could turn out to be an advantage that the new personnel, that took over the positions in politics and administration after independence, still needs to be trained. The “human capital” is one of the dominant development factors for the future development of small and intermediate urban centres. Not only technical knowledge is needed, but the ability to mediate between the different actors and interest groups.

## **10.2 Attitudes and Behaviour of the Actors**

The main obstacle for the development of the small and intermediate urban centres is the rejection of responsibility on all levels (see chapter 9.2). One reason for this, the systematically created dependence (“vendredisme phenomenon”), can only be overcome by an education which includes more than the teaching of knowledge. It should also encourage the people concerned to take responsibility as well as to show more initiative of their own. Part of this would be the information on support offered by the government for individual business activities. The unreasonable expectations which were evoked by election promises of the new government are a second reason for the passivity of the residents. If politicians are

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<sup>95</sup> Measured by the Gini-Coefficient, which describes the deviation of normal income distribution. According to the World Bank a factor above 0.55 is an indicator for a very unbalanced distribution. The Gini-Coefficient in Namibia is 0.7 (Hansohm et al. 1998, 1).

<sup>96</sup> Kevenhörster 1990

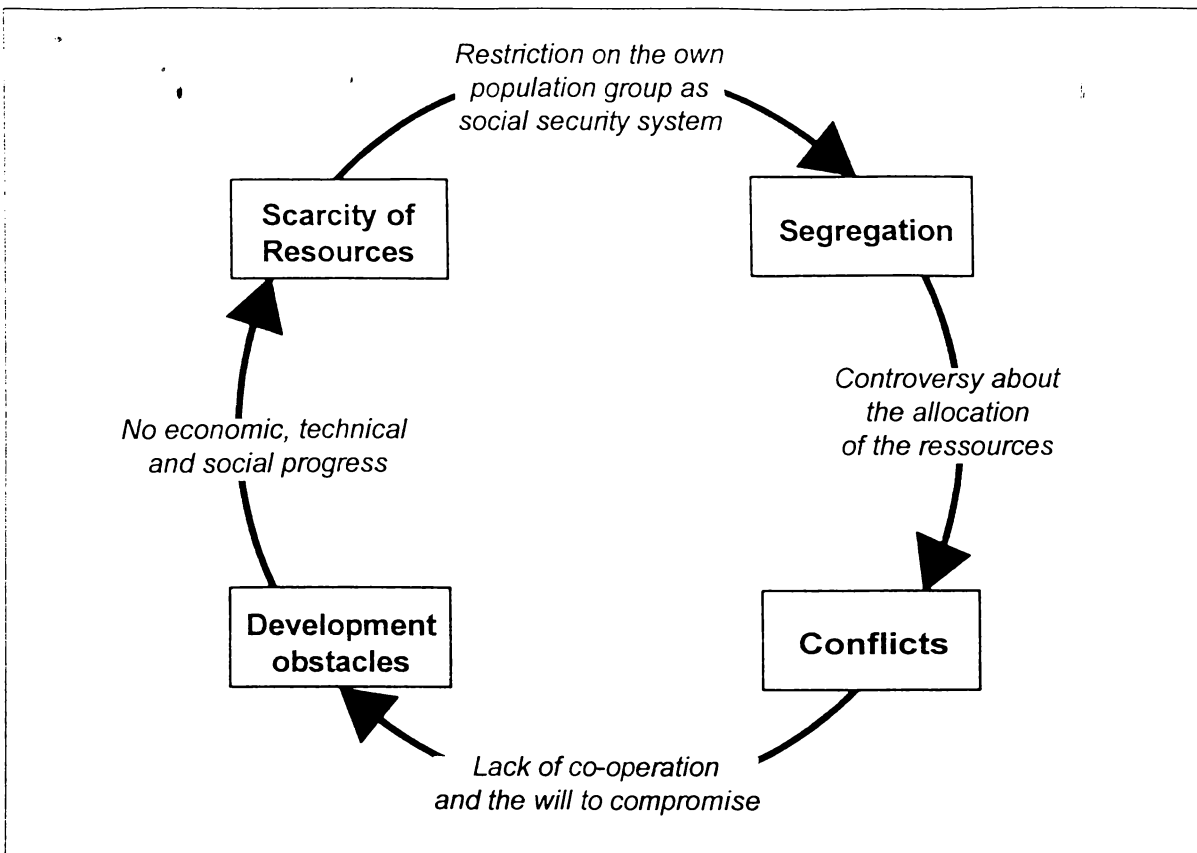
hoping for more commitment of the population they will have to make more realistic statements on their own possibilities and limits in the future. Just as the residents they need training not only in the implementation of particular projects, but also in planning and in how to detect and support the local potentialities. A further obstacles for the development on the local level are the still existing segregation tendencies, which contribute to the formation of interest groups and thus to the rise of conflicts. The division of the urban society is caused by differences in culture and language, but it is intensified further by two other processes: the “subsequent urban subdivision” (see chapter 9.4) on the one hand, and the scarcity of resources on the other hand. The (subjectively felt) necessity to rely on one’s “own” social group increases as soon as the basic provision is not guaranteed anymore. This leads to a vicious circle of segregation and development obstacles (fig. 12), which can only be broken by a considerable improvement in the living conditions and by educational work. Furthermore the mediation between the conflict groups ought to be promoted. This task rests with some key persons who are widely respected such as the traditional authorities or the *community development activators*. A closer co-operation between decision-makers and residents is desirable especially in the following fields:

- the organization of self-help projects,
- the planning and carrying out of infrastructural measures which need the acceptance of the population (such as the establishment of *site-and-service-areas* and the extension of water and electricity provision),
- the planning and carrying out of housing projects which need to be adjusted to the abilities and needs of the inhabitants.

The affiliation to a certain population group does not only have external effects (the intensification of segregation) but hampers development because of its internal effects on the members. Since the groups function as social security systems, each person contributes what is available to care for those who cannot provide for themselves. Therefore, no capital remains, which could be reinvested into income-generating activities and the general level of provision remains low. This cultural-economic phenomenon has been observed in many countries of Sub-Saharan Africa and it is assumed that it is the reason for the fact that 38 of the 50 poorest countries of the world are in this region<sup>97</sup>.

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<sup>97</sup> Weiss 1998



*Fig. 12: Vicious circle of segregation and development obstacles*

This self-restriction of economic growth can only be overcome, if other security systems are introduced for the unproductive members of a family, household or social group. The distribution of drought relief and pensions is a first step into this direction, but it turned out that even the recipients of these small amounts became donors themselves and shared their income with others.

### **10.3 Insufficient Development Objectives and Strategies**

During the first decade of independence the new local authorities focused their development efforts on “closing the gap” between the higher and lower infrastructural standards of the different urban quarters. The promotion of the local economy, however, was neglected, which resulted in the financial problems of the municipalities as well as of the individual households. While the local authorities spent the largest part of their means on technical measures, the national authorities focused on changing the political and legal conditions under which development takes place. The government follows the recommendations of the modernization theory and subordinates the national development to the free market while hoping for growth incentives from foreign investments. To attract more investors the

government initiated the establishment of *Export Processing Zones* (EPZ), which offer special conditions such as tax reductions, exemption from customs duty and limitations of the employee rights. For the small and intermediate urban centres of the farming zone, however, this program has had no significance so far. For the first time, since the introduction of the Odendaal-plan the frame conditions for development are the same for the whole country, which means that the cities of the farming zone are now in real competition with those of the former *homeland* concerning the allocation of public and private investments. Additionally, the already existing businesses are under pressure because of the influx of South African products and department stores. Especially with regard to the international competition the attempt of Namibian small and intermediate cities to attract investors is not promising. The whole of Sub-Saharan Africa is considered as one of the most expensive regions of production world-wide, although the labour cost are comparatively low<sup>98</sup>. The reason is the low level of productivity caused by the insufficient education. But even if foreign investors should choose Sub-Saharan Africa for their businesses, there are still other countries with much further developed investment programs than Namibia (e.g. Mauritius), more trained workers and specialists and with agglomeration advantages (South Africa) and more natural resources (especially water). Another problem is the insecure political future of Namibia's neighbour countries Angola and South Africa which are important for the regional distribution of goods produced in Namibia. In the international comparison the advantages of Namibia are the relatively well developed transport net and a stable political system<sup>99</sup>. The international reputation of the SWAPO leadership, however, which was very good at independence, has suffered since because of recent non-democratic tendencies and statements and thus reducing the location advantage.

Even if Namibia should attract foreign investments it is not very probable that the small and intermediate cities will profit. The bigger cities have much more favourable conditions for the industry because of their advantages of agglomeration, a better developed infrastructure and because they are situated either in the centre of the country (Windhoek) or next to the harbour (Walfish Bay and Swakopmund). Furthermore, in South Africa, where industrial deconcentration was realized under the apartheid regime, investigations proved that enterprises tend to give up their branches in small cities and move to the metropolises under

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<sup>98</sup> Kappel 1999

<sup>99</sup> UNIDO 1994

the conditions of a free market<sup>100</sup>. Small and intermediate urban centres have only few means to increase their attractiveness for investments (financial investments such as low land and labour cost, tax reductions), but these factors are of little significance for enterprises' final decision about their location. The importance of cost advantages have decreased for companies operating internationally. Instead, aspects of networking have grown in significance (concerning sub-suppliers, services etc.)<sup>101</sup>. Such a potential does not exist in the small and intermediate cities. Their situation offers an advantage only if investors wish to open up a regional market.

More important for the small and intermediate cities in Namibia are the local entrepreneurs who often have a personal relation to the place where their business is located. They wish to develop the towns which they regard as their home and therefore do not only decide according to rational aspects. Instead of obtaining support for their willingness to invest in the less developed areas they are forced into an international competition (of mainly South African businesses and products) they cannot cope with. Further important actors the local authorities have so far paid little attention to are the participants in the informal economy. In the small and intermediate cities they mainly focus on trade and services and partly on crafts. Productive activities are only carried out as part of the self-help projects. The problems which usually occur in the self-help projects have been discussed before, but their contribution to the improvement of the living conditions in the neglected urban areas should not be underestimated. The initiatives of small entrepreneurs could become a significant potential for the development of small and intermediate cities, if they were more strongly supported. The general advantage of the informal sector is that the production is not capital- but labour-intensive. Because of its low population figure Namibia is not suitable for a policy of import substitution, but the informal economy could cover large parts of the daily and periodic needs of the inhabitants of smaller urban areas. Furthermore the support of the informal economy would reflect a new view on the recent development in Namibia in so far as the population growth is regarded not as a burden but as the most important potentiality of the urban areas. Today even high-ranking representatives of the economy share this human-centred understanding of development: "Economic analysis of this population explosion may start from either of two vantage points. We may continue to look at it as a problem facing the first world economy of South Africa, i.e. as a drag on the economy's productive resources. Such a

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<sup>100</sup> Rogerson 1991

way of looking at the matter generates even more gloom. On the other hand, we may regard the rapid rate of third world population growth as the foundation of rapid economic growth, first among the people themselves, and then also among everyone else economically associated with them” (J.A. Lombard, Deputy Governor, SA Reserve Bank, quoted according to Rudman 1988).

Another problematic aspect of the development strategies of the local authorities is their focus on the productive sector. It would be more important for a stable development to diversify the economy. The only other sector, which the municipalities really support, is tourism. Tourism is regarded as one of the fastest growing branches in Namibia. In 1991 its share of GDP was 6,23% and it offered 10,000 full-time employments<sup>102</sup>. For the 90s the creation of another 5,000 jobs was expected<sup>103</sup>. Still, scepticism is recommended since the travel business has strong international competition and destinations are subject to trends in fashion, politics etc. In Namibia the effects of tourism are regionally different. The largest profit is achieved at the most famous touristic highlights (Fishriver Canyon, Etosha National Park, Sossusvlei) whereas for the cities in the farming zone it is hunting tourism which is more significant. This branch has increased immensely from the beginning of the political transformation until now (between 1977 and 1990 the number of hunting-farms grew from 94 to 302<sup>104</sup>) and it forms a labour-intensive type of tourism. Per bed 0,95 employees are needed<sup>105</sup>. The problem is, however, the seasonal limitation of hunting tourism which only takes place during the winter months. Tourism has few direct effects on the urban areas, because usually the tourists book full board. Only service stations, coffee shops and souvenir shops profit directly from the visitors. Guest farmers often prefer to buy their stocks in the bigger centres, especially in Windhoek, since the range of goods is broader and the prices are lower there. To take part in this business the shop owners of the small and intermediate cities would need to offer special conditions with enlarged possibilities of ordering and delivering. A regional differentiated marketing would be necessary in order to profit furthermore from tourism. In order to stand out from the rest of the country central Namibia could advertise more its abundance of

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<sup>101</sup> Nuhn 1997

<sup>102</sup> Speich 1994

<sup>103</sup> Lamping 1994

<sup>104</sup> Klimm, Schneider & von Hatten 1994

<sup>105</sup> In the Namibian hotel branch it is calculated with 0,43 employee per bed, in private and public restcamps with 0,33 and in municipal restcamps with 0,05 (Lamping 1996).



wildlife, colonial buildings and trekking possibilities (in the neighbouring communal lands) to reach a target group different from the average visitors.

The significance of the primary sector is decreasing for the small and intermediate urban centres of the farming zone. During the 90s some mines were closed or at least had to cut down their production (e.g. Uis and Tsumeb) and the cities' traditional service function for a farming hinterland does not have potential for growth. Droughts caused decreases in profit, and the consolidation of farms and the introduction of new agricultural methods ("beplanning") led to a reduction of jobs (which was partly compensated by the change to guest farming). In central Namibia the urban areas are usually not even places in which agricultural products are processed, since the main product, meat, is marketed centrally by a few large companies. Milk production and cultivation is of too little importance within the whole economy to be of significance for the small and intermediate cities. If the agro-industry should be extended in the future, the plants would probably not be located in central Namibia but in the north of the country (e.g. in the Okavango- and Caprivi-region) where the potential for cultivation is much higher. With the abolishment of the apartheid laws and the Odendaal-plan the farming zone lost its privilege of being the only location for industry.

A sometimes mentioned means to strengthen the agricultural basis is the transformation of the rural structure and the land ownership situation<sup>106</sup>. In Namibia, however, the redistribution among small holders is not appropriate since the climatic conditions demand large properties. In the hinterland of the three urban areas presented here 10 ha of pasture for one cattle are necessary, which means a farm has to have a minimal size of 5,000 ha to be profitable<sup>107</sup>. The division of the farmland would cause overgrazing.

In view of the spread of South African franchising businesses, trade has become less a source of income for the small and intermediate cities than a means to withdraw capital from them. In this regard the urban areas are functioning less as development centres than as places for the exploitation of the hinterland<sup>108</sup>. At the moment trade profits mainly from public salaries and pensions. Yet, the new Namibian government plans to reduce the public service sector, which consumes almost 50% of the national budget. Basically, this reduction is sensible, since the establishment of the *homelands* had caused an inflated administration system which is not necessary anymore. Nevertheless, the retrenchment is a serious threat to the small and

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<sup>106</sup> Hardoy & Satterthwaite 1986

<sup>107</sup> Klimm, Schneider und von Hatten. 1994

<sup>108</sup> Southall 1988

intermediate urban centres, since the incomes from the public sector form the basis for many private households, the local retail and the informal sector. Additionally, public institutions would be weakened in their function. Especially in the education and health sector there is already a lack of personnel, thus reducing the quality of the services. Therefore, a retrenchment in the public sector can only be carried out in selected fields, but not in those sectors, which belong to the four main development priorities of the country (education, health, rural development, housing<sup>109</sup>). At the same time other labour-intensive sectors should be supported to compensate for the reduction of jobs in the smaller cities.

#### **10.4 New Objectives: Economic Diversification, Expansion of Co-operation, Sectoral Integration**

Because of their rapid population growth the small and intermediate urban centres of the farming zone have meanwhile become more than mere service centres for a rural hinterland. Therefore they have to end their exclusive orientation on trade and public institutions. Since all other potential economic activities carry risks, the diversification of the local economy is the most secure strategy. The current objective of the municipalities to attract foreign capital and tourists can contribute to this diversification, but its benefit should not be overestimated. The most reliable investors for the small cities are the local businessmen. They need support for their long-term planning. The government, however, laid down the equal treatment of local and foreign investors in the “Foreign Investment Act” of 1990<sup>110</sup>. Consequently, South African and other internationally operating companies can eliminate the Namibian competitors with their low prices. For the national level it is of lesser importance whether an enterprise is local or foreign (apart from the withdrawal of profits), as long as it creates employment opportunities and pays taxes. For the small and intermediate towns of the farming zone, though, the replacement of local businesses by supraregional firms means serious losses, since foreign investors prefer to settle in bigger cities. Because of this the absolute market orientation of the Namibian government means a preference of the bigger over the smaller centres.

From the point of view of the municipalities it would thus be sensible to demand a stronger protection of the local businesses. This would, however, mean a complete change in the existing constellations of interest. Since independence the strategies of the municipalities (at

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<sup>109</sup> Republic of Namibia 1991

<sup>110</sup> Part I, §3 (2)

least the SWAPO dominated municipalities) have followed the national policy, which intends to open the whole country for foreign investors. Co-operation with the local businessmen was rare, because of political and ethnic conflicts. Yet, it is exactly this co-operation that would be important for the development of the small and intermediate centres.

Among local businessmen attention not only should be paid to the entrepreneurs of the formal sector, but to those of the informal sector, too. Although the latter do not pay taxes (which would add to the municipal income) they contribute substantially to the local development. Creating an income for individual households they reduce the need for migration. Especially with less short-term migration, the social stability of the urban society increases. Furthermore the municipalities are in a better position to plan according to the needs of the inhabitants. Currently the local authorities have the problem of having to provide services for a rapidly growing and continuously changing population on a short term basis, while having to develop plans for a social and economic stabilization in the long term.

In order to achieve sustainable development the local authorities will have to change their planning strategies. At the moment plans are usually made for each sector separately (infrastructure, housing etc.) without paying sufficient attention to the interrelations between them. An integrated planning approach would be much more suitable to solve the existing complex problems. Not only the different sectors should be integrated, but the actors, too. The vertical co-operation should include all levels concerned, from the residents up to the national government, and the horizontal co-operation needs to comprise the various interest groups such as politicians, local businessmen of the formal and informal sector, foreign investors, self-help projects, public authorities, representatives of NGOs and public institutions as well as traditional leaders. In such an integrated approach the municipalities would still have a key function as the institution that brings together the different participants and co-ordinates the activities. The concept of diversification would allow the integration of various interests and therefore the aim could be to develop a strategy which can be supported by all parties concerned to minimize conflicts and enhance the effectiveness of all efforts. Elements of such a strategy would be the support of self-help projects and the informal sector, the strengthening of the position of local businessmen on the free market, regional marketing and the co-operation with guest farms. Furthermore, training and education should be improved and extended even in the small places with the objective of not only improving the knowledge, but of encouraging the residents to assume more responsibility to change their own situation and to show more initiative and commitment.

Stronger efforts to promote the small and intermediate centres of the farming zone seem to be worthwhile, because the residents have developed a strong local identification and do not wish to change their place of living. Windhoek is not the most favoured destination of all migrants, but a large part of the population prefers to live in smaller centres. An integrated development approach would not only make it possible for these people to live in adequate living conditions but also prevent a further increase of the migration to the bigger centres.

## 11 Summary

The aim of the investigation presented here is to analyse the factors and processes influencing the development of small and intermediate urban centres in Namibia's farming zone, and to point out trends in the transformation of these settlements after the political changes in southern Africa. These problems were dealt with on two levels: On the national level the influence of the changing economic, administrative and legal framework on Namibian intermediate towns was analysed, and on the local level an empirical study was performed in three settlements in the farming zone.

In the scope of this actor-orientated study the perspectives of the inhabitants and the decision makers involved in the development and transformation of the towns were ascertained and compared with each other as well as with an external perspective (participant observation, frame data). To these ends methods of qualitative social research were used: Following an open research approach the individual perceptions were established and interpreted, which lead to the ascertainment of the social and political factors determining the development of the settlements. The subsequent classification of these results into the context of regional and national socio-economic and political processes allowed conclusions about future developments of small and intermediate centres. These were based primarily on the potentials and problems of the settlements with respect to urbanization.

The development of Namibia in general and the development of intermediate towns in particular is determined by the democratization and the economic liberalization since the coming into force in 1990 of the new constitution. The starting condition in the towns in the farming zone, however, differs considerably from the situation in the former homelands. The local administrations in the farming zone, which acted already for some time rather independently, have more capital and better trained and experienced staff. Hence the 'Local Authorities Act' of 1992 granted them more autonomy than it granted the towns in the homelands. The

decentralization programme in Namibia, too, is realized according to the grading of the towns with respect to their financial and personnel capacities. This maintains the unbalanced status quo of towns with stronger autonomy in southern and central Namibia and of less independent communities in northern Namibia. Countering this administrative unbalance are the economic developments: Enterprises operating on national level aim their activities increasingly at the former 'homelands' (Oshakati, Rundu, Katima Mulilo) and only at a few centres in the farming zone (Otjiwarongo, Grootfontein, Keetmanshoop). Hence the smaller towns in the farming zone must be regarded as the losers of the market liberalization. With the abolition of Apartheid laws they lost their privileges as locations for enterprises and cannot cope with the new pressure of competition. The towns in the former 'homelands' offer larger populations (and thus more promising markets for trade), as well as a more suitable natural environment, especially more water. On the other hand a still existing advantage of the farming zone is the more developed technical and social infrastructure.

The deregulation has even spatial effects on the towns of the farming zone: As long as they exist they have had an ethnically heterogeneous population and under the South African administration were consequently developed as typical 'apartheid towns'. A basic reformation of the ensuing structures of ethnical and functional segregation did not occur, but nevertheless changes are visible. The previous bipartition into a city centre with adjacent white residential areas and a black *township* is increasingly replaced by a tripartition in which informal settlements form a third area which is clearly separated from the other parts of the town. The development within the individual town districts, however, is heterogeneous. The most decisive process since becoming independent is the rural exodus which strongly increases the town population and aggravates poverty, unemployment and housing problems.

The people affected by these developments in the small and medium towns react inconsistently. In spite of all difficulties the residents identify themselves strongly with their home towns. They prefer living there over staying in bigger towns. Nevertheless their engagement within the settlement is generally poor. By and large they expect an improvement in their circumstances by institutions higher up. This attitude can be traced back on the one hand to the apartheid regime, which for decades systematically deprived the majority of the population of every responsible action with regard to labour or housing, and on the other hand to political statements by the new government, the promises of which made in the election campaigns raised unrealistic expectations.

This rejection of responsibility for maintaining and strengthening intermediate towns persists at all levels. Local politicians and planners have concentrated so far on developing neglected districts without trying to strengthen the economic basis of the cities. In their view, this is a task of the private sector. In particular they hope for investments by foreign enterprises and for growing tourism. They expect regional and national institutions to create corresponding contacts and suitable framework conditions. These, however, restrict themselves to investment incentives for Namibia in general without special inducements for the small towns. Most active are local businessmen, but they complain about lack of support by the public sector. They feel that without such help they cannot cope with the competition of foreign enterprises, in particular not with the low prices of products from South Africa. But not only the passivity of the affected people, but also ethnic and social conflicts produce obstacles for development. To penetrate the vicious circle of scarcity of resources, segregation, conflicts and development impediments not only education is needed, but also the co-operation of mediators (e.g. traditional authorities).

The chances for the economic development of Namibian towns lie in the diversification of their activities. The most reliable partners for the urban centres are the local entrepreneurs whose choice of location does not only follow strictly economic criteria, but who are also personally interested in a positive development of "their" town. Also, the co-operation with guest-farms can contribute to the strengthening of the economic situation. The strategy preferred up to now by the new town councils (to promote foreign investment) may lead to a few successes, but only under the precondition of an aggressive communal and regional marketing which sets off these towns from other places in Namibia, if not even from other countries. Thus far the most remarkable changes do not stem from grand projects but from the initiatives taken by individuals. They form cornerstones of the future development and should be supported in formal and in the informal sector alike.

This study has shown that the intermediate cities are for the majority of their inhabitants in spite of all difficulties the most favoured space to live in. Hence it seems to be appropriate to further and strengthen these centres. Their development needs to be promoted on all levels of administration (local, regional, national). Through the co-operation of all those involved and through the development of integrated concepts the quality of life can be improved and thus, last but not least, a further concentration of migration to the large centres of the country can be prevented.

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## 12:2 Interviews

*Code            Institution or Enterprise/  
Function of Representative*

*Code            Institution or Enterprise/  
Function of Representative*

### 12.2.1 National Level

**Nat 01**        Bank

**Nat 06**        Ministry of Regional and Local  
Government and Housing: Directorate  
of Regional and Local Governemnt Co-  
ordination

**Nat 02**        Bank

**Nat 07**        Association of Local Authorities

**Nat 03**        Department store

**Nat 08**        Consulting

**Nat 04**        Clothing store

**Nat 09**        Furnishing house

**Nat 05**        Department store

### 12.2.2 Kalkfeld

**ET K 01,**     Shop owner (Kalkfeld)  
**ET K 02**

**ET K 14**     Clerk (Telekom)

**ET K 03**     Shop owner (Kalkfeld)

**ET K 15**     Clerk (Local authority)

**ET K 04**     Shop owner (Cuca Shop)

**ET K 16**     Village secretary

**ET K 05**     Shop assistant (Kalkfeld)

**ET K 17**     ‘Community Development Activator’

**ET K 06**     Shop owner (Kalkfeld)

**ET K 18**     Police officer

**ET K 07**

**ET K 08**     Shop owner (Cuca Shop)

**ET K 19**     Regional authority

**ET K 09**     Shop owner (Ondundu Yovitenda)

**ET K 20**     Regional Health Office

**ET K 10**     School principal

**ET K 21**     Local Herero chief

**ET K 11**     School principal

**ET K 22**     Pastor of a pentecostal parish

**ET K 12**     Kindergarten teacher

**ET K 23**     German entrepreneur

**ET K 13**     Clerk (post office)

**B K 01,**  
**B K 02**        Former residents

**ET K 14**     Clerk (Telekom)

**B K 03**        Farmer

**ET K 15**     Clerk (Local authority)

**B K 04,**  
**B K 05, etc.**   Residents

### 12.2.3 Omaruru

<b>ET OM 01</b>	Town councillor	<b>ET OM 11</b>	Shop owner
<b>ET OM 02</b>	Regional councillor	<b>ET OM 12</b>	Shop owner
<b>ET OM 03</b>	Mayor	<b>ET OM 13,</b> <b>ET OM 14</b>	Street traders
<b>ET OM 04</b>	Town Clerk	<b>ET OM 15</b>	Rössing Foundation
<b>ET OM 05</b>	Community Development Acitvator	<b>ET OM 16</b>	Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran parish in (ELCRN) Ozondje
<b>ET OM 06</b>	Police officer	<b>ET OM 17</b>	Former pastor of the German Evangelical Lutheran parish (DELK) Omaruru
<b>ET OM 07</b>	Chief of the Royal House Zeraua	<b>B OM 01 -</b> <b>B OM 09</b>	German pensioners
<b>ET OM 08,</b> <b>ET OM 09</b>	Entrepreneurs	<b>B OM 10</b>	Farmer
<b>ET OM 10</b>	Shop owner	<b>B OM 11,</b> <b>B OM 12,</b> <b>etc..</b>	Residents

### 12.2.4 Otjiwarongo

<b>ET OT 01</b>	Municipality, Division Orwetoveni	<b>ET OT 09</b>	Shop owner
<b>ET OT 02</b>	Municipality, Division for Public Relations	<b>ET OT 10</b>	Crocodile ranch
<b>ET OT 03</b>	Ministry of Labour, Regional Branch	<b>ET OT 11</b>	Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry
<b>ET OT 04</b>	Community Development Activator	<b>ET OT 12,</b> <b>ET OT 13</b>	Consulting
<b>ET OT 05</b>	Clay House Project	<b>B OT 1</b>	Resident and former farmer
<b>ET OT 06</b>	Pastor of the German Evangelical Lutheran parish (DELK) Otjiwarongo	<b>B OT 2 - 6</b>	Participants in the Ekondjo Sewing Project
<b>ET OT 07</b>	Hotel manager	<b>B OT 7,</b> <b>B OT 8,</b> <b>etc.</b>	Residents
<b>ET OT 08</b>	Clerk (Tourist information)		

# NEPRU Publications

Updated: 10 September 2001

Publication ID	Title	Authors	No. of Pages	Year Published	Cost	VAT Amount	Total Amount
<b>BOOKS</b>							
NB1	<i>Monetary independence for Namibia</i>	Charles Harvey & Jan Isaksen (eds)	122	1990	N\$25.00	N\$3.75	N\$28.75
NB2	<i>Aid, donors and development management</i>	Stephen Lister (ed.)	184	1991	N\$25.00	N\$3.75	N\$28.75
NB3	<i>National Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question, Windhoek, 25 June - 01 July 1991. Vo. 1, Research papers, addresses and consensus document</i>	Republic of Namibia - OUT OF PRINT	614	1992	N\$60.00	N\$9.00	N\$69.00
NB4	<i>Macroeconomic modelling in Southern Africa: a comparative perspective - ISBN 99916-38-03-2</i>	Simon Stone (ed.)	92	1992	N\$0.00	N\$0.00	N\$0.00
NB5	<i>Coping with Aridity. Drought impacts and preparedness in Namibia - experiences from 1992/93 - ISBN 99916-38-02-4 - OUT OF PRINT</i>	Richard Moorsom with Jutta Franz & Moono Mupotola	251	1995	N\$50.00	N\$7.50	N\$57.50
NB6	<i>In Search of Research -OUT OF PRINT</i>	CMI/NEPRU/SSD	173	1998	N\$45.00	N\$6.75	N\$51.75
NB7	<i>Namibia - A decade of Independence 1990-2000</i>	Henning Melber, Hopolang Phororo, Bruno Venditto, Dirk Hansohm, Peter Manning, Klaus Schade, Wolfgang Werner, Thomas Hastings	211	2000	N\$50.00	N\$7.50	N\$57.50
NB8	<i>NEPRU - The first 10 Years 1990-2000</i>	Henning Melber, Dirk Hansohm, Wolfgang Werner	60	2000	N\$30.00	N\$4.50	N\$34.50
<b>NAMIBIA ECONOMIC REVIEW &amp; PROSPECTS</b>							
NERP1	<i>Overview of the Namibian Economy</i>	Dirk Hansohm Moono Mupotola and Daniel Motinga	10	1998	N\$25.00	N\$3.75	N\$28.75
NERP2	<i>Namibia Economic Review and Prospects 1997/1998</i>	Dirk Hansohm & Klaus Schade	50	1998	N\$45.00	N\$6.75	N\$51.75
NERP3	<i>Namibia Economic Review &amp; Prospects 1998/1999</i>	Klaus Schade, Dirk Hansohm, Namene Kallii, Angeline Simana, Rowlan Simpson, Wolfgang Werner	49	1999	N\$95.00	N\$14.25	N\$109.25

Publication ID	Title	Authors	No. of Pages	Year Published	Cost	VAT Amount	Total Amount
NERP4	Namibia Economic Review & Prospects 1999/2000	Klaus Schade, Calicious Tutalife, Nino Frodema, Wolfgang Werner, Dirk Hansohm, Bruno Venditto, Johannes Ashipala, Hopolang Phororo, Ebson Uanguta, Hoster Bebi, Panduleni Elago, Erwin Naimhwaka	51	2000	N\$95.00	N\$14.25	N\$109.25
<b>NAMIBIA BUSINESS CLIMATE SURVEY ISSN 1680-6603</b>							
NBCS1	Namibia Business Climate Survey	Johan Dahl, Antoni Masarakufa, Maano Nepembe, Calicious Tutalife, Grace Mohamed, Laurence Mutjavikua (NCCI)	20	2001	N\$60.00	N\$9.00	N\$69.00
<b>RESEARCH REPORTS ISSN-1026-9231</b>							
NRR1	Namibia and the Southern African Customs Union	Jan Isaksen	18	1992	N\$14.00	N\$2.10	N\$16.10
NRR2	Rural development priorities in northern Namibia	Peter Oates & Piers Vigne	50	1992	N\$25.00	N\$3.75	N\$28.75
NRR3	Agricultural research, extension and training services in Namibia	Erastus Auino, Kahijoro Kahuure, Enny Namalambo & Piers Vigne	130	1992	N\$53.00	N\$7.95	N\$60.95
NRR4	The European Community and Namibia: a user's guide to the Lomé Convention and the development resources of the EC annual budget	Paul Goodison	63	1992	N\$29.00	N\$4.35	N\$33.35
NRR5	Namibian agriculture: policies and prospects	Walter Eikan, Peter Amutenya, Jochbeth Andima, Robin Sherbourne & Eline van der Linden	46	1992	N\$24.00	N\$3.60	N\$27.60
NRR6	Namibia's tax system	Eline van der Linden	87	1993	N\$38.00	N\$5.70	N\$43.70
NRR7	Perspectives on the development of a statistical system for Namibia	Helge Brunborg, Lasse Röberg & Liv Simpson	147	1992	N\$59.00	N\$8.85	N\$67.85
NRR8	Export processing zones and their relevance to Namibia	Robin Sherbourne	27	1993	N\$17.00	N\$2.55	N\$19.55
NRR9	Disability and rehabilitation in Namibia: a national survey	Barbro-Isabel Bruhns, Andrew Murray, Tjiuai Kanguuehi & Tangeni Nuukuawo	170	1995	N\$67.00	N\$10.05	N\$77.05
NRR10	Namibia: National report on women, agriculture and rural development for the Fourth World Conference on Women	LoriAnn Girvan	73	1995	N\$33.00	N\$4.95	N\$37.95
NRR11	Financing the Namibian vocational training system	Jutta Franz	95	1995	N\$41.00	N\$6.15	N\$47.15
NRR12	Media training in Namibia	Anna Erastus-Sacharia & Jutta Franz	152	1995	N\$61.00	N\$9.15	N\$70.15
NRR13	An Assessment of Training Needs in Omaheke	Anne-Marie Brits, Jutta Franz & Ebson Uanguta	135	1996	N\$54.00	N\$8.10	N\$62.10
NRR14	Review of Public Enterprises and Parastatal Bodies in Namibia	Aisha Abdel Rahim	93	1996	N\$40.00	N\$6.00	N\$46.00
NRR15	Community financing of rural water supply	Cathy Presland, Mary Hansen & Fred Greiner	81	1997	N\$36.00	N\$5.40	N\$41.40

Publication ID	Title	Authors	No. of Pages	Year Published	Cost	VAT Amount	Total Amount
NRR16	Monetary Options for Namibia	Brian Kahn, Daniel Motinga, Anne-Marie Brits, Moono Mupotola-Sibongo	109	1998	N\$45.00	N\$6.75	N\$51.75.
NRR17	Small enterprise support institutions in Namibia	Anna Erastus-Sacharia, Dirk Hansohm, Gerson Kadhikwa	80	1999	N\$43.00	N\$6.45	N\$49.45
NRR18	Policy, poverty and inequality in Namibia. The cases of trade policy and land policy	Dirk Hansohm, Daniel Motinga, Klaus Schade, Wolfgang Werner, Arne Wiig	98	1999	N\$51.00	N\$7.65	N\$58.65
NRR19	A survey of subsistence farmers in the Ohangwena region	Klaus Schade, Namene Kailii, Rowlan Simpson	68	2000	N\$37.00	N\$5.55	N\$42.55
NRR20	Cattle Marketing In Northern Namibia: A Commodity Chain Approach	Laurent Liagre, Anna Erastus-Sacharia, Hoster Bebi, Wolfgang Werner	134	2000	N\$60.00	N\$9.00	N\$69.00
NRR21	The Distributive Aspects of Namibia's Fisheries Policy	Peter Manning	81	2000	N\$43.00	N\$6.45	N\$49.45
NRR22	Value Added Tax (VAT) in SADC: Potential Impact Case Studies of Namibia & South Africa	Hoster Bebi	51	2001	N\$30.00	N\$4.50	N\$34.50
NRR23	Elements of a medium-term research programme on poverty, livelihood and employment	Dirk Hansohm, Daniel Motinga, Wolfgang Werner	54	2001	N\$32.00	N\$4.80	N\$36.80
<b>WORKING PAPERS</b>							
<b>ISSN-1026-9258</b>							
NWP1	Review of four UNDP base studies on Namibia	Jochbeth Andima	19	1992	N\$14.00	N\$2.10	N\$16.10
NWP2	Expenditure Data and Analysis on the Central Revenue Fund and the Second-Tier Authorities	Nama Goabab	80	1994	N\$35.00	N\$5.25	N\$40.25
NWP3	Review of FNDC projects in the Caprivi area	Jan Hoffman	13	1992	N\$12.00	N\$1.80	N\$13.80
NWP4	The integration of women into the rural development process	Jochbeth Andima	32	1992	N\$19.00	N\$2.85	N\$21.85
NWP5	Comments on papers prepared for the Donor Pledging Conference, June 1990	Jan Isaksen	20	1992	N\$14.00	N\$2.10	N\$16.10
NWP6	Budgets and plans: possible lessons from Botswana	Stephen Lister	6	1992	N\$10.00	N\$1.50	N\$11.50
NWP7	Notes on aid management, agriculture and rural development	Stephen Lister	16	1992	N\$13.00	N\$1.95	N\$14.95
NWP8	Namibia's external trade development prospects	Paulo Shipoke	29	1992	N\$18.00	N\$2.70	N\$20.70
NWP9	Notes on the present status of the rock lobster industry	Peter Amutenya	12	1992	N\$12.00	N\$1.80	N\$13.80
NWP10	African Development Bank proposal "Namibia: trade policy reform study": an evaluation	Eline van der Linden	8	1992	N\$10.00	N\$1.50	N\$11.50
NWP11	Some notes on an industrial policy for Namibia	Jan Isaksen & Paulo Shipoke	16	1992	N\$13.00	N\$1.95	N\$14.95

Publication ID	Title	Authors	No. of Pages	Year Published	Cost	VAT Amount	Total Amount
NWP12	<i>Subsidisation, taxation and viability of the commercial agricultural farming sector. NEPRU background paper for the Land Reform Conference, 1991</i>	Peter Moll	53	1994	N\$26.00	N\$3.90	N\$29.90
NWP13	<i>Walvis Bay: report of a fact-finding mission</i>	NEPRU	24	1992	N\$16.00	N\$2.40	N\$18.40
NWP14	<i>Bilateral economic links between Namibia and South Africa</i>	John Orford	15	1992	N\$13.00	N\$1.95	N\$14.95
NWP15	<i>Notes on the housing situation and housing policy in Namibia. Prepared for the National Conference Operation Masakhane for the Homeless, Johannesburg, 29-30 April 1992</i>	Ruth Bogosi	5	1992	N\$9.00	N\$1.35	N\$10.35
NWP16	<i>The Consumer Price Index and inflation in Namibia</i>	Simon Stone	34	1993	N\$19.00	N\$2.85	N\$21.85
NWP17	<i>Women's Role in the Development Process with Special Reference to Factors of Production</i>	Jochbeth Andima	20	1993	N\$7.00	N\$1.05	N\$8.05
NWP18	<i>Some Notes on the Namibian economy two years after independence</i>	Tor Sellström	9	1992	N\$11.00	N\$1.65	N\$12.65
NWP19	<i>Observer's report on the Angolan elections, 29-30 September 1992</i>	Tor Selström	7	1992	N\$10.00	N\$1.50	N\$11.50
NWP20	<i>Assessment of popular participation in the formulation and implementation of development policies and programmes: a case study of Namibia</i>	Susan Brown	32	1992	N\$18.00	N\$2.70	N\$20.70
NWP21	<i>The monetary independence of Namibia</i>	Sophie Chauvin	18	1992	N\$14.00	N\$2.10	N\$16.10
NWP22	<i>Population distribution and migration</i>	Peter Amutenya, Jochbeth Andima & Henning Melber	18	1993	N\$14.00	N\$2.10	N\$16.10
NWP23	<i>Namibia's energy sector: a country review</i>	Eline van der Linden	41	1993	N\$22.00	N\$3.30	N\$25.30
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NWP25	<i>Socio-economic survey of the southern communal areas 1992: summary</i>	Richard Moorsom, Jochbeth Andima & Saul Kahuika	31	1993	N\$18.00	N\$2.70	N\$20.70
NWP26	<i>A fisheries agreement between the European Community and Namibia: workshop report, Windhoek, 25 March 1993</i>	Richard Moorsom & Paul Goodison (eds)	92	1993	N\$40.00	N\$6.00	N\$46.00
NWP27	<i>Towards greater participation and equality? Some findings on the 1992 regional and local elections in Namibia</i>	Reinhard Kößler	10	1993	N\$11.00	N\$1.65	N\$12.65
NWP28	<i>The economics of the 1993/94 budget</i>	NEPRU	16	1993	N\$13.00	N\$1.95	N\$14.95
NWP29	<i>Swedish assistance to Namibia: an assessment of the impact of SIDA, 1990-1993</i>	Hennig Melber, Tor Sellström & Chris Tapscott	48	1994	N\$24.00	N\$3.60	N\$27.60



Publication ID	Title	Authors	No. of Pages	Year Published	Cost	VAT Amount	Total Amount
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NWP32	<i>Population issues in Namibia. Background paper for the NPC's macro-economic issues paper</i>	Jochbeth Andima, Saul Kahuika & Henning Melber	21	1993	N\$15.00	N\$2.25	N\$17.25
NWP33	<i>The role of the informal sector. Background paper for the NPC's macro-economic issues paper</i>	Eline van der Linden	17	1993	N\$13.00	N\$1.95	N\$14.95
NWP34	<i>The Namibia-Angola border fence and its socio-economic implications: report of a fact-finding mission, 17-20 June 1992</i>	Peter Amutenya & Eline van der Linden	24	1993	N\$15.00	N\$2.25	N\$17.25
NWP35	<i>An evaluation of current methods of collecting trade statistics in Namibia</i>	Eline van der Linden & John Orford	31	1993	N\$18.00	N\$2.70	N\$20.70
NWP36	<i>Evaluation study of current methods of collecting trade statistics in Namibia</i>	Colin Gleichmann	46	1993	N\$13.00	N\$1.95	N\$14.95
NWP37	<i>The social dimensions of monetary, currency and credit policy in Namibia</i>	Robin Sherbourne	24	1993	N\$16.00	N\$2.40	N\$18.40
NWP38	<i>The private sector and employment: comments on aspects of the President's inaugural speech to the National Council on 23 February 1993</i>	Richard Moorsom	16	1993	N\$13.00	N\$1.95	N\$14.95
NWP39	<i>An analysis of the fishing capacity of the Namibian fleet in quota-limited fisheries: a methodological summary</i>	Richard Moorsom	61	1994	N\$29.00	N\$4.35	N\$33.35
NWP40	<i>Future agricultural trade and cooperation between new South Africa and Namibia. Papers presented to the Agricultural Outlook Conference, Windhoek, 10 March 1994</i>	Bank of Windhoek/AGRECONA	78	1994	N\$35.00	N\$5.25	N\$40.25
NWP41	<i>Economic analysis of land reform options. NEPRU background paper for the Land Reform Conference</i>	Ray Purcell	44	1994	N\$23.00	N\$3.45	N\$26.45
NWP42	<i>Urban women and self-help housing in Namibia: A case-study of Saamstaan Housing Cooperation</i>	Christiaan Keulder	21	1994	N\$15.00	N\$2.25	N\$17.25
NWP43	<i>Fiscal policy and employment in Namibia</i>	Mihe Gaomab	23	1994	N\$16.00	N\$2.40	N\$18.40
NWP44	<i>The Concept of Civil Society and the Process of Nation-Building in Africa</i>	Reinhart Kößler & Henning Melber	13	1994	N\$12.00	N\$1.80	N\$13.80
NWP45	<i>Namibian Development Services Directory</i>	Richard Moorsom	138	1994	N\$56.00	N\$8.40	N\$64.40
NWP46	<i>Credit Unions in Namibia: The Critical Issues</i>	Dirk Hansohm & Christiaan Keulder	27	1995	N\$17.00	N\$2.55	N\$19.55
NWP47	<i>Urbanisation and Urban Policies in Namibia</i>	Inge Tvedten & Moono Mupotola	41	1995	N\$17.00	N\$2.55	N\$19.55
NWP48	<i>Urbanisation and Internal Migration: Regional Dimensions in Post-Colonial Namibia</i>	Henning Melber	38	1996	N\$20.00	N\$3.00	N\$23.00

Publication ID	Title	Authors	No. of Pages	Year Published	Cost	VAT Amount	Total Amount
NWP49	<i>The State of the Informal Sector in Namibia: Role, Characteristics and Prospects</i>	Dirk Hansohm	23	1996	N\$16.00	N\$2.40	N\$18.40
NWP50	<i>Existing and Potential Entrepreneurs in Ondangwa, Oshakati, Swakopmund and Walvis Bay</i>	Gerson Kadhikwa, Tjiuai Kanguuehi & Anna Erastus-Sacharia	45	1996	N\$23.00	N\$3.45	N\$26.45
NWP51	<i>Consumer Price Index in Namibia: An Evaluation and an Analysis of its Reliability</i>	Mihe Gaomab	43	1996	N\$22.00	N\$3.30	N\$25.30
NWP52	<i>The economic policy framework for the promotion of small- and medium scale enterprises in Africa</i>	Dirk Hansohm	14	1996	N\$12.00	N\$1.80	N\$13.80
NWP53	<i>Projects and Opinions on Economic and Business Prospects in Windhoek</i>	Moono Mupotola-Sibongo	57	1996	N\$27.00	N\$4.05	N\$31.05
NWP54	<i>Seven Years Independence. Current Developments and Future Prospects in Namibia - Some Topical Highlights</i>	NEPRU	48	1997	N\$24.00	N\$3.60	N\$27.60
NWP55	<i>Renewal in Africa? The Informal Sector and its Promotion in Namibia, San Francisco, 23-25 November 1996</i>	Dirk Hansohm	28	1997	N\$17.00	N\$2.55	N\$19.55
NWP56	<i>Workshop Proceedings: The Effects of Liberalisation on the Beef and Maize Sector in Five SADC Countries</i>	Moono Mupotola-Sibongo (ed.)	100	1997	N\$42.00	N\$6.30	N\$48.30
NWP57	<i>Country Reports: The Effects of Liberalisation on the Beef and Maize sector in Five SADC Countries</i>	NEPRU	166	1997	N\$65.00	N\$9.75	N\$74.75
NWP58	<i>Training Needs Assessment Strategy Programme for Local Authorities in Namibia</i>	Hoster Bebi, Lesley Blaauw & Peter Nias	66	1997	N\$30.00	N\$4.50	N\$34.50
NWP59	<i>Livestock Buying and Quarantine Management in Caprivi</i>	Christiaan Keulder & Wolfgang Werner	46	1997	N\$23.10	N\$3.47	N\$26.57
NWP60	<i>From Communal Pastures to Enclosures: The Development of Land Tenure in Herero Reserves</i>	Wolfgang Werner	29	1997	N\$17.00	N\$2.55	N\$19.55
NWP61	<i>Land Reform in Namibia: The First Seven Years</i>	Wolfgang Werner	21	1997	N\$14.00	N\$2.10	N\$16.10
NWP62	<i>Namibian Business Climate: A Survey in relation to SADC</i>	Ntintin Oranje	32	1998	N\$12.00	N\$1.80	N\$13.80
NWP63	<i>The market for millet and millet products</i>	Cathy Presland, Akiser Pomuti	30	1998	N\$21.00	N\$3.15	N\$24.15
NWP64	<i>Namibia's Trade with Angola</i>	Klaus Schade	22	1998	N\$17.00	N\$2.55	N\$19.55
NWP65	<i>Twinning for Development: Cooperation between Public Institutions in Norway and Namibia</i>	Henning Melber & Inge Tvedten	26	1998	N\$19.00	N\$2.85	N\$21.85
NWP66	<i>Construction and Brick-Making in North Central Namibia</i>	Dirk Hansohm	24	1998	N\$18.00	N\$2.70	N\$20.70
NWP67	<i>Support Institutions for Small Enterprises in Zambia and Zimbabwe</i>	Dirk Hansohm, Anna Erastus-Sacharia, Gerson Kadhikwa	24	1998	N\$18.00	N\$2.70	N\$20.70

Publication ID	Title	Authors	No. of Pages	Year Published	Cost	VAT Amount	Total Amount
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