



**ISSUES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT:
A SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPARISON
OF EASTERN AND SOUTHERN
COMMUNAL AREAS**

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ISSUES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT: A SOCIOECONOMIC COMPARISON OF EASTERN AND SOUTHERN COMMUNAL AREAS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Socioeconomic surveys have previously been reported on for the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas individually. Data for this comparative study were obtained from The 1994 Socio-Economic Survey of Eastern Communal Areas published by the Rural Extension Material Unit, Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development ("Ministry of Agriculture"), Windhoek, Namibia ("1994 Survey"); and The 1992 Socio-Economic Survey of Southern Communal Areas, published by the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development, and Directorate of Rural Development, Windhoek, Namibia ("1992 Survey").
2. This paper will compare and contrast the Eastern Communal Areas and the Southern Communal Areas in Namibia in order to identify important similarities and differences with regard to implementation of rural development programs.
3. The communal areas were administered similar surveys, thereby making comparative data analysis significant and methodologically sound. The surveys themselves were designed to elicit personal responses of selected individuals residing in the communal areas. Data were obtained directly from residents and questions regarding areas of improvement were considered from key citizens' points of view. One important aspect of the surveys is that the enumerators often spoke the language of the society, providing further accuracy regarding the responses.
4. The majority of the population in Namibia is rural - partially a result of past government practices of restricting individuals to reserves. Historically, the Eastern Communal Areas and the Southern Communal Areas have been disregarded when formulating economic development programs. This study provides demographic and socioeconomic information on the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas as a combined population, as well as identifies differences and similarities between the two areas. The results of the study provide information for utilization by government ministries and other development authorities to implement appropriate development planning and policies.
5. A problem occurring today with regard to development in Namibia involves the former reserves or communal areas. Challenges for rural development programs include how to improve quality of life for the people under a newly independent nation. Barriers to development include a shortage of funds and qualified personnel (Jingwei 1991:42). Previously, Namibians were not given opportunities to improve their homeland situations. Now that development is a government priority (Iken et al. 1994:1), it is important to identify needs of individuals and communities in order to formulate adequate development programs as well as make practical recommendations for implementation of such programs.
6. Food supply in the rural south is influenced by many factors. Since there is basically no crop production, the households are highly dependent on cash income. Most of the food is purchased at shops and supplemented by meat and milk from the family's animals. Food security is highly dependent on the purchasing power of the household and is an employment and income problem. Factors influencing food security include household composition, sources of income, and availability of resources.
7. Factors affecting the household supply of food in the Eastern Communal Areas include household composition, income, available resources and employment status. Households in the Eastern Communal Areas are also highly dependent on cash income due to limited crop production and cultural reluctance to sell their livestock. The individuals residing in the communal areas buy their food primarily from the shops and supplement it with milk from their animals. As in the Southern Communal Areas, the food security in the East is very dependent on the purchasing power of the household.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY (continued)

8. The average household income per month in the combined population is R300.93¹. Pensions are the most predominant form of financial contribution to household income as 37.8% of respondents list pensions as predominant contributors.
9. The mean number of adults over the age of 16 living in the household is five. Many adults live in the household but are absent for various reasons, including permanent work away, looking for work, and visiting. More adults are absent from the Eastern Communal Areas than from the Southern Communal Areas .
10. Nearly 70% of the respondents in both the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas list one to five children present in the household. Spouses are primarily responsible for caring for young children.
11. The education level in both communities is drastically low; nearly half of household heads list no formal education whatsoever. Age and occupation of respondent are correlated with educational level, the older a household head, the less education they respond that they have. Pensioners have the lowest overall education; but low levels of education in general appear to be common across all ages and incomes in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas.
12. Household heads appear to be the predominant providers of financial support while other household members provide little or no financial support. The high median age of heads of household contributes to the high levels of "none" responses for parents regarding financial support, as very few household heads have living parents.
13. One would assume that as a result of the high median age of household heads and the significant number of extended families in these areas, there would be more contributions to the household income by adult children. However, many of these potential financial contributors are absent due to the high levels of urban migration occurring in the communal areas among individuals in their early 20s.
14. Most of the people are reluctant to sell their stock animals. However, if animals are sold, they are generally sold at a livestock auction or to a commercial farm. It is important to note, however, that over 90% of all survey households specify they never sell animals.
15. People primarily use cash to buy different types of household items that they need.
16. Age of household head does not differ between the east and south, with the majority of individuals being over the age of 40. The average monthly income of households does not differ significantly. Pensions are the prime contributor to household income in both areas and wages as household contributions are also similar. The household head in both areas is the main contributor to the household with a contribution rate of 87%.
17. Female-headed households earn on the average 14% less than the rest of the study population and, as such, these households, as a marginalized group, need to be targeted for income generating programs, vocational training and education. Vocational programs which enable rural women to acquire sewing expertise, provide a market for resale of goods, or create opportunities for tailoring, alterations and garment repair may be well received in the study areas.
18. Southern Area households in particular rely primarily on food from the shops, do not have sufficient income to buy the items they need outright, and are often forced to barter their livestock with the shop owners to obtain the minimum subsistence items needed for the household. Recommendations for rural development programs outlined in this section draw not only from the findings themselves, but from research into rural development concepts and issues to suggest programs which consider historical and social factors of the respective communal areas.
19. Wood is the primary energy source for both the Eastern and the Southern Communal Areas and over 88% of the combined survey population cooks over an open flame. Respondents spend an average of four hours per week gathering firewood.

¹ At the time of the 1994 Survey 3.40 Rand were equal to one U.S. Dollar (US\$1.00). In 1992, 2.85 Rand were equal to US\$1.00, making the average household income roughly US\$96.45 per month.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY (continued)

20. Employment levels in general are low. In the Eastern Areas, more people are self-employed or part-time employed, while in the Southern Areas there is more casual working. Contributions to household income also differ between the two study areas, with a higher number of spouses contributing to the household income in the South. Remittances as income are also more prevalent in the South, but both populations rely heavily on pension as the main income source for the household.

21. Rural development programs in Namibia should not depend on agricultural development as a means to sustainable economic growth in all the rural areas, particularly the South. The most significant factors to stimulate rural development in Namibia will be to increase the infrastructure of the communal areas through technological, economic and social-cultural development programs.

22. The findings show that the majority of individuals in the study areas are in need of literacy programs. Most of the household heads and spouses are educated only to the primary level. The advanced age of study area respondents precludes formal schoolhouse education for these households; however, all individuals can benefit from literacy and technical development programs.

23. Areas for further research include the implementing information technology such as a nationwide development database to incorporate information regarding multiple communal areas. The database would enable program directors to make blanket development recommendations when similarities among areas occur and specific adjustments with regard to any differences between areas. Telecentres may be appropriate informational technology programs for the Eastern Communal Areas since a Technical Institute is already in place.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objectives of the Study

This paper will compare and contrast rural development data obtained from two populations residing in communal areas in Namibia: the Herero from the Eastern Communal Areas and the Nama from the Southern Communal Areas. The major themes of the research are (i) an assessment of the socioeconomic status of individuals occupying the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas, (ii) an identification of similarities and differences which may exist between the two survey populations with regard to technological, economic and social/cultural development, and (iii) formulation of development suggestions based on a review of ethnographic and rural development literature and the results of data analysis of the combined areas. As a result of the aforementioned factors, development policies should endeavor to both improve the quality of life for the community members, and assess the capacity for such development among the rural populations.

A comparative study such as this which analyzes responses of individuals actually residing in the survey regions aspires to identify needs of the people, and whether they can benefit from similar or different development programs. Although the findings reveal differences between the areas in response to various questions, for implementation purposes, it may be more plausible to treat the populations as a single unit with regard to the development suggestions proposed later in this publication.

Questions asked of the data include the following:

1. What are the household characteristics of the combined population?
2. What commonalities exist between the two groups in regard to development needs? What differences exist?
3. Which subgroups of the study, if any, may benefit or be more amenable to development programs?
4. What do key informants identify as development priorities?

1.2 Study Areas

The Herero and the Nama comprise the ethnic groups to be analyzed in the study. Both groups reside in Namibia. The Herero and Nama, as is the case with many indigenous groups, have been marginalized regarding earning capacity and educational opportunities, and have undergone immense cultural change in recent times. The average monthly household income of the combined communal area population at the time of the surveys was approximately R300 (US\$97.00)². Compared to typical average incomes of rural households in the developing world, the monthly figure may appear high. However, because neither Herero nor Nama grow significant crops, both rural groups spend the majority of their household income on food. Typical of many rural communal dwellers all over sub-Saharan Africa, the Herero and Nama require techniques to generate income, obtain food security and generally improve the quality of their lives. Because of the high mean age of household heads and spouses, an overwhelming number of individuals in both areas depend heavily on government pensions, have few if any opportunities for development, and, consequently, few employment opportunities.

Socioculturally, the study groups are distinct, but historically they have much in common. Both peoples were subjected to German and South African colonialism, they lost traditional territories, their social structure was influenced significantly, and many Herero and Nama people relocated to white-owned commercial farms and towns. The current quality of life for these individuals has been seriously influenced by the protracted duration of colonial and mandated occupation.

Since independence in 1990, efforts have been put forth to improve the quality of life for rural people. Despite significant urban migration, 70% of the population in Namibia remains rural

² Calculated at 1996 exchange rates.

(Pendleton 1996:18). As a result of the current economic situation, development priorities must include clean water, health care and education (including information technology). Food security is a priority, as a significant number of households depend on cash income and obtain most of their food from local shops. Since the levels of cash available are non-reliable, the question arises as to whether households are subjecting themselves to an endless cycle of credit regarding food procurement and basic subsistence. Due to the lack of significant facilities and equipment in the rural communities, the government faces a daunting task with regard to developing these regions.

Namibia's present predicament, in general and with reference to the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas, is a result of a long history of colonial occupation and oppression, liberation struggles, and attempting to maintain dignity in the face of enormous economic underdevelopment. It is the aspiration of this study to assist decisionmakers by providing development suggestions for the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas as a combined population, as well as to identify similarities and differences which occur between the two areas.

2. ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

This section includes ethnographic descriptions and historical background information on the Nama from the Southern Communal Areas and the Herero from the Eastern Communal Areas. These descriptions are a general literature overview and by no means are they intended to be an exhaustive study, but simply a background to acquaint the reader with the two major ethnic groups currently inhabiting these two communal areas.

2.1 The East

The 1994 Survey was administered to the Eastern Communal Areas, which includes the former Hereroland East and West, the Ben-Hur farm complex, Aminuis, Corridor and Ovitoto. These areas are all part of the Omaheke and Otjozondjupa regions located in the eastern portion of Namibia and illustrated in Figure 14 at Appendix C. The Otjozondjupa region encompasses Okahandja, Otjiwarongo, and the former Hereroland west. In this area cattle farming is the predominant activity. Omaheke is on the eastern border of Namibia and includes Gobabis, Hereroland East, Aminuis, Corridor and the Ben-Hur farm complex. The dominant economic activity is cattle ranching, partially because of the drier environment. A factor which may be important in developing the Omaheke region is the building of a tar road linking Namibia with Botswana. This road will run through Gobabis and may help in facilitating trade between the regions. The survey took part exclusively in rural communities; therefore any municipal towns located in the regions were not sampled.

2.1.1 Infrastructure

Infrastructure of the Otjozondjupa and Omaheke regions includes hospitals, various clinics and health care centers, primary and secondary schools, police headquarters and magistrate's offices. Otjozondjupa also possesses a technical institute. The main roads within the Eastern Communal Areas are gravel; there are no tarred roads either into or out of the region. Total school enrollment in 1992 was 11,016 students, half of which were primary students. Because the schools are so far away from farms and posts, 70% of school children are boarders. The average teacher to pupil ratio is 1:16.

2.1.2 Demographics

The Namibian Herero have been traditionally located in eastern and central Namibia (Sparks and Green 1992:135). A portion of the Herero live in Botswana and are the descendants of individuals who fled to the desert at the end of the Herero-German war (First 1963:29). The rural Herero are presently concentrated in the eastern areas of Namibia which includes the Omaheke and Otjozondjupa regions. The Otjozondjupa region encompasses the districts of Okahandja, Otjiwarongo, Grootfontein and the former Hereroland West. The Omaheke region is on the eastern border of Namibia and consists of former Hereroland East, Aminuis, Gobabis, the Tsjaka/Ben-Hur farm complex and Corridor (Iken et al. 1994:16).

The population density in the Eastern Communal Areas is .78 individuals per kilometer and the 1991 population census estimated a total of 55,036 residents in the Eastern Communal Areas. The annual

growth rate for the ten-year period between 1981 and 1991 was 2.41%, slightly lower than the growth rate for the entire country (Iken et al. 1994:28-29).

2.1.3 Historical background

The Herero are Bantu speaking pastoralists of the northwestern Kalahari. They are distinctive in southern Africa because of their exclusive dependence on animal husbandry. Herero are characterized by a lack of significant crop production, a dual descent lineage system, and extended multi-family households wherein productivity is measured in distinct patrilineal and matrilineal units (Vivelo 1977:1, Van Horn 1972:12-15, Harpending and Pennington 1990:417). The Herero traditionally practice ancestor worship, lead nomadic or semi nomadic lives, and treat their cattle as ritually important property at the center of all economic, social, religious and political activity (Poewe, 1986:46, Vivelo 1977:1). The Herero are the most exclusively pastoral Bantu speaking people located in southwestern Africa.

The Herero entered Namibia in the Kaokoveld area around 1550 A.D. and continued to move south into central Namibia until about 1750 A.D. (Vivelo 1977:1, Sparks and Green 1992:135). As pastoral communities, the Herero were skilled and devoted cattle farmers and tended to have extensive wealth in the form of cattle (First 1963:28). The Herero traditionally live in homesteads throughout central Namibia. The homesteads are connected by the Herero kinship principle of double descent (Van Horn 1972:12-15, Mbuende 1986:30). By 1870, there were five great chieftainships: Okahandja, Otjimbingue, Omaruru, Otjozondjupa and Okandoje (Mbuende 1986:31).

Since before contact with Europeans the Herero have been divided into four geographically distinct Herero-speaking groups: Herero, Mbanderu, Himba and Tjimba. The Tjimba, however, are neither pastoralists nor do they physically resemble the other three groups, but they speak a dialect of the Herero language (Vivelo 1977:3, Gibson 1956:111). The Mbanderu branch of Herero have inhabited the Gobabis District since the 19th Century (Kohler 1956:15). The Himba are one of the major clans that split off from the Herero approximately 100 to 150 years ago, and remained in Kaokoland, west of Owamboland (Sparks and Green 1992:135, Smith 1992:186). The separation of Herero and Himba may have occurred as a result of livestock raids by the Nama and epidemic diseases affecting cattle around the turn of the century. These factors combined to cause some groups of Herero to turn to hunting and foraging rather than their traditional subsistence pattern of pastoralism (Smith 1992:187).

Herero and Nama peoples were often at war with each other during the mid-1800s, but during the later half of the 19th century, Herero and Nama groups formed very tense alliances to cooperatively wage war with the Oorlams (Poewe, 1985:37, Kohler 1959:19). The Germans aligned themselves with the Herero upon their first attempts at colonization and promised assistance in the conflict with the Nama; however, the true motivation of the Germans was to break up the indigenous groups by causing further tension between the Herero and Nama (First 1963:73-74, Hoemle 1925:8).

The effects of colonization and the treatment of the Herero by the Germans resulted in a Herero uprising in 1904 (the "uprising"). The causes of this uprising included cruelty of traders, perception of differential prison treatment of Herero and whites, and former prestige of the Herero that was taken away by the colonists, leading to a feeling of betrayal (Poewe 1985:54-61). Early research explains the uprising as a steadily growing unrest where "security measures" were implemented in order to protect European settlers from the increasing stock theft by the Herero (Kohler 1959:19). More recent accounts saw the uprising in an entirely different manner:

The colonial exploitation of Namibia . . . met with determined resistance from leaders of African communities . . . In retaliation for these major uprisings . . . forces under von Trotha conducted the first genocide of this century; *Schutztruppen* and concentration camps accounted for the deaths of tens of thousands in extermination campaigns . . .

(British Council of Churches 1986:9).

The Germans outmanned and outgunned the Herero in the uprising, forcing them to flee to the Waterberg Mountains, into Owamboland and into Bechuanaland (Botswana). General Von Trotha

was brought over from Germany to fight against the Herero. He was very ruthless and issued an extermination order which sealed off all escape routes for the Herero and served to annihilate them (First 1963:80, Poewe 1985:62, Gibson 1956:111). More than 50% of the Herero population was exterminated (First 1963:28). Cattle owned by the Herero were few to none and the group split into Namibian Herero and Botswana Herero. The division remains today and has caused the two groups to develop in different directions (Van Horn 1972:12, Viveló 1977:2).

After the defeat by the Germans, the Herero were divested of their land and animals, which forced many into wage employment (Iken et al. 1994:18). Herero self perception underwent a change as a result of the colonial contact and conflicts (Poewe 1985:53). German officials chose to deal with an appointed "Paramount Chief" who was not recognized as such by the Herero. Treaties, land, cattle and settlement were all dealt with between the Paramount Chief and the German government (First 1963:76, Mbuende 1986:32). Often the Paramount Chief did not have the best interests of the Herero in mind but dealt with the Germans for his own personal well being (Poewe 1985:54).

In the 1920s due to German colonization and the German settlers' need for farmland, a reserve policy removed the Herero from their traditional lands into more marginal areas. The conditions on the reserves were poor, no infrastructure was in place, the water was scarce and unsafe, and the environment was marginal, limiting feasibility of farming and grazing. The Herero had difficulty adjusting to the reserve system because of differing concepts of land tenure and use (First 1963:76, Mbuende 1986:32). No Herero person could move from one reserve to the other without a permit and restrictions were imposed by the government limiting the number of Namibians permitted to reside and work on Gobabis farms (First 1963:30, Kohler 1959:31). Thus begins a long history of oppression, the effects of which are still present in Herero society today.

In the 1960s the Odendaal Commission was formed in order to enlarge the reserves and relocate people into defined ethnic and language areas. The intent of the Odendaal Commission was to have independently governed homelands for each ethnic group (Iken et al. 1994:20). As a result of the Odendaal Plan, 74% of the Herero population had to be moved into the areas of Ovitoto, Aminuis, Hereroland East and Hereroland West. Also many non-Herero speaking people were moved out of these areas. The Herero speaking population was to be allocated 1,525,211 hectares of land, but much of the land was unusable due to lack of water. Additionally, the distance of the homelands from urban centers served to render any possible trade networks idle. It was around this time that the policies of segregation present in South Africa were implemented in Namibia and continued to be in force until the 1980s (Iken et al. 1994:20).

2.1.4 Modern life

Herero today are one of the wealthiest ethnic groups in Namibia and Botswana (Harpending and Pennington 1990:432). Herero women wear the Victorian fashion of 19th Century Rhenish missionaries, including ankle-length skirts, short bodice waistcoat, muttonchop sleeves, long strings of beads, buttons and shawls. The Victorian dresses worn by Herero women require at least 10 meters of fabric each, additional fabric is needed for the multiple layers of petticoats (Lambrecht and Lambrecht 1969:48-50). Victorian dresses are worn in order to stand out and be prominent and visible (Harpending and Pennington 1990:418). According to Poewe (1985:232), Herero are very concerned about outward appearances and believe it is a sign of mental deterioration if one is slovenly dressed. As a result, much of the household cash income may go to purchasing fabrics and clothing (Harpending and Pennington 1990:428), although this was not indicated in the surveys.

2.2 The South

The 1992 Survey was the first survey to be undertaken by the Ministry of Agriculture. Four research sites were chosen within the Southern Communal Areas: Warmbad, the Bondelswarts area, the reserve formerly known as Namaland, and the enumerator districts of Kriess and Kutenuas. See Figure 13 in Appendix C for a map of these areas.

2.2.1 Infrastructure

The infrastructure in the Southern Communal Areas includes hospitals, clinics, healthcare centers, primary and secondary schools, and police stations. No tertiary or technical schools are located in these areas. A tar road runs through the area and links Namibia with South Africa. The main railway

line runs parallel to the road and there are three rail stops along the way. Other roads in the territory are comprised of gravel or dirt and there is very poor public transportation although the roads are in fairly good condition. The main municipalities are Gibeon, Tses, Berseba and Kosis and they are all relatively far from Windhoek.

2.2.2 Demographics

The population of Namaland in 1991 was approximately 16,234 inhabitants and the population figures for Warmbad and Bondelswarts were 519 and 1049 individuals, respectively, for a total population in the South of 17,802. The annual growth rate is 2.13% (Ministry of Agriculture 1992:15-16). Geographically, rural Nama tend to be concentrated in the southern regions of Namibia between the Orange and Swakop rivers. Gibeon, with approximately 4,500 inhabitants was not included in the survey as it is not considered a rural area for survey purposes (National Planning Commission 1992:24).

2.2.3 Historical background

The Nama are a Khoisan speaking group of individuals residing in southern Namibia. As nomadic pastoralists, they traditionally practice patrilineal descent and have an extensive and complex kinship and naming system (Barnard 1992:179). The early ethnographic work on the Nama was carried out mostly by German missionaries, army officers, traders and travelers including Hahn and Vedder in the late 1800s and early 1900s (Barnard 1992:177). Some of the best ethnographic work was done in the mid-1920s by Winnifred Hoernle who worked on social organization and customs (Barnard 1992:177-178).

The Nama migrated into Namibia from south of the Orange River in the 17th Century (Pfouts 1988:126). The Nama have been subject to outside contact by both European and Bantu speakers for quite some time and their culture has been seriously affected by such contact. Derogatorily referred to as "Hottentots" by early Dutch settlers, Nama make up seven main Nama-speaking groups: The Rooi Natie (*Gei//Khauan*), Bondelswarts (*!Gami-~~nun~~*), Veldschjoendragers (*//Haboben*), Simon Kopper Hottentots (*!Kbara Gei Khoin*), Swartboois (*//Khou/goan*), Groot Doode (*//O gein*) and Topnaars (*≠Aunin*). All the groups are traditionally believed to have descended from one line of ancestors (Hoernle 1925:3-5).

Due to the wars between the Nama and Herero and the subsequent colonization of Namibia by the Germans in the late 1800s, by the time ethnographers arrived in Namibia traditional Nama social structure was taken mostly from the memory of the informants (Barnard 1992:179). As early as 1925, when Hoernle studied Nama social organization, she stated that the "tribal unity, culture and power" were completely destroyed due to dislocation caused by invading southern groups, the wars with the Herero and the effects of German colonization (Hoernle 1925:7).

The Nama were also subject to the South African reserve policy. Land was set aside for the Nama to reside on, but infrastructure and land were of poor quality and the water points too small in relation to the numbers of livestock. Prior to the Odendaal Plan, Nama reserves were small islands in a stretch of white-owned sheep farms in the southern regions of the country (First 1963:33). During the 1960s the Odendaal Commission enlarged and consolidated the reserves through the Odendaal Plan. The southern portion of the reserves was obtained by buying out former white-owned settler farms and deproclaiming government land and game reserves (Ministry of Agriculture 1992:10). The southern reserves were established at approximately the same time as the eastern reserves.

In order for the South African government to carry out the Odendaal Plan, inhabitants of Warmbad, Bondelswarts and Neuhooff were persuaded to move to Namaland and were told that they would be compensated. The idea was to resettle 87% of the Nama and to double the available land area. During the Odendaal Plan, the homelands were divided among twelve ethnic groups, each ethnic group having a chief or government-appointed headman. Each headman or chief was a representative of the second-tier administration or "tribal council." Not all of the ethnic groups recognized the administration and were not represented through the council, abstaining groups included Witbooi and Goliath (Ministry of Agriculture 1992:11).

The first Delimitation Commission in 1991 divided the south into two regions, Hardap and Karas. The Hardap region includes Rehoboth, the magisterial district of Maltahoehe, Mariental, the southern

part of the District of Namib-Naukluft, Hardap Dam and the northern part of Namaland. Karas covers the magisterial districts of Karasburg, Luderitz, Bethanien, Keetmanshoop and the southern portion of Namaland. The two regions cover about one-third of the total land surface of Namibia but due to ecological factors, this area is very sparsely populated. Few dry land crops can be successfully cultivated in this arid region (Ministry of Agriculture 1992:5).

2.2.4 Nama today

The Nama residing in the Southern Communal Areas have major problems of poverty and are characterized by small, scattered settlements with limited economic potential. The communal areas are comprised of Namaland (located between Keetmanshoop and Mariental), the Bondelswarts area and the Warmbad area (Ministry of Agriculture 1992:2-3). Nama traditional culture has been lacking for nearly a century and they have not been allowed under the former system of apartheid to participate fully in European culture. The Nama are among the poorest ethnic groups in Namibia – a result of the marginal environment within which they reside, the stress of modern economics which forces many to trade their wealth (livestock) for basic subsistence items, and the long history of colonial and inter-ethnic violence and oppression.

2.3 Conclusion

This section reviews ethnographic details of the two study groups, Herero and Nama, in order to familiarize the reader with some background aspects of the study population. Development priorities should be considered in the context of both Nama and Herero culture. Similarities of pastoralism and historical background should be considered when formulating development suggestions with respect to such topics as sale of livestock and number of livestock owned. Differences such as geography, communal area infrastructure, and current economic standing should also be considered as factors influencing acceptance or rejection of development suggestions and programs. However, at this early stage, it appears to be more feasible to treat the populations as a combined unit for development program implementation purposes.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data Analysis

This paper examines demographic variables as they are generally considered to have influence over development priorities. Similarities and differences between the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas are ascertained through the use of data analysis. Independent variables are compared with dependent variables to determine associations and the strength of those associations. Dependent variables in this study include age, gender, occupation or work status, and education. For the specific analysis (a comparison of two areas), the independent variable is area. Area is examined with reference to other demographic variables in order to determine similarities and differences between the East and South with regard to rural development recommendations.

The SPSS/PC+ ("SPSS") statistics program was utilized to perform various manipulations of the existing data including frequencies, data transformations, crosstabulations, chi-square analysis, measures of association and correlations. Please refer to Couch (1996) for a complete overview of the methodology used for this analysis.

3.2 The Surveys

As stated previously, two surveys were administered to individuals residing in the Eastern Communal Areas and the Southern Communal Areas,³ in 1994 and 1992, respectively. Data for the 1992 Survey were collected from 291 households in the enumerator districts of Warmbad, Bondelswarts, Kriess and Kutenuas. Data for the 1994 Survey were collected from 297 households in the former Hereroland East and West, and the Ben-Hur farm complex. Attention was given to household makeup, demographic data, and, particularly, how individual households allocate time and resources

³ Also sometimes referred to as the "East," the "South," the "Eastern Areas," and the "Southern Areas," individually and as the "study areas" or the "survey areas" collectively.

with regard to obtaining food, water and firewood. Measures were taken by the original researchers⁴ to ensure the sampling framework was as random as possible. Two questionnaires were given during the surveys: a main questionnaire to heads of household or spouses of heads of household regarding socioeconomic information, and a second survey to ascertain key informants' views of development priorities and problems. The majority of background and socioeconomic data analyzed here is derived from the questionnaires given to the heads of household. Development questions are taken from the key informants survey. Recommendations are made by examining both questionnaires' responses as a combined unit, as well as considering differences between the areas when relevant.

Data collection consisted of administering oral questionnaires to either the heads of household or spouses of heads of household as well as holding focus group discussions and community meetings with key informants regarding development priorities. Interviewers attended a two-day training course and included extension staff hired by the Ministry of Agriculture as well as individuals employed by the Social Science Division of the University of Namibia. The questionnaires were pre-tested, reviewed and slightly amended for ease of comparison.

The surveys of the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas⁵ were conducted to determine household food security in rural areas by obtaining knowledge of who the people are, what the people need, and the level of household subsistence and income. Further objectives of the surveys were to facilitate development efforts based on the needs and problems identified by key informants, and to identify areas for possible comparison between the communal areas in order to establish conformity in existing and future development efforts.

4. SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

The socioeconomic status of Eastern and Southern Communal Area households is marginal. Income is low and unemployment is high, this is most likely a result of the advanced age of household heads, low levels of education among household heads and spouses and historical oppression in both communal areas. The mean age (56) of the household head in the rural areas suggests that younger individuals have migrated to the urban areas. Urban migration is a major factor in developing rural areas as oftentimes the employment and educational opportunities for young people are much greater in the urban areas; consequently, high numbers of younger individuals move to urban centers.

4.1 Household⁶ Characteristics

One purpose of the research is to compare household characteristics in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas; however, material on general background characteristics of the combined population is informative. Examination of background characteristics for the combined survey populations facilitates identification of points of comparison within the study areas and provides indicators of possible discrepancies between the two areas. Identified discrepancies can then be analyzed with reference to the separate Eastern and Southern Communal Areas. Recognizing general trends in the combined population can be helpful in general interpretation of the data as a whole. In order to accurately interpret the findings and make valid development recommendations, background information on combined Eastern and Southern Communal Area household characteristics is therefore required. The following section discusses important household characteristics for this combined population.

4.1.1 Household composition

Household composition refers to the type of household which is found: nuclear, extended, or single-parent. In the combined surveys nuclear family households (consisting of both parents and their children) make up 26.0% of the survey respondents. Extended families (consisting of parents,

⁴ See Iken 1994 and Ministry of Agriculture 1992.

⁵ Unless otherwise noted, all information for the following sections comes from the 1994 Survey and the 1992 Survey.

⁶ Unless otherwise noted, all information for the following sections comes from the 1994 Survey and the 1992 Survey.

children and/or grandparents, aunts or uncles) constitute 38.3% of the respondents. Female-headed households (households – either nuclear or extended – in which the primary breadwinner is the female) make up 23.6%, while 7.3% of the households list themselves as male headed (households where the primary income is provided by a male and there is no spouse). The majority of households (92.8%) in both areas are comprised of one family, 5.1% of the households contain two families, and households with more than two families encompass 2.1% of the respondents.

The mean number of adults over the age of 16 living in the household is five⁷. A question regarding the number of adults over age 16 present in the household at the time of the survey was also asked. Therefore, "presence" of an adult in the household and an adult "living" in the household are distinguished. Many adults live in the household but are absent for various reasons explained further below. Respondents state that 51.1% of adults are present in the household at the time of the survey, 41.5% respond that there are from one to five adults missing from the household and 3.4% of the households surveyed have more than five adults absent. Respondents were asked to state whether adults were absent from the household most of the time (35.6%), half of the time (32.2%), or a few days (32.2%). More adults are absent from the Eastern Communal Areas (58.5%) than and from the Southern Communal Areas (41.5%). Reasons for absence of one or more adults from the households in both communal areas are illustrated in Figure 1 - Reasons for Absence

below.

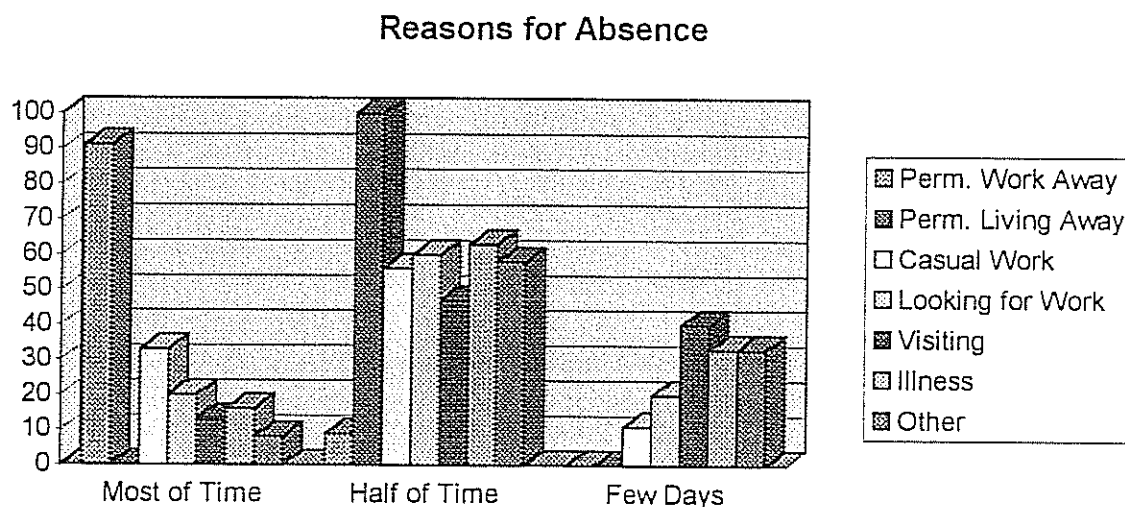


Figure 1 - Reasons for Absence

The majority (63.8%) of the respondents in both the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas list one to five children present in the household, 23.5% have no children under 16 living in the household and 12.7% of respondents state there are more than five children under the age of 16 in the household. Spouses are primarily responsible for caring for young children (51%), followed by head of household (26%), daughter (13%), other (5%), grandmother (2%) and other relatives (2%). As a result of the high median age of household heads and spouses (56), the number of children under 16 present in the household seems surprising; however, children in residence are more than likely grandchildren of the household heads. When asked about the effect on household finances if children were in school, 94% of the households indicated that finances were better. When asked how much different the workload would be if children were in school, 43% feel that more work is created for the household, 26% indicate that children in school made less work and 31% respond that the workload is about the same whether or not children are in school.

Nearly 20% of households with children state that the children are not in school. When asked why children were not in school, responses included no money, not necessary, children work at home, teachers hit, school is too far, children do not want to go, and children are too hungry to attend school. Statistical and percentage values are not computed for these responses because the

⁷ Findings are rounded to the nearest whole number when referencing individuals.

question was only asked of Eastern Communal Area households. Therefore, comparative values are not possible.

4.1.2 Age

The mean age of the head of household is 56 and the mean age of the spouse is 50. Consequently, 65.3% of the household heads are older than age fifty, 19.2% are between the ages of 40 and 49, 11.7% are between 30 and 39 years old and a mere 3.7% of household heads are age 29 and younger. [Table 13 in Appendix A illustrates the age breakdowns of both the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas.]

4.1.3 Education

The education level in both communities is drastically low with 41.3% of household heads listing no formal education whatsoever. Of those individuals with formal education, 32.7% have primary level education, 18% respond that they have completed elementary level schooling, 5.5% list their terminal education level as secondary and 2.6% of household heads have some type of post-secondary education.⁸ Age and occupation of respondent are correlated with educational level, the older a household head, the less education they respond that they have. Pensioners have the lowest overall education, with 66.5% of the individuals in that category responding they have no education. Government employees tend to be the most educated, with 81.8% of the individuals who have post-secondary education being employed by the government. Low levels of education in general appear to be common across all ages and incomes in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas. Table 1 in Appendix A illustrates the effect of age on education levels.

The education level of the spouse is also very low, 92.3% of the spouses are at the elementary level or below. Spouses with no education comprise 37.5% of the respondents, followed by primary (33.8%), elementary (21.0%), secondary (5.7%) and post-secondary (2.0%).

4.1.4 Employment status

Substantial levels of unemployment occur in both areas; 42.9% of the heads of household are not working and not looking for work, 49.7% of household heads are full-time employed, and 7.3% are part-time employed. When those household heads listing themselves as employed were asked their occupation, pensioners⁹ topped the list with 46.6%, government employees comprised 26%, followed by farm workers (13.9%), other (7.5%), domestic servants or handyman (4.6%) and migrant workers (1.3%). Unemployed spouses of household heads comprise 70% of that category of respondents, 13% of the spouses are full-time self employed, 8.2% are full-time employed, 4.8% are looking for work, 1.7% are part-time self employed, 1.4% are casual workers and less than one percent (0.6%) are part-time employed. Spouses list their occupations as pensioner (58.8%), government employee (21%), other (10%), farm worker (7.6%), domestic servant (1.7%) and migrant worker (0.8%).

An interesting note about the communal areas is the low frequency of domestic service as a type of employment. Although in Namibia in general, one-third of the employed individuals are domestic workers, in the communal areas less than five percent list their primary occupation as domestic service. This is more than likely a function of low demand for domestic service in the rural areas. Table 15 in Appendix A illustrates the combined work status of the adults living in the communal areas.

Figure 2 and 3 illustrate major sources of financial support and household income contributions by household members. Respondents were asked about contributions to household income by household head, spouse, mother, father, daughter, son, relative and other. Results were recoded as yes/no responses with regard to whether particular individuals contribute to the household income.

⁸ Education levels are as follows: "Primary" = Sub A, Sub B, St. 1, St. 2. "Elementary" = St. 3 through St. 6. "Secondary" = St. 7 through St. 10. "Post-Secondary" = College, university or practical training.

⁹ "Pensioners" is defined as those individuals drawing old-age stipends from government-sponsored pension programs. Namibia is one of the few African countries which provides government subsidies to individuals with regard to age. The high number of pensioners found in the communal areas is important for development planners, as it is not a guarantee that the Namibian government will continue to provide funds for aged individuals.

Household heads appear to be the predominant providers of financial support (86.7%). As can be seen from Figure 2, other household members provide little or no financial support. The high median age of heads of household contributes to the high levels of "none" responses for parents regarding financial support, as very few household heads have living parents.

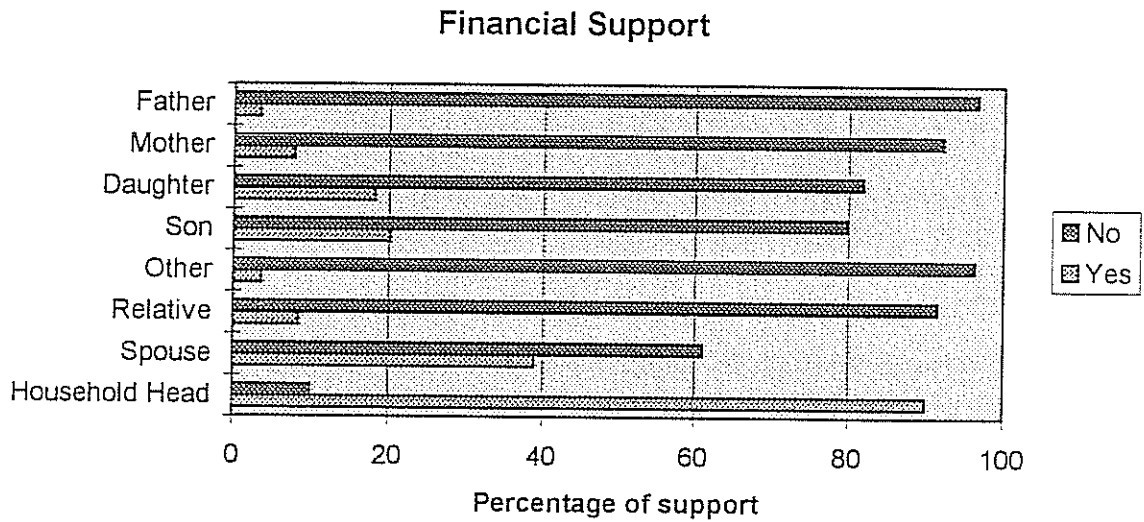


Figure 2 Financial Support by Household Members

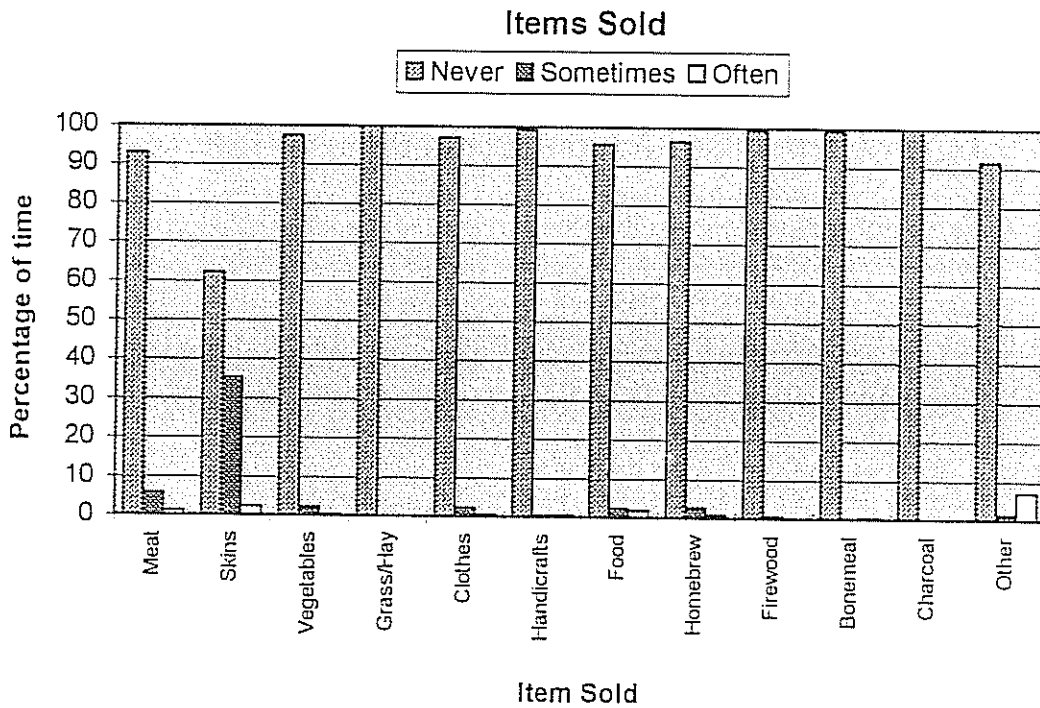


Figure 3 - Types and Amounts of Items Sold

The insignificant levels of financial support provided by children is informative. One would assume that as a result of the high median age of household heads and the significant number of extended families in these areas, there would be more contributions to the household income by adult children.

However, many of these potential financial contributors are absent due to the high levels of urban migration occurring in the communal areas among individuals in their early 20s.

The average household income per month in the combined population is R300.93¹⁰. Pensions are the most predominant form of financial contribution to household income as 37.8% of respondents list pensions as predominant contributors, followed by wages (23.6%), self (16.8%), and sale of various items, including animals (13.3%), karakul pelts (10.2%), home products (2.6%), crops (1.2%), other (6.7%) and fish (0.7%). As Figure 3 above illustrates, the people do not sell many items. The rural status of both areas makes development of major markets for the items unlikely.

The majority (68.3%) of the households buy food on a monthly basis, followed by weekly (23.7%), not normally bought (5.8%) and daily (2.2%). Different types of food bought per month include maize, bread/flour, sugar, rice or macaroni, beer, milk, meat, beans and fish. Figure 4 delineates the household consumption of food and non-food items per month.

Figure 4 - Household Purchases: Food and Non-Food Items

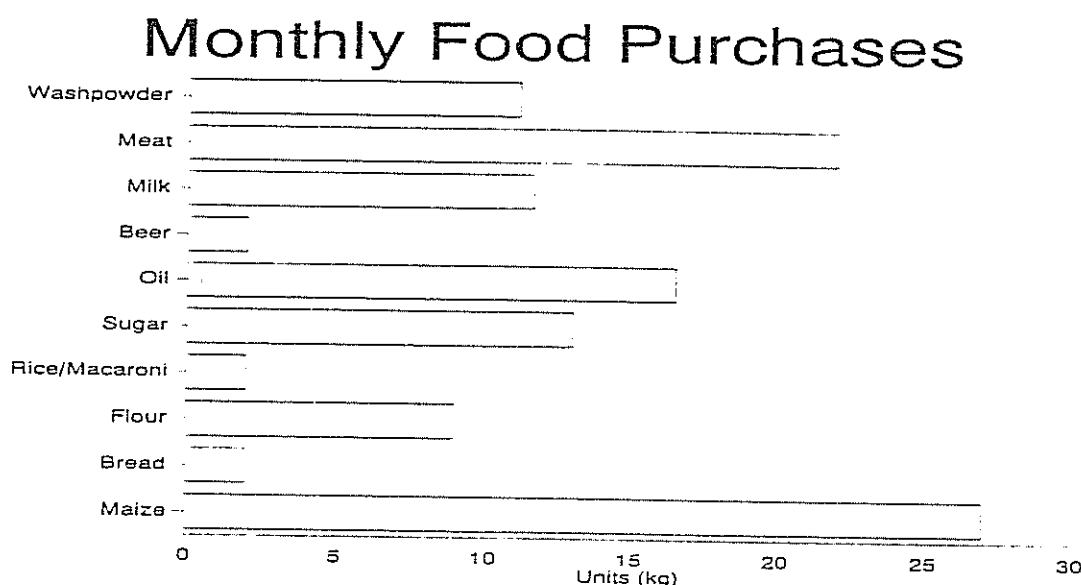


Figure 4. Household Purchases: Food and Non-Food Items

The type of food eaten by more than half the population is pap or maize meal with sauce, fat, milk or sugar (55.2%), followed by pure pap (25.0%), meat (9.7%) and other (10.2%). When asked how much money was spent on maize meal, responses were as follows: Less than one quarter (46%), one quarter (24%), three quarters (12%), half (11%), and more than three-quarters (8%). People eat an average of two meals per day and three adults and three children eating.

¹⁰ At the time of the 1994 Survey 3.40 Rand were equal to one U.S. Dollar (US\$1.00). In 1992, 2.85 Rand were equal to US\$1.00, making the average household income roughly US\$96.45 per month.

Figure 5 below shows the source of household items for the combined population. As the figure illustrates, people primarily use cash to buy different types of household items that they need.

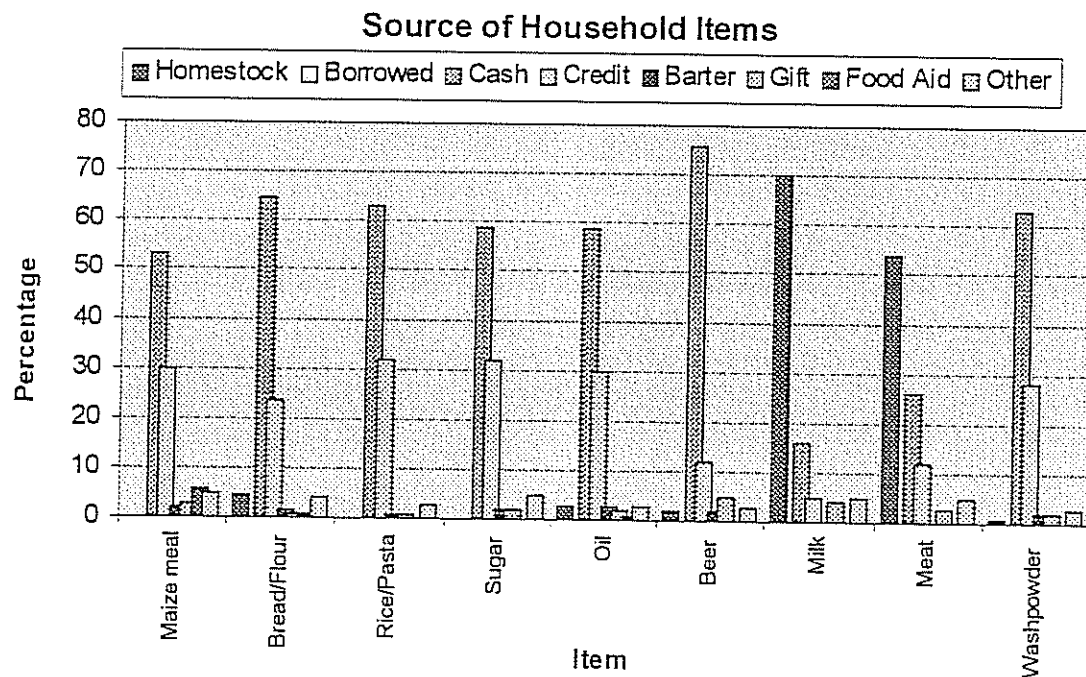


Figure 5 - Source of Household Items

4.1.5 Housing

Respondents utilize various housing types. Corrugated iron shacks comprise 46.8%, followed by brick house (30.7%), traditional house or hut (10.6%) and other (3.3%). In the combined Eastern and Southern areas 87% of households respond that they own their homes, 73.8% state that they pay no rent per month. Of those households who pay rent 19% pay over 100 rand per month, followed by 4.8% who pay 10 to 50 rand and 2.4% pay 51 to 100 rand per month for rent.

4.1.6 Water

Sources of drinking water for the combined population are broken down into dry season sources and wet season sources. The dry season source of drinking water for 31.5% of the households is outside private plumbing, followed by borehole with pump (16.7%), borehole with windmill (16.3%), outside public plumbing (15.5%), indoor plumbing (7.1%), hand-dug well (3.7%) and water tanker (3.4%). Less than one percent (0.9%) of the survey population relies on rivers lakes or springs and the remaining 5% list various sources such as neighbors and other.

Obtaining water is a priority to rural families particularly in the South, due to the arid environment and the small numbers of people possessing indoor plumbing. If public outdoor plumbing is used -- and it is used by approximately 14% of the households -- it is important to know how far individuals must walk to get water and the frequency in which they walk this distance. People fetch water about twice a day and they walk approximately 14 kilometers to the nearest water source.

During the rainy season the sources of water are slightly different for the combined population. Rainy season water sources include outside private plumbing (30.9%), borehole with windmill (16.4%), borehole with pump (14.9%), outside public plumbing (14.5%), indoor plumbing (7.2%), hand dug well (3.6%), rain catchment (3.4%), river, lake or spring (2.6%), other (2.4%), neighbor (2.2%) and water tanker (1.9%). So, the major sources do not change greatly but a new variable, rain catchment, is introduced for wet season responses. Rivers, lakes and springs also provide more households with water in the wet season. Tables 24 through 30 in Appendix A illustrate the water sources for the combined study population.

During the dry season nearly half (48.9%) of the individuals share the water source with their animals. Of the 51.1% of respondents who do not share water with animals, the sources of animal water are: well/borehole (51.1%), other (39.4%),¹¹ and outside public sources (9.5%). During the rainy season 44.3% share water sources with animals. Sources of animal water are rivers, lakes and springs (37.3%), borehole with windmill (22.6%), other (17.1%), borehole with pump (12.2%), outside public pipe (7.0%), rain catchment (2.8) and well (1.0%). The source of animal water varies in the rainy season from that of the dry, with 37% of households listing rivers, lakes or springs as the primary water source for animals, followed by borehole or well (35.9%), outside public (7%), and other (20.1%).

4.1.7 Energy

The primary light source for the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas is paraffin lamp or candle (90.1%). Electricity or generators are used by 6.3% of the combined survey population, and 3.6% of the respondents list an "other" source of light at night. The cooking energy source is predominantly wood, with 91.3% of the households surveyed listing wood as their primary cooking source, other sources include gas (4.8%), electricity (3.2%) and other (0.7%). It would follow, then, that the primary cooking method used would be an open fire and 88.3% of the respondents indeed use an open fire for cooking, 11.2% use cookstoves of some sort, and a very small percentage (0.5%) list "other."

Firewood and water are major concerns for families in both communal areas. Firewood is important because it is the leading source of energy and cooking. Household heads were asked to categorize their method of obtaining firewood as collect or buy, and to estimate the time spent collecting firewood. Ninety-seven percent of the households collect firewood, and of those, 59% walk to collect the wood. The hours per week to fetch firewood range from zero to 24, with an average of four hours per week.

4.1.8 Household durable goods

A high number of households own a radio (72%). Donkey carts or bakkies are owned by nearly 50% of the respondents. Television, car and telephone ownership is very low with percentages of 3.6%, 27.9% and 7.1%, respectively. Figure 6 below reveals the possession of consumer goods by area.

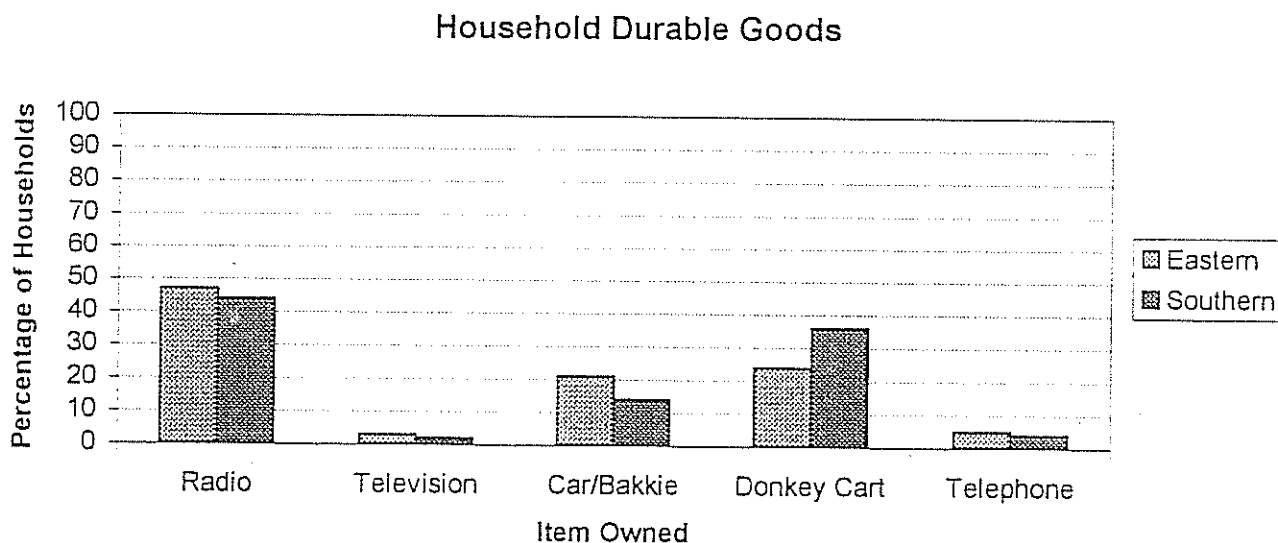


Figure 6 - Durable Goods by Area

¹¹ Since this was not an open-ended survey, the individual responses under "other" were not provided.

4.1.9 Livestock

Eighty percent of the households own livestock. Since both the Nama and the Herero are pastoralists, this figure is not surprising. As pastoralists, a certain attitude exists among communal area households regarding disposition of livestock. Most of the people are reluctant to sell their stock animals. Although this attitude prevails, economic realities often force such sale. If animals are sold, they are generally sold at a livestock auction or to a commercial farm. However, people respond that they attend an average of only one auction per year. Thirty-six percent sometimes will sell at livestock auctions, and 23% sometimes sell to commercial farms. On a regular basis, only 9% and 10% respectively sell to auctions or commercial farms. The remaining 22% either barter to shops, sell to butcheries or other. Figure 7 below illustrates the various ways livestock is sold and the respective frequency of such livestock sale. It is important to note, however, that over 90% of all survey households specify they never sell animals.

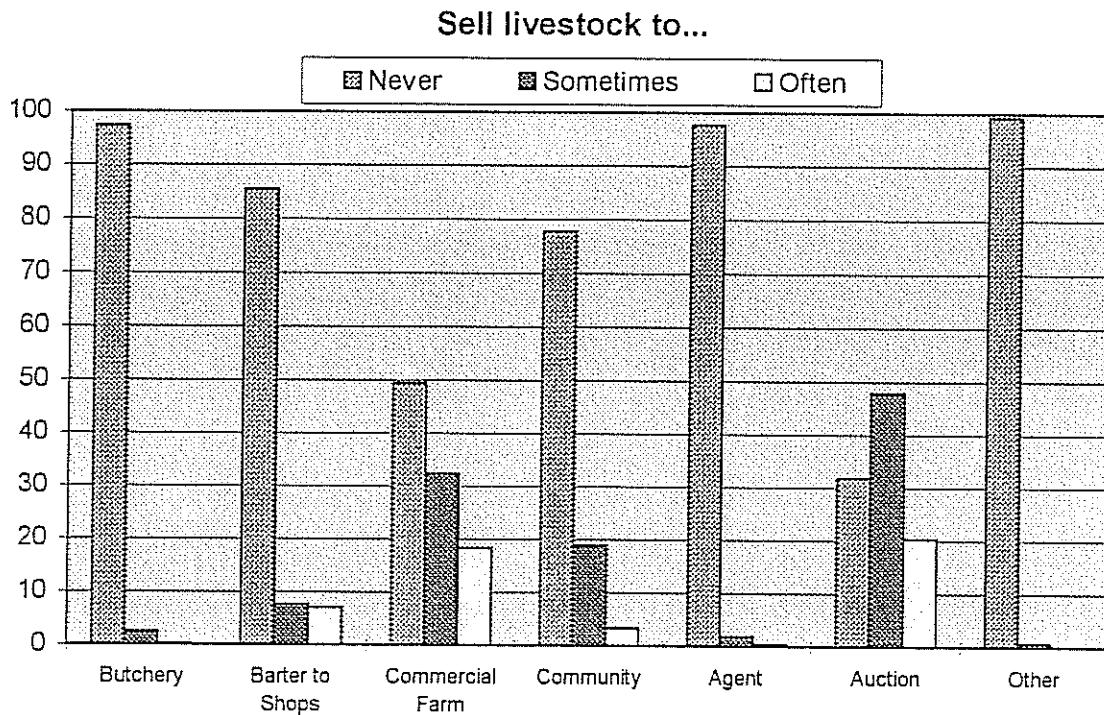


Figure 7 - Livestock Sale

4.1.10 Crops.

Only 28% of the respondents grow crops and of those individuals, 75% grow maize. Differences between the study areas regarding crop growth could not be ascertained as the crop growing question was asked in the Eastern Areas Survey exclusively. With the exception of isolated cultivation of *Inaras* by the Topnaar Nama, the Southern Communal Area residents do not grow crops. Hence, rural programs which emphasize large-scale agricultural development are not feasible for the Eastern or Southern Communal Areas.

As the above information states, households do not have substantial contributions to the household income other than pensions and some wages. Income earned from items sold within rural households is trivial. The next question to be asked of these communities is: how is food obtained for the household? Figure 8 below illustrates the various sources from which rural households obtain food.

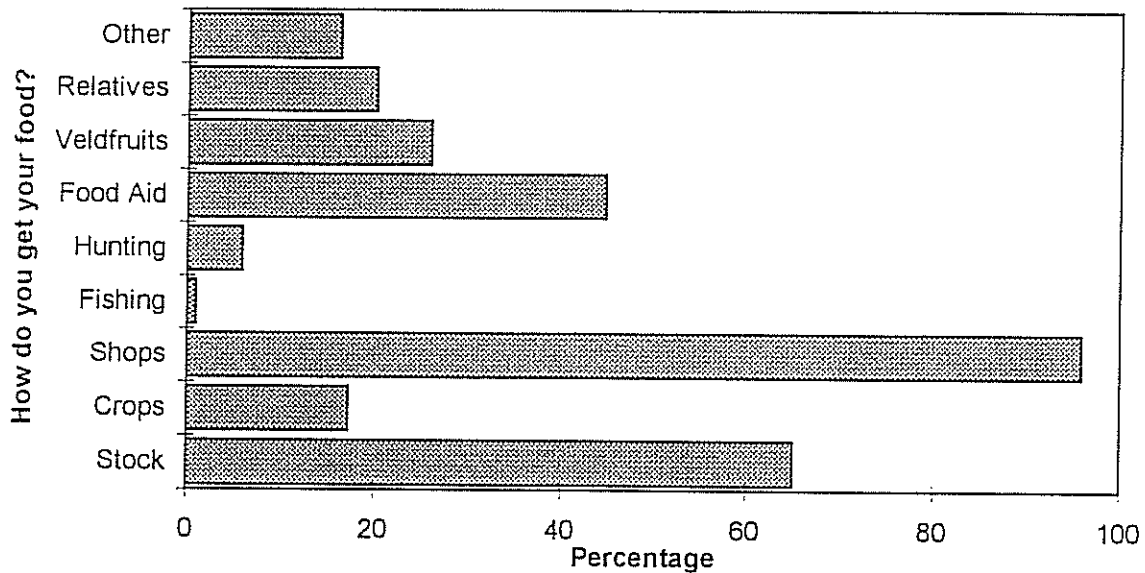


Figure 8 - Food Sources - Combined Areas

Although a fairly large number of respondents do utilize their home stock for food, the vast majority of people are getting their food from the shops. This number is significant due to the previously-discussed indication that households do not reap substantial income from items sold or raised at home. This brings up the question of how this food is obtained from the shops. Are households buying on credit? Using cash? Trading? Depending on the way households obtain food, the poverty cycle is exacerbated as the households may go into debt to the shop owners.

4.2 Similarities Between Areas

Although similarities occur between the Eastern Communal Areas and the Southern Communal Areas survey responses, there are fewer similarities than one may suspect. However, from a development perspective the similarities between the areas are important enough to warrant similar types of programs in the study areas.

Age of household head does not differ between the east and south, with the majority of individuals being over the age of 40. The average monthly income of households does not differ significantly. However, the average household income per month is slightly lower in the East (R298.58) than in the South (R303.32). Pensions are the prime contributor to household income in both areas and wages as household contributions are also similar. The household head in both areas is the main contributor to the household with a contribution rate of 87%.

Occupation of household head is not significantly different between the study groups, although the Southern Areas have slightly more farm workers (40.4% East, 59.6% South), domestic/handyman (47.1% East, 52.9% South) and pensioners (46.6% East, 53.4% South).

Contributions to the household income from selling products does not differ significantly with regard to selling meat, vegetables, grass/hay, clothes, handicrafts, firewood, bone meal, charcoal and other; possibly because in all of these categories the foremost response is "never." Households in both the East and South show similarities regarding getting food from animals, crops, fishing, veld fruits, and relatives.

Cooking methods is another similarity between the communal area households. The vast majority of households in both areas cook over an open fire and the distribution between the areas is virtually equal (50.3% Eastern, 49.7% Southern).

Possession of durable goods does not vary significantly by area. This is probably a result of unemployment, limited access to electricity and low income levels of both areas. Most of the food for the household is purchased with cash and when coupled with the low general household income level, not much cash is left for purchase of non-necessities.

4.3 Differences Between Areas

Significant differences exist between Eastern and Southern Area households in the following areas:

4.3.1 Education

Differences exist between the areas in the levels of education for head of household and spouse. Of the 41.3% of heads of household who list having no formal education, 62.7% are Eastern Area household heads, and 37.3% are Southern Area heads of household. The South has more household heads educated to the primary only level. Elementary and secondary education does not differ significantly between areas, and of the small percentage of post-secondary educated household heads (2.6%), 66.7% are Eastern and 33.3% are Southern. Figure 9 below illustrates the differences in education between household heads in the Eastern and Southern Areas.

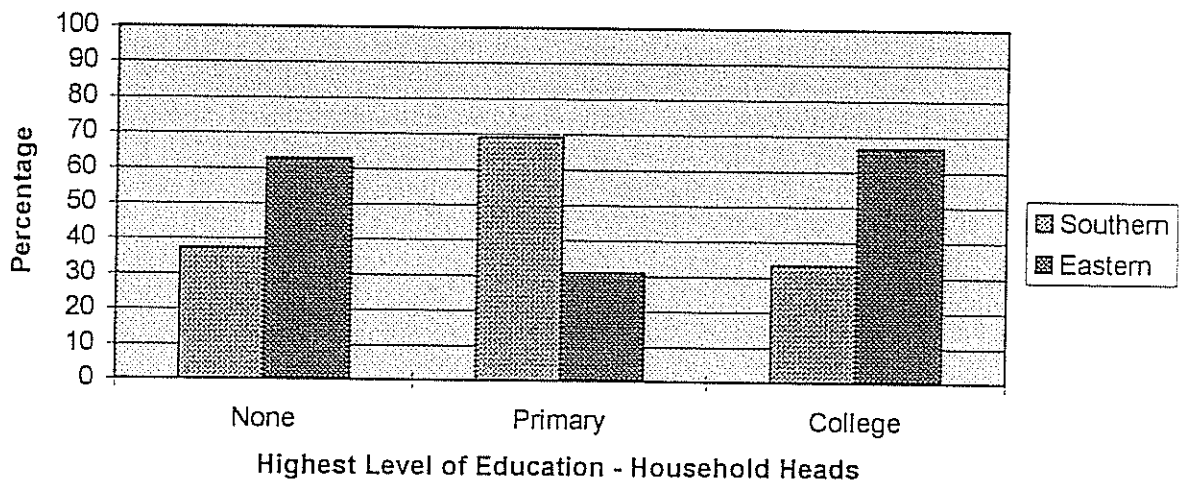


Figure 9 - Differences in Education

The Southern Area households have a higher percentage of spouses educated only to the primary level. Southern Area spouses comprise 72.3% of those listing primary only education and 27.7% are Eastern households. The Eastern Communal Area households seem to have more people benefiting from post-secondary education. Post-secondary education responses comprise only 1.7% of the total, but of those listing post-secondary, 85.7% are from the East and 14.3% from the South. Access to post-secondary education appears to be a consequence of the location of the respective communal areas. The Southern Areas are very remote and the opportunity for higher education remains much lower than in the East because of the distance having to travel.

The high levels of primary-only education found among households in both communal areas is a reflection of the high mean age of household heads. The household heads and spouses are older and probably schooled as part of the apartheid "bantu" education system, which provided primary-only levels of education for students residing in the communal areas. Thus, the general education level of household heads and spouses would not be expected to be very high, and as the data shows, it is not.

4.3.2 Work status

As Figure 10 below shows, overall employment levels are low. Full-time employment does not seem to vary significantly between the two areas. Of those respondents who are full-time employed, 58.4% are Eastern and 41.6% are Southern. Differences occur in part-time employment (60% Eastern, 40% Southern), part-time self employment (81.8% Eastern, 18.2% Southern), casual workers (71.4% Southern, 28.6% Eastern) and those looking for work (63.2% Eastern, 36.8% Southern). Of the nearly 40% of household heads in both areas who are not working and not looking for work, the majority (61.4%) are Southern households and 38.6% are Eastern. It appears from this data that even though full-time employment is rare, it is equally available to households in both areas. Occupation type is not significantly different, but government employees are more heavily

concentrated in the East with 66%, and 34% in the South. Migrant workers are found exclusively in Eastern area households.

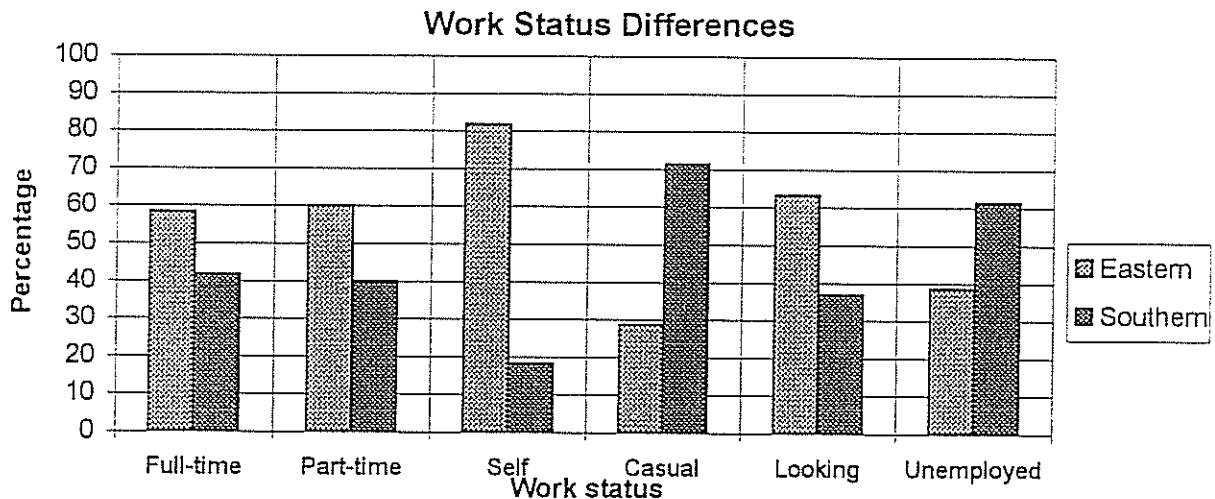


Figure 10 - Work Status Differences - Household Heads

4.3.3 Financial support.

Sources of financial support differ significantly between the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas with regard to head of household and spouse as means of support for the household. The major difference between the areas occurs in the "none" response. In these households, the head contributes no financial support in 88.1% of the households located in the Southern Areas, while the Eastern Areas have significantly lower percentages of "none" responses (11.9%). Therefore, it is assumed that spouses contribute more financial support to the Southern Area households.

The dynamic of financial support provided by the spouse in both areas is instructive. Significant differences between the areas occur in the following categories of financial support: Predominant, significant and small. Of the households listing spouse as a predominant financial source (16.2%), 74.7% are in the Southern Areas and 25.3% are in the Eastern Areas. The households responding "significant" comprise 14.7% of the total survey population and Eastern area spouses contribute significant financial support in 77.9% of those households, as opposed to 22.1% of Southern Area spouses. Finally, 74.5% of the "small" (4.8%) contributions to the household finances occur in the East, and 25.5% in the South.

A significant difference between the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas also exists with regard to household contributions and the source of these contributions. One area of difference is remittances. Slightly over five percent (5.3%) of the total households surveyed list remittances as the predominant contributor to household income; however, 83.9% of those households are located in the South while 16.1% reside in the East. Another area of difference with regard to contributions is the category of "self" as a predominant contributor. Individuals listing self as the predominant contributor to the household income comprise 16.8% of the combined population. Of this 16.8%, 71.4% are from the East and 28.6% are from the South. Animals also differ as a predominant contributor to household income (13.3% total, 92.3% from East, 7.7% from South). These dissimilarities between areas may be dependent on the fact that the Herero, the principal ethnic group in the East, are closer to urban centers.

Contributions of Karakul pelts to the household vary significantly between the East and the South, as would be expected; 96.7% of the individuals listing Karakul pelts as a predominant household contributor reside in the South.

4.3.4 Items sold

Items sold vary between areas, however, most of the households respond that they do not sell any items. Nonetheless, some difference across areas occurs with regard to other types of responses. Of the small percentage who list they sell skins often, 85.7% are from the South and 14.3% are

Eastern Area households. Homemade food is "sometimes" sold more often in the East (85.7%) than in the South (14.3%). Homebrews, again, follow along regional lines with 80% of the "often" responses from Eastern Communal Area households and 20% in the South.

4.3.5 Food sources

Variation exists between the East and South with regard to acquiring food from shops. The combined population responds overwhelmingly (73.1%) to getting their food from the shops "often." The difference exists in the category of "never." Of the 4.1% who answered they never get food from the shops, 70.8% of those individuals are from the East and 29.2% are from the South. In addition, of the 22.8% of the combined area households who list "sometimes," 76.9% are from the East, and 23.1% are from the South. An additional difference occurs between areas with regard to getting food from wild animals. In the category of "often" 66.7% of respondents reside in the East, and 33.3% reside in the South. Households responding "sometimes" to the question of wild animals as a food source comprise 86.2% in the South, and 13.8% in the East.

Receiving food aid is another area of difference. The majority (55.2%) of the combined population responded that they never receive food aid. Of those households, 69.4% reside in the South, and 30.6% are from the East. Of the 39.2% of the combined population who responded sometimes, 28.3% are from the South and 71.7% are from the East. Of the 5.6% of households who list "often" to receiving food aid, 100% are situated in the East.

The frequency with which households purchase food differs between the East and South as well. The majority of the combined population (68.3%) buy food monthly; this figure does not differ between areas. Weekly food procurement, however, differs with 65.5% in the South and 34.5% in the East. Households that do not normally buy food (5.8% of the total) are overwhelmingly situated in the Southern Areas (73.5%), as compared to 26.5% in the Eastern Areas.

4.3.6 Water source for animals

Significant differences exist between the East and South with regard to dry season water sources for animals. In the East, more households utilize outside public plumbing for stock water (76%) than in the South (24%). Well/borehole animal water sources differ between the East and South as well. Of the 51.1% of households who utilize a well/borehole water source for animals in the dry season, 60% are from the South and 40% are from the East. During the wet season, these numbers vary only slightly, with 65% of the households using well/borehole sources in the South, and 35% in the East.

4.3.7 Energy source

Energy sources also differ between the two areas. Although the households using paraffin lamps and candles as primary energy source do not differ across the combined study area population, use of electricity or generator as a primary energy source differs significantly. Of the 6.6% who list that they use electricity or generator energy sources, 94.6% are from the Eastern Communal Areas and a mere 5.4% are from the Southern Communal Areas.

4.3.8 Sale of livestock

Sale of livestock differs between the two study populations, particularly when comparing livestock sale at auctions. Nearly half (45.6%) of the Southern Communal Area households never sell livestock at auctions. Only 31.9% of the total combined population responded "never" to livestock sale at auctions. But of those individuals who sell "often" at auctions, 66.7% of those households are located in the Southern Communal Areas, and 33.3% are located in the Eastern Communal Areas.

Selling livestock to community members is slightly different between the study areas. Percentages are fairly even across the board in the categories of "never" and "often" as responses to the question regarding selling livestock to members of the community. The difference appears in the category of "sometimes." Only 18.9% of the combined population respond that they sometimes sell livestock to community members, but of this small percentage, the overwhelming majority (78.3%) reside in the Southern Communal Areas.

Aside from selling livestock at auctions or to community members, households gain income from livestock by selling to commercial farms, bartering to shop owners and selling to butcheries. Two of these categories – selling to commercial farms and bartering to shops – differ between the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas. Eastern households listing "often" to selling to commercial farms comprise 89.9% of the total percentage (18.3%) of "often" responses. Consequently, Southern Area households are responsible for only 10.1% of that figure. A further difference between the areas regarding selling to commercial farms occurs in the "never" category. Nearly half (49.4%) of the total combined area households responded they never sell livestock to commercial farms. The majority (72.9%) of these households are in the South and 27.1% are Eastern Area households.

With regard to bartering livestock to shop owners, the majority (85.4%) of the households respond "never." However, Southern Communal Area households divest themselves of more animals by bartering than households located in the East. Of the 7.6% of "sometimes" responses, 86.5% are Southern Area households and 13.5% are Eastern Area households. Seven percent of the households in the combined population respond that they often barter with the shops and of this percentage 97.1% are Southern Area households and only 2.9% are Eastern Area households.

In addition to identifying differences between various types of households between the Eastern and Southern areas, the preliminary findings determined that female-headed households have different socioeconomic status and development needs. Findings with regard to female-headed households are discussed in detail below.

4.4 Female-headed Households

During the analysis of socioeconomic data for the combined population, one group in particular appeared to stand out: Female-headed households. Female-headed households constitute approximately 23% of the combined study population and can benefit highly from development programs. The Eastern and the Southern Areas have equal numbers of female-headed households, with 52.1% from the East and 47.9% from the South. Following are particular demographic and economic data for the female-headed population in the combined East and South, as well as differences found between female-headed households in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas.

The average number of families in female-headed households is one. Within the household, the mean number of children is four and the households list an average of three adults over age 16 present within the household. A question that comes to mind is the presence of young children in the households. Although a specific question was not asked, due to the advanced mean age of household heads (56) it appears that many children are fostered out to their grandparents or other older individuals. Although the average number of children per household is four, only three are attending school. It is difficult to ascertain whether the child not attending school is too young or is kept home due to family obligations or other matters. Additionally, only one survey (the 1994 Survey) asked a question regarding why children were not in school. As such, the data are not outlined here because a comparative sample is not available.

The mean income for female-headed households at the time of the surveys was R258.07 per month, 14% lower than the total survey population. Financial support in female-headed households is, as expected, predominantly by the female heads. However, some other household members provide support including daughter (28.5%), son (28%), relative (11.3%), mother (9.6%), father (2.7%) and other (6.2%). Daughters provide more support for the family than any other category and mothers provide more support than fathers, which may indicate a cyclical pattern of the female-headed household perpetuating itself through multiple generations.

The education level for female-headed households is depressed; 39% respond they have no education whatsoever, 40.7% have primary level only, 17.1% have either attended or finished secondary school, and 2.1% responded to having college or practical training. As is consistent with the combined population, education levels are in desperate need of advancement. The minimum education levels for the combined population are low, however, the female-headed households possess even less education than their nuclear family or male-headed counterparts.

Work status is equally exigent; 58.3% of female household heads are unemployed, 3.7% are part-time or casual workers, and 38% list some type of full-time employment, either self or otherwise.

Occupations vary from pensioner (32.1%), not working away from home (43.9%), government employee (12.8%), other (8.0%), farm workers (2.1%), and domestic/migrant workers (1.0%). The data here appears inconsistent with the employment status, as over 70% of respondents list their occupation as either pensioner or not working away from home. If both variables are taken in concert, at least three-quarters of the female household heads are unemployed.

In general, no statistically significant differences exist across the study areas with regard to employment status, however, a disparate pattern does emerge from the data. Apparently, employment opportunities for women are more accessible in the East. Of the nearly 40% of female-headed households who list themselves as full-time employed, 80% reside in the Eastern Communal Areas. The same pattern appears with regard to part-time employment; with 71.4% of female heads of household with part-time employment located in the East, and 28.6% located in the South.

Most female-headed households live in corrugated iron shacks (47.1%), followed by brick/iron houses (30.5%), traditional houses or huts (17.7%), clay houses (2.7%) and other (2.1%); which are generally owned by the household members (88.8%). The surveys did not address whether the home ownership is through purchase or squatting. The water source does not vary significantly from dry to rainy season. Water sources for female-headed households are illustrated in Appendix D. Slightly more than 50% (50.3% - dry, 51% - rainy) of female-headed households share the water source with animals.

The majority (76.1%) of female-headed households own livestock. Figure 11 sets forth stock animal ownership for female-headed households. It appears that female-headed households own larger numbers of goats and sheep than cattle. Often when talking about pastoral societies such as the Nama and Herero, one tends to think of livestock as primarily cattle. The data shows, however, the primary livestock owned by the female-headed household is goats, followed by sheep, then cattle.

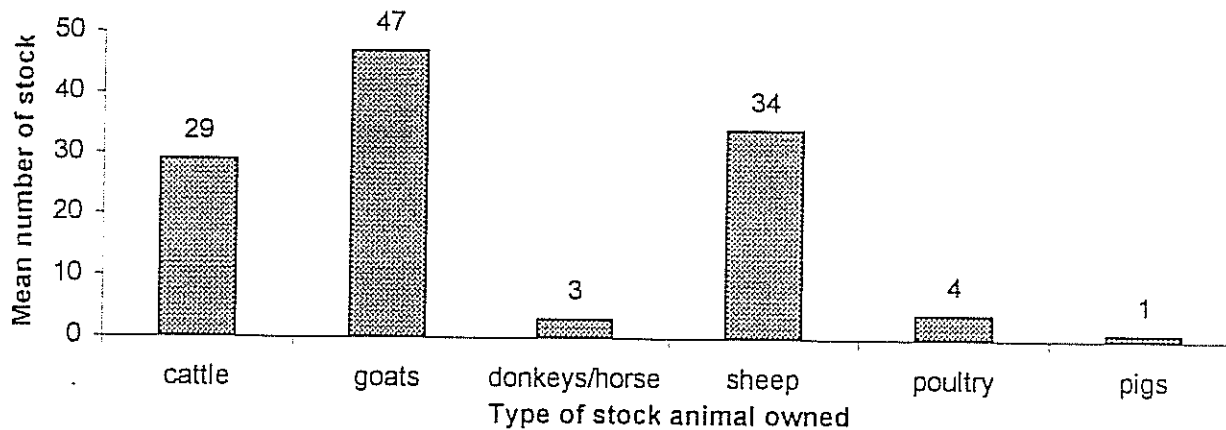


Figure 11 - Stock Animal Ownership for Female-Headed Households

Respondents were asked if they sold livestock and if so, what type of venue the livestock was sold in, either auction, agent, community members, commercial farms, bartering to shop owner, selling to butchery or selling to "other." In general the female-headed households never sell their livestock¹² but when asked if livestock is sold at auction, 36.4% responded never, followed by 33.8% sometimes, 14.6% seldom, 8.6% regularly and 6.6% fairly often.

Open fire is the chief cooking method for female-headed households (88.8%) and 11.3% use stoves. With regard to household durable goods, female-headed households as a whole tend to possess approximately equal numbers of consumables as the total survey population.

Female-headed households in the combined survey population are in more immediate need of development programs than the total population and in general comprise the highest numbers of "never" responses to various means of support, items sold and sources of food. Appendix D, entitled

¹² See Appendix 4 for livestock sale venues for female-headed households.

"Female-Headed Households," represents comparative data found between female-headed households and the total survey population with regard to the above-mentioned responses. The appendix contains comparative data found between the two populations, as well as demographic data of the isolated population.

Differences between the two study populations with regard to rent paid per month are statistically significant: 81.3% of female-headed households pay no rent, 9.4% pay between 10 and 100 Rand, and an equal number (9.4%) pay over 100 rand for rent per month. The data indicates that female-headed households in the South are paying more rent. Of the 81.3% of the combined population who responded they pay no rent, only 28.3% are Southern Area female-headed households, and 71.7% are Eastern Area female-headed households. In addition, 100% of the female-headed households who pay over 100 rand per month in rent are Southern Communal Area residents. This creates a disparity between the amount of rent paid by female-headed households and the employment status of the household. It appears that the Southern Area female-headed households are suffering from high levels of unemployment as well as high rent prices.

Food security of female-headed households is perilous, over 90% of the respondents list getting food from the shops and 58% list shops as the place where they obtain food most of the time. Consider this variable with the lower household income, lower education levels, percentages of children living in the household, and the rent paid by female-headed households when compared to the total survey population and it becomes clear that this is a subpopulation which could not only benefit from development programs, but is in desperate, immediate need of them.

4.5 Key Informants

In addition to the surveys of the households themselves, surveys were given to key informants in both communal areas. The key informant surveys differ from those given to the households within the areas. "Key informants" are defined as community leaders, church leaders, teachers, health workers and shop owners. One-fourth (25.6%) of the key informants are from the East and the remaining 74.4% are from the South. Status of key informants is evenly distributed between community leaders (21.1%), teachers (21.1%), and church leaders (11.8%) but there is a much higher percentage (43.4%) who list themselves as "other."¹³ The percentage of males acting as key informants (68.8%) is higher than females acting in the same capacity (31.2%).

When questioned about the employment of rural individuals, key informants were asked to respond "none," "very few," "half," "more than half," and "most." Figure 12 illustrates the perceptions of the key informants with regard to rural employment status.

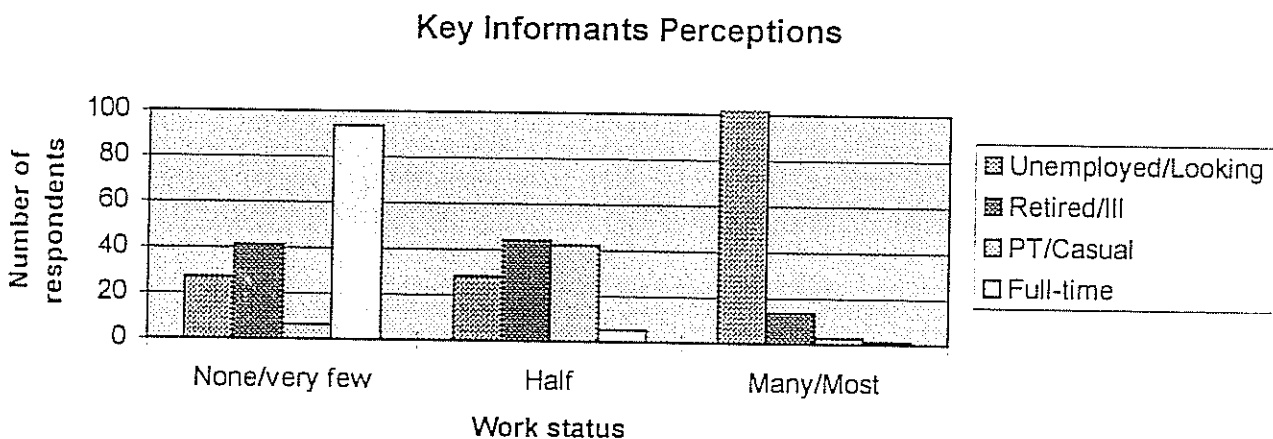


Figure 12 - Key Informants' Perceptions

¹³ Due to the fact that the survey data was not collected by the author, it is impossible to delineate what types of occupations and status the key informants listing themselves in the "other" category possess.

Key informants cite that most rural individuals are unemployed, looking for work, ill, retired or uninterested. Approximately half of the rural individuals are perceived by key informants to be employed as casual workers, very few individuals do home farming for a living, and key informants list primarily "none" to wage employment as a method of making a living in their respective communities.

Key informants were asked to identify development priorities; presumably to reflect what the individuals living in the areas will benefit from. Food and water procurement head the list. Gardening as a development priority provides 26.8% of responses and 32.1% of key informants list water as the top development priority. Other priorities include sewing and knitting industries (8.9%), agricultural or technical training programs (8.9%), roads and transport (7.1%), housing (3.6%), financial help and loans (1.8%), health facilities (1.8%), food aid (1.8%), farming (1.8%), alcohol counseling and crime prevention (1.8%), bread making (1.8%) and employment (1.8%). Many development priorities as perceived by the key informants have to do with building infrastructure in the communities themselves. If people are not housed, healthy, and have access to water and roads, then they cannot benefit from actual industrial and technical types of programs simply because the basic needs of the households and individuals are not being met. With regard to implementation of the stated development priorities, informants were asked if they thought the individuals in the rural areas would contribute time and material to said priorities without receiving any wages for their contributions. Sixty percent of the informants indicate that they think more than half of the residents would contribute time and materials without pay to implement development programs.

Key informants in both areas identify alcohol as a problem with regard to development; 84% of key informants respond that alcohol is a barrier to implementing development programs, and for the community in general, 16% of key informants indicate that alcohol is not a problem in the community. Key informants in both areas agree that problems are discussed in the community. The majority of key informants (78.1%) state that people do discuss problems occurring in the communities; 21.9% of the key informants, however, feel that problems are not discussed. Although not a statistical difference between areas, the key informants are rather divided regarding the feasibility of development activities in the areas with 50.7% responding yes, and 49.3% responding no to the question.

As would be expected, there are some differences in key informants' perceptions about development and priorities between the Eastern and Southern Areas. Significant differences between the areas include the knowledge of how to make stoves, where people meet and the places they meet. In general, however, key informants in the East and South agree on the majority of the questions they were asked about the communities. Key informants overwhelmingly agree that development is a priority and that people are willing to get involved in development programs if results are foreseeable.

5. RURAL DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Rural development in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas is a government priority and of great importance to the community members. Rural development strives to improve production methods, expand economic potential and broaden infrastructure in rural communities (Felstehausen and Diaz-Cisneros 1985:285). Rural development themes, examples and concepts are reviewed in this section in order to evaluate the potential for development in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas.

Rural development strategies are frequently implemented within three major topical areas (Allanson, Murdoch, Garrod and Lowe 1995:1810-1811): (i) technological development, including introducing new techniques which are linked with more established traditional practices and social systems; (ii) economic development, in the form of recommendations for income generating activities; and (iii) social and cultural development, which addresses factors influencing willingness of individuals to receive development programs, as well as enhancing communication and decisionmaking among rural individuals. This section is organized under these three topics and aims to make recommendations and suggestions for development strategies in the study areas based on background investigation and the findings.

In the past, rural development has often been synonymous with agricultural growth (see Byerlee and Eicher 1972, Felstehausen, et al. 1985, Lele 1975, Totemeyer 1978, Widstrand 1970). Agriculture can provide employment, income growth, resource development, fewer disparities in income, access to health, education and other services as well as food security (Christiansen 1993:1560, Webster 1990:150). Unfortunately, many agriculture-based programs either fail completely or add more difficulty to the communities through social factors or increased bureaucracy (Arensberg 1987:72). There is much more to rural development, particularly in Namibia, than increasing agricultural production (Lister 1992:3); appropriate programs should include technological, economic and social-cultural aspects.

Development programs need to involve the individuals who will ultimately benefit from them and an attitude of self-help as opposed to handout should be stressed (Lister 1992:3). However, designing programs involving participation within communities not normally accustomed to having a voice in their affairs may be an arduous task (Turner 1987:121). Historical and political factors occurring in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas have greatly influenced the status of the rural individuals residing in those communities. Key informants surveyed in both areas state that cooperation among the people is in need of improvement. As such, balancing rural and urban development sectors in Namibia will require weighing two conflicting development concerns: National economic growth, and equitable distribution of development benefits. Expectations of the people regarding rural development programs are high; therefore, it is important to have a coordinated, integrated and effective national mechanism for program implementation.

Implementation strategies should focus attention on forms of development which provide for social needs, create income earning opportunities, develop workers' skills and are environmentally sensitive (Webster 1990:12-13). The most important objective of rural development strategies must be to correct the disparities in resource distribution, to improve income earning opportunities, to promote rural entrepreneurs, and to encourage growth of export production (Christiansen 1993:1562).

5.1 Technological Development

A review of rural development literature has identified emphasis on small-scale industrial production to provide rural employment (Norcliffe, et al. 1984:9-24, Migot-Adholla 1970:17-37, Lele 1975, Hyd9n 1970:61-80, Felstehausen and Diaz-Cisneros 1985:285-292, Diallo 1986:159-166, Chuta and Sethuraman 1984, Christiansen 1993:1549-1566). A great deal of the development literature highlights agricultural programs (see Byerlee and Eicher 1972, Felstehausen, et al. 1985, Lele 1975, Totemeyer 1978, Widstrand 1970, Christiansen 1993, Webster 1990, Lister 1992), which are by and large not appropriate for the Southern and Eastern Communal Areas. However, small-scale horticultural gardening activities making use of new technological resources could be successful. If technological development activities are to succeed in the study areas in particular, development efforts will have to address the issues of water, gardening techniques and energy consumption.

5.1.1 Water

Water management, in the form of controlled water supply and water purity, is a vital rural development priority (Bardhan 1993:633). Water supply is an issue at the forefront – The ongoing drought has caused the government to contemplate controversial water pipeline projects along the Okavango River in the northeastern areas of the country (The Namibian 1997:1). Except during drought years, Namibia has adequate rainfall in some regions during the rainy season and 1997 yielded abundant amounts of rain; however the high rate of evaporation results in loss of significant amounts of usable water. Water security could easily be increased in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas through the construction and use of water catchments. Afrikaner and German farms in these same climatic zones currently utilize water catchments which collect rainfall from corrugated iron roofs – rain that simply evaporates on communal area farms. Earthen dams could also be built to collect water that would otherwise wash away during rains. Catchment areas created by these dams would serve to hold water long enough for it to soak into the ground, thereby replenishing the water table. Drought aid programs should strive to provide financial and technical assistance for construction of the above-mentioned catchments.

Eastern and Southern Communal Area households need better water pump technology. Findings indicate that boreholes are used by both study areas, but more often in the Southern Areas as the primary water source. More households in the Eastern Areas use public plumbing as their primary

water source. Solar energy and wind power programs could benefit both areas: In the South to power borehole pumps, and in the East to provide hot water for public plumbing.

The findings indicate that over half of the households in both the Eastern and the Southern Communal Areas share water with animals in the dry season. When water is shared with stock, the source of the water often becomes contaminated. Animals can trample mud and other debris into the water source. Separate sources of water for people and animals are needed in both areas, but particularly in the Southern Communal Areas as these households share water with animals more often than households in the East.

Water security in the form of reliable, efficient water sources, water supply and water management for potable water is needed in both study areas. More efficient water management, however, should be emphasized in the Southern Communal Areas because of the arid environment occurring there. Water purity issues are also more important for the South, as more households share their water source with livestock. Increasing water supply is an integral factor in increasing cooperation among the people; when water supply is low, cooperation among the people tends to decline as well (Bardhan 1993:636). If water can be seen as an economic resource, and control of the resource can be given over to the local people, cooperation can be increased and secure sources of usable water can be provided (Chan 1990:468-470).

5.1.2 Gardening

Technological development efforts should also concentrate on more efficient food production. A development recommendation may be to conceive of ways that households can provide food for themselves from their own goods with minimal expenditures in the shops. To attain this goal, development programs could support some type of gardening program, either communal or individual, so the households need not rely so much on food from the shops. Gardening was not found to be a common activity in either of the study areas, particularly the Southern Communal Areas, which may make implementation of a gardening program challenging at first. However, key informants in both study areas indicate interest in gardening activities to improve food security. One suggestion would be to research the feasibility of corn, tomatoes, chili peppers, and other low water use garden crops.

Low water use gardening techniques and dry land irrigation in both study areas should be emphasized. A recommendation for the Southern Areas in particular is cultivation of herbs and veld fruits which are currently collected by many households. Both areas depend primarily on the shops for food security and it is important for development programs to stress horticultural activities in the form of household gardens to produce food as opposed to buying food from the shops. A subsistence garden which raises the level of food production for the household by as little as 10% would make a major difference in the household expenditures of both areas.

5.1.3 Energy

Energy consumption is an important factor in technological development, particularly in the study areas because of the high number of households who are using wood as the primary fuel source. Programs have been implemented in other areas with regard to the utilization of alternative means of fuel as well as more energy efficient methods of cooking and heating (Tucker 1986, Banerjee 1981, Volunteers in Technical Assistance 1980).

Wood is the primary energy source for both the Eastern and the Southern Communal Areas and respondents spend an average of four hours per week gathering firewood. Households in the Eastern Communal Areas use more electricity than their Southern counterparts. Nevertheless, over 88% of the combined survey population cooks over an open flame. This method only utilizes five to ten percent of the available energy in firewood (Tucker 1986:181). Introduction of efficient woodburning stoves for domestic use may have a significant impact on the amount of wood used.

Key informants state that 55.7% of the people have the knowledge of how to make cookstoves, but only 13.3% use locally made stoves. The manufacture of energy efficient stoves is a recommendation that could be implemented fairly quickly and easily. Use of a more energy efficient stove would reduce the time and effort devoted to gathering firewood, thereby enhancing the prospect of implementing further development activities.

people are forced to rid themselves of their only source of cultural wealth in order to meet their daily needs.

Technical support and training regarding animal husbandry and other livestock issues would enable Southern Area farmers to sell healthy livestock at will, therefore commanding higher prices. Animal husbandry training programs are a particularly suitable choice for both areas and funding sources, such as the Getty Trust/World Bank partnership, are currently focused on programs which integrate cultural heritage as a force in promoting sustainable development.

5.2.2 Marketing and Cooperatives

With regard to marketing the output that the study areas desire to produce, cooperatives may be one way to begin. Individuals tend to be more cooperative when others cooperate as well, if the benefit of cooperation is clear, and if individual gain would not outweigh cooperative gain (Bardhan 1993:634). Individuals in the rural areas often do not have enough money to buy needed tools and materials, have deficient collateral to receive credit, and lack reliable means for marketing, purchasing or transport. A cooperative setting may enable the communities to obtain credit, start income generating activities, acquire needed technology and sell their products. Additionally, cooperatives can often repay government loans easier and faster than individuals can (Diallo 1986:159).

The intention of cooperatives is to organize exchange among towns and villages and to develop inter-cooperative relations between production cooperatives and consumer cooperatives. If these intentions are accomplished, it serves to benefit both cooperative members and community members, as well as to raise the social, economic and technological standing of the area (Diallo 1986:163).

Cooperatives do not currently exist in the study areas, partially as a result of friction and an attitude of non-cooperation among the people. Counseling individuals as to the reasons why they do not wish to cooperate and explaining the economic benefits a cooperative could provide is recommended. Financial management, organizational techniques and other management functions must be available to cooperative participants, emphasis needs to be on motivating the cooperative, not merely disseminating information (Hyd9n 1970:75). Suitable cooperative ventures in the Communal Areas may include handicrafts, sewing, leatherwork, garden products, beekeeping/honey and child care.

Female-headed households are identified in the survey areas as having particular economic needs. Female-headed households, as a marginalized group, need to be targeted for income generating programs, vocational training and education. As the findings show, female-headed households earn on the average 14% less than the rest of the study population. Rural women may be able to improve living conditions by producing and marketing their goods (Diallo 1986:165). Very few individuals are identified by key informants as producing handicrafts; however, in the Eastern Areas there is a strong interest in sewing. Vocational programs which enable rural women to acquire sewing expertise, provide a market for resale of goods, or create opportunities for tailoring, alterations and garment repair may be well received in the study areas.

5.2.3 Tourism

Tourism development can create job opportunities and economic development. The Minister of Environment and Tourism predicts a growth rate in the tourism industry over the next two to three years of approximately ten percent per year. The most immediate employment opportunities with regard to the tourism industry include service occupations and possibly marketing locally produced products. Wildlife resources present in some areas may benefit rural communities. The Nature Conservation Amendment Act was passed in 1996 to give rural communities some control over their wildlife resources. Although the act calls for resuming controlled commercial ivory trading, it may be that "control" over wildlife resources by rural communities would be better suited in the long term to promote conservation of rural wildlife through ventures such as photographic safari guides and tracking activities since the international ivory ban has not been lifted.

5.2.4 Agribusiness/Forestry

Although large-scale agricultural development programs are not feasible for the Communal Areas, some smaller agricultural ventures may be appropriate income generators for households. A Forestry Research and Tree Seed Centre recently opened in Okahandja to increase knowledge regarding tree planting programs. Opportunities for small stock farmers may exist in these areas through a practice called silvopasture (growing trees, cattle and grass on the same land). The large amounts of wood used by both areas necessitate some sort of forestry program if firewood is going to continue to be used as the primary fuel source.

Another agribusiness venture which may be appropriate for communal areas is beekeeping. Feasibility studies regarding environmental and ecological effects of beekeeping may need to be undertaken; however, agricultural loans may be available to individuals and cooperatives for these types of ventures. Honey and beeswax are both marketable products that could be produced and sold in the communal areas with a minimum of investment.

Bringing rural individuals into the business sector is essential. Often in the past rural individuals were simply excluded from business and marketing opportunities, particularly in Namibia. Consequently, rural development programs must always include a marketing component in their strategy. Knowledge of competition practices is imperative (Felstehausen, et al. 1985:288). The study area communities have low purchasing power and high transportation costs, competition with imports in the local markets is intense, and often local prices are too high when compared with import prices because of mass production. Small business management training, including education about marketing regulations, microcredit financing programs, and pricing strategies may serve to increase the economic potential of locally manufactured goods. However, the main priority of economic development programs must be to provide needed infrastructure and, consequently, increase levels of self-subsistence for the households.

5.3 Social and Cultural Development

Once basic human needs have been met, rural development programs can then turn to social and cultural development. The historical and ethnographic particularities present in Namibia (Couch 1996) have had a profound effect on residents in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas. Successful development programs are needed in order to perpetuate the dignity, self respect and self reliance that came with independence (Damens 1993:55). Pride in traditions, kin, family and territory through development of outcamps, school curriculum, language and ceremony participation can instill a sense of power and willingness of individuals to try new types of economic development programs.

Key informants in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas identify barriers to development which involve issues such as alcoholism, non-communication between people, and political differences. The South in particular suffers many social problems related to drinking and key informants in the Southern Areas express desire for activities for young people to curb alcohol consumption levels. Development strategies aimed at allaying social pathologies such as those experienced by communal area residents and creating high levels of participation in development projects may wish to consider cultivation of cultural development programs in order to better prepare people for work opportunities (Elias 1996:14-16).

5.3.1 Community Development Programs

One enterprise which began in Namibia in 1984 was the Bricks Community Project ("Bricks"). Bricks began as a grassroots organization for socioeconomic change in the face of the Namibian liberation struggle. It focused on self-help, micro-development, and "people taking their destiny into their own hands" (Bricks Project Report 1988:14, 39). The ideal in 1984 was to train local individuals and create community projects, including non-formal education programs such as media workshops, gardening programs, pre-school education and small business concerns (Bricks Project Report 1988:23). To attain their goals, Bricks endeavors to work on publications, technical activities, non-formal, alternative education and cultural development. One publication started by the Bricks program is a non-profit community newspaper. Bricks encourages communities to start their own local papers to provide experience and employment for reporters, clerical staff, sales, advertising and distribution personnel (Bricks Project Report 1988:17).

Bricks is involved with the Namibian Women's Voice, a children's book forum, the National Students Organization, YWCA, and People's Primary School. The program planners are very interested in recognizing the reemergence of local culture. Bricks concentrates on development of traditional drama, music, dance, and art, and many community messages are performed as skits or plays. Dance troupes are being formulated to recognize traditional music and dance as a source of ethnic pride. Art projects include murals, cartoons, t-shirt manufacture, posters, traditional basketry and leatherworking (Bricks Project Report 1988:28-31). Cultural development programs such as Bricks, if implemented in the study areas, can put teachers to better use, promote culture and tradition, and lead to improvement of individual self-image.

A cultural renewal in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas is presently in the developing stages with grassroots movements to revive some of the traditional cultural forms. Cultural activities include the Southern Cultural Group which explores the musical talents of Nama melodies. It is envisioned that this cultural group will expand out into other art forms including leatherworking, metalworking, painting and literature (Damens 1993:51). Government sponsored programs such as the Namibian Book Development Council, the Culture Trust Fund, and the Namibian National Cultural Troupe have also been formed (Strauss 1993:40-43).

Both communal areas have large concentrations of older individuals and children under the age of 16. As a result, children and young adults will ultimately benefit more from subsequent educational development programs than the household heads in this particular study because of this skewed age profile revealed in the data. Development programs must be planned to account for this age profile. Programs are needed to attract the age category which is currently missing from the rural areas (see Figure 1).

Development options for the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas include training in gardening, animal husbandry, water technology, and basic reading and math skills. Both areas could also benefit from counseling in alcohol awareness, domestic violence, STD/AIDS, sexual education and teenage pregnancy. The findings indicate low education levels in both study areas; as such, key informants express a need for literacy classes and availability of reading materials to sustain the literacy rate. Individuals residing in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas can be trained as counselors and literacy tutors, providing needed infrastructure to the communities and lessening the need to move to the urban centers to utilize newly found skills.

5.3.2 Rural Towns

Rural development programs will not lessen the flow of rural area migrants to the urban centers in the short term unless the motivation of the migrants is known. Migratory income earning opportunities often provide better income earning potential than cottage industries and/or field crop production. For many people, the priority is urban employment, however, urban areas are becoming overcrowded with unemployed and unemployable rural individuals. To alleviate this mass rural exodus, it will be especially important for development programs to concentrate on the lowest income groups who do not have access to pensions or other types of income. The demand for rural labor and products must be strengthened either in the economy, by creating more integrated and flexible markets, or by providing relevant training (Christiansen 1993:1562).

Urbanization cannot be stopped, but if well-planned urbanization strategies are in place, it may be at least manageable and possibly decreased (Stals 1987:7). National strategies for rural development must take into account interdependencies between rural and urban populations with regard to labor markets and migration (Byerlee & Eicher, 1972:1-2). The high levels of unemployment in rural areas need to be managed from within the rural sector. As previously stated, key informants indicate low willingness to cooperate among communal area residents. Migration works against cooperation (Bardhan 1993:636) and, as such, migration issues within the study areas need to be addressed. Decentralization, in the form of developing rural towns may aid in development by providing much-needed support services and infrastructure.

Rural towns may be an effective way to enhance infrastructure in order to speed the development process. Rural towns can serve as locations for small scale industries, tourism, training centers and medical facilities. They can provide a pool of resources and employment for support personnel, including planners, extension workers, teachers, medical technicians and entrepreneurs, and can speed modernization by "bringing urban culture to the countryside" (Merrington 1986:47). Various

rural towns exist in Namibia which could benefit from town-development programs. Regional development programs could continue to operate to find a viable economic base to sustain these rural towns (Stals 1987:11). In the Southern Areas, Gibeon, Tses, Berseba and Kosis may be starting points for rural town development. Okamatapati, Epikuro and Otumborombonga could be developed as rural centers in the Eastern Communal Areas.

Developing rural towns in or near the Communal Areas into regional centers may relieve rural/urban migration pressures; however, external forces are necessary to stimulate economic and general growth in the rural towns (Stals 1987:13). The growing tourism industry may generate some income for the rural areas. In any event, outside financial and technical support is important and is often found through university and microcredit programs. Having university connections also provides opportunities for local field personnel who are interested in getting access to higher education. Most importantly, continuity and longevity is fostered as a result of opportunities created for local workers (Felstehausen, et al. 1985:289).

5.4 Synopsis

The findings reveal a need for development priorities in both the Eastern and the Southern Communal Areas. Differences with regard to education, income, rent paid, dependence on shops for food, and disposal of livestock were found. The survey analysis set out to compare and contrast both communal areas and, as illustrated previously in this report, significant differences do exist between the two populations. However; when formulating recommendations for development programs, it appears more practical to treat the study areas as a combined group for planning and program implementation.

Once recommendations have been considered and programs are being planned for implementation, the question arises as to how to disperse information about development opportunities among households in the study areas. An effective medium for both the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas would be through radio programs as over 70% of the households own a radio.

Radio ownership is important with regard to development because often radio announcements are the only source for dissemination of information that these households receive. Radio listenership is also important due to the low literacy rate in the communal areas. Development training and information could be announced over the radio in the language of the respective communities. Community meetings need to be planned, and radio is one way to get information to the household members to attend these community meetings.

After the community meetings have been planned and announced over the radio, the question arises as to the format of such training and/or meetings. Community theater for development is a suggestion that may have success in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas. Interest in songs and drama appears high in Namibia (cf. Bricks), many types of training projects can be introduced through the medium of community theater. The generally low literacy rates in the study areas preclude the use of traditional educational strategies; however, visual learning and dramatic skits could easily convey information and instruction in a multiplicity of topics. AIDS education, teenage pregnancy, basic gardening skills, animal husbandry, introduction to computers, and many other topics lend themselves very easily to a community theater forum.

The legacy of apartheid and the history of oppression in the study areas has led to a lack of initiative, particularly in the Eastern Communal Areas. Whatever the method, cooperation among the people in both study areas needs to be enhanced. Community friction could possibly be reduced through implementation of self-help programs, money generating activities, overall social and cultural development, and the introduction of cooperatives for manufacturing and marketing cookstoves, skins, handicrafts and cattle.

6. CONCLUSION

One of the problems of rural Africa, as in many Third World countries, is the rapid growth in population in rural areas and resulting migrations of poor, unskilled workers into the urban centers which causes concern for urban policy-makers. Alternatives to high urban migration include diverting the population away from the large cities into the smaller towns and/or formulating non-agricultural development enterprises which are both appealing and stable in order to keep individuals in the rural

areas (Chuta, et al 1984:1). In Namibia, agriculture and pastoralism have traditionally been the main source of employment in the rural areas. However, as the population has increased, the land available for agriculture and pastoralism has not. In order to develop a labor market in Namibia for rural individuals and to curb the extensive urban influx, non-agricultural forms of employment are essential.

The Namibian Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development names rural development as a top priority for intervention (Iken et al. 1994:i). In an attempt to assess what needs exist, various surveys have been administered by numerous organizations including the Directorate of Extension of Engineering Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development, and the Social Science Division, Multi-disciplinary Research Center at the University of Namibia. This paper is but one analysis of communal area data. The focus of the paper has been to identify similarities and differences in the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas in order to make recommendations for implementation of development programs. The findings have shown many areas which could benefit from rural development programs. Female-headed households are identified as one specific subgroup which can benefit highly from immediate educational and economic development programs. The research takes historical, cultural and economic factors into consideration when formulating development recommendations for the two study areas.

A beginning for recommendation and implementation of development programs first requires areas of potential need to be identified. This publication, by comparing two regions which were administered similar surveys and identifying similar needs as well as differences between the two populations, allows comprehensive development programs to be formulated more readily.

6.1 Limitations

Although efforts were made to ensure the sampling frame was as representative as possible, as with any sampling survey the results may not represent the entire population with a high degree of certainty. All of the respondents answered the questions; however, categories such as household income and number of livestock are sensitive. The surveys may have been limited due to wariness of the respondents. Researchers considered that the livestock numbers may be distorted, again due to sensitivity of the question. Consequently, farmers with large numbers of animals may fear being expelled from the areas or asked to pay higher grazing fees. With regard to income, some individuals keep their own private money to spend on personal items; therefore, they may not include their own personal money in the household income. Additionally, in Herero speaking populations the herds are generally family herds and animals may belong to relatives not living in the areas, which also may distort responses regarding livestock number.

The surveys were not created and administered by the author. The limitation of this is that when questions arose regarding the data, it was not feasible to re-survey individuals to get responses. The surveys failed to list different types of products and demand, if any, thus making it difficult to ascertain if recommended marketing strategies would be effective.

6.2 Recommendations for Further Research

This is by no means an exhaustive listing of development recommendations and it is recognized that further research into some strategies including water use, manufacture of stoves, community theater, education and health is needed. Research into the sociocultural factors which distinguish the East from the South may be needed upon implementation of development programs to assure acceptance and success of those programs. Additional areas for further research include the implementing information technology such as a nationwide development database to incorporate information regarding multiple communal areas. The database would enable program directors to make blanket development recommendations when similarities among areas occur and specific adjustments with regard to any differences between areas. This development program is an attainable goal which could begin as soon as possible in the Eastern and Southern Areas.

Existing surveys could be fine tuned with minimal effort, then used to survey other communal area groups. A central location for assessing all the communal areas' developmental needs will alleviate repeat work and waste – eliminating bureaucratic tier levels by housing a minimal central staff and various field development agents. Uniform programs of development, when feasible, can further

reduce the administrative costs of implementation and allocate much needed funds toward actual development programs.

A Telecentre may be appropriate for the Eastern Communal Areas, since a technical institute already exists there. The telecentre could provide training in information technology such as word processing programs, Internet, web page creation and electronic mail. A telecentre could also provide distance learning opportunities for rural individuals. Networking technology workshops for countries in the early stages of internetworking exist and are readily available to development planners (ISOC Workshop 1998:1).

Development programs which could be explored are those dealing with the consequence of extensive use of wood by both areas for fuel and its effects on the environment. Research into energy alternatives such as solar, wind power and recycling programs is needed. Beekeeping and forestry program feasibility and implementation projects are also needed and could be started with minimal expense.

With regard to implementation of marketing programs, more research is needed on what types of things are in demand, how to get marketing and trade networks started, microcredit financing issues, cooperatives and any geographic and cultural factors that may limit marketing strategies and programs.

Research recommendations and development suggestions have been outlined in this paper; however, the main priority in both the Eastern and Southern Communal Areas should be action. The households residing in these areas need programs to provide household food security. Once basic subsistence levels are raised within the areas, possible re-surveying may be feasible. However, for the immediate future, research as an end in itself should be curtailed and any funds earmarked for development should be used for action, not more data collection. Raising the minimum subsistence levels will not happen overnight, these populations have been under-developed, under-educated and under-employed for many years. Historical, political and economic factors have all interwoven to create a thick tapestry of oppression within these two population groups. This paper has attempted to pull the first thread by recognizing the importance of the above factors with regard to formulating development programs.

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1. Age of head v. Education level

Count Row Pct Col Pct Tot Pct	NONE	PRIMARY	ELEMENT- ARY	SECOND- ARY	POST-SEC	Row Total
	0	1	2	3	4	
1 29 and younger	2 9.5 .8 .3	5 28.6 3.1 1.0	7 33.3 6.7 1.2	3 14.3 9.4 .5	3 14.3 20.0 .5	21 3.6
2 30-39	11 16.2 4.6 1.9	12 17.6 6.3 2.1	30 44.1 28.6 5.1	10 14.7 31.3 1.7	5 7.4 33.3 .9	68 11.6
3 40-49	31 27.4 12.9 5.3	41 36.3 21.5 7.0	25 22.1 23.8 4.3	13 11.5 40.6 2.2	3 2.7 20.0 .5	113 19.3
4 50-59	50 35.5 20.7 8.6	63 44.7 33.0 10.8	23 16.3 21.9 3.9	4 2.8 12.5 .7	1 .7 6.7 .2	141 24.1
5 60-69	52 50.5 21.6 8.9	34 33.0 17.8 5.8	14 13.6 13.3 2.4	1 1.0 3.1 .2	2 1.9 13.3 .3	103 17.6
6 70 and older	95 68.8 39.4 16.3	35 25.4 18.3 6.0	6 4.3 5.7 1.0	1 .7 3.1 .2	1 .7 6.7 .2	138 23.6
Column Total	241 41.3	191 32.7	105 18.0	32 5.5	15 2.6	584 100.0

Table 2. Location of household

	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
AREA		
EASTERN	297	51
SOUTHERN	291	49
Total	588	100

Table 3. Position in household

	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
INFORMANT		
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	465	80
SPOUSE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	119	20
Total	584	100

Table 4. Gender of respondent

RESPONDENT GENDER	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
MALE	400	68
FEMALE	188	32
Total	588	100

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2 30-39	11 16.2 4.6 1.9	12 17.6 6.3 2.1	30 44.1 28.6 5.1	10 14.7 31.3 1.7	5 7.4 33.3 .9	68 11.6
3 40-49	31 27.4 12.9 5.3	41 36.3 21.5 7.0	25 22.1 23.8 4.3	13 11.5 40.6 2.2	3 2.7 20.0 .5	113 19.3
4 50-59	50 35.5 20.7 8.6	63 44.7 33.0 10.8	23 16.3 21.9 3.9	4 2.8 12.5 .7	1 .7 6.7 .2	141 24.1
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Table 5. Household family type

TYPE HH INTERVIEWED	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
NUCLEAR FAMILY	153	26
EXTENDED FAMILY	225	39
FEMALE HEADED	139	24
MALE HEADED	43	7
SINGLE	23	4
Total	583	100

Table 6. Duration of stay in area

	NUMBER HOUSES	MEAN	MEDIAN	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
NO.OF YEARS IN AREA	296	17	12	0	80

Table 7. Number of children present today

	NUMBER HOUSES	MEAN	MEDIAN	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
NO. CHILDREN (0-5) PRES. TODAY	234	3	2	0	12
NO. CHILDREN (6-15) PRES. TODAY	214	4	3	1	22

Table 8. Number of adults present today

	NUMBER HOUSES	MEAN	MEDIAN	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
NO. ADULTS >16 PRESENT TODAY	295	4	3	0	21

Table 9. Number of children not in school

	NUMBER HOUSES	MEAN	MEDIAN	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
NO. CHILDREN <16 NOT IN SCHOOL	61	2	2	1	10

Table 10. Reasons why children leave school

	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
NO MONEY	26	45
SCHOOL NOT NECESSARY	19	33
CHILD WORK AT HOME	5	9
SCHOOL TOO FAR	2	3
CHILD DOES NOT WANT TO GO	4	7
TOO HUNGRY TO GO	2	3
TOTAL	58	100

Table 20. Occupation of spouse of head of household

OCCUPATION/SPOUSE	NUMBER	PERCENT
FARM WORKER	9	3
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE	25	7
DOMESTIC SERVANT	2	1
NOT WORKING AWAY FROM HOUSE/FARM	234	66
MIGRANT WORKER/TOWN	1	0
OTHER	12	3
PENSIONER	70	20
Total	353	100

Table 21. Returnees living in household

RETURNEE IN HOUSEHOLD?	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
YES	20	3
NO	563	97
Total	583	100

Table 22. Type of dwelling

TYPE OF DWELLING	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
CORRUGATED IRON SHACK	274	47
TRADITIONAL HOUSE/HUT	62	11
BRICK HOUSE	180	31
CLAY HOUSE	11	2
OTHER	59	10
Total	586	100

Table 23. Status of dwelling

HOUSE STATUS	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
OWN	513	87
RENT	44	7
OTHER	30	5
Total	587	100

Table 24. Primary source of drinking water

	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
INDOOR PLUMBING	84	7
OUTSIDE PRIVATE PLUMBING	366	31
OUTSIDE PUBLIC PLUMBING	176	15
NEIGHBOUR PLUMBING	27	2
RIVER/LAKE/ SPRING/POND/ DAM	20	2
HAND DUG WELL	43	4
BOREHOLE WITH WINDMILL	192	16
BOREHOLE WITH PUMP	185	16
RAIN CATCHMENT	20	2
WATER TANKER	31	3
OTHER	29	2
TOTAL	1173	100

Table 25. Primary source for watering animals

	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
OUTSIDE PUBLIC PIPE	45	8
RIVER/ LAKE/ SPRING/ POND/ DAM	117	21
BOREHOLE WITH PUMP	88	16
BOREHOLE WITH WINDMILL	144	26
RAIN CATCHMENT	10	2
HAND DUG WELL	6	1
OTHER	141	26
TOTAL	551	100

Table 26. Same water source for animal/human consumption

	YES		NO	
	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
DRY SEASON	246	49	257	51
RAINY SEASON	221	44	278	56

Table 27. Water source for humans/animals in dry season

SAME SOURCE FOR PEOPLE/ANIMALS (DRY)	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
YES	246	49
NO	257	51
Total	503	100

Table 28. Water source for humans/animals in rainy season

RAIN/SAME SOURCE FOR PEOPLE AND ANIMALS?	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
YES	221	44
NO	278	56
Total	499	100

Table 29. Primary seasonal source of drinking water

	NUMBER	PERCENT
DRY SEASON		
INDOOR PLUMBING	42	7
OUTSIDE PRIVATE PLUMBING	185	31
OUTSIDE PUBLIC PLUMBING	91	15
NEIGHBOUR PLUMBING	14	2
RIVER/LAKE/ SPRING/POND/ DAM	5	1
HAND DUG WELL	22	4
BOREHOLE WITH WINDMILL	96	16
BOREHOLE WITH PUMP	98	17
WATER TANKER	20	3
OTHER	15	3
RAINY SEASON		
INDOOR PLUMBING	42	7
OUTSIDE PRIVATE PLUMBING	181	31
OUTSIDE PUBLIC PLUMBING	85	15
NEIGHBOUR PLUMBING	13	2
RIVER/LAKE/ SPRING/POND/ DAM	15	3
HAND DUG WELL	21	4
BOREHOLE WITH WINDMILL	96	16
BOREHOLE WITH PUMP	87	15
RAIN CATCHMENT	20	3
WATER TANKER	11	2
OTHER	14	2

Table 30. Primary seasonal source for watering animals

	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
DRY SEASON		
OUTSIDE PUBLIC PIPE	25	9
RIVER/ LAKE/ SPRING/ POND/ DAM	10	4
BOREHOLE WITH PUMP	53	20
BOREHOLE WITH WINDMILL	79	30
RAIN CATCHMENT	2	1
HAND DUG WELL	3	1
OTHER	92	35
RAINY SEASON		
OUTSIDE PUBLIC PIPE	20	7
RIVER/ LAKE/ SPRING/ POND/ DAM	107	37
BOREHOLE WITH PUMP	35	12
BOREHOLE WITH WINDMILL	65	23
RAIN CATCHMENT	8	3
HAND DUG WELL	3	1
OTHER	49	17

Table 31. Primary light source in evenings

LIGHT SOURCE AT NIGHT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
ELECTRICITY	34	6
PARAFFIN LAMP	430	73
GENERATOR	3	1
CANDLE	99	17
NONE	5	1
OTHER	16	3
Total	587	100

Table 32. Primary energy source for cooking

COOKING SOURCE	NUMBER	PERCENT
WOOD	537	91
CHARCOAL	1	0
PARAFFIN	2	0
GAS/ELECTRICITY	47	8
OTHER	1	0
Total	588	100

Table 33. Primary cooking method

COOKING METHOD	NUMBER	PERCENT
OPEN FIRE	519	88
IMPORTED WOOD STOVE	18	3
GAS/ELECTRIC STOVE	48	8
OTHER	3	1
Total	588	100

Table 34. Household ownership

	YES		NO	
	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
ANYONE OWN RADIO?	425	72	162	28
OWN DONKEYCART	279	48	307	52
OWN TELEVISION	21	4	567	96
OWN CAR OR BAKKIE	164	28	423	72
OWN TELEPHONE	42	7	546	93

Table 35. Separate money for household head and spouse

HEAD AND SPOUSE SEPARATE MONEY?	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
YES	113	20
NO	236	41
NO SPOUSE	225	39
Total	574	100

Table 36. Possession of savings account

POSSESS SAVINGS ACCOUNT?	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
YES	100	34
NO	193	66
Total	293	100

Table 37. Decisions affecting the household

WHO DECIDES:	AREA				TOTAL	
	EASTERN		SOUTHERN		NUMBER	PERCENT
	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT		
HOW MONEY IS SPENT?						
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	213	36.5%	196	33.6%	409	70.2%
SPOUSE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	59	10.1%	81	13.9%	140	24.0%
GRANDPARENTS	2	.3%	1	.2%	3	.5%
DAUGHTER/ SON	8	1.4%	7	1.2%	15	2.6%
OTHER	14	2.4%	2	.3%	16	2.6%
IF ANIMALS ARE SOLD						
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	160	32.9%	156	32.1%	316	65.0%
SPOUSE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	63	13.0%	59	12.1%	122	25.1%
GRANDPARENTS	5	1.0%	1	.2%	6	1.2%
DAUGHTER/ SON	11	2.3%	12	2.5%	23	4.7%
OTHER	15	2.9%	4	.8%	19	3.0%
WHETHER TO BUY FOOD						
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	149	25.8%	174	30.2%	323	56.0%
SPOUSE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	120	20.8%	91	15.7%	211	36.6%
GRANDPARENTS	2	.3%	2	.3%	4	.7%
DAUGHTER/ SON	14	2.4%	9	1.6%	23	4.0%
OTHER	11	1.9%	5	.9%	16	2.8%
IF CHILDREN GO TO SCHOOL						
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	157	29.0%	152	28.0%	309	57.0%
SPOUSE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	98	18.0%	77	14.2%	175	32.3%
GRANDPARENTS	3	.6%	0	.0%	3	.6%
DAUGHTER/ SON	11	2.0%	17	3.1%	28	5.2%
OTHER	24	4.4%	3	.5%	27	4.7%

Table 38. Ownership of livestock by household

OWN ANY LIVESTOCK?	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
YES	473	80
NO	115	20
Total	588	100

Table 39. Ownership of livestock by spouse

SPOUSE OWN LIVESTOCK?	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
YES	189	55
NO	155	45
Total	344	100

Table 40. Number of livestock auctions attended

	NUMBER HOUSES	MEAN	MEDIAN	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
AUCT ATTEND THIS YEAR	588	1	0	0	25

Table 41. Inquiry about crop growing

GROW CROPS?	NUMBER	PERCENT
YES	84	28
NO	213	72
Total	297	100

Table 42. Type of crops grown

TYPE OF CROPS	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
MAIZE	62	75
MILLET	1	1
VEGETABLE	20	24
Total	83	100

Table 43. Sale of crops

	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
SELL CROPS		
YES	14	17
NO	69	83
Total	83	100

Table 44. Frequency of main food purchase

	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
HOW OFTEN BUY FOOD		
WEEKLY	139	24
MONTHLY	401	68
DAILY BASIS	13	2
NOT NORMALLY BOUGHT	34	6
Total	587	100

Table 45. Main financial supporters of household

	PRE-DOMINANT		SIGNIFICANT		SMALL AMOUNT		VERY LITTLE		NONE		ABSENT AND NOT CONTRIBUTING	
	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
FIN/SUPPORT HEAD	509	87	14	2	2	0	3	1	29	5	30	5
FIN/SUPPORT SPOUSE	95	16	86	15	28	5	19	3	113	19	245	42
FIN/SUPPORT MOTHER	11	2	11	2	13	2	11	2	230	39	310	53
FIN/SUPPORT FATHER	3	1	7	1	5	1	5	1	242	41	325	55
FIN/SUPPORT DAUGHTR	17	3	22	4	45	8	22	4	330	57	148	25
FIN/SUPPORT SON	14	2	34	6	43	7	27	5	316	54	151	26
FIN/SUPPORT RELATIVE	14	2	8	1	16	3	11	2	382	65	153	26
FIN/SUPPORT OTHER	4	1	1	0	3	1	5	1	260	72	89	25

Table 46. Contribution to household budget

	PRE-DOMINANT		SIGNIFICANT		SMALL AMOUNT		VERY LITTLE		NONE	
	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
REMITT/CONTRB TO HH	31	5	31	5	54	9	52	9	420	71
PENS/CONTRB TO HH	222	38	46	8	19	3	8	1	292	50
WAGE/CONTRB TO HH	138	24	26	4	13	2	9	2	399	68
SELF/CONTRB TO HH	98	17	48	8	21	4	7	1	410	70
FISH/CONTRB TO HH	4	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	574	99
ANIML/CONTRB TO HH	78	13	71	12	57	10	25	4	356	61
KARAK/CONTRB TO HH	60	10	57	10	23	4	9	2	439	75
CROP/CONTRB TO HH	7	1	5	1	6	1	10	2	559	95
HOMEPRO/CONTRB TO HH	15	3	9	2	13	2	9	2	540	92
OTHER	5	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	342	97

Table 47. Frequency of products sold

	NEVER		SELDOM		SOMETIMES		FAIRLY OFTEN		OFTEN	
	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
SELL MEAT	547	93	12	2	22	4	4	1	3	1
SELL SKINS	366	62	84	14	124	21	13	2	1	0
SELL VEGETABLES	573	97	4	1	9	2	1	0	1	0
SELL GRASS/HAY	588	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SELL CLOTHES	571	97	6	1	8	1	1	0	2	0
SELL HANDICRAFTS	583	99	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	0

Table 47. Frequency of products sold (continued)

	NEVER		SELDOM		SOMETIMES		FAIRLY OFTEN		OFTEN	
	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
SELL HOMEMADE FOOD	563	96	5	1	9	2	5	1	6	1
SELL HOMEBREWS	567	96	4	1	12	2	3	1	2	0
SELL FIREWOOD	585	99	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
SELL BONEMEAL	585	99	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0
SELL CHARCOAL	587	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SELL OTHER	326	92	2	1	3	1	3	1	22	6

Table 48. Most important means of getting food

	NONE		SOMETIMES		A LOT		VERY MUCH		MOST	
	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
GET FOOD OWN ANIML	205	35	149	25	90	15	76	13	66	11
GET FOOD OWN CROPS	486	83	67	11	21	4	5	1	8	1
GET FOOD FROM SHOPS	24	4	38	6	96	16	84	14	346	59
GET FOOD/FISHING	582	99	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	1
FOOD FROM WILD/ANIML	552	94	29	5	0	0	0	0	6	1
RECEIVE FOOD AID	324	55	209	36	21	4	17	3	16	3
FOOD FROM VELD/FRUITS	436	74	143	24	4	1	1	0	4	1
FOOD FROM RELATIVES	469	80	65	11	30	5	11	2	12	2
OTHER	305	84	5	1	4	1	0	0	50	14

Table 49. Frequency and locality of animal sale

	NEVER		SELDOM		SOMETIMES		FAIRLY OFTEN		REGULARLY	
	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT	NUMBER HOUSES	PERCENT
SELL LIVST AUCTION	156	32	56	12	176	36	53	11	46	9
SELL TO AGENT	475	98	6	1	3	1	0	0	2	0
SELL TO COMM/MEMBERS	379	78	51	10	41	8	12	2	4	1
SELL TO COMM/FARM	240	49	46	9	111	23	41	8	48	10
BARTER TO SHOP OWNER	415	85	14	3	23	5	24	5	10	2
SELL TO BUTCHERY	474	97	6	1	6	1	0	0	1	0
SELL TO OTHER	271	99	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX B

MAPS

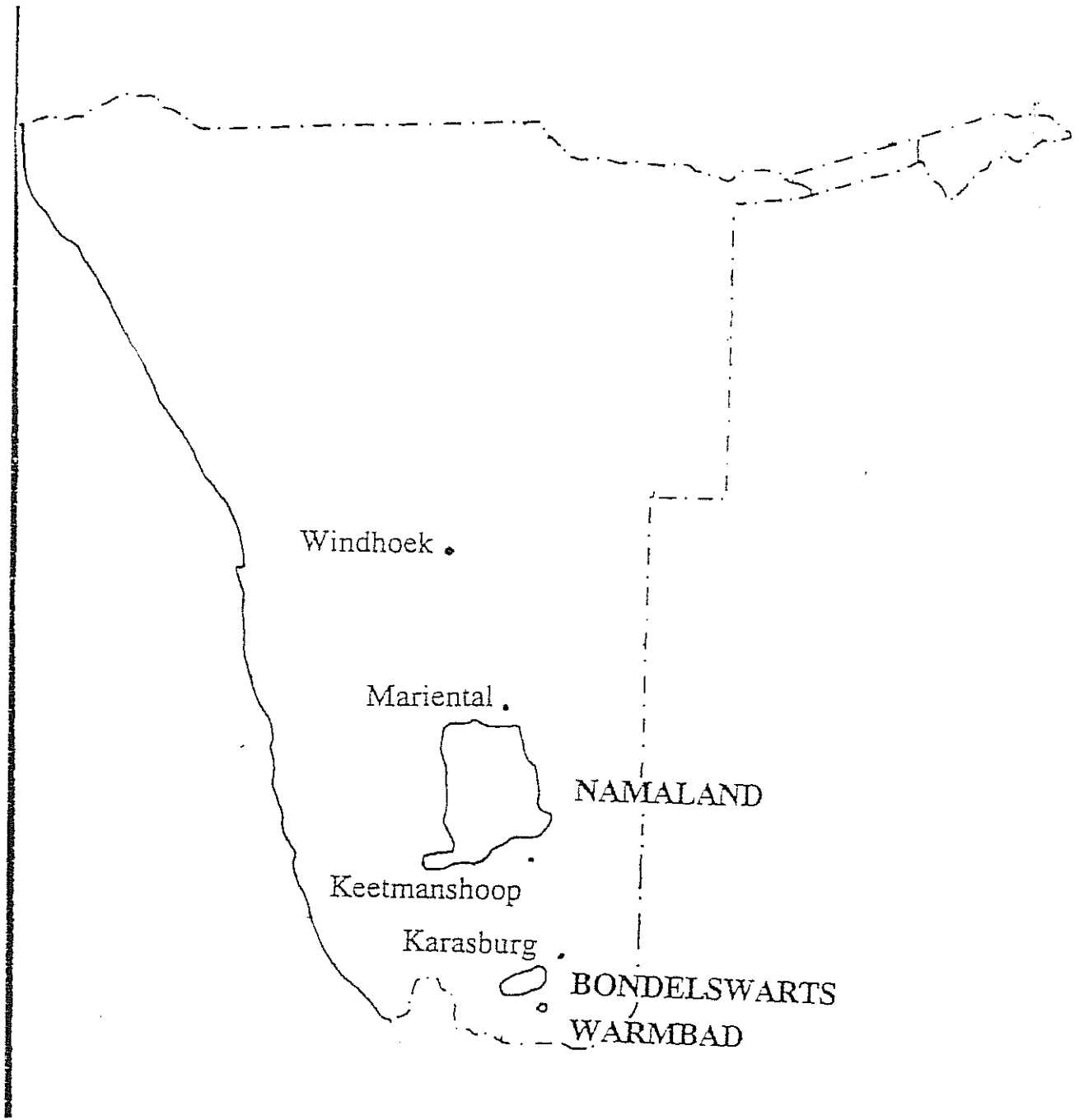
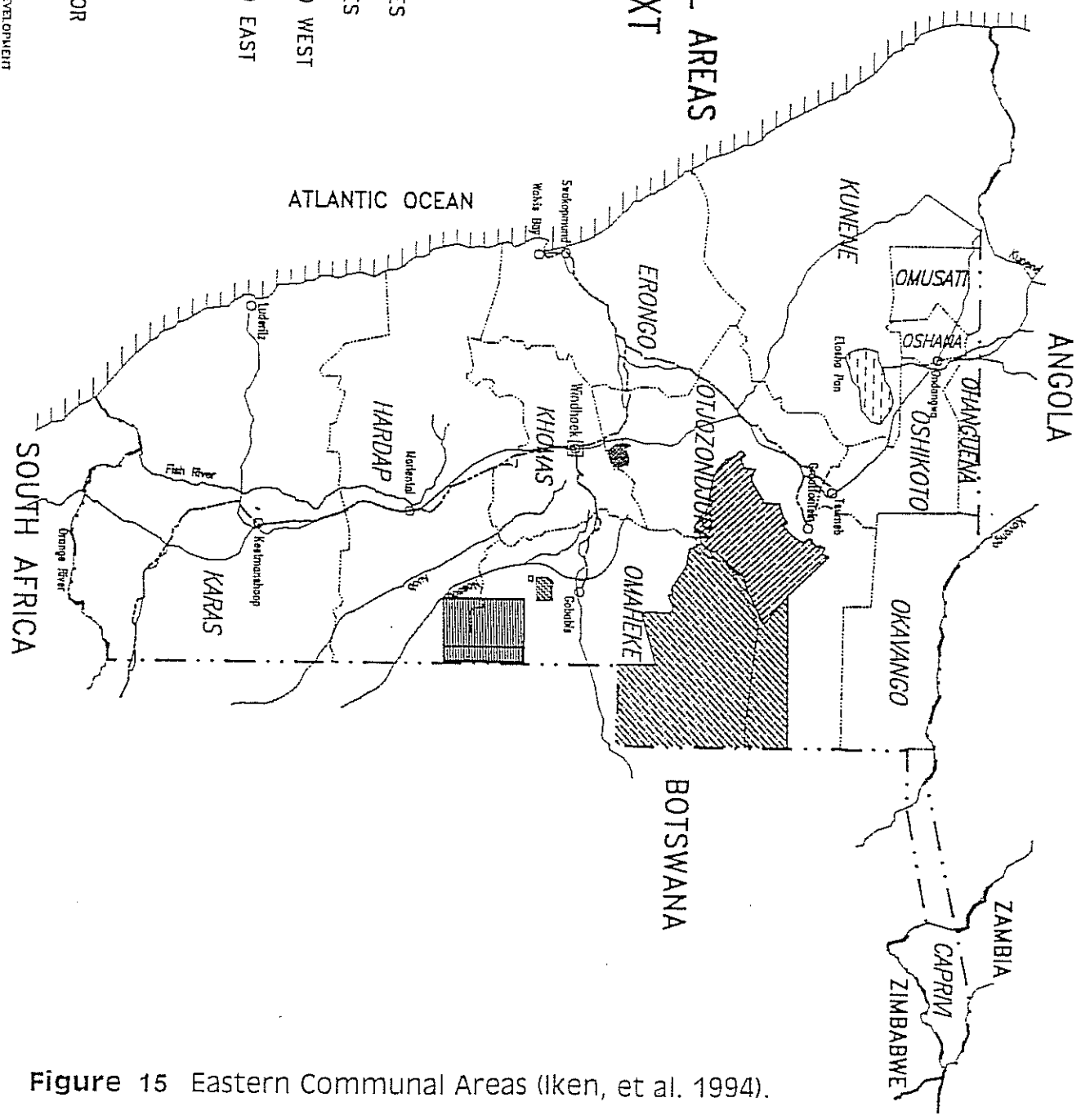


Figure 14 Southern Communal Areas (Ministry of Agriculture 1992).

NAMIBIA - EASTERN COMMUNAL AREAS NATIONAL CONTEXT

- LEGEND**
- ROADS
 - RAIL
 - REGIONAL BOUNDARIES
 - NATIONAL BOUNDARIES
 - FORMER HEREROLAND WEST
 - FORMER HEREROLAND EAST
 - TSJAKA - BEN HUR
 - OVIOTO
 - AMINUIS AND CORRIDOR



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MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, WATER AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT
BY IIRV CONSULTING ENGINEERS JAN. 1994

Figure 15 Eastern Communal Areas (Iken, et al. 1994).

APPENDIX C
FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

Decisions Affecting Household

Female-Headed Households

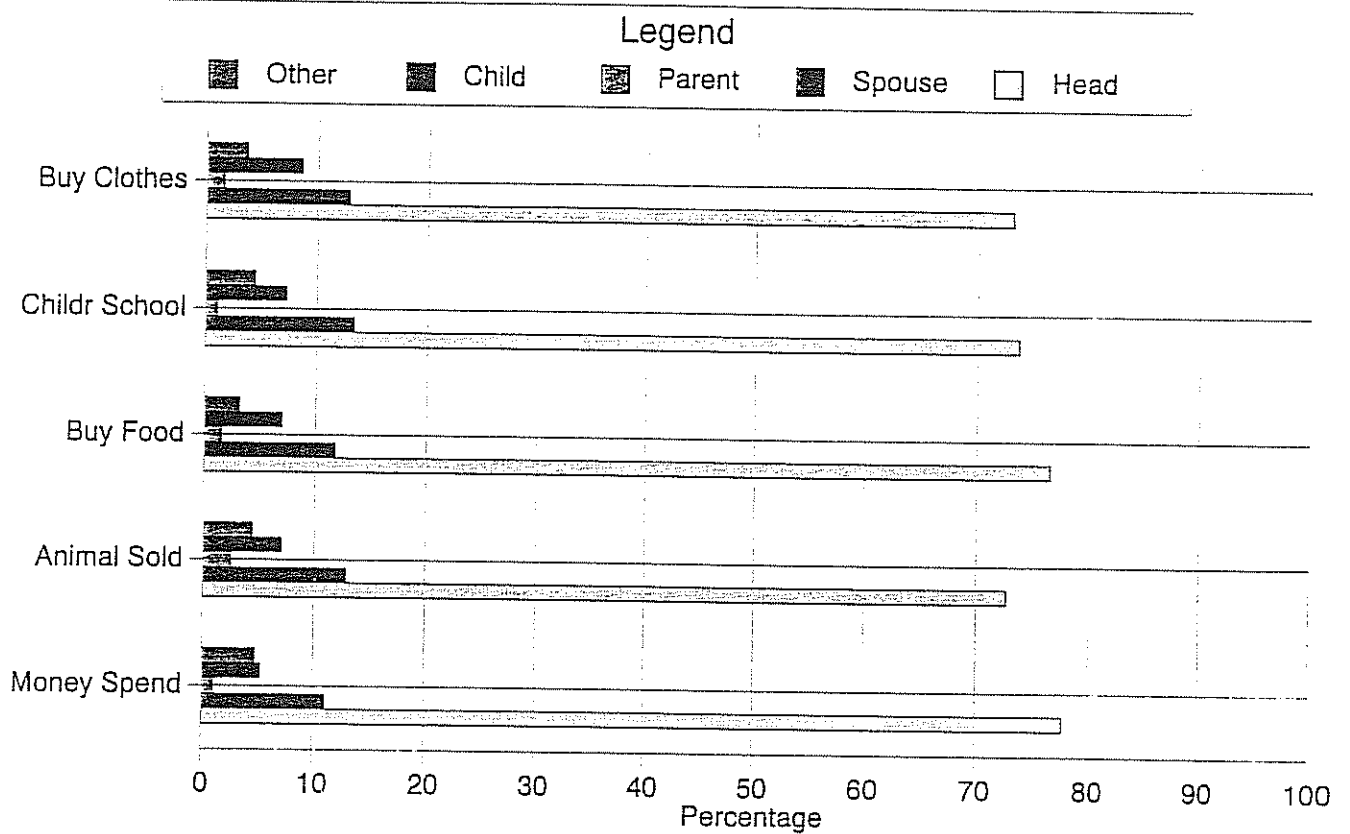


Figure 16 Decisions affecting household -- female-headed households.

Predominant Means of Support

Female-Headed Households v. Total Population

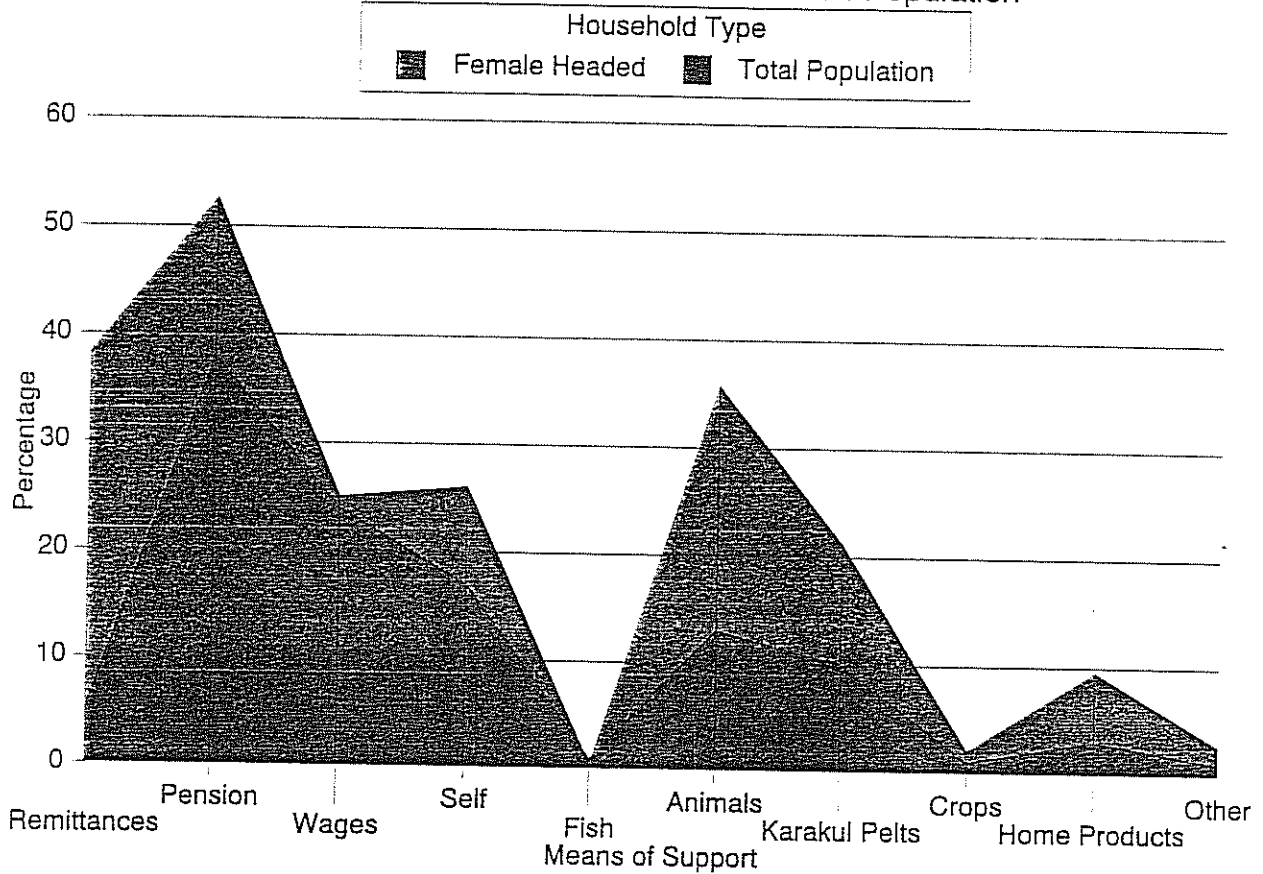


Figure 17 Means of financial support -- female-headed households v. total population.

Source of Drinking Water

Female-Headed Households

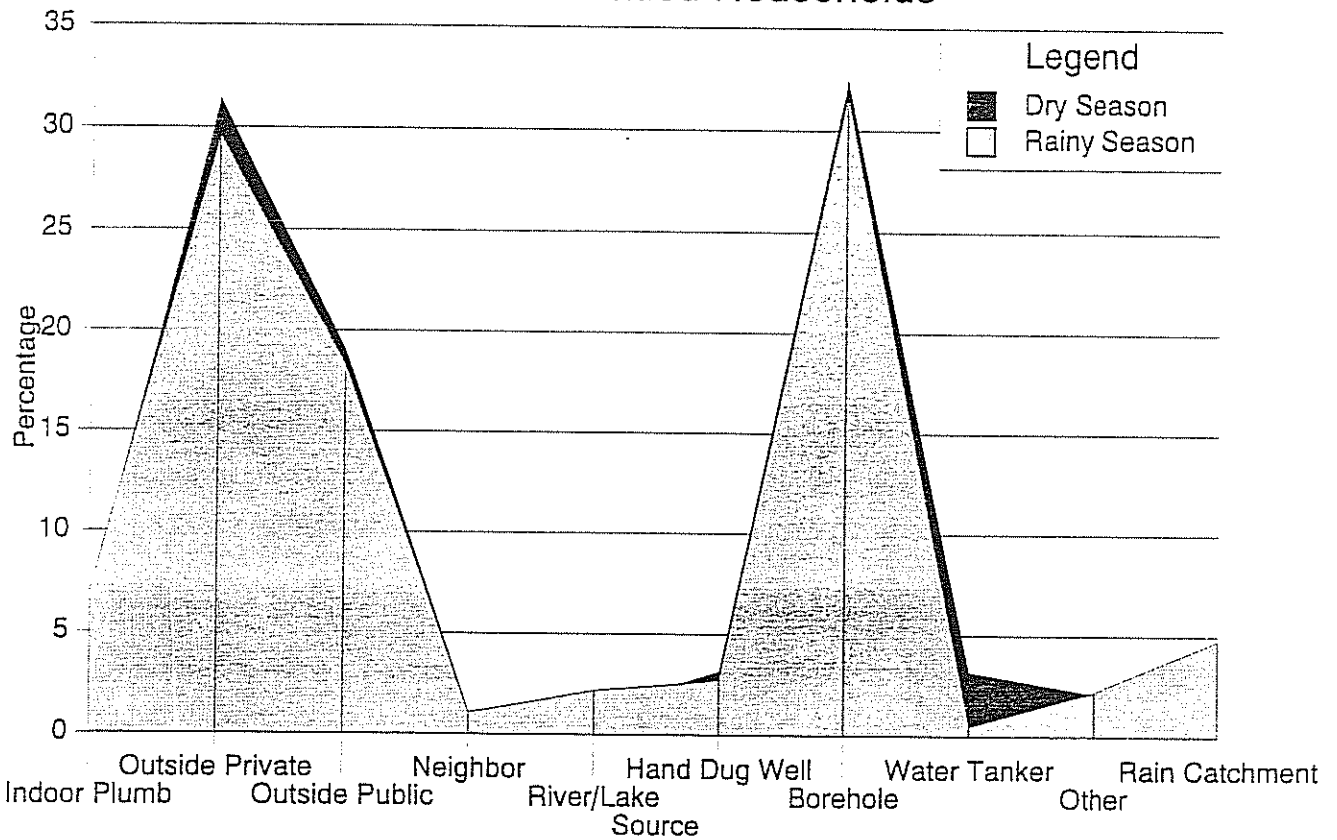


Figure 18 Dry and rainy season water sources -- female-headed households.

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Joyce Majova
FROM: Alison Frayne
DATE: 30 April 1998
SUBJECT: Reprints

Could you please reprint and bind the following report with SSD covers:

50 X Issues in rural development: A socio-economic comparison of eastern and southern communal areas / Denise Couch and Wade Pendleton. SSD Research Report # 32

Thank you.

Memorandum

To: B Fuller (MRC)

From: P Mufune (Sociology)

Subject: D Couch and W Pendleton; 1998: Issues in Rural Development: A Social economic Comparison of Eastern and Southern Communal Areas

Thank you for sending me the monograph by Denise couch and Wade Pendleton for assessment regarding publication in the SSD report series. I have now gone through the report.

This is a report analysing communal area data. More specifically, the authors provide a background review of Eastern and Southern communal areas. The focus of the background review is on the culture, pastoral activities and economic position of the Namas and Hereros (the two ethnic groups who occupy the two areas). The two areas are compared and contrasted on various indices based on similar household surveys from 1992 and 1994. These indices include social economic status and household characteristics (i.e. composition, age, education, employment status, housing, energy, durable goods possession and livestock).

The differences between the two communal areas are many. They extend to education (Eastern areas seem to show more years of schooling), work status (more people in the Eastern areas are concerned with employment and migrant work), financial support (more remittance support in the South than in the East), food sources (the majority of the people who do not receive food aid are in the South. The majority of those who never get food from the shops are in the East), water sources (the East uses more public plumbing water for stock), energy (more people in the East use electricity and generators), sale of livestock (majority of those selling at auctions and to commercial farmers are in the East while the majority of those bating are in the South) and female headed households (FHHs in the South are more likely to pay rent than FHHs in the East).

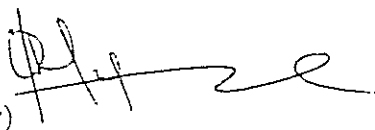
Similarities between the two areas include roles, occupations and ages of household heads, importance of pensions, sources of household incomes, sources of cooking energy, sources of food and possession of durable goods. The authors argue that the similarities are important enough to warrant similar types of programmes in the study area. Consequently, their recommendations of what should be done in terms of rural development do not distinguish between the two areas. These pertain to three themes; technological development (water, gardening and energy); income generating activities (animal husbandry, marketing and cooperatives, tourism and agribusiness/forestry) and social development (community development and rural towns).

This is an extremely informative study which is well executed. I think it raises important issues in rural development in Namibia. I believe this monograph will be a nice addition to the SSD research report series. I whole heartedly support its publication.

Thank you very much

Sincerely,

P Mufune (Sociology)



9th July 1998