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A Socio-Economic Assessment
of the Enclosure of Communal Land
within the Townland Boundaries of
Oshakati and Ongwediva, and the
Relocation of Ndama Settlement in Rundu

Sylvia Hamata, Lazarus Hangula
and Wade Pendleton

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INTRODUCTION

The study examines the implications of the enclosure of communal land within townland boundaries in Oshakati, Ongwediva and Rundu. It reports important findings from the local and Government level about understanding and misunderstanding regarding the acquisition of communal land for urban development. The major objectives of the project are:

1. to establish a baseline socio-economic background of the immediately affected communities;
2. to compare the perception of both Government officials and people in the affected communities regarding what was perceived to be a fair deal regarding the land;
3. to examine the relationship between the socio-economic characteristics of the household and their choice of the compensation packages or assistance;
4. to investigate the perceptions of the affected communities towards the proposed developments;
5. to explore the development plans in the study areas.

As in many developing countries in the world, the majority of people in Namibia live in rural areas. However, data from the Central Statistics Office indicates about 29% of Namibia's population live in urban areas (CSO, 1996: 5) and the country seems to be experiencing a fast urban growth rate with an assumed average rate of 4.5% per annum. In general, the urban growth rate is influenced by three factors: the natural increase, the net-in migration and the reclassification of the urban boundaries. However, availability of urban land for development must also be considered an important variable in growth potential. Although the fastest annual urban growth rate, between 4.5% and 6.5%, is experienced only in four urban areas: Windhoek, the capital city, Walvis Bay, the harbour town and the two northeastern towns, Rundu

and Katima Mulilo (Tvedten and Mupotola, 1995:9), it is anticipated that Oshakati and Ongwediva would grow at a faster rate if more land was available for urban growth.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Although some towns are assumed to have fast growth rates above the assumed average 4.5%, the population growth seems to be the lowest in the towns of Oshakati, Ongwediva and Ondangwa (Tvedten and Mupotola, 1995:9). There is no doubt that the four fast growing towns are experiencing mass in-migration: however, the origin of migration differs. Much of the migration influx to Windhoek and Walvis Bay is from the northern regions constituting the former Owamboland which includes Oshakati, Ongwediva and Ondangwa towns. In contrast, the migration influx to Rundu and Katima Mulilo seems to be from the vicinity of the Kavango and Caprivi regions (Tvedten and Mupotola, 1995:15). The desire for off-land employment, and a range of other urban services and opportunities simply not available in the former Owamboland, is the driving force for large numbers who out-migrate (Frayne 1993; Tvedten and Mupotola, 1995; Pendleton 1996). Paradoxically, the availability of these features (off-land employment and urban services) is not better in Rundu and Katima Mulilo than in Oshakati, Ongwediva and Ondangwa. but people in these regions, Kavango and Caprivi, do not have a strong migration pattern of moving to the south. This is in part explained by the long tradition of labour migration from Owamboland to the central and southern parts of Namibia; the migration patterns for the Kavango and Caprivi Regions were primarily to Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), Botswana (Bechuanaland) and South Africa. An additional explanation was offered by Mr. Muhepa (personal communication) who asserted that the Kavangos, in particular, have a belief system that does not favour working in other areas and leaving their birth places.

A major problem resulting from high rates of rural-urban migration is that the rate of population growth in many cities far exceeds the capacity of the Government

(either at local or higher levels) to cope with people's needs (Young, 1994:95). Among the four fastest growing urban areas in Namibia only Walvis Bay is actively discouraging uncontrolled settlements resulting from in-migration; no such policy is in force in Windhoek where about 20% of the Katutura township population live in informal settlements (Municipality of Windhoek, Volume Two, 1996:3). Informal estimates for Katima Mulilo and Rundu show that 75% of people in the respective towns lived in informal settlements in 1995 (MRLGH/ Local authorities in Tvedten and Mupotola, 1995). These figures are the highest for any urban area in the country. It is suspected that the absence of secondary urban centres in the Kavango and Caprivi regions plays an important role in contributing to the large numbers of migrants to Rundu and Katima Mulilo (Tvedten and Mupotola, 1995). However, sources from Rundu have also affirmed that not only in-migration is contributing to the fast urbanisation resulting from the informal settlement but also the natural growth within these settlement as children who were born in these settlements or who live with their parents in these settlements may not have any other choice but also to settle in the same type of dwelling when they become adults (Mr. Muhepa, personal communication).

Given the urban problems that may result from the rural to urban migration, one of the possible solutions to counter this migration is to reverse migration patterns from the popular destinations. The practice of reversing internal migration is common among the developing countries. This is also the view held by the Namibian Government - to reverse or slow down internal migration. One possibility for slowing down or redirecting migration is to actively promote urban development in the northern Regions of the country. However, some towns have inadequate land available for urban development. Although some towns had been proclaimed as municipalities with well defined boundaries prior to the country's independence in 1990, the towns of Rehoboth, Okakarara, Opuwo, Oshakati, Ongwediva and Ondangwa had their boundaries proclaimed only in 1992 (Rep. of Namibia, 1992: 11-12); of the towns involved in this study, only Oshakati is operating as a municipality.

The onset of independence opened the door to the process of local Government and development opportunities for regions and communities. The process also marks the departure from an apartheid rural system of towns in Namibia. The implication of having a town proclaimed as a municipality is that the municipality has the autonomy to carry out the development activities in the town as well as the right to decide and to lay out plans within the townland in consultation with the MRLGH. Unfortunately, the duties of the local councillors and the municipality officials are altogether new concepts both to the community members and to the traditional authority especially in the recently proclaimed municipal towns. While the town officials are working 'very hard' to develop their towns, the local community who may face relocation from their places of origin see this effort as a post-independence colonialism and exploitation of the peasants by the development planners.

The development of towns does however not affect all the communities in the same way. For example, in Opuwo and Khorixas the affected communities may not have to be relocated; they may be allocated new settlement areas within the same boundaries. In Rundu, the proposed development has to date mainly been taking place in the informal settlements. The development in Oshakati, Ongwediva and Ondangwa towns is proposed to take place around and over the former communal villages and may require the affected villagers to permanently vacate their land. The Oshakati, Ongwediva and Ondangwa cases are more sensitive than other towns as the villagers settled in the areas long before the towns were proclaimed and have acquired consuetudinary rights on land they occupy. It was to investigate the urban and rural land issue in Oshakati, Ongwediva and Ondangwa that the Urban Development Program of the Social Sciences Division in conjunction with the MRLGH undertook this study. The study is to investigate the socio-economic impact of the urban development of the former communal towns of Oshakati and Ongwediva and the relocation of the Ndama informal settlements in Rundu.

METHODOLOGY

Household Selection Strategy

Interviews were conducted with household heads in nearly all households that were designated for relocation; households were identified by a P.T.O Officer from the different towns. The rationale for this design had a dual purpose. First, it was to reflect the attitudes of all the immediately affected communities and second, to allow for non-responses and other losses. It was hoped that the study would include community members who were not immediately affected by relocation; however, time and financial resources allocated for the study were insufficient.

Study Population

The study population constituted of almost all the immediately affected communities in Oshakati, Ongwediva and Rundu. Ondangwa town was excluded from the quantitative study as the proposed development in the town is believed to be the same as that of Oshakati; however, the qualitative research in this town (Ondangwa) was carried out with key informants. In total, there are two immediately affected villages, one in Oshakati and one in Ongwediva, and an informal settlement in Rundu. These villages are Ehenye in Oshakati (19 interviews), Elyambala in Ongwediva (47 interviews), and the Ndama informal settlement in Rundu (116 interviews). For the location of Ehenye see Map A north and east of the Ehenye name on Map A. Elyambala is located south of the Elyambala names on Map A. See Map B in Appendix B for the location of the Ndama Informal Settlement indicated by the approximate rectangle with the letters A, B, C and D; most interviews took place in 'C' and to a lesser extent in 'B'.

Data Collection

Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were utilized. Two semi-structured questionnaires (one for Oshakati and Ongwediva and another one for Rundu) were used to collect the quantitative data; they were administered to household heads or their spouses. The questionnaires were developed in conjunction

with the staff of the Planning Division of the MRLGH, and included questions on the demographic and socio-economic background of the household heads, the household size, land acquisition and the knowledge and perception of the enclosure of the communal land within the townland boundaries. The language of the questionnaire was English, but the interviews were conducted in the local languages. In addition, qualitative research (informal and in-depth interviews) was carried out with village heads, i.e. village headmen or headwomen, other community members and Government officials both in the central offices (Windhoek) as well as in the study areas.

The SSD has a group of enumerators who are responsible for carrying out interviews in socio-economic research. From this group, three were selected to work on this survey. As the survey required eight enumerators (four for Oshakati and Ongwediva, and four for Rundu), five new enumerators were recruited to work on the survey. Criteria for selection were according to enumerators' ability to speak English and the main languages spoken in the research areas. A training programme in socio-economic research for this survey was organised for the enumerators. This training provided an opportunity to discuss the questionnaire, and to provide standard interpretations of the questions into indigenous languages. In addition to the quantitative data, all members of the team were thoroughly debriefed for any qualitative data that emerged during the course of the interviews. All the interviewers were under intensive supervision by three staff members from the SSD.

Limitations and Problems Encountered During Field Work

Attitudes about development in the affected communities were not fully investigated in the research. Hopefully additional research and the proposed workshop will help to provide more information on this topic.

Efforts to interview all households in Elyambala and in Ehenye were made impossible by the number of deaths which occurred in those villages during the field work. Also

the absence of both the heads and their spouses or their refusal to respond to the questionnaires have made the desired hundred percent sample size impossible to obtain. Reluctance to respond was also observed among the Government officials and traditional leaders in some areas of research.

RESULTS

Demographic and Socio-economic Background of the Research Areas

Oshakati and Ongwediva

Although the Ongwediva town council confirmed that not all the homesteads of Elyambala village are affected by relocation, this study sampled the whole village. In total, 66 households were interviewed in Oshakati and Ongwediva, of which 47 were in Elyambala and 19 in Ehenye. These 66 households are homes to 616 household members. On average each household in both villages had 8 members. The majority of the respondents (56%) were females of which 71% were in Elyambala and 29% in Ehenye. The average age of the heads of household interviewed in the two villages were 58 years old. However, those who live in Elyambala were older than their counterparts in Ehenye. Only 8% of the respondents reported that they were single, 62% were married or living together with their partners and 30% were either separated, divorced or widowed.

About 30% of the respondents had no formal education, 46% have attained some primary education and 24% have completed primary or higher education. Because of the relatively older average age (58 years) of the respondents in the two villages, the majority of the respondents (33%) reported that they were pensioners followed by informal employment and agriculture or farming. By contrast, only 7% are currently involved in formal employment. Service, domestic service and artisan or technician were the only occupational categories for formal employment where service accounted for 42% and, domestic service and artisan/ technician 29% respectively. When asked to state their source of income, a large number (34%) mentioned pension followed by farming. Again the monthly salary constituted the lowest percentage of

income (11%). Table 1 shows the demographic and socio-economic background of the respondents by village; Table 2 shows demographic and socio-economic data for household members. See Appendix A for formal employment occupational categories.

Table 1. Percentage distribution of the demographic and socio-economic characteristic of the respondents: Elyambala and Ehenye, 1996.

| Demographic characteristics | Village name | | Both villages |
|----------------------------------|--------------|--------|---------------|
| | Elyambala | Ehenye | |
| Sex | | | |
| Male | 55.3 | 15.8 | 43.9 |
| Female | 44.7 | 84.2 | 56.1 |
| Age | | | |
| Less than 40 | 4.3 | 23.5 | 9.5 |
| 40-49 | 15.2 | 29.4 | 19.0 |
| 50-59 | 21.7 | 11.8 | 19.0 |
| 60-69 | 28.3 | 11.8 | 23.8 |
| 70-79 | 26.1 | 17.6 | 23.8 |
| 80 or more | 4.3 | 5.9 | 4.8 |
| Marital status | | | |
| Single | 4.3 | 15.8 | 7.6 |
| Married/ living together | 72.3 | 36.8 | 62.1 |
| Separated/ divorced/ widowed | 23.4 | 47.4 | 30.3 |
| Education | | | |
| No formal education | 34.0 | 21.1 | 30.3 |
| Some primary education | 44.7 | 47.4 | 45.5 |
| Completed prim/ higher education | 21.3 | 31.6 | 24.2 |
| Employment status* | | | |
| Formal | 8.5 | 4.3 | 7.3 |
| Informal | 25.4 | 30.4 | 26.8 |
| Both formal and informal | 1.7 | - | 1.2 |
| Agriculture | 23.7 | 26.1 | 24.4 |
| Pensioner | 33.9 | 30.4 | 32.9 |
| Unemployed | 6.8 | 8.7 | 7.3 |
| Source of income* | | | |
| Monthly salary | 10.4 | 10.5 | 10.5 |
| Farming | 20.9 | 21.1 | 20.9 |
| Pension | 34.3 | 31.6 | 33.7 |
| Remittances | 14.9 | 15.8 | 15.1 |
| Other | 19.4 | 21.1 | 19.8 |

*Some percentages do not add up to 100 as respondents could name more than one.
N for Elyambala is between 47 and 49, and 19 for Ehenya.

**Table 2 Socio-demographic profile of the household members:
Elyambala and Ehenye, 1996**

| Characteristics | Village | | Both villages |
|---|-----------|--------|---------------|
| | Elyambala | Ehenye | |
| Sex | | | |
| Male | 53.1 | 54.1 | 53.1 |
| Female | 46.9 | 45.9 | 46.9 |
| N | 327 | 289 | 616 |
| Age | | | |
| 0-9 | 29.8 | 30.6 | 30.0 |
| 10-19 | 30.1 | 37.5 | 32.2 |
| 20-29 | 18.5 | 16.0 | 17.8 |
| 30-39 | 11.3 | 6.3 | 9.8 |
| 40-49 | 4.6 | 6.3 | 5.1 |
| 50-59 | 2.3 | 1.4 | 2.0 |
| 60 or more | 3.5 | 2.1 | 3.1 |
| N | 346 | 144 | 490 |
| Highest education attained | | | |
| No schooling/ too young | 26.2 | 25.3 | 25.9 |
| Some primary | 38.7 | 33.6 | 37.2 |
| Completed primary | 7.0 | 11.0 | 8.1 |
| Junior secondary | 20.6 | 17.8 | 19.8 |
| Senior secondary | 7.5 | 12.3 | 8.9 |
| N | 359 | 146 | 505 |
| Employment status* | | | |
| Formal | 36.4 | 31.6 | 35.3 |
| Informal | 5.1 | 7.9 | 5.8 |
| Pensioner | 2.5 | - | 1.9 |
| Unemployed | 55.9 | 60.5 | 57.1 |
| N | 118 | 38 | 156 |
| Current occupation in formal employment* | | | |
| Service | 37.9 | 30.8 | 33.9 |
| Artisan/ technician | 23.9 | 23.1 | 23.7 |
| Skilled | 17.4 | 23.1 | 18.6 |
| Labourer | 10.9 | - | 8.5 |
| Domestic service | 10.9 | - | 8.5 |
| Self-employed | 2.2 | 23.1 | 6.8 |
| N | 46 | 13 | 59 |

*Those who were neither too young for schooling or attending school at the time of the survey were excluded.

The average age of other household members follows a similar pattern as that of the household heads. Household members in Elyambala are two years older than their counterparts in Ehenye, an average of 19 and 17 years old respectively. About 74% of the household members have at least attended primary level of education of whom 63% are still at school. The majority of the population (57%) not attending school at the time of the survey were unemployed. Only 35% were in formal employment. The majority of those who were in formal employment were in the service category of occupation (Table 2).

Rundu

About 116 household heads were interviewed in the Ndama settlement. Of these respondents 57% were males whereas 43% were females. On average each household head was 41 years of age at the time of the survey. The majority of the household heads (81%) were either married or living together with their partners whereas only 2% reported that they were single and 17% were either separated, divorced or widowed (Table 3).

The percentage of respondents who have ever attended school was higher, 73%, than those who never had formal education, 27%. Of those who have ever attended school 39% had attained some primary education, 14% have completed primary and 44% had secondary education. About 46% reported that they were in formal employment, 26% were unemployed, and 25% were involved in informal employment. Only 3% reported themselves to be pensioners and 1% were involved in both formal and informal employment. Among those who were in a formal occupation, the highest percentage were in service occupation followed by the artisan/ technicians (Table 3). When asked what their source of income was, 9% reported that they had no income and only 3% relied on pension as a source of income. The main source of income was a monthly salary (mentioned by 46%) followed by remittances (24%) and other sources (18%) (Table 3).

Table 3. Percentage distribution of the demographic and socio-economic characteristic of the respondents: Ndama settlement, 1996

| D e m o g r a p h i c characteristics | Percentage | N |
|---|-------------------|----------|
| Sex | | |
| Male | 56.9 | 66 |
| Female | 43.1 | 50 |
| Age | | |
| 21-29 | 17.2 | 20 |
| 30-39 | 35.3 | 41 |
| 40-49 | 19.8 | 23 |
| 50-59 | 13.8 | 16 |
| 60 and more | 13.8 | 16 |
| Marital status | | |
| Single | 1.7 | 2 |
| Married/ living together | 81.1 | 94 |
| Divorce/ separated/ widowed | 17.2 | 20 |
| Highest education attained | | |
| No formal education | 27.0 | 31 |
| Some primary | 28.7 | 33 |
| Completed primary | 12.2 | 14 |
| Secondary/ higher education | 32.2 | 37 |
| Employment status* | | |
| Formal | 45.7 | 53 |
| Informal | 25.0 | 29 |
| Both formal and informal | 0.9 | 1 |
| Pensioner | 2.6 | 3 |
| Unemployed | 25.9 | 30 |
| Current occupation in formal employment* | | |
| Service | 34.6 | 18 |
| Artisan/ technician | 32.7 | 17 |
| Skilled | 19.2 | 10 |
| Domestic service | 11.5 | 6 |
| Self-employed | 1.9 | 1 |

*Those who were neither too young for schooling or attending school at the time of the survey were excluded.

On average each household head reported a household size of eight members. From an overall total of 816 household population, 47% were males whereas 53% were females. The highest percentage of household members were either children (46%) or other relatives (42%). The rest were spouses (10%) or non-relatives (2%). The data showed that 34% had no formal education or were too young to attend school, 43% attained primary educational level and 22% had at least secondary education. Within this population, 40% with at least some primary education were still attending school of whom 81% were attending primary education whereas only 19% were attending secondary education. About 76% of household population who were not attending school, were unemployed whereas 17% and 7% were involved in formal or informal employment respectively. Among those who were formally employed, 37% were in the service category, 33% were artisans or technicians, 17% were in domestic service and only few (13%) were skilled.

The Development Plans in Each Town

Oshakati and Ongwediva

The Oshakati town municipality is planning for housing development in the Ehenye village. The reason behind this development is because most of the employees in the town are residing in the Ongwediva town. Having these employees residing in the town has the advantage of increasing the property of the town by selling the ervens and it also reduces the distance travelled to and from work. In addition to this advantage, the development may also enhance job availability as the planned development may require the service of the local people .

The Ongwediva town is planning for a variety of developments in the Elyambala village. There are already investors who have shown interest in the town. In addition to Hanover and Prestige who are already actively involved in the development of the residential area in the town, the Omaheke holding and Stocks and Stocks are interested in constructing a hotel and a clinic. There is also a plan for a brick making industry. There are other industrial developers who wanted to invest in the area but there is no land available at the moment. One Indian based industry was rejected by the municipality because their plan was believed to be impractical.

Rundu

The current development in the Ndama settlement is not the first of its kind in Rundu. Residential developments have already been taking place in the settlement areas of Sauyemwa, Kehemu and Donkerhoek. With the current development, the Rundu town council adopts the policy of not relocating those who were relocated by the colonial Government or Army. The residents of Kaisosi and Kehemu were settled in those areas by the former Government. For that reason, the current proposed development is taking place in the Ndama settlement because there is no other area for expansion in town. The development plan proposes the construction of 1160 erven by Hanover, Prestige and National Housing Enterprise, one secondary school, one primary school, four churches and a mini shopping centre. The plan is already approved by the town councillors and they are just waiting for the surveyor.

Since the policy guideline for compensation is not applicable to squatter families, and developments in the Rundu town have so far been concentrated on the informal settlements, nobody has ever been compensated for relocation purposes. However the town council does assist the relocated people by providing them with mud for house construction and transportation for the families and their building materials. There are already provisions for settling people who will be relocated from the Ndama west settlement. Some of the relocated people may choose to join their counterparts in the Ndama east settlement or in Sauyemwa where the streets are already serviced with electricity. Others who can afford to pay an annual rental fee of N\$100.00 may move to Kehemu. The plan for Kehemu is also approved by the town council and is just waiting for the land surveyor. The development plans outlined above seem adequate but there are obstacles. The next section highlights some of the obstacles.

Problems Associated with the Developments of the Towns

Community Perception of the Development Plans

Knowledge of the townland boundaries and relocation of informal settlement

Almost everybody (99%) in Elyambala or Ehenye village have heard about the enclosure of their villages within the townland boundaries. Of those who have heard

about the enclosure, 5% have heard about it before the year 1995 whereas 95% have heard about it either in 1995 or 1996. The highest percentage (45%) have heard the message from the regional or local councillors. Table 4 below represents source of information by village.

Table 4 Source of information about townland boundaries by village

| Source of information | Village | | Total |
|--------------------------------|-----------|--------|-------|
| | Elyambala | Ehenye | |
| Regional/ local councillors | 48.9 | 33.3 | 44.6 |
| Village head | 25.5 | 22.2 | 24.6 |
| Relatives/ friends/ neighbours | 14.9 | 16.7 | 15.4 |
| Radio | 6.4 | 11.1 | 7.7 |
| MRLGH Minister | 0.0 | 16.7 | 4.6 |
| Other | 4.3 | 0.0 | 3.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 47 | 18 | 65 |

Among all the respondents who have heard about the enclosure only 12.5% said they approve the enclosure of whom 62.5% approved because they held a view that they will benefit from the enclosure. Overall 77% did not approve the enclosure because they were not convinced that they will benefit anything. The main reasons why the affected communities do not think they will benefit from the enclosure were such as: they had nowhere else to go; subsistence in the cultivated field cannot be obtained from the urban areas or could not go because of the emotional attachment to the place of origin. When asked whether they would prefer to stay rural or to have some basic infrastructure, about 62.5% reported that they preferred to stay rural whereas 37.5% chose to have some basic infrastructure. However, of those who preferred basic infrastructure only 29% are prepared to pay for the services. The currently affected community was also asked whether they would prefer the young generation (their children) to be in formal employment or to remain in farming. Eighty-six per cent said they would prefer their children to be in formal employment, 6% preferred rural and 8% either preferred both farming and formal employment or to leave the decision up to the children themselves.

In the Ndama settlement of Rundu, 79% of the sample population have heard about

the relocation of the settlement. Although the first people to hear about the relocation have heard about it in 1992, the majority (80%) have heard about the relocation either in 1995 or in 1996. The main source of information on relocation as quoted by the respondents were relatives/ friends/ neighbours (46%); radio (23%) or; regional/ local councillors (17%). The community members who have been relocated prior to the current relocation might have served as source of information on relocation hence high percentage of relatives/ friends or neighbours as source of information.

Compensation or Assistance from the Government

There is a MRGLG policy guideline outlining the compensation packages for those who might be affected by the development within the townland boundaries. Listed below are the four compensation options as outlined in the policy guideline.

1. Two erven be transferred to the occupant, one of which will include the main building of the homestead and another one bordering this erf, that the owner can sell after it has been serviced.
2. One serviced erf which include the main building of the homestead plus NS2000 for relocation in another area.
3. A cash amount of N\$5000 and the Local authority provide transport for relocation of the family to a new site.
4. Payment of N\$200 per hectare land which is used for cultivation plus NS250 per square meter for buildings constructed with bricks and cement that have a roof of sheeting. Payment of N\$150 per square meter in the case of structures constructed with traditional materials. The Local Authority should also provide transport for relocation purpose.

In addition to the compensation packages the policy guidelines further stated that only occupants who have paid for occupational rights to the traditional leaders before December 1992 are eligible for compensation. It is also a principle that affected people should be offered an equal size of land elsewhere to continue producing their staple food. However, the MRLGH has no resettlement programme for relocating people to date. This has to be achieved in conjunction with the Ministry of Lands,

Resettlement and Rehabilitation and local headmen. If not available, the proper infrastructure and basic services will be provided at the new areas offered to those relocated. The town Council, the MRLGH, the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation and the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development should consult in the provision of infrastructures and facilities such as water, ploughing services, debushing and other necessities to ensure that those relocated are not adversely effected by the process.

Although the Ongwediva town council has announced that the development activities are planned to resume in August 1996, there is neither money available for compensating people who might be relocated, nor is there any firm communication between the town Council, the MRLGH, the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation and the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development, concerning the provision of land for resettlement, services and basic infrastructure. It is also confusing to note that Elyambala residents in the area planned for brickmaking industry are also free to choose from all compensation packages including those transferring erven to the occupant.

More than half of the population surveyed (59%) in Ehenye and Elyambala know about the existence of the compensation policy guideline. About 11% have reported that they have heard about the policy from their relatives or friends for the first time, the rest have gathered the information either from the meeting with the headman, local councillors or from the minister. Of all those who know about the existence of the policy guideline, 92% (or 36) reported that they knew the content of the policy. Although some respondents could recall the options correctly, others stated options which were not in the policy guideline. The knowledge of the policy guideline is presented in Table 5.

Table 5 Knowledge of the respondents about the content of the compensation policy guideline by village.

| Content of the policy | Village | | Both villages* |
|---|------------|---------|----------------|
| | Elyambala* | Ehenye* | |
| Option 1 | 3.6 | 14.3 | 7.1 |
| Option 2 | 35.7 | 35.7 | 35.7 |
| Option 3 | 14.3 | 21.4 | 16.7 |
| Option 4 | 14.3 | - | 9.5 |
| A summary of all four options | 3.6 | - | 2.4 |
| Don't know or not sure | 7.1 | 7.1 | 7.1 |
| We will be paid a certain amount of money | 14.3 | - | 9.5 |
| Those who will move will be paid money | - | 7.1 | 2.4 |
| People will be paid N\$200 | - | 7.1 | 2.4 |
| People will be paid N\$200 and transport | - | 7.1 | 2.4 |
| We will be paid N\$500 for a traditional hut | 3.6 | - | 2.4 |
| We will be paid N\$3000-4000 and be provided with transport | 3.6 | - | 2.4 |
| N | 28 | 14 | 42 |

Note: *Respondents could mention more than one options.

About 15% of the 34 people who responded said they regard the compensation packages as fair deals whereas 85% said it was not a fair deal reasoning that they could not survive on such a small amount. When they were asked what they would regard as a fair deal, 43% said they did not want to go anywhere, 21% preferred to be paid, 18% would move if there was a well prepared place, 6% did not know what would have been a fair deal and 4% would prefer the Government to sort out the compensation packages privately with the concerned individuals. The respondents were also presented with the compensation options quoted from the policy guideline and requested to state their favourite choice. Of the 62 respondents who have indicated their choices, 70% said they were not willing to choose anything, complaining that the compensation packages offered by the Government were not sufficient to replace the value of the land they have to sacrifice; 11% chose option four; 9% favoured option three; and 2% favoured option one and two respectively. The respondents who chose option three did so as they held a view that their lands were too small and unproductive; thus, if they had to choose option four, in which the measurements are taken into consideration, they were not going to earn the same

amount of money. Both those who chose anyone of the options and those who expressed themselves as not willing to do anything have one concern in mind and that is the future settlement area, their livestock's and problems associated with land matters. The affected residents are arguing that the land they occupy constitute their prime means of subsistence, and that giving up this land will condemn them to a life of poverty. Also, if they move to the remote areas, they will suffer in terms of hospitals, water availability and other basic infrastructures. Moving to a new area also mean re-establishment of the traditional homesteads. This poses cultural and environmental problems as some cultural beliefs do not allow the transportation of the already used traditional materials. On the other hand environmental conservation policies do not allow chopping down of trees which are the favourite traditional building materials. In addition, there is land scarcity issue in the communal areas.

In Rundu the respondents were asked whether they have heard of any assistance the Government may offer concerning the relocation of their settlement but only 16% of the overall total have heard about such information. Of those 16%, 56% have heard it from neighbours and friends; 28% have heard it from the Government offices or local councillors; 11% heard form the settlement head; and only 5% have heard it through the Radio. The respondents were again asked whether they thought they should be assisted for the relocation. About 93% respondent positively, 5% did not think they should be assisted and 2% did not know whether they should be assisted or not. The reasons explaining why the respondents thought they should not be assisted were that they have not heard about anybody assisted by the Government before; they were already planning to move; or they had heard about the relocation before they settled in Ndama. Those who believed that they should be assisted highlighted the following as the main reasons why they think they should be assisted. There were those who said they needed assistance for further settlement (52%), those who needed assistance because of the effort or money they have invested in their places (37%), and 7% who needed assistance because they were unable or not ready to move and those who claimed that their current settlement was close to the school where their children were enrolled, only one%. The majority of those who needed assistance needed it in the form of money followed by those who preferred transport

to the areas of destination (Table 6 Panel A).

Table 6 Percentage distribution of forms of assistance and coverage of monetary assistance as preferred by respondents

| Form of assistance | Percentage | Number |
|--|------------|--------|
| <i>Panel A</i> | | |
| Money | 39.3 | 42 |
| Transport | 23.4 | 25 |
| Plot and house | 20.6 | 22 |
| Plot alone | 7.5 | 8 |
| Plot and basic infrastructure | 6.5 | 7 |
| Anything | 2.8 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 107 |
| <i>Coverage of monetary assistance - Panel B</i> | | |
| Plot and house | 71.4 | 30 |
| House alone | 11.9 | 5 |
| Transport | 11.9 | 5 |
| Plot alone | 2.4 | 1 |
| House and food | 2.4 | 1 |
| Total | 100 | 42 |

Those who preferred assistance in the monetary form were further asked what the money would cover. The highest percentage stated that they would use it to buy a plot and a house in the area of destination but others needed either transport, house alone, plot alone or a house and food (Table 6 panel B).

The Government Stand Point

Communication and Coordination within the MRLGH

Through in-depth interviews with several Government officials, this study has revealed a lack of information and communication among the concerned parties. The evidence supporting this observation is confirmed by the following points. First, officials possess different knowledge of where the policy guideline originated which was circulated through the MRLGH and currently adopted by the town councils. While some hold the view that it originated from the National Council, others said it is from the Cabinet, and the rest said only the Minister of the MRLGH would know. Secondly, most of the municipal officials who do the ground work by implementing the policy and are in direct contact with the affected communities,

either do not favour the policy guideline or have reservations on some of the compensation options. They have reported that their views are not yet tabled because they did not know whom to consult. Thirdly, it is believed that the issue is politically sensitive and therefore should be dealt with accordingly. In that, the municipal workers do not regard themselves as the appropriate people to carry over the message. Therefore, the high ranking political and Government officials should adopt a top-down approach where they should meet with the other influential leaders such as senior traditional leaders who will in turn deliver the message to the community. High ranking officials have conflicting opinions on the issue. Leaders of the Legislature such as Kandindima Nehova has been quoted as being against relocation (Namibian, August 13, 1996); however, the Head of the Executive (The State President) has given his support for the relocation (Namibian, September 2, 1996).

Another problem is that main decisions concerning this issue are taken in the central offices in Windhoek and sometimes are not on the same pace as the administration on the community level. The Ondangwa municipality official stated that the municipality would like the Ministry to speed up sorting out the financial matters because at the moment they cannot even compensate people. If this process of handing over the money is not sped up the cultivation of the fields next year might destroy the pegs for the layout. The town (ervens) layouts both for Ondangwa and Rundu are also not yet proclaimed therefore the town councils cannot sell land to the people. In Rundu it is hoped that the ervens will be proclaimed before the end of next year (1997). All these obstacles are believed to be jeopardising the efforts of the municipality workers endeavoured so far.

Interministerial Network

The policy guideline outlined the participation and the responsibilities of the MRLGH, Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation and the Ministry of Agricultural, Water and Rural Development; however, the results from this study have shown that such communications among the ministries are still in a rudimentary stage. The relationship between the Rundu town council and the Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation only deals with land surveying. Moreover, the municipal officials

are also not sure as to who should initiate such communication. Some officials hold a view that since all the ministers were in the cabinet when the policy guideline document was passed, it should therefore be their responsibility to approach the municipality workers and local councillors. In addition to the three ministries which are proposed in the policy guideline, it could also be assumed that the Ministry of Health and Social Services and the Ministry of Basic Education and Culture be involved as their services could be required during the process of relocation. At the moment there are no proposals to involve these ministries.

Community Involvement in Development Issues

Nghikembua (1996), in his paper where he discusses the Oshakati Human Settlement Improvement Project (OHSIP) with special attention to the community development committees, observes that community development committees pose politically related problems. In his analysis, Nghikembua affirms that Namibians did not have a tradition of community participation either in exile or among those who remained in the country during the war for liberation. While the colonial regime imposed things on the communities, the Liberation Movement, SWAPO, was also hierarchical. Hence it was difficult to come in and introduce participation straight away. Nghikembua further argued that "it was only the money that maintained OHSIP's momentum during the project's three years of existence". In contrast, this study shows that community participation can succeed without money as a driving force. For example in Ondangwa, the town council does not have a conflict with the community concerning the compensation or relocation of people mainly because of the mutual understanding maintained through the traditional leadership but the fact that many people who are currently affected have already some places elsewhere could also play a role. In discussing how the mutual understanding was established, an Ondangwa officer reported the following: "When the town council first had to introduce the policy guideline on compensations we consulted the influential leaders in the region such as traditional leaders and the business community". The message was carried over to the community through the property and liaison officer who is also the secretary of the King of Ondonga. It was after the establishment of the relationship with these leaders that the town council developed a monthly programme

with the traditional leaders where the leaders are informed about new developments that might take place. In addition to their programme with the traditional leaders, the town workers also render counselling services to the affected communities concerning the advantages of choosing one compensation package above the other. For example if after measuring the land used for cultivation and the structures within the homestead (option 4) amounts to less than N\$5 000, then the property owner will be advised to choose the option that will enable them to get N\$5000.

In Rundu there are also community development committees in each internal settlement, liaison to the town council. These committees do all the explanation to the community. The first committee originated in Sauyemwa settlement when the municipality had some funding and wanted to upgrade that settlement. The affected community was briefed about the funding and also about the idea of upgrading the area. The idea of upgrading was rejected at two occasions. The community was then advised to elect a committee of their representatives who could discuss the issue with the town council. The committee was elected within only seven days. The local authority then send letters to the community and the committee went to follow up - all were successful. It was after this successful development in Sauyemwa, that the town council then adopted the idea of community development committees. After observing the development that took place in Sauyemwa some of the settlements such as Donkerhoek elected their own committee and approached the local authority themselves. In some settlements the settlement head or *voorman*, as they are locally known, is also a member of the committee but in none of the committees is the *voorman* the chairperson of the committee. Having the *voorman* as a member is beneficial as he/she is assisting in disciplining the community. The communication between the municipality and the community development committees is very crucial because the committees are the intermediators between the authority and the community. Unlike the Ondangwa municipality, the Rundu municipality or local authority has no fixed program for meeting with the community leaders but meetings take place only when the need arise. When there are new developments, the municipality together with the town council first try to get the committee on their side. For example, at the moment the community at large is organising to convince

those who cannot afford the upgraded life in the settlement areas that they will have to be send away to go and do farming in rural areas.

In Oshakati and Ongwediva towns the municipality and local authorities also had meetings with the traditional leaders but instead of establishing a good relationship as in Ondangwa and Rundu, the community organised themselves in opposition to the proposed developments. Their opposition may have been in part because they were not consulted about the proposed relocations. They were called to meetings to be told that they were now on municipal property and that they have to chose to live according to town conditions or vacate their property. This study attempts to investigate why the two town authorities failed to gain the confidence of the community. First and foremost it was observed that the Oshakati and Ongwediva authorities are dealing with the communities which were already relocated for development purposes which took place 25-35 years ago during the colonial era. In Oshakati some of the people were relocated from the area where the Oshakati State Hospital is currently situated (Hangula 1994). In Ongwediva, the majority of the people were relocated from where Valombola and the Ongwediva Collage of Education are currently situated. To compromise with what happened in the past, Rundu municipality is avoiding this problem of 'double troubling' the community. Secondly, ethnicity seems to be playing a substantial role as an obstacle to successful management and mutual understanding. While the local community has some difficulties in coming to terms with local authorities whose dialects differ from theirs, the local authorities also do not view them as a community under their management but rather judge them by their cultural background.

Authority Vacuum

Some confusion exists in the reporting procedure regarding the land issue. Traditional authorities, i.e. headmen, as a rule do not receive orders from or report to municipal authorities as was being attempted in Oshakati and Ongwediva; they report to the Councillors and/or the governor. Although the village heads were given the responsibility to inform their villagers, the problem is that they themselves do not think they are informed and therefore experience difficulties when delivering the

message to the villagers. There is also some reluctance among the village heads to convince their communities to move as administering a village serves as a business in its own right. About 80% of villagers reported that they bought their lands from the village heads according to the customary practice in the Regions. Recently the village heads, were apparently told not to admit new villagers into their villages any longer and were promised to be paid by the Government but this never materialized. Another reason why the village heads are reluctant to spread the message is because according to their opinions they were not fully consulted regarding the development plans and that the Government seems to neglect their existence and the authority which they hold in the community. This argument is confirmed by Tvedten and Mupotola (1995: 21) who alleged that traditional leaders are often disregarded by urban policy makers and planners. They furthermore argued that, whereas there may be good reasons for reducing their roles as regards land allocation, law enforcement etc., their continued strong standing makes it vital to include them as partners of cooperation. Hangula (1995) also affirmed that traditional authorities know their communities and are better able to understand and resolve a community's problem which makes them suitable spokespersons for rural communities and good advisors of Government on certain local issues. We asked one village head to point out the approach that would have been better if he was requested to express his opinion. According to him, the Government should seek advice from local people who have the knowledge. In his opinion, the approach used by the colonial Government in developing the Valombola location in Ongwediva town could be useful in this case too. The Valombola location started developing since 1968. During that time Valombola was the senior headman (wene woshilongo). The planners approached him and asked to be given the Ongwediva forest. They said they only wanted the Ongwediva which belonged to the village head Shimhanda because the one which belonged to the village head Mika was still in the Missionary's hands. At the Eluwa school they cut off Mika's boundaries. At a certain Omupanda tree they demarcated the section with the Ongwediva training college to be a school section. The village heads who were present were told to spread the news among the villagers and assured them that they will never be disappointed. The issue was then discussed with other village heads at Onamutayi village. It was promised that anyone who wanted to move

would be compensated and they would also be moved with their belongings to their places of destination. The process took place until 1972 when most people started to move. This is because people did not want to move before they were compensated. The measurement for compensation took into consideration the size of the house the land and the land quality. Those people who went those years "went in peace" as far as compensation was concerned; the only problem was the emotional attachment to their old place.

DISCUSSION

According to Ovid's Ecloga, the rural land is the backbone of the human living. Because it produces fodder for the animals and bread for the humans. Namibia is not an exception in this view as the majority of the Namibians live in the rural areas and obtain food and income from the country-side. Indeed the existence of a town is inconceivable without the rural hinterland from where it gets supplied with the means of daily subsistence. It is for this reason that the modern town planning all over the world has to take into account the nation's green basket and the supply routes of the urban settlements.

People migrate to the cities because they are pushed out of the rural areas by growing numbers of people on the land, agricultural stagnation and lack of incentive to work, poor prospects for social mobility and poor quality of services (UNFPA, 1986: 15). Social surveys show that urban in-migrants are often entrepreneurs on a small scale, building up a productive place in the urban environment. They tend to save more than non-migrants, plan more and often succeed in improving their condition. Their remittances help support their rural relatives and the rural economy (UNFPA, 1986: 14). While in the past urban centres were more an exception than a rule, today the majority of the world's population are living in towns and the urbanisation trend is a real concern in the whole world today. People flock to towns in search of development opportunities, better life, jobs, schooling, health facilities, and many more factors. In order to accommodate all the dwellers, the towns have not only to grow horizontally but also vertically. The horizontal growth is taking place at the expense of the rural land. This is especially true with regard to African countries.

The claim of rural land for urbanisation is, however, problematic and can be cause of urban-rural conflict.

The current situation in Namibia is fraught with many obstacles and could have far-reaching implications for the future of many towns and villages in communal areas which are still to be proclaimed. A recent study conducted by Fuller and Nghikembua (1996) on the enclosure of communal land in the eastern Oshikoto region found signs of potential conflict over the land issue in that part of the country. In their report, Fuller and Nghikembua also state that, "simmering resentments between those who are closed out, who perceive decreasing options for their survival, and those who see themselves defending a piece of land which they believe is rightfully "theirs" have already taken the first steps toward violence". The situation of the new northern towns runs parallel to that in the eastern Oshikoto region. Land is becoming increasingly scarce in communal areas (Hangula, 1995:7), and those who are relocated from prospective townland have nowhere else to pursue their subsistence farming. In this case, too, there is great potential for conflict between the participating parties.

Although the main aim of developing the rural land into urban land is to redirect migration and at the same time bring services to the masses, this report shows that the immediately affected communities are not convinced by the rationale behind the development. This is especially the case when they are presented with pre-determined categories of compensation packages without being consulted on what they would regard as a fair deal. It is because of this reason that the community members feel they are being exploited. In 1968 when Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania, was trying to avoid inequality with the urban and rural sectors he noted the following:

Although when we talk of exploitation we usually think of capitalists, we should not forget that there are many fish in the sea. They eat each other. The large ones eat the small ones, and small ones eat those who are even smaller. There are two possible ways of dividing the people in our country. We can put the capitalists and feudalists on one side, and the farmers and workers on the other. But we can also divide the people into urban dwellers on one side and those who live in the rural areas on the other. If we are not careful we might get to the position where the real exploitation in Tanzania is that of town dwellers exploiting the peasants (Nyerere, 1968: 28).

Although we cannot yet put forward firm conclusions that the Government is exploiting the rural community or blame the community because of their resistance against the national development, the results from this study have confirmed that lack of communication and co-ordination within the Government spheres have helped a great deal to stir up the community resistance. It is beyond a doubt that the young nation of Namibia needs both urban and rural areas to complement each other. However, how do we compromise the two without negatively affecting somebody in the process? The following section outlines the recommendations of the report.

RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) There is an urgent need for a Namibian land policy and for mechanisms to be put in place to facilitate the implementation of the land policy. In some cases, rather than additional land being acquired for relative low density land development, it is recommended that authorities consider higher density vertical property development which would require less land.

(2) Interministerial networking, communication, and coordination needs to be improved.

(3) The major recommendation from the project is that workshops about the land issues and urban development should be conducted as soon as possible with all interested parties invited. The first workshop should be held in the Oshakati/Ongwediva/Ondangwa area. At the workshop all parties involved with the land issue should have the opportunity to express their views. The proposal for such a workshop was recently discussed with the Permanent Secretary for the MRLGH.

(4) It is recommended that the three respective town councils in the Nexus Area cooperate in planning housing and business/industrial development in the area.

(5) People in the respective communities who will be relocated because of loss of their land should be compensated at fair market value for their land. Alternatively, the complete compensation package should be a mutually agreed upon package. Those who will lose their land and those who are taking it should negotiate with each other as equals. The definition of 'fair market' value needs to be carefully defined to the mutual satisfaction of all parties involved.

APPENDIX A: Formal employment occupation categories

Domestic service

Cleaner

Household servant

Gardener

Farmer

Housekeeper

Self-employed

Vendor

Informal trader

Tombo brewer

Traditional healer

Labourer

Handyman

Fisherman

Service

Taxi driver

Teller

Soldier/ Defense

Gas distributor

Baker

Security guard

Matron

Driver

Storekeeper/ Shopkeeper/ assistant

Dry cleaner

Secretary

Hairdresser

Clerk

Petrol attendant

Seller

Mine worker

Painter

Businessman

Community worker

Skilled

Teacher

Nurse

UNICEF employee

Officer

Policeman

Artisan/ technician

Factory worker

Builder

Mine worker

Road constructor

Plumber

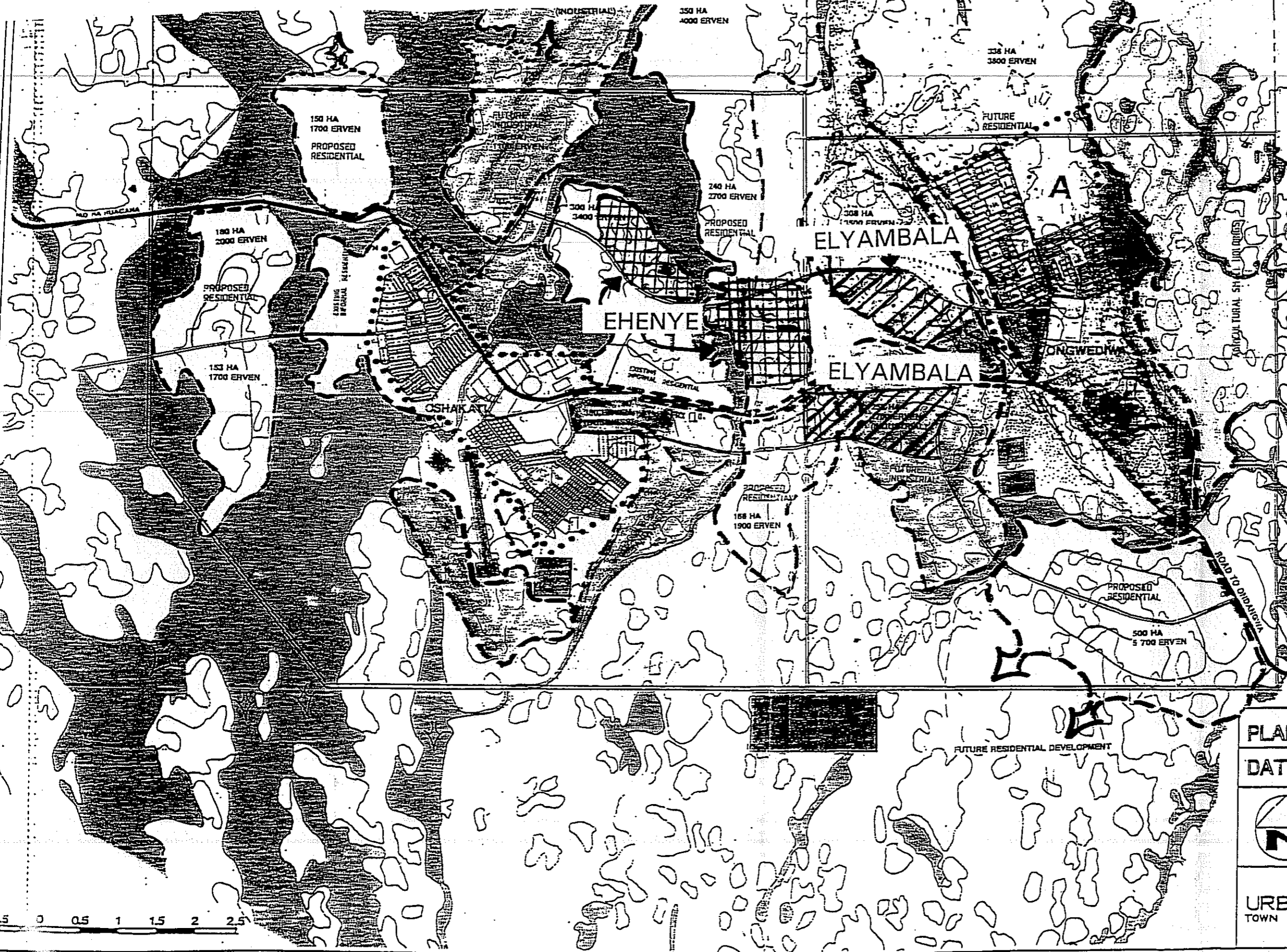
Architect

Bricklayer

APPENDIX B: Map A



APPENDIX B: Map A



NOTES

THIS PLAN CONTAINS NO FINAL DETAIL FOR THE COMPILATION OF THE STRUCTURE PLAN. THIS IS ONLY AN INDICATION OF LAND USES AND AVAILABLE LAND AS A RESULT OF A LAND SURVEY DONE BY URBAN DYNAMICS.

CONCEPT PROPOSALS FOR A STRUCTURE PLAN FOR ONGWEDIVA AND OSHAKATI AREA

- PROPOSED LAND USES
- RESIDENTIAL : YELLOW
 - INDUSTRIAL : PURPLE
 - BUSINESS : RED
 - OPEN SPACE : GREEN
 - FLOOD AREAS : BLUE

CLIENT
 MINISTRY OF REGIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND HOUSING
 PRIVATE BAG 13289
 WINDHOEK
 NAMIBIA

WORKING DRAWING
 NR. 2

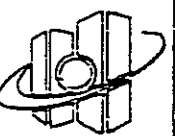
PLAN NO OSH/STR/02

DATE 22/11/94



SCALE 1:50 000

URBAN DYNAMICS
 TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNERS

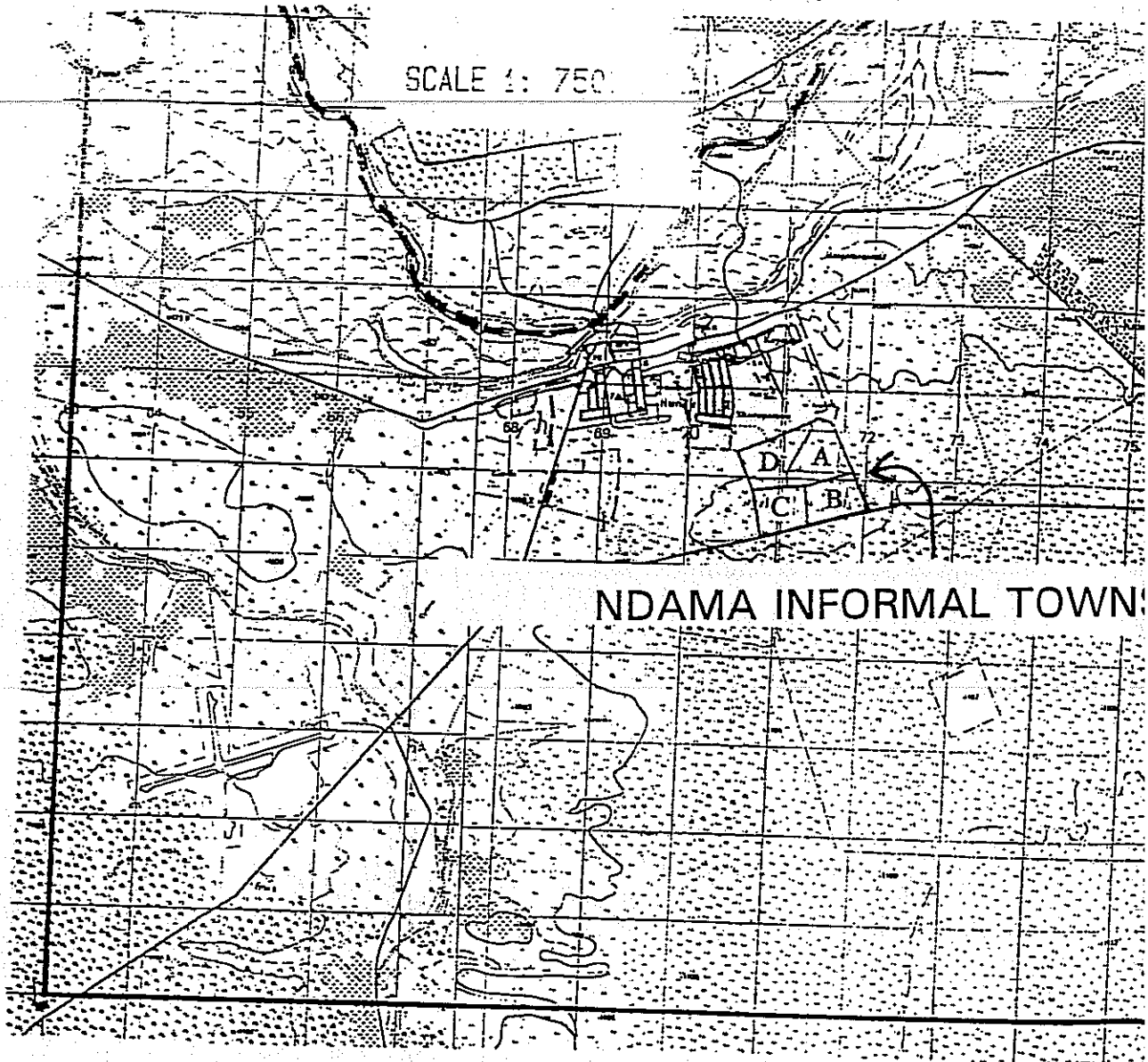


APPENDIX B: Map B



APPENDIX B: Map B

SCALE 1: 750



NDAMA INFORMAL TOWN

PROPOSED RUNDU TOWNSHIPS

PORTIONS A,B,C AND D AND
REMAINDER OF THE FARM
RUNDU TOWNLANDS No 1329

- REMAINDER OF RUNDU TOWNLANDS
- A PORTION A OF RUNDU TOWNLANDS (RUNDU TOWNSHIP EXT A), 2
- B PORTION B OF RUNDU TOWNLANDS (RUNDU TOWNSHIP EXT B), 2
- C PORTION C OF RUNDU TOWNLANDS (RUNDU TOWNSHIP EXT C), 3
- D PORTION D OF RUNDU TOWNLANDS (RUNDU TOWNSHIP EXT D), 35

NOTE : CORRECT NUMBERS FOR PORTIONS AND TOWNSHIP EXTENSIONS TO BE ALLOCATED BY THE SURVEYOR GENERAL AFTER APPROVAL

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