

Jacobson

THE POPULATION SITUATION IN NAMIBIA

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1. POPULATION DATA SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

The conventional sources of population data are census records, vital registration (i.e. data on registered births, deaths and marriages) and migration records. In the absence of these conventional sources, population data can be derived from sample surveys and official records.

1.1 Population Censuses

For Namibia, records of three population censuses are available; namely, 1970, 1981 and 1991. However, only the 1991 census of population and housing went beyond mere counting of heads; it collected data on housing and household characteristics, and from each element in the enumerated population information was collected on some critical social, economic and demographic characteristics. The final report of the 1991 census of population and housing are now being published and the results of tabulations and evidence from selected demographic evaluations suggest that data collected are of a high quality, sufficiently comprehensive for integrated planning and valid as base for demographic estimates and projections.

However, there appears to be some problems with classification of the population into rural and urban categories, largely because of the lack of a clear, scientific operational definition of an urban place. Urban localities in the country emerge (regardless of population size) by proclamation, the latest of which was the Act 23 of 1992. This explains why the computed proportion of the population enumerated in urban places changed from 33.0 per cent in the Preliminary Report (September 1992) to 27.1 per cent in the final tabulations (October 1992). In the circumstance, while the growth rate of individual (proclaimed) urban localities can be estimated, collectively it would be hazardous to attempt a projection of future urbanization in Namibia.

Although the census schedule asked questions on 'place of birth' and 'place of usual residence', requesting each respondent to specify the name of the town or village, curiously enough, in the process of coding all place names were replaced with their corresponding districts. Unless a recoding of places is done, it is impossible to use the census data to analyze rural-to-urban migration, a phenomenon which is of significance in social and economic terms, particularly for planning.

1.2 Vital Registration

The precise state of vital registration in the country is obscure. Until recently, responsibility for the registration of births, deaths and marriages was with the Ministry of Justice; that schedule of duty has since been transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

For vital statistics to be useful for demographic calculations it must be based on a universal system and the reporting of vital events compulsory, so as to achieve complete coverage. With complete coverage, national estimates of vital rates can be derived directly, making it easy and more reliable to estimate annual population size and growth rate, and providing a reliable basis for component population projections. It also obviates the need for regular censuses. In Namibia, the degree of coverage of vital registration is unknown, but Central Statistics Office sources suggest that it may be no more than 30 per cent of all events.

1.3 Migration Records

Only a few countries in the world keep records of internal migratory movements. No such record exists in Namibia, like other African countries.

However, records of international border crossings are normally kept by all countries, where such movements are legal and involve manned posts. For Namibia, the records of international travellers are kept by the Ministry of Home Affairs, but only for those who pass through the main ports. Since Namibia shares international boundaries with Angola, Zambia, Botswana and South Africa, it is difficult to police all the illegal crossings over the vast length of these boundaries.

Records of international passengers being kept at the main ports are hardly analyzed. But even those referring to international passenger traffic released by the Ministry of Works, Transport and Communications do not define international migrants. So, apart from periodic census estimates, little is known about the magnitude of immigration into and emigration out of Namibia.

1.4 Sample Surveys

Strictly speaking, only one national demographic sample survey had ever been conducted in Namibia: the Namibia Demographic and Health Survey, (NDHS) 1992. Apart from the population census (1991) data, it is the only other source from which national estimates of vital rates (fertility, morbidity, mortality and nuptiality) can be found. The report of the survey which was published May 1993 provides ample evidence of the trend and patterns of fertility and its socio-economic and demographic correlates, the disease pattern in the country, estimates and causes of mortality (especially among infants, children and their mothers), and availability of health services in the country.

As one of the national DHS series being conducted in many countries in the world, the design and execution of the survey, and the analysis of the data conformed with high scientific standards. The reliability of the estimated vital rates and socio-economic measures is not in doubt. Indeed, a preliminary analysis of the 1991 census data showed that the vital rates derived from both sources are quite comparable.

2. THE POPULATION SITUATION

2.1 Population size and Growth rate

According to the results of the 1991 Census of Population and Housing, Namibia* had a total population of 1,409,920 . Available records of the two censuses taken during the colonial period show that in 1970, the population of Namibia was 737,947 which had increased to 1,033,196 by 1981 (See Table 2.0 (a)).

Table 2.0(a): Namibia Population Growth 1970 - 1991

Census Year	Population Size	Annual Growth Rate %
1970	737,497	-
1981	1,033,196	2.98
1991	1,409,920	3.0

Source: Central Statistics Office, 1991 Population and Housing Census, Preliminary Report (September 1992), based on Table 3.1.1, p. 15.

By implication, the population increased at an annual rate of 2.98 per cent from 1970 to 1981 , and 3.0 per cent from 1981 to 1991 . It is obvious that the growth rate of Namibia's population has been persistently high, and with a tendency to increase over time. Compared with other countries in the Southern Africa region, Namibia has one of the highest population growth rates. Estimated average annual percentage growth rates for the four countries in the region during 1990-1995 are shown in Table 2.0(b). These rates, except that of South Africa, compare with the average of 3.0 for Africa which is known to be the highest for any major region in the world.

2.2 Demographic Factors

Three demographic factors determine the dynamics of any human population; namely, fertility, mortality and (net) migration (internal and/or international). These three factors determine the growth rate of a national population, its age and sex structure, rural and urban composition, population distribution and density, as well as the size and growth rate of the labour force. We shall consider each of the demographic variables and their effects on the characteristics of Namibia's population.

* Excluding Walvis Bay (Pop. 23,000) enumerated by the Republic of South Africa in the 1991 Population Census.

Table 2.0(b): Population Growth Estimates for the Southern African Countries 1990-1995

Country	Population (Million) (1992)	Annual Growth Rate (%)
Botswana	1.3	2.9
Lesotho	1.8	2.5
Namibia	1.5	3.2
South Africa	39.8	2.4

Source: UNFPA, *The State of World Population 1993*, New York, UNFPA, 1993 p. 48

2.2.1 Fertility

● From all indications, the overall level of fertility in Namibia is among the highest in the world. Estimates of total fertility rate (that is, the average number of children born to women of completed fertility at the current levels of reproduction) for the 1990-95 period show that the world has a rate of 3.3, with significant difference between the rate of 1.9 for the more developed regions and 3.6 for the less developed regions. As shown in Table 2.1(a) the total fertility rate for Africa (6.0, the same level as Namibia) is almost twice as large as the average for the poorer regions of the world. These statistics indicate that there is an inverse correlation between fertility rate and the level of social and economic development. According to the report of the Namibia Demographic and Health Survey 1992 (NDHS), estimated total fertility rate (TFR), which is a measure of the average number of children born to women of completed fertility, was 5.4 in 1992 (MOHSS, 1993: 19). Estimates based on the 1991 census figures put the TFR at 5.7, though slightly lower than the UNFPA estimates but further confirming the high fertility profile of Namibian women. The overall pattern, by age and rural/urban residence, is presented in Table 2.1(b) and (c).

It is obvious that the average TFR for the country conceals the significant variation by residence; in the rural areas where the majority of Namibia's population (72.0 per cent) reside, the total fertility rate is 6.3. Under such a situation, and as indicated by other socio-economic correlates of fertility, the prevailing high level of fertility in the country is most likely to persist for quite some time ahead. Factors contributing to the high fertility profile of Namibian women include the generally low level of educational attainment, early age of entry into sexual activity, low level of survival probability among infants, and more importantly, the limited use of modern contraceptives among sexually active women. These conditions seem to be reinforced by the pro-natalist position of some cultural beliefs and practices among large segments of the population.

2.2.2 Mortality

Several measures of mortality were derived from the NDHS 1992. They all suggest that the level of

mortality is generally high but lower than in many African countries, and that a downward trend in mortality rates is discernible.

Period estimates of infant and child mortality derived from the NDHS are presented in Table 2.2 . Infant mortality rate, which is the probability of dying before the first birthday, was estimated at about 57 per 1,000 live births during the 1988 - 1992 period, down from 67 in the proceeding five-year period, which is also lower than the estimate of 72 per 1,000 live births during 1978 - 1982 . Except for some minor fluctuations in the neonatal mortality (i.e. deaths of infants within the first 28 days after birth) trend, all the measures of infant and child mortality (deaths among children aged 1 - 4 years) indicate a declining trend from 1978 to 1992 (MOHSS 1993: 68).

Table 2.1(a): Estimates of Total Fertility Rate for the World, Major Regions and Selected Countries 1990-95

Region	Total Fertlity Rate
World Total	3.3
More Developed Regions	1.9
Less Developed Regions	3.6
Africa	6.0
Asia	3.2
Europe	1.7
Latin America	3.1
Nothern America	2.0
Oceania	2.5
USSR (former)	2.3
<u>African Countries:</u>	
Burundi	6.8
Ethiopia	7.0
Malawi	7.6
Zaire	6.7
Egypt	4.1
Namibia	6.0
South Africa	4.1
Denmark	1.7
USA	2.1

Source: UNFPA, *The State of World Population 1993*, New York, UNFPA, based on Table p. 48-5

Table 2.1(b) Namibia: Age - Specific fertility and Total Fertility Rates

Age Group	Age-Specific Fertility Rates	
	Census 1991	NDHS 1992+
15 - 19	88	109
20 - 24	240	207
25 - 29	271	241
30 - 34	256	208
35 - 39	204	166
40 - 44	109	105
45 - 49	59	37
Total Fertility Rate (15-49)	5.7*	5.4

* *If correction factor is P (3) / F (3), see Appendix A.*

Table 2.1(c) Namibia: Total Fertility Rate (Women age 15-49 years) and Average Number of Children Ever Born (to Women Age 40-49 years) By Urban and Rural Residence.

Residence	Total Fertility Rate		Average Number of Children Ever Born	
	Census 1991**	NDHS 1992+	Census 1991	NDHS 1992
Urban	-	4.0	4.7	4.7
Rural	-	6.3	6.3	6.2
Total	5.7	5.4	5.8	5.7

Sources:

** *Based on the P/F Method.*

+ *Ministry of Health and Social Services, Namibia: Demographic and Health Survey 1992, Windhoek and Columbia Maryland USA, 1993, based on Tables 3.1 and 3.2 .*

Model estimates of mortality and life expectancy based on the age profile of the 1991 census of population indicate a crude death rate of 12 per 1,000 population and an overall life expectancy at birth of 58.3 years, disaggregated into 60.3 years for females and 56.4 years for males.

Table 2.2: Namibia: Estimates of Infant and Child Mortality for the Period 1988 - 1992.

Mortality Measure	Rate per 1,000		
	1988-92	1983-87	1978-82
Neonatal Mortality	31.5	39.9	29.2
Postneonatal Mortality	25.2	27.4	43.1
Infant Mortality (${}_1q_0$)	56.6	67.3	72.2
Child Mortality (${}_4q_1$)	28.1	36.8	41.0
Under-five Mortality (${}_5q_0$)	83.2	101.6	110.3

Source: Ministry of Health and Social Services, *Namibia Demographic and Health Survey 1992*, Windhoek and Columbia (USA), adapted from Table 7.1, p. 68.

Most of the infant deaths occur during the neonatal period (during the first 28 days after birth) and, according to the NDHS report, these deaths are caused mainly by low birth weight, birth problems, acute respiratory infections, congenital malformations and birth accidents. Infant deaths occurring during the post-neonatal phase are reported to be associated with diarrhoea, undernutrition, malaria, acute respiratory infections, measles and accidents.

The various Government programmes aimed at nutritional improvement and better access of the population to preventive and curative medical services will continue to push the overall level of mortality, particularly infant and child, downwards thereby raising the life expectancy of the population.

2.2.3 Migration

There are two dimensions to migration analysis; namely internal and international. Interest in internal migration is largely because of its effect on population redistribution in a country over time. On the other hand, international migration affects both internal distribution as well as the total national population. The effects of internal and international migratory movements on the population of Namibia are considered next.

2.2.3.1 Internal Migration

Ideally, a special survey is required in order to understand the pattern, causes and consequences of internal migration in a country. The 1991 census of population and housing in Namibia, as it is with almost all censuses, has generated data that can answer pertinent migration questions only partially. While the census records provide information on the volume and direction of internal migration on the basis of the 27 census districts (not the 13 regions), the questions as to why people moved, reasons for their choice of destinations,

migration experience, the itinerary of their missions and related socio-economic issues cannot be addressed by the type of data collected. It is hoped that future research efforts will focus on this significant shortcoming exercise.

Based on the 27 census districts, and deriving from questions on district of birth and district of usual residence, the pattern of net flow of population is presented in Table 2.3 as life-time migration of the Namibian-born population.

For illustration, of the 133,373 persons who identified Kavango as their district of birth, 124,793 of them were actually enumerated as "usually resident" in the Kavango census district, implying a net loss of 8,580 in-born population of the district to other districts in Namibia.

Out of the 12,099 in-born Kavango population enumerated outside that census district, some 30 per cent of them were residing in Grootfontein. Both Oshakati and Ondangwa also experienced a net loss of their in-born population to other districts, 23,975 and 36,316, respectively. Of the 9787 persons born in the Omaruru census district, 67.0 per cent were enumerated outside their district of birth, most of them (34 per cent) in Damaraland.

On the other hand, there are districts which are net recipients of population. The Windhoek census district, for example, enumerated 131,130 persons out of which 65,740 constituted the in-born population, implying that about 50 per cent of those enumerated in the district originated from elsewhere in the country. The figures show that 25 per cent of the out-born population of the Windhoek district originated from Oshakati, 21 per cent from Ondangwa and 11 per cent from Rehoboth.

The most outstanding case is Swakopmund census district in which 74.3 per cent of the usually resident population came from outside the district, followed by Lüderitz, 63.0 per cent. The districts with significant proportions of out-born population are also the most urbanised districts in the country.

At the other extreme are the districts which offer little attraction to migrants. For example only 2.8 per cent of the resident population of Kavango (125,000) originate from outside. Other districts with less than 10 per cent migrant population include Caprivi, Oshakati, Ondangwa and Kaokoland. These are also the least urbanised districts in the country.

It would seem, therefore, that the pattern of population movements within the country has been closely related to the location of better economic opportunities. In the predominantly rural districts such as Caprivi, Kavango, Oshakati and Ondangwa where opportunities are limited largely to communal and subsistence farming, significant numbers of people have moved to districts which offer better prospects of employment; namely

mining, commercial and large administrative locations in districts such as Windhoek, Lüderitz, Tsumeb, Swakopmund, Namaland, Damaraland, Okahandja, etc.

2.2.3.2 International Migration

Records of Namibian citizens resident abroad are not available. However, from the census records, estimates of the number of foreigners resident in Namibia can be derived. The 1991 census enumerated 49,404 foreigners, representing 3.5 per cent of the total population of Namibia. About 87.4 per cent of the foreigners in the country are from other African countries, mainly Angola, South Africa and Zambia. Apart from Africans, majority of foreign nationals in Namibia are from European countries. Their distribution is shown in Table 2.5. For the purposes of estimates and projections, it can safely be assumed that net international migration (the balance of emigrations and immigrations) in Namibia is close to zero.

2.3 Age and Sex Composition

Where, as in Namibia, the net effect of international migration is negligible, the age/sex structure of the national population is the outcome of the interplay of fertility and mortality conditions over the years. As already noted, Namibia has experienced persistently high levels of fertility and declining mortality, a situation which has produced a population structure definable as quasi-stable. In such a population, children aged 0 - 14 years represent an overwhelming proportion of the total, while older persons aged 65 years and above constitute only a tiny fraction. (See Table 2.6)

In this regard, Namibia's population is typical; children aged 0 - 14 constitute 41.7 per cent of the total population, while older persons aged 65 years and above make up a mere 4.8 per cent of the total population. The preponderance of children in the population is the direct effect of the high level of fertility in the population. On its part, the small share of older persons in the population is the result of the ravaging effect of mortality on the population. In graphic terms, the population of Namibia presents a broad based pyramid in its aged/sex structure, tapering off quite rapidly. This is illustrated in Fig I.

This overall national picture gets distorted at the regional level due largely to the net effect of internal migratory movements. The distortions are better illustrated with the sex structure.

The overall sex ratio (i.e. number of males per 100 females) of the population is 94.8. Areas which have significantly large proportions of out-born population (i.e. migrants), such as Lüderitz, Grootfontein, Tsumeb, Swakopmund, Karibib, Windhoek and Okahandja also exhibit sex ratios which are significantly higher than the national average, suggesting that migration is selective of the male elements in the population. Lüderitz is in the extreme class showing a sex ratio of 192.18, which is in distinct contrast to Oshakati's 81.15.

Indeed, census districts like Oshakati and Ondangwa which have only a small proportion of migrant elements in their population also tend to exhibit low sex ratios.

Table 2.3 : Estimates of Life-Time Internal Migration* in Namibia, 1991

Census District	District of Usual Residence (a)	District of Birth (b)	Net = c c = (a-b)
Bethanien	2,897	3,796	899-
Bushmanland	3,399	2,052	1,347+
Caprivi	62,494	61,413	1,081+
Damaraland	31,510	17,546	13,964+
Gobabis	26,855	30,232	3,377-
Grootfontein	31,664	21,770	9,891+
Hereroland East	25,786	20,913	4,873+
Hereroland West	18,824	14,912	3,912+
Kaokoland	23,856	23,897	41-
Karasburg	10,017	11,294	1,277-
Karibib	11,324	11,628	304-
Kavango	124,793	133,373	8,580-
Keetmanshoop	18,410	23,237	4,827-
Lüderitz	11,559	6,980	4,579+
Maltahöhe	4,087	5,768	1,681-
Mariental	23,305	25,863	2,558-
Namaland	15,750	10,440	5,310+
Okahandja	19,271	14,760	4,511+
Omaruru	6,460	9,787	3,327-
Otjiwarongo	21,673	20,803	870+
Outjo	12,028	15,156	3,128-
Oshakati	360,474	384,449	23,975-
Ondangwa	222,875	259,191	36,316-
Rehoboth	33,003	36,707	3,704-
Swakopmund	16,327	8,343	7,984+
Tsumeb	20,106	15,816	4,290+
Windhoek	131,130	96,847	34,283+

* Namibian-born population

Source: Central Statistics Office, 1991 Census of Population and Housing.

Table 2.4 : Volume of Migration into Census Districts in Namibia, 1991

Census District	Total Population (Usually Resident)	In-Born Population	Out-Born Population	Per Cent Migrant
Bethanien	2,897	1,759	1,138	39.3
Bushmanland	3,399	1,809	1,590	46.8
Caprivi	62,494	59,249	3,245	5.2
Damaraland	31,510	13,691	17,819	56.6
Gobabis	26,855	19,925	6,930	25.8
Grootfontein	31,664	15,189	16,475	52.0
Hereroland East	25,786	16,270	9,516	36.9
Hereroland West	18,824	10,559	8,265	43.9
Kaokoland	23,856	21,667	2,179	9.1
Karasburg	10,017	7,156	2,861	28.6
Karibib	11,324	6,012	5,312	46.9
Kavango	124,793	121,274	3,519	2.8
Keetmanshoop	18,410	12,448	5,962	32.4
Lüderitz	11,559	4,282	7,277	63.0
Maltahöhe	4,087	2,698	1,389	34.0
Mariental	23,305	15,900	7,405	31.8
Namaland	15,750	7,270	8,480	53.8
Okahandja	19,271	8,744	10,527	54.6
Omaruru	6,460	3,209	3,251	50.3
Otjiwarongo	21,673	11,473	10,200	47.1
Outjo	12,028	7,918	4,110	34.2
Oshakati	360,474	331,373	29,101	8.1
Ondangwa	222,875	204,654	18,221	8.2
Rehoboth	33,003	25,847	7,156	21.7
Swakopmund	16,327	4,190	12,137	74.3
Tsumeb	20,106	9,993	10,113	50.3
Windhoek	131,130	65,740	65,390	49.9

Source: Central Statistics Office, 1991 Census of Population and Housing.

Table 2.5 : Population of Foreign Nationals in Namibia by Nationality, 1991

Nationality	Population	Percentage
All Foreign Nationals	49,404	100.0
African Countries:		
Angola	24,028	48.6
Botswana	975	2.0
South Africa	12,536	25.4
Zambia	4,473	9.1
Other African Countries	1,145	2.3
European Countries	5,521	11.2
America	378	0.7
Asia	348	0.6
Not Stated	57	0.1

Source: Central Statistics Office, Namibia, 1991 Census of Population and Housing.

There are distortions of the ratios by age as well. They are close to unity in the younger ages but decline to very low levels between ages 25 and 34 ; 90.6 at 25 - 29, and 88.8 at 30 - 34 . Males in these age categories probably suffered severely during the war years. The rather low sex ratios in the older ages testify to the higher life expectancy of females than the male elements in the population.

2.4 Rural and Urban Composition

The proportion of a country's population residing in urban places is the demographic definition of the degree of urbanization. However, what constitutes an urban locality differs from country to country, and for a particular country the definition may change over time. In order to ensure comparability, demographic analysis tends to rely on statistical definition of an urban place.

In Namibia, as already noted, urban localities emerge by proclamation, regardless of population size. Unless the basis for such proclamations are scientific, rather than political, it will be difficult to make projections of the national trend of urbanization for the country.

Table 2.6 : Namibia, Age/Sex Structure of the Population, 1991

Age Group	Total Population	Per Cent	Male Population	Per Cent	Female Population	Per Cent	Sex Ratio
0-4	218,865	15.52	109,101	7.74	109,764	7.79	99.40
5-9	192,619	13.66	95,872	6.80	96,747	6.86	99.10
10-14	176,903	12.55	87,836	6.23	89,067	6.32	98.62
15-19	165,555	11.74	81,386	5.77	84,169	5.97	96.69
20-24	130,735	9.27	63,471	4.50	67,264	4.77	94.36
25-29	110,194	7.82	52,369	3.71	57,825	4.10	90.56
30-34	86,156	6.11	40,531	2.87	45,625	3.24	88.84
35-39	66,533	4.72	32,045	2.27	34,488	2.45	92.92
40-44	54,815	3.89	26,757	1.90	28,058	1.99	95.36
45-49	43,779	3.11	21,477	1.52	22,302	1.58	96.30
50-54	38,219	2.71	18,664	1.32	19,555	1.39	95.44
55-59	27,895	1.98	13,881	0.98	14,014	1.00	98.86
60-64	28,717	2.04	12,806	0.91	15,911	1.13	80.49
65-69	23,199	1.65	10,135	0.72	13,064	0.93	77.58
70-74	21,704	1.54	9,704	0.69	12,000	0.85	80.87
75-79	10,866	0.77	4,885	0.35	5,981	0.42	81.68
80+	12,578	0.89	5,035	0.36	7,543	0.53	66.75
not stated	588	0.04	372	0.03	216	0.02	172.22
all ages	1,409,920	100.00	686,327	48.68	723,593	51.32	94.84

*Number of males per 100 females.

Source: Central Statistics Office, 1991 Population and Housing Census, Final Tabulations, Table C01

Figure ET book?

Population Pyramid

Fig 1a Total Country

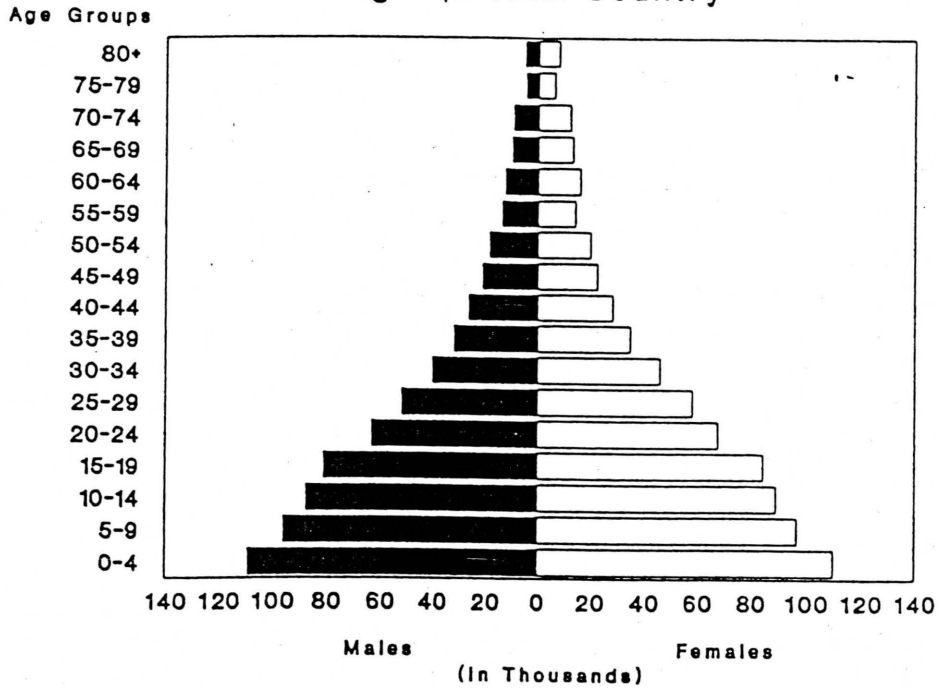


Fig 1b Urban

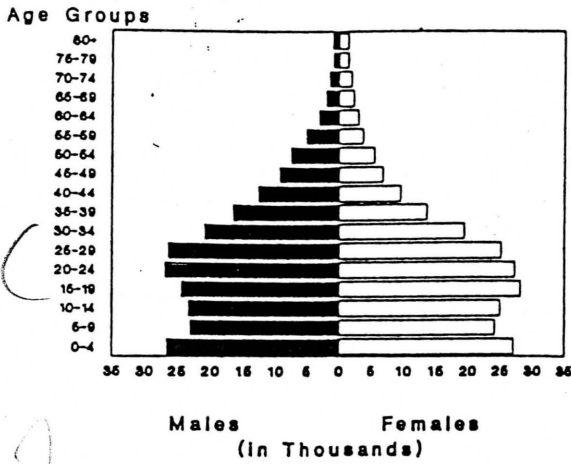


Fig 1c Rural

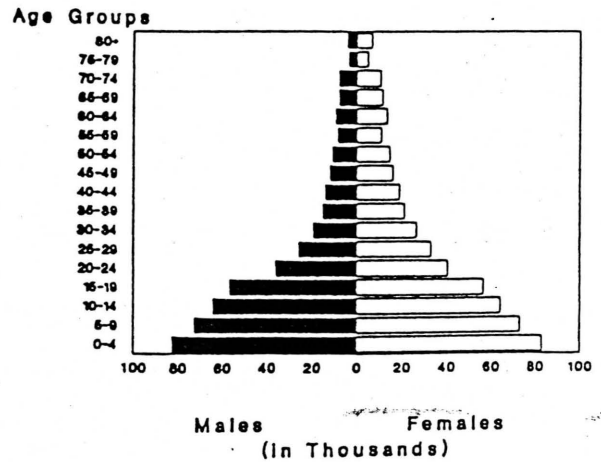


Table 2.7: Namibia, Population of Proclaimed Municipalities and major towns

Municipality/Town	Population
1. Windhoek	147,059
(a) Main	41,521
(b) Katutura	86,639
(c) Khomasdal	18,899
2. Swakopmund	17,681
3. Gobabis	8,340
4. Grootfontein	12,829
5. Karibib	2,978
6. Karasburg	4,602
7. Keetmanshoop	15,032
8. Mariental	7,581
9. Okahandja	11,040
10. Omaruru	4,851
11. Otavi	3,506
12. Otjiwarongo	15,921
13. Outjo	4,535
14. Tsumeb	16,211
15. Usakos	3,548
16. Henties Bay	1,612
17. Luderitz	7,700
18. Okakarara	3,725
19. Ondangwa	7,916
20. Ongwediva	6,172
21. Opuwo	4,234
22. Oshakati	21,602
23. Rehoboth	21,439
24. Katima Mulilo	13,372
25. Rundu	19,366
26. Khorixas	7,358
27. Arandis	4,303

Source: Central Statistics Office, 1991 Census of Population and Housing, Final Tabulations.

Table 2.8: Namibia: List of Towns with Population 2000 and Over, 1991

Region	No. Locality Name	Total Population
1. Caprivi	1. Katima Mulilo	13,372
2. Erongo	2. Arandis	4,303
	3. Karibib	2,978
	4. Omaruru	4,851
	5. Otjimbingwe	2,010
	6. Swakopmund	17,681
	7. Usakos	3,548
3. Hardap	8. Aranos	2,419
	9. Gibeon	4,031
	10. Maltahöhe	2,147
	11. Mariental	7,581
	12. Rehoboth	21,439
4. Karas	13. Karasburg	4,602
	14. Keetmanshoop	15,032
	15. Lüderitz	7,700
	16. Oranjemund	7,400
5. Khomas	17. Katutura	86,639
	18. Khomasdal	18,899
	19. Windhoek	41,521
6. Kunene	20. Khorixas	7,358
	21. Opuwo	4,234
	22. Outjo	4,535
7. Ohangwena	23. Engela	2,565
	24. Etomba	2,879
	25. Eenhana	2,000
	26. Okanghudi	2,359
	27. Onengali	2,434
	28. Ongha	2,437
	29. Ouhondo	2,979

Region	No. Locality Name	Total Population
8. Okavango	30. Kaisosi	4,686
	31. Kayengona	2,383
	32. Rundu	19,366
9. Omaheke	33. Aminius	2,389
	34. Gobabis	8,340
	35. Omaozonjanda	2,184
	36. Otjinene	2,956
10. Omusati	37. Eunda	2,144
	38. Okalondo	2,972
11. Oshana	39. Olunkono**	2,136
	40. Omaalala	2,531
	41. Ondangwa	7,916
	42. Ongwediva	6,172
	43. Oshakati	21,602
	44. Oshinyadhila	2,098
12. Oshikoto	45. Onyaanya	2,279
	46. Tsumeb	16,211
13. Otjozondjupa	47. Grootfontein	12,829
	48. Okahandja	11,040
	49. Okakarara	3,725
	50. Otavi	3,506
	51. Otjiwarongo	15,921

Source: Central Statistics Office, 1991 Census of Population and Housing.

The 1981 census estimated that 25 per cent of the population of Namibia lived in urban localities, defined as localities proclaimed as municipalities and those under the management of the Peri-Urban Development Board, regardless of population size (CSO, 1992 : 7).

In 1991, the census exercise adopted almost the same definition and the records show that 382,680 persons were enumerated in urban places while 1,827,240 resided in rural areas. By implication, the population of Namibia was 27.1 per cent urbanized in 1991. The list of proclaimed urban localities and their population

are shown in Table 2.7 . Localities with population of 2,000 and above are shown by region in Table 2.8 for comparison.

2.5 Population Distribution

Namibia's 1.4 million population is spread, rather unevenly, over a vast territory of 824,269 sq. km , most of it arid and semi-arid land. A simple arithmetic density gives the country a mere 1.7 persons per sq. km. , making Namibia one of the most sparsely populated countries in Africa.

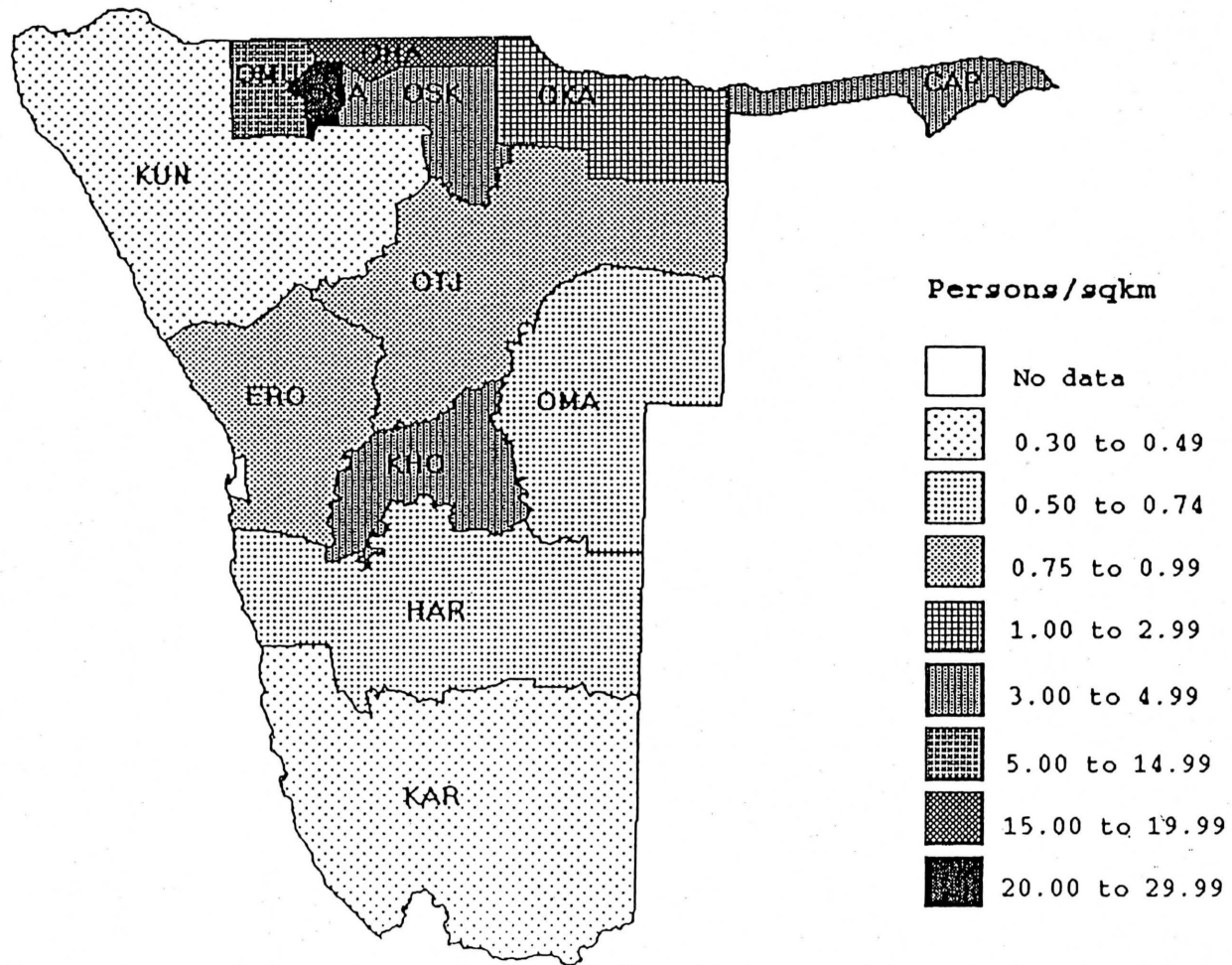
However, this average conceals a great deal of internal variations, particularly between the communal areas in the northern districts and the southern parts where commercial farming on large plantations are being practised on the one hand, and between the predominantly rural and urban areas on the other hand.

Table 2.9 : Namibia, Population by Regions 1991

Regions	Population	Percentage
Caprivi	90,422	6.4
Erongo	55,470	4.0
Hardap	66,495	4.7
Karas	61,162	4.4
Khomas	167,071	11.8
Kunene	64,017	4.5
Ohangwena	179,634	12.7
Okarango	116,830	8.3
Omaheke	52,735	3.7
Omusati	189,919	13.5
Oshana	134,884	9.6
Oshikoto	128,745	9.1
Otjozondjupa	102,536	7.3
All Regions	1,409,920	100.0

Source: Central Statistics Office, 1991 Census of Population and Housing .

Map 1: Population Density by Regions - 1991



The majority of the population of Namibia (70 per cent) live in 5 of the 27 census districts; namely, Oshakati, Ondangwa, Windhoek, Kavango and Caprivi. Indeed, the two districts of Oshakati and Ondangwa alone account for about 44 per cent of the national total population. By contrast, the seven southern districts of Mariental, Maltahöhe, Namaland, Bethanien, Karasburg, Keetmanshoop and Lüderitz together contain only 7 per cent of the country's total population.

Whereas density figures range between 5 and 15 persons per sq. km. in Oshakati and Ondangwa, they are as less than 0.5 person per sq. km over most of the rest of the country. (See Map I).

The distribution of the population among the 13 regions of the country also shows some variations, ranging from 52,735 in Omaheke to 189,919 in Omusati. The whole regional pattern is presented in Table 2.7.

2.6 Social Characteristics

The social characteristics of the population derivable from the 1991 census results include housing and household conditions, languages spoken, marriage patterns, education and disability conditions.

A total of 1,318,935 persons were enumerated in households while 90,985 constituted the institutional population - persons living together in quarters, such as prisons, hospitals, hostels, hotels, convents, barracks. Average household size was 5.2 for the whole country, 5.4 in the rural and 4.7 in urban areas. About 60 per cent of all households are headed by men, while women are heads of 40 per cent of households. In the rural areas the proportion of female-headed households increases to 43 per cent, suggesting that married men migrate in large numbers from the rural areas to the cities leaving their wives behind to take care of the household.

Regarding housing conditions, two contrasting forms were identified during the 1991 census; the **Kraal** (or hut) in the rural areas, and detached houses in towns and cities. The contrast is also shown in the type of amenities available: only 4.2 per cent of rural households have access to electricity compared to 64 per cent of urban households; and while 98 per cent of urban residents have access to pipe borne water, in the rural areas about 75 per cent depend on wells, boreholes, rivers, canals and lakes for drinking water. Again, while 86 per cent of rural households use the bush as toilet, about 80 per cent of urban households have the privilege of water closet for toilet. These contrasting levels of access to social facilities and infrastructure have obvious implications for the health of the two population groups.

The five major language groups identified by the census are Ovambo, Nama/Damara, Kavango, Afrikaans and Herero. Others are Caprivi, Bushman, German and English. Over 50 per cent of the population speak the Ovambo languages, followed by Nama/Damara (12.5 per cent).

Regarding marital status the census data reveal that marriage rate in Namibia, compared with other sub-Saharan African countries, is generally low. In most sub-Saharan African countries, marriage prevalence is over 90 per cent among women aged 15 years and above; in Namibia, 57 per cent of women in their childbearing years (15 - 49) had never married (1991 Census). However, childbearing takes place almost at the same pace within and outside marriage in the country. Legally married women report an average of 6.3 children at the completion of fertility (age 45 - 49) while women in the same age who have never married have an average of 4.9 children. Again, although age at marriage in Namibia is high (median age at marriage for women aged 25 - 49 years is 24.8 years), 42 per cent of the girls aged 15 - 19 have had an intercourse and about 18 per cent had given birth to at least one child.

Literacy (defined as ability to read and write) in Namibia is fairly widespread; about 77 per cent of the population aged 15 years and over were classified as illiterate in 1991. Compared with other African countries, the level of adult literacy in Namibia is quite high ; however, given the rural background residence of about 63 per cent of the adult population, effective post-literacy programmes are needed to ensure that what has been learned will not be quickly forgotten.

Illiteracy, as expected, is more widespread among the rural population (30 per cent) than among those in urban areas (10 per cent). However literacy rate in English (the official language) is only 49 per cent. Enrolment rate among school children (aged 6 - 9 years) is quite high (91 per cent) but the rate declines as the level of education increases: 72 per cent of those aged 15 - 19 years, and 25 per cent of those aged 20 - 24 were enrolled in schools. Enrolment rates are generally higher among urban residents than those in rural areas, and females rates higher than males. However, retention rates are very low for both sexes: 28 per cent of the boys and 37 per cent of the girls completed their primary education in 1991. Subscription to tertiary education, particularly university is also low but the rates are improving steadily.

Among the social characteristics investigated during the 1991 census was disability condition, specifically the nature of permanent disability. In all, about 44,000 persons reported being afflicted with one form of disability or another. Most of the disabled (79.3 per cent) were found in the rural areas. Impairment of the limbs accounted for most disability cases, followed by blindness and mental derangement.

2.7 Economic Characteristics

From the results of the 1991 census it is possible to analyze the working age population in Namibia (those aged 10 years and above) by type of economic activity, occupation, industry and employment status.

Regarding activity status, the census enumerated 998,436 persons in the working age group (10 years and over), made up of 493,580 (49.4 per cent) defined as economically active, or in the labour force, leaving

over 50 per cent of the working age population in the "economically inactive" category. (See Table 2.10) Out of the economically active population, 99,239 or 20.1 per cent are unemployed. Most of those unemployed, about 74 per cent are first time job-seekers, most of them below 25 years of age but almost equally divided by sex. It is noteworthy that about 71 per cent of the unemployed males and 78 per cent of their female counterparts are products of the primary and junior secondary school system. Equally striking is the emergence of the university graduate unemployment syndrome which needs to be watched carefully.

Labour force participation rates are generally high, but considerable variations exist between males and females and according to age. Participation in the labour force is very limited among boys and girls below age 15 years, in part because of schooling.

Table 2.10: Namibia, Distribution of the Labour Force by Activity Status 1991

Activity Status	Population	Per Cent
(a) Economically Active:	(493,580)	(49.4)
Employed	394,341	39.5
Unemployed:		
Previously worked	25,860	2.6
First Job Seekers	73,379	7.3
(b) Not Economically Active:	(503,610)	(50.4)
Student	313,920	31.4
Home Maker	116,129	11.6
Income Recipient	1,902	0.2
Disabled	9,736	1.0
Retired	57,434	5.7
Other	4,489	0.4
(c) Not State:	(1,246)	(0.2)
All Activity Status	998,436	100.0

In terms of employment capacity, agriculture is the predominant industry, or activity, engaging the workers in Namibia. About 47 per cent of the workers are in agriculture, numerically made up of more males than females. The industrial sector (mining, manufacturing, construction, electricity, water and gas) remains a small segment of the economy in terms of employment (15 per cent), and it is a male dominated sector. It is also noteworthy that 96 per cent of those workers in agriculture and fisheries are in the subsistence sector.

By 1991, there were 72,541 workers in Government employment, 65 per cent of whom were males and 35 per cent females. Private employment engaged 46 per cent of the male workers, but most females (35 per cent) were unpaid family workers.

3. FUTURE OUTLOOK

Based on the social, demographic and economic characteristics of the population and future development prospects, projections of the population and the labour force are made. The projection cycle (1991 - 2021) goes beyond NDP1 to give a long-term view of the population and its associated features.

3.1 Population Projections

In order to accommodate the various possibilities, we have varied the in-pur assumptions about fertility and mortality paths in the future to produce "High", "Medium" and "Low" variants of population and labour force projections. Basic to the assumptions is the fact that the declining trend in mortality will continue; however, fertility decline in future will depend on the magnitude of investments in family planning and its effectiveness in meeting the desires of individual couples, and as such the population at large, in reducing their family size. If little is done to reduce family size, as in the "High" projection scenario, by the year 2021 total fertility is assumed to be 5.0; compared with TFR of 4.0 under the "Medium" variant, with the assumption that a national population policy with fertility reducing orientation would be in place and vigorously implemented during the period. On the highly optimistic side, TFR is assumed to be reduced to 3.0 in year 2021 if full national mobilisation of the family planning programme is complemented by an overwhelmingly positive response by the population to adopt the small family norm. Net international migration is set at zero.

The summary of the projection results is presented in Table 2.11 and illustrated with Fig. 2.1. The "Medium" variant is recommended for the NDP1 planning exercise.

3.2 Labour Force Projections

Based on the same set of assumptions about the vital rates (fertility, mortality and migration), three variants of labour force projections are presented in this section. The summary of the projections of the labour force is shown in Table 2.12.

Table 2.11: Namibia: Summary of Population Projections (in Thousands) 1991 - 2021

Year	"High Variant"		"Medium Variant"		"Low Variant"	
	Population	Growth Rate*	Population	Growth Rate*	Population	Growth Rate*
1991	1409.9	3.00**	1409.9	3.00**	1409.9	3.00**
1996	1664.9	3.33	1664.3	3.32	1663.6	3.31
2001	1964.6	3.31	1957.4	3.25	1950.3	3.18
2006	2303.3	3.18	2280.3	3.05	2259.7	2.94
2011	2687.4	3.09	2633.4	2.88	2584.0	2.68
2016	3142.0	3.12	3027.0	2.79	2922.8	2.46
2021	3688.6	3.21	3469.0	2.73	3269.1	2.24

* Per cent per annum.

** Growth rate 1981 - 1991

Table 2.12 Namibia, Projected Total Labour Force (in Thousands) Under Different Assumptions 1991 - 221

Year	Labour Force					
	High Variant		Medium Variant		Low Variant	
	Total	Growth Rate (a)	Total	Growth Rate (a)	Total	Growth Rate (a)
1991	493	-	493	-	493	-
1996	582	3.4	582	3.4	582	3.4
2001	685	3.3	685	3.3	685	3.3
2006	803	3.2	803	3.2	802	3.2
2011	949	3.4	948	3.4	948	3.4
2016	1142	3.8	1138	3.7	1134	3.7
2021	1383	3.9	1370	3.8	1356	3.6

(a) Percentage per annum.

It is clear from this Table that the rate of growth of the labour force, like the projected population growth rate, is increasing over the period and is consistently higher than the average population growth of 3.0 per cent at the start of the projection (1991). Also significant is that regardless of differences in fertility

assumptions the growth rates of the labour force are the same from 1991 to the year 2011, because most of those who will enter the labour force during the 20-year period (1991 - 2011) had already been born. Therefore, in the short run, labour force supply is more sensitive to variations in mortality than changes in fertility levels. As shown under the medium variant, a higher level mortality reduces the size of the labour force.

Based on the "Medium Variant", the supply of labour force (shown in Table 2.13) also shows steady and similar increases over the years, influenced more by changes in mortality than by variations in fertility. Since mortality is expected to continue to decline over the projection period, the economy will have to contend with the addition of an average of about 30,000 potential workers to the labour force annually for the next 30 years.

Table 2.13: Namibia, Projected Labour Force Net New Entries (in Thousands) 1991 - 2021

Year	High Variant	Medium Variant		Low Variant
		F (e ₀) = 71.0	F (e ₀) = 74.0	
1991	-	-	-	-
1996	89	89	89	89
2001	103	102	103	103
2006	118	117	118	118
2011	146	144	146	145
2016	193	186	190	187
2021	241	225	231	222

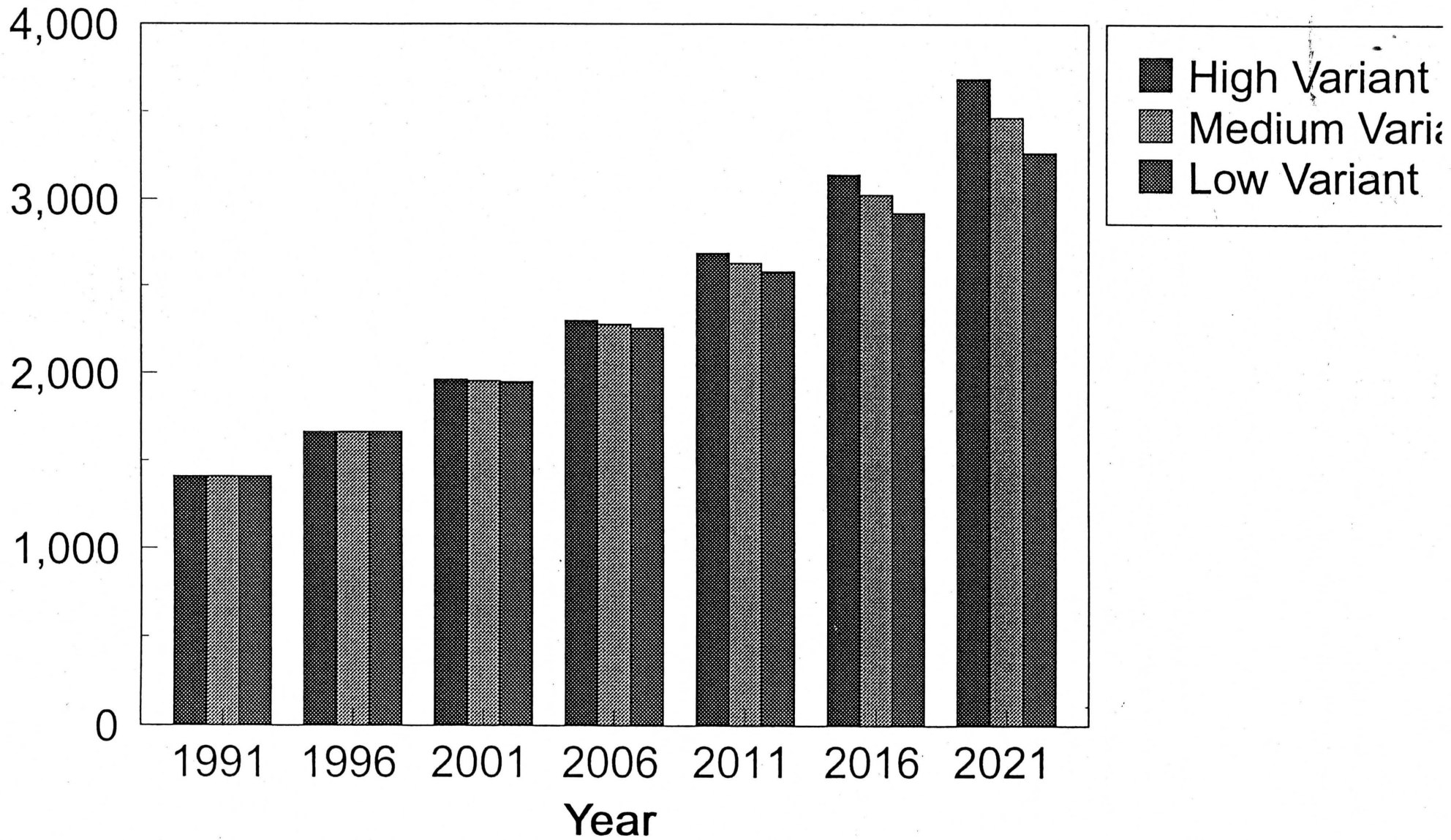
4. IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

The point can hardly be overemphasized that the projected population size, growth rates and the observed characteristics of Namibia's population will have significant implications for the country's overall plan for social and economic development, particularly its programme of poverty alleviation, reduction in the level of unemployment, improved nutrition and accessibility of the people to social services and infrastructural facilities, such as education, health, potable water, sanitation, housing, security, etc.

As already illustrated here with the results of the different population projection scenarios, a *laissez-faire* population policy, particularly regarding the prevailing high rate of fertility, is bound to be negative on the economy and society in the long-run. In order to take a rational decision about development options in the face of limited resources and rapidly expanding population, it is important to adopt the integrated approach to

Fig. 2.1

Namibia: Summary of 5-year Projections of the Population, 1991-2021 (Figures in Thousands)



development planning.

Effective integrated population and development planning, however, calls for a well articulated national population policy and a coordinated programme. Without such a policy, population programme activities tend to be operated, like in Namibia, as different sectoral programmes, lacking national focus and without the benefit of an overall monitoring and evaluation mechanism to determine the effects of these programmes on the population and society.

In the absence of an explicit population policy, various sectors in the country have been responding in one way or another to the concerns expressed by the Government about the potentially negative implications of aspects of the country's population dynamics for social and economic development. The Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP, 1993) has already noted with concern the unhealthy race between the country's population growth rate of 3.0 per annum (1981 - 1991) and the growth rate of the real Gross National Product (GNP) of less than 0.3 per cent annually during the 1980's, implying an aggregate decline in real per capita incomes. The high rate of population growth has also been cited in the plan document in association with rising levels of unemployment, increasing dimensions of the youth problem and potential degradation of the ecological environment. Similar concerns are raised about the high rate of population growth with respect to the provision of social services and facilities to meet the rising demand for health, education, housing and land, among others.

In the absence of a national population policy, most of the solutions proffered in the TNDP (1993) tend to ignore the long-term effects of population measures, as opposed to purely economic measures, in ameliorating these problems. The Government has since realised this short coming and steps are being taken, particularly through the newly created Population Planning Unit within the National Planning Commission, to address this issue with a view to developing a national population policy and programme in due course.

Perhaps the overriding concern of such a policy should be how to reduce the growth rate of the population, achieve a more equitable physiological density, raise the socio-economic status of women, improve the health of the people and promote a dynamic relationship between urban and rural population. As part of the Government effort to improve socio-economic data base for planning, the population policy should also encourage the production of population data through censuses, sample surveys and the establishment and sustained functioning of a national vital registration system. Needless to emphasize, the coordination of all the sectoral population programmes will continue be the responsibility of the National Planning Commission.

5. TOWARDS A NATIONAL POPULATION POLICY FOR NAMIBIA

The formulation of a national population policy is one of the major steps in the process of achieving the integration of population with development planning. However, precisely when this significant step is taken

by a country in the process of population - development planning integration depends on a number of factors. These include: the magnitude, severity and relative priority of population problems such as rapid growth, high fertility and migration, the "carrying capacity," of the national planning system, availability of data, research capacity, the perception of planners and policy - makers of the importance of population problems, and the feasibility of designing and implementing policy measures to influence population parameters in the desired directions (ILO. 1987:20).

Given the complex nature of the above factors, it can be said that of Namibia has already started the process of formulating a national population policy. Quite a number of basic steps are yet to be undertaken, but the Government has underscored the need for such a policy and the process involved. Basically the process of population policy formulation involves: the establishment of a sound socioeconomic and demographic data base; an inventory and appraisal of population and development interrelationships through research and policy studies; awareness creation among policy and decision makers, powerful groups and the public at large; establishment of appropriate institutions to provide the technical and management support for policy formulation, programme design, coordination, monitoring and evaluation; and policy formulation. Each of these activities is described briefly with reference to Namibia.

5.1 Needed Data

Population census data constitute a basic requirement, as such data will be needed in preparing detailed demographic estimates and projections. In order to understand the dynamics of the population in relation to social and economic development, it is necessary to have data on population size, growth rate, age and sex composition, rural and urban distribution, regional distribution and density, labour force by occupation and industry. Reliable data on fertility, mortality and migration are also required as inputs into the demographic estimates and projections which constitute basic elements for human resource analysis (health, education, employment, etc.). Without these sets of data, it will be difficult to answer in concrete terms the question: what is the population problem?

Apart from population and housing censuses, these data sets are commonly obtained from official records, operations research, and ad hoc sample surveys. Estimates of vital rates (fertility and mortality) are conventionally derived from vital registration statistics, but where a reliable registration system is not in operation (as in Namibia), indirect estimates may be derived from sample surveys or population census data. The country has conducted a census of population and housing (1991) and the results are being disseminated. Also, a national sample survey on health (NDHS) was conducted in 1992 and the report published in 1993. This report provides information on morbidity, mortality, fertility and family planning. However, more information is required through surveys and research on the determinants of fertility, household resources, and the general well-being of the population. It is equally pertinent that official statistics being collected continually by the

various sectors (viz. immigration records, vital registration, etc.) should be analyzed and information disseminated.

5.2 Research

Research is needed to consolidate the range of information available, identify gaps in knowledge and provide additional information as basis for decision making and policy formulation. As background to further research work, there is need to undertake a thorough inventory of demographic and related socioeconomic data and an assessment of their quality and gaps.

(ILO, 1987: 22).

Policy studies are also required on the socio-economic determinants of demographic variables and conversely on the implications of population factors for socio-economic policies and processes. Such policy studies are very valuable in providing information for the development of appropriate methodologies, or models, which will serve the purpose of ensuring the coherence and compatibility of population and development objectives, and facilitate cost-benefit analysis of alternative measures for rational decision making.

5.3 Sensitization

This involves awareness creation about the role of population in development, and individual as well as collective responsibilities in achieving the desired harmony between population factors and socio-economic and environmental development. Strategies vary and the target groups for sensitization are diverse, but often include politicians, law makers, decision-makers, planners, other Government officials and functionaries, professionals, non-governmental organisations (NGOS), powerful groups, religious societies, voluntary associations, women, youth (including in-school and out-of-school), and the population at large. Depending on the type of information on population to be disseminated, each target group may require different approaches in order to minimize operational costs in the process of information dissemination. This is where the IEC experts and the mass media practitioners could collaborate most fruitfully.

Unless population factors and their roles in development are clearly understood by policy makers and planners, we cannot even begin to discuss fruitfully the need for a population policy. And without carrying most of the people at all levels along in the process, through awareness creation and population education, the goal of policy may be misconstrued and the resultant communication gap may breed discontent and widespread opposition to policy measures. The critical role of the media (print, T.V., radio, etc.) in this regard can hardly be overemphasized.

5.4 Institutional Machinery

The establishment of an appropriate institution or Government body responsible for population and development matters is a clear evidence of Government commitment. For any country, such an institution is needed to coordinate the existing population - related activities in the absence of a national population policy and programme. The role of such a body after a population policy has been formulated, in generating and analyzing pertinent data, promoting policy studies, facilitating the training of professionals, and developing appropriate frameworks (or models) for population programme monitoring and evaluation is very crucial to policy execution. The Government of Namibia has recognized the importance of such a body and has established (July 1993) a Population Planning Unit (PPU) within the National Planning Commission (NPC).

Many African countries have identified such a Population Planning Unit (PPU), as the most suitable institutional set up for incorporating demographic variables into human resource and general socio-economic planning and for formulating, co-ordinating and evaluating population policies. To this effect, PPU has become a common feature of the development planning machinery in most African countries.

A review of the functioning of PPU's in the developing countries of the world by the ILO (1987) has shown that a population planning unit in the planning organisation can be a highly effective mechanism for integrating demographic data, analysis and projections into the national development plan and for considering the effects of socio-economic policies on demographic parameters.

If accorded a high-level permanent status and staffed with qualified social scientists from the relevant disciplines (demography, economics, statistics, geography, sociology), PPU can confidently be entrusted with the formulation, monitoring and evaluation of any multi-sectoral national population policy which the government may adopt.

5.5 The Content of Population Policy

In terms of content, there are certain basic elements which are common to national population policies. These include the rationale, objectives and goals, demographic targets, policy measures and the institutional arrangements for policy implementation.

5.5.1 Rationale

Why is a population policy necessary and important? Quite frequently, population policies open by providing answer to this question. Such an answer calls for a demographic analysis of the country's population (the patterns of fertility, mortality and migration and how these influence population size, growth rate, age and

sex composition, trend and pattern of population distribution) and how the observed demographic features relate to the development of the economy, the environment and the society. The purpose is to determine the nature and magnitude of the country's population problem, if any.

Even in the face of the limited information available, the Government of Namibia has been indicating some concerns about the country's population in relation to the social and economic development and the achievement of a sustainable environment. These concerns are expressed in different sections of the Transitional National Development Plan 1991/92 - 1993/94 as follows:

- The population growth rate of 3 per cent implies that an economic growth rate of over 3 per cent is necessary in order to increase per capita incomes. Namibia's growing population is already putting the country's resources under pressure. Providing growing incomes for a growing population is one of the major challenges facing the Government. (NPC, 1993:8).
- Namibia's real Gross National Product (GNP) at constant 1985 prices grew at an annual average rate of less than 0.3 percent during the 1980's. With a population growth of around 3 percent per year over that period, real per capita incomes declined in the aggregate. Real per capita GNP fell by nearly 22 per cent over the decade. This picture of an economy providing decreasing incomes to its population is made worse if the distribution of those incomes is taken into account. (ibid, p.27).
- The level of population growth implies that around 16,500 people every year will come onto the labour market in the course of the plan period. The Government must ensure that those who do not find jobs in the formal sector have access to training and other income-earning opportunities. The formulation of special policies for the development of the informal sector is therefore of crucial importance . . . (ibid, p. 8).
- Namibia's population is a young one with an estimated 45 percent of the total population under the age of fifteen. Thus, the problems of youth (lack of employment opportunities, the high school drop-out rate, poverty, health - related issues such as HIV and AIDS as well as teenage pregnancies, drug and alcohol abuse; hooliganism and vandalism, rape) take on added importance, (ibid, p. 214).
- Namibia has a relatively low human population that reflects the low carrying capacity of its harsh and fragile environment. The present population growth rate is high at about 3.0 percent. Thus, by the year 2014 the Namibia population will have doubled to 2.8 million. Even if an effective programme were to be launched immediately, which resulted in zero population growth, it is unlikely that the Namibian population would stabilise at fewer than 4 - 5 million people. Unless the growth rate is reduced, the well-being of future generations of Namibians is unlikely to improve on that of the present

generation, and the environmental support system is likely to be further degraded. (ibid, p. 237).

Policy studies are required in these and other areas of population in relation to development in order to fully comprehend the nature and dimension of Namibia's population problem and develop appropriate policy responses.

5.5.2 Policy Objectives and Goals

Having determined the nature of the country's population problems, the objectives and goals of policy should be stated. While policy objectives are stated in a general form, the goals of population policy tend to be couched in specific terms. For example, the overall or general objective of a population policy may be to improve social welfare, or maintain a better balance between population and resources, or improve the quality of life of the people.

Proceeding from such general statements, most policy documents then move to a specification of goals or objectives. In the case of Zambia, the overall goal, or general objective, of the country's population policy is to improve the standard of living and the quality of life of all Zambians. According to the policy document, the specific objectives are to introduce measures aimed at slowing down Zambia's high population growth rate; enhance people's health and welfare; systematically integrate population factors into the nation's development planning and implementation; ensure that all couples and individuals have the basic right to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children and to have the information, education and means to do so; achieve a more even distribution of the population between urban and rural areas and to regulate international migration; expand and maintain the nation's population data-base (Republic of Zambia, 1989).

Just as in any other country, Zambia's population goal and objectives are a reflection of the country's perceived population problems and ways of combating such problems. Similarly, it is expected that as more and more policy studies and research along the lines already suggested bring more information on population and development issues, the nature of Namibia's population problems will become clearer. Deriving from such perceptions, the overall objective and goals of policy will also become more easily definable.

While a comprehensive national population policy is yet to be formulated, there are already in operation certain sectoral policies which have a bearing on the population and may have the incidental effect of bringing about changes in Namibia's demographic and related factors in relation to development. Of relevance here are aspects of the sectoral policies on population data, population planning infrastructure, morbidity and mortality (maternal child and health care, including family planning), women in development, the youth, migration and urbanisation, population distribution and the environment (Population Planning Unit, 1983).

Although these sectoral population - related policies together do not amount to a national population policy, they provide some basis for the evolution of Namibia's population policy.

5.5.3 Demographic Targets

The qualitative goals expressed in most population policies are often complemented by the establishment of quantitative demographic targets. Such quantitative targets are useful in providing the basis for evaluating the success (or failure) of a programme and/or the effectiveness of particular measures being adopted to achieve certain goals.

While the quantitative goal of a population policy may be to achieve a slowing down of the country's population growth, in quantitative terms, the target may be to reduce the current rate of population growth from, say, 3.0 percent per annum to 2.5 percent at the end of the programme cycle. To achieve this reduction in the growth rate of population may also call for targeting specific demographic variables particularly fertility.

Apart from fertility and mortality, population (or demographic) targets may also be set for migration, urbanisation, population distribution and density, labour force, women, youth, etc., in each case specifying what the programme plans to achieve over a given time period.

5.5.4 Policy and Programme Measures

Having formulated the policy, specifying the goals and objectives, and after establishing the demographic targets, it is necessary to determine the means to be employed in achieving the goals/objectives of the policy. The measures commonly in use, in many developing countries include family planning programme, population and family life education (sometimes referred to as population information, education and communication or IEC), raising the status of women, improving health and nutrition status, provision of incentives and disincentives, legislation, etc.

Some of these measures are already in use in Namibia but not within the context of a national population programme and not necessarily employed as population measures.

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