

CENTRE FOR RESEARCH - INFORMATION - ACTION FOR DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

# **PRECARIOUS SETTLEMENTS AT WINDHOEK'S PERIPHERY**

## **Investigation into the emergence of a new urban phenomenon**

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**April 1995**

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# INTRODUCTION

Windhoek's urban growth is marked by a set of factors which are related to a new social and political environment since independence. The abolition of apartheid employment and movement restriction laws has, together with an economic crisis in the former homelands, triggered off a flow of rural migration to the capital. The speed at which this phenomenon developed and the shortage of accommodation in Windhoek have promoted the creation of a new form of precarious settlement: squatting at the capital's northern periphery.

The phenomenon has increased significantly ever since it began after independence in 1990. Official estimations today quote the number of squatters with 25 to 30 000, representing 15 to 20% of Windhoek's total population. Other towns in the country are also affected by this new urban growth phenomenon (Rundu<sup>1</sup>, Oshakati).

Precarious settlement areas are a major concern to government and municipalities as expressed by the Mayor of Windhoek during her inaugural speech in 1993. The fact that workshops<sup>2</sup> were organised to find solutions to the housing problem affecting the poorest, provides further proof that the authorities are serious in combating the situation. Faced with an irreversible influx of low income migrants, municipal authorities have to respond to a growing pressure on land and increased demands for urban housing facilities and services.

Due to the absence of a national policy making provisions for the new phenomenon, the municipality is seeking recognition of an exceptional status for Windhoek. No answer has so far been received on an amendment application to the National Housing Policy recently submitted to Government.

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<sup>1</sup> GRAEFE, O., OHEREIN, D. & RENAULD, P. 1994. "ISIS - Informal Settlement and Institutional Survey". D.G.E.S. & C.R.I.A.A., Windhoek.

<sup>2</sup> "Consultative Workshop with NGOs on the National Shelter Sub-Strategy, 27-28 April 1994" - organized by James Hokans of the Cooperative Housing Foundation under the auspices of the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing.



Precarious settlements are mainly found at Katutura's northern periphery, Windhoek's former black township. The municipality has taken cognisance of the phenomenon by introducing a dislodgement policy for squatters who initially settle in town areas as well as a resettlement policy aiming at squatter resettlement at the northern periphery. This policy provides for temporary reception and transit areas - equipped with basic facilities, and permanent settlement areas - with access to land and housing.

Despite these measures, illegal squatter settlement could not be stopped. Aside from the group of resettled squatters who are conferred a legal residential status, squatters with an illegal residential status live at Katutura's northern periphery, sharing the same living conditions as "legal squatters".

These developments have opened ample research opportunities on the emergence of new urban dwellers living on the verge of the town and, some of them, on the verge of the law.

Since 1991, CRIAA has been an active partner in combating problems associated with precarious settlements. At Ombili, one of the first squatter resettlement areas, a low cost housing project based on participation of the people has been implemented. The construction of 300 houses was financed by the French Co-operation. This confrontation with the real situation has given rise to many questions: Who are these squatters? Where do they come from? How do people become squatters?

With no information regarding this population group being available, CRIAA decided to launch a field survey conducted by two geographical researchers from the University of Paris X - Nanterre. The results of this investigation should also provide the Namibian authorities with additional information on the phenomenon. It follows an initial survey made by CRIAA in informal settlement areas of Rundu in collaboration with the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies (DGES) at the University of Namibia (UNAM).

This investigation into Windhoek's precarious settlement areas is based on a field survey conducted in the squatter areas at the northern periphery over a period of three weeks in September - October 1994, by Elisabeth Peyroux and Olivier Graefe with the assistance of the interpreters Gideon Shilongo, Joseph Ndinoshiho and Aimi Niinko, and with the collaboration of Pascal Renaud of CRIAA.

# 1. TERMINOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

## 1.1. Terminology

### 1.1.1 Definition of squatting and squatters

A definition of the terminology applied in this study is indispensable, more so, since the terms applied differ slightly from official terminology.

Official definitions of the term "squatter", as found in various documents of the Windhoek municipality and the amendment application to the National Housing Policy, form the basis of our definition of the term. The said definitions distinguish between two types of squatting:

(a) Squatting in traditional town quarters related to the overpopulation and housing crisis affecting the black population, resulting in habitation of Katutura's backyards and subletting part of the premises of legal owners or tenants.

Habitation in backyards of the former black township is regarded as squatting by the municipality of Windhoek because it is illegal, in other words, not in conformity with land policy regulations. The Zoning Plan does not provide for dense population areas in Katutura's old residential areas. The question arises whether squatting dwellers in these quarters should, indeed, be referred to as "squatters", considering the fact that they pay rent to the owner or tenant of the premises which gives them a legitimate status despite their illegal presence. It should be noted that this form of squatting occurred before independence.

(b) Squatting in squatter areas at the town's northern periphery with shacks being put up on municipal land or land assigned to private (developers), public (Build Together Programme<sup>3</sup>) or parastatal housing projects (National Housing Enterprise).

Our particular interest is dedicated to the latter (b) form of squatting.

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<sup>3</sup> National low-cost housing programme introduced by the Government.

As indicated by official definitions, the term "squatter" refers to an illegal residential status and, mostly, to an informal and precarious form of settlement.

As a result, dwellers in Windhoek squatter areas are conferred two different statuses: an illegal status, squatters as defined earlier - and a legal status, former squatters having been dislodged and resettled by the authorities who are either paying fees for the temporary use of the land or have access to land and housing property rights. Ordinary language makes no difference between "legal squatters" and "illegal squatters", the word "squatter" being a combination of the two statuses and having a pejorative connotation.

In order to differentiate between the two situations, we shall use the term "squatter" to refer to illegal occupants of the areas surveyed and the term "resettled residents" for the second category.

## **1.1.2 Squatter areas**

### **1.1.2.1 Definition**

Two terms are used to describe the settlement situation in these areas either as "squatter areas" or "informal settlements". In official documents, informal settlements are defined as *Organised and controlled non-conventional settlements equipped with basic services and minimum health and security requirements*.

We shall use the term "squatter areas" since it describes the precarious settlement and living conditions in these areas without addressing the dwellers' legal status.

### **1.1.2.2 Official classification of squatter areas**

Windhoek's squatter areas can be classified into two categories according to their legal status (although it is difficult to distinguish between the two in spatial terms): reception areas - as classified and introduced by the municipality include *Reception Areas per se* or *Transit Areas, Resettlement Areas*; and the *Squatter Camps* escaping the control of the authorities.

#### 1.1.2.2.1 Reception areas or Transit areas

##### *Reception areas per se and transit areas*

These areas are equipped with basic community services such as drinking water, sanitation, refuse collection, gravel roads and drainage channels.

100 to 150 m<sup>2</sup> plots are rented out at low cost without the option to purchase. The areas are reserved for the reception of poorest families whose socio-economic status does not allow them access to other areas.

The duration of stay in transit areas is confined to a maximum period which can be extended on a contractual basis. The families' socio-economic progress determines when the families can be resettled to reception areas or other townships, their situation, in theory, being monitored and evaluated by the authorities.

The establishment of permanent habitation structures is prohibited. Dwellings can be moved in the event of resettlement to other areas.

The transit area is situated in the northern parts of Okuryangava, extension - 6, north of the east-western road, stretching over an area of about 136 hectares.

##### *Resettlement areas*

These areas are equipped with the same basic community services as reception and transit areas, however, with a possibility of future upgrading (street lights, bus services). These areas are intended for those families having the means to buy a plot. In Big Bend and Goreangab, for example, 150 to 300 m<sup>2</sup> plots are rented out with option to purchase.

Two types of dwellings are found in resettlement areas - temporary and permanent dwellings.

#### 1.1.2.2 Squatter camps

Squatter camps are entirely illegal settlements which have been recently tolerated. But as from now, squatter camp residents risk being dislodged. Squatter camps are found on non-allocated land (such as One Nation West) or on land reserved for non-residential often institutional purposes, such as Freedomland, where dislodgement has only been announced recently. The first dislodgement attempts at One Nation in October 1993 failed due to the dwellers' resistance.

Several squatters have settled beyond the boundaries of squatter camps in reception and transit areas which, as a result, are no longer as homogeneous as intended by the authorities.

## 1.2. Residential groups

The definition of relevant socio-economic units was one of the major problems encountered in this investigation. The complexity of residential family combinations amongst dwellers and the lack of information regarding their financial situation are the reason why we have decided to consider family relation criteria for our definition and classification of residential groups. We have considered the size of the family (nuclear and extended families), the maintenance of its nuclear unit (nuclear and single parent families) and the nature of family relationship existing between members of the residential group (spouse/partners, brothers and sisters, or friends).

Residential groups are composed of family groups (partners with children, for example), various different family members or persons who are not related and sometimes isolated - a brother or a sister, an uncle or a friend sharing the shack with the head of household and his/her family.

The living conditions and surrounding circumstances in the areas surveyed suggest that these individuals and groups are a convenience and are not living together because they chose to do so. The situation is rather caused by a crisis demanding provisional and temporary adjustment. A residential group is therefore an unstable unit which can easily break up as the opportunities for family members or individuals change.

Based on the information collected in various interviews, we have established that residential groups constitute a unit of basic consumption for: (a) food (the costs being shared by the members of the group); (b) urban services (water fees are also shared).

Within a residential group several family units co-exist, each unit having to take care of several other budget expenditures such as clothing, transport, school fees, health expenses, etc. These units build up savings provided the situation allows for it. How are these related expenses shared? Are savings and future investments an individual (isolated individuals), family (nuclear families, brothers and sisters) or collective project (entire residential group)? The separation of families, with part of the family staying in the region of origin, has additional bearing on money transfers destined for people living outside the residential group because every member of the group has to take care of family dependants.

These pending questions made it difficult to study residential groups as socio-economic units. We have therefore decided to analyse residential groups in respect of their family composition. This is an approach which has enabled us to fully comprehend the type of (individual and group) migration existing between the rural regions and the capital.

### **1.3 Sampling of people and areas investigated**

Due to financial and time-related constraints, the number of people interviewed was restricted to a hundred heads of household. A total of 101 interviews were made. Due to the lack of census and socio-economic survey data regarding squatters and resettled<sup>4</sup> residents as well as aerial photographs, we could not select the investigated groups according to our preferred criteria - such as extent of the areas, socio-economic position of the heads of household and the squatters' geographic and ethnic origin. The only distinction possible in the field survey was the differentiation between squatters and resettled residents.

The areas investigated covered all reception areas (other than Big Bend) as well as squatter dwellings scattered over the Okuryangava area. It was regarded as important

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<sup>4</sup> The registration of squatters, as carried out by the Windhoek municipality, does provide information on the squatters' socio-economic status and their resettlement. The data does, however, not reveal the location of the families on site.

to interview people from all of the squatter areas because of their theoretical spatial distribution according to their socio-economic situation (see classification of reception areas). Our intention was, in other words, to cover all the areas in our investigation.

#### **1.4 Problems encountered during the field survey**

Our field survey was initiated in September and conducted over a three-week period during the pre-election campaign for Namibia's presidential and general elections held in December. The political circumstances were not very conducive to our questionnaire survey, causing suspicion and even aggression with some residents in the areas visited, more so since the authorities were calling for voter registration. Making contact with people and explaining the purpose of the questionnaire led to many questions, extending the length of our interviews and slowing down the pace of the survey, not to mention the many long discussions which resulted in a refusal to co-operate by the interviewed person.

At times, it was difficult to meet the head of household at his residence. Our survey sample, therefore, includes ten partners of heads of household. The questionnaires served two different purposes. Some information regarding the head of household was used for an overall-evaluation whereas other data, concerning the partners, were evaluated separately, the total reference varying according to the topic.

It should be emphasised that this study is the result of a qualitative investigation. The examples chosen are, by no means, intended to be representative. Figures indicated in the tables have been rounded off, the intention being to demonstrate the extent of the observed phenomenon.

#### **1.5 Investigation topics**

The researchers wanted to address the squatting phenomenon as a whole. Therefore underlying factors, ranging from a study of migration routes to socio-economic integration in town, and practical aspects (conditions of access to land, building of shacks, weekly budget, etc.) are included.

This inquiry is also an opinion survey on open questions pertaining to living conditions, day-to-day problems encountered and authority policies. The evaluation of required basic services and their respective priority was established by means of multiple choice questions.

Squatter area residents mainly originate from former Owamboland. It was interesting to investigate the reasons for their migration, whether economic or family ties with the region of origin are maintained, the number of dependants, regular money transfers, frequency of visits, and the migrants' short, medium and long-term projections concerning their return to the region of origin, commonly chosen as a preferred place for retirement.

The intra-urban migration schedule, showing each stage (stop-over) in detail, provides valuable information regarding the mobility (or instability) of this population group, and, the conditions, forms and limits of housing facilities in Windhoek.

The rate at which people move within Windhoek indicates the degree of integration in the formal town. We have investigated whether people move to the centre of town or other suburbs regularly visited by the people interviewed.

Socio-economic data takes an important place in the questionnaire especially with regard to formal employment, informal activities and income.

Questions regarding the people's social life were asked as open questions in the questionnaire's final section. This topic should be looked at in a separate inquiry and, most of all, in a participating long-term observation based on genuine familiarity with squatter residents. Our short visits in the various areas have not enabled us to investigate this issue as well. We have therefore decided not to evaluate the information gathered in this respect.

The time allocated to this inquiry did not allow the utilisation of all the information gathered in the questionnaires. We have therefore decided to portray only essential components illustrating the phenomenon: migration routes and settlement conditions in Windhoek, economic and family relations with the region of origin, family structure of the residential group and the socio-economic situation of the heads of household (information pertaining to income was considered as unreliable and has therefore been disregarded).





## **2. SURVEY AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS**

### **2.1. Squatter areas**

#### **2.1.1 Squatter area development as demonstrated with a selection of examples**

Most squatter areas at Katutura's northern periphery have only recently been formed since 1990. Some areas show particular features regarding their constitution. The following areas were selected as examples.

##### **2.1.1.1 Ombili**

Ombili, the "place of peace" is one of the very first resettlement areas in Windhoek. Squatters, who were dislodged by the authorities in town areas in 1990, were resettled in Ombili. Early resettled residents today rent houses built in a project financed by the French Government Co-operation and implemented by CRIAA. This early resettlement area is, through latest developments, surrounded by illegal and rather densely populated squatter dwellings forming a sharp contrast to adjacent plots allocated to an NHE project for future house owners. It appears that no recent settlers have moved into the area on account of the prevailing overpopulation.

##### **2.1.1.2 Freedomland**

Being one of the first squatter reception areas at the northern periphery, Freedomland has, as its name suggests, been a free settlement area for early squatters. Freedomland has existed since 1987 as a squatter area. And, as in Ombili, first resettled residents were brought in in 1990 and 1991. Freedomland has, from the beginning, been given special consideration by the municipality and this could be regarded as an attempt to formalise the area. The land was the private property of a farmer who allowed the squatters to settle on his land in exchange for a monthly lodging fee and payment for water. The land was later purchased by the municipality. The conditions governing the rent and payment of services have been set out in a rental agreement entered into between an authorised residents committee and the

municipal authorities. This agreement was questioned and subsequently cancelled by new residents who elected a new committee. The residents of Freedomland were then declared illegal settlers. Today, Freedomland is inhabited by squatters, many of them being members of the Damara speaking community, and resettled residents taken care of by NHE.

#### **2.1.1.3 Greenwell Matongo**

Goreangab or Greenwell Matongo, as the area is also called, has been named after a famous SWAPO freedom fighter who died in combat at the Zambian border. It is a resettlement area where single quarter residents were resettled in 1992 and offered various options to buy land or housing property. As in all other areas, the population of Greenwell Matongo consists of squatters and resettled residents. A distinction between the two types of settlers is not always possible, as squatters sometimes mark "their" plots with fencing or wooden pegs. Resettled residents dwell predominantly alongside the main roads.

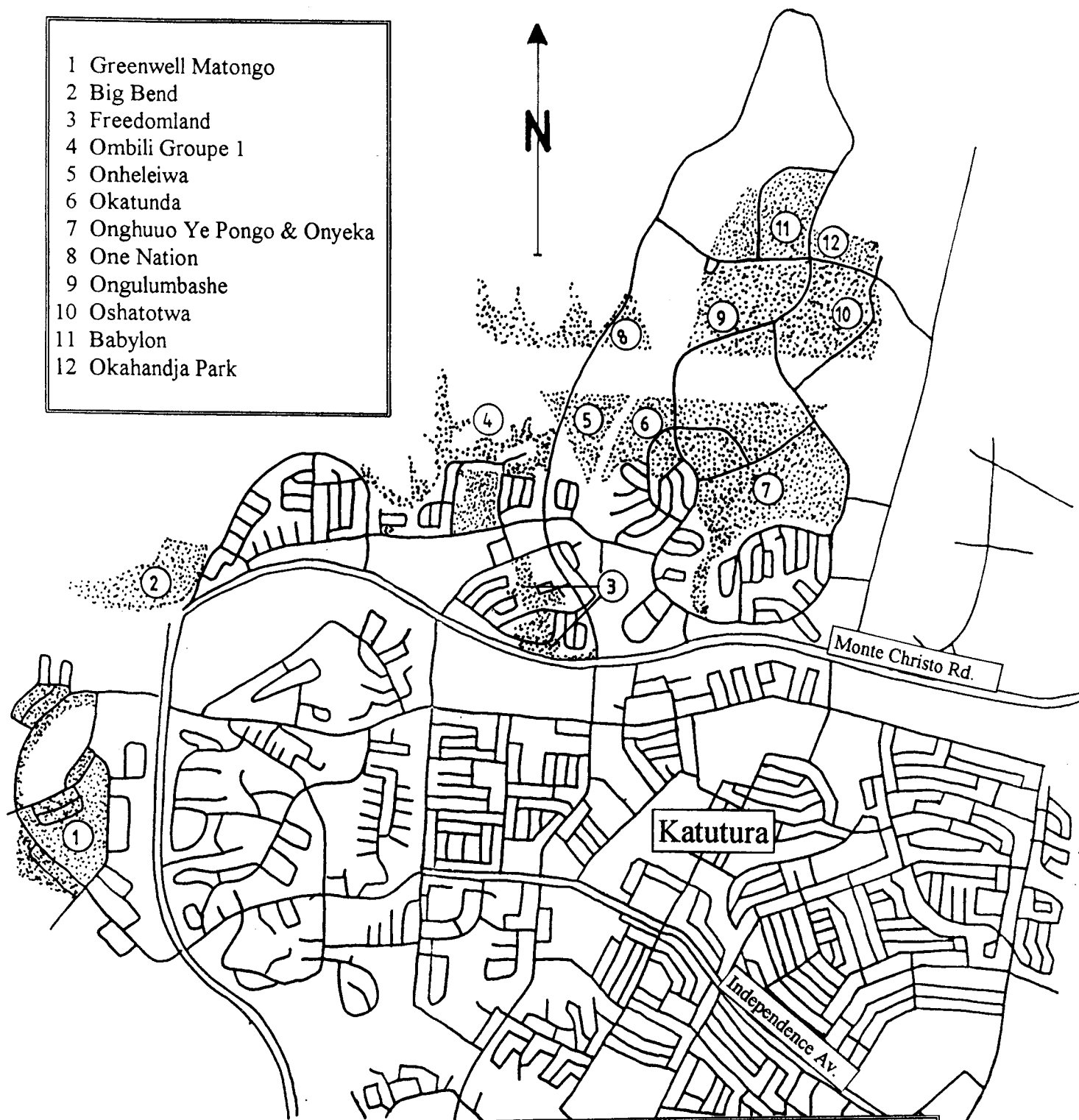
#### **2.1.1.4 Okuryangava, extension - 6**

The most recent squatter areas are those in Okuryangava, extension - 6 : "One Nation", one of its parts, was recently cleared by the squatters who were living there since 1992. They refused to be resettled to an area situated further north; "Babylon" received some 500 families in August 1994, the families having been dislodged for security reasons from an area crossed by a high voltage power line. The latter area was named after the hill overlooking the site.

All other areas surveyed have also been given names by their dwellers, some of them making reference to topographic features such as Okatunda (small hill) or Onheileiwa (good place). Others refer to a symbol: Onyeka (torch), Oshatotwa (self-made), Onghuuo Ye Pongo (ask God for help). SWAPO's struggle is still in the memory of the people: such as Ongulumbashe, where the first battle between PLAN and the South African forces was fought.



Topic Map: Situation of Windhoek Squatter Areas in 1994



- 1 Greenwell Matongo
- 2 Big Bend
- 3 Freedomland
- 4 Ombili Groupe 1
- 5 Onheleiwa
- 6 Okatunda
- 7 Onghuuo Ye Pongo & Onyeka
- 8 One Nation
- 9 Ongulumbashe
- 10 Oshatotwa
- 11 Babylon
- 12 Okahandja Park

**Carte thématique : Localisation des bidonvilles de Windhoek en 1994**

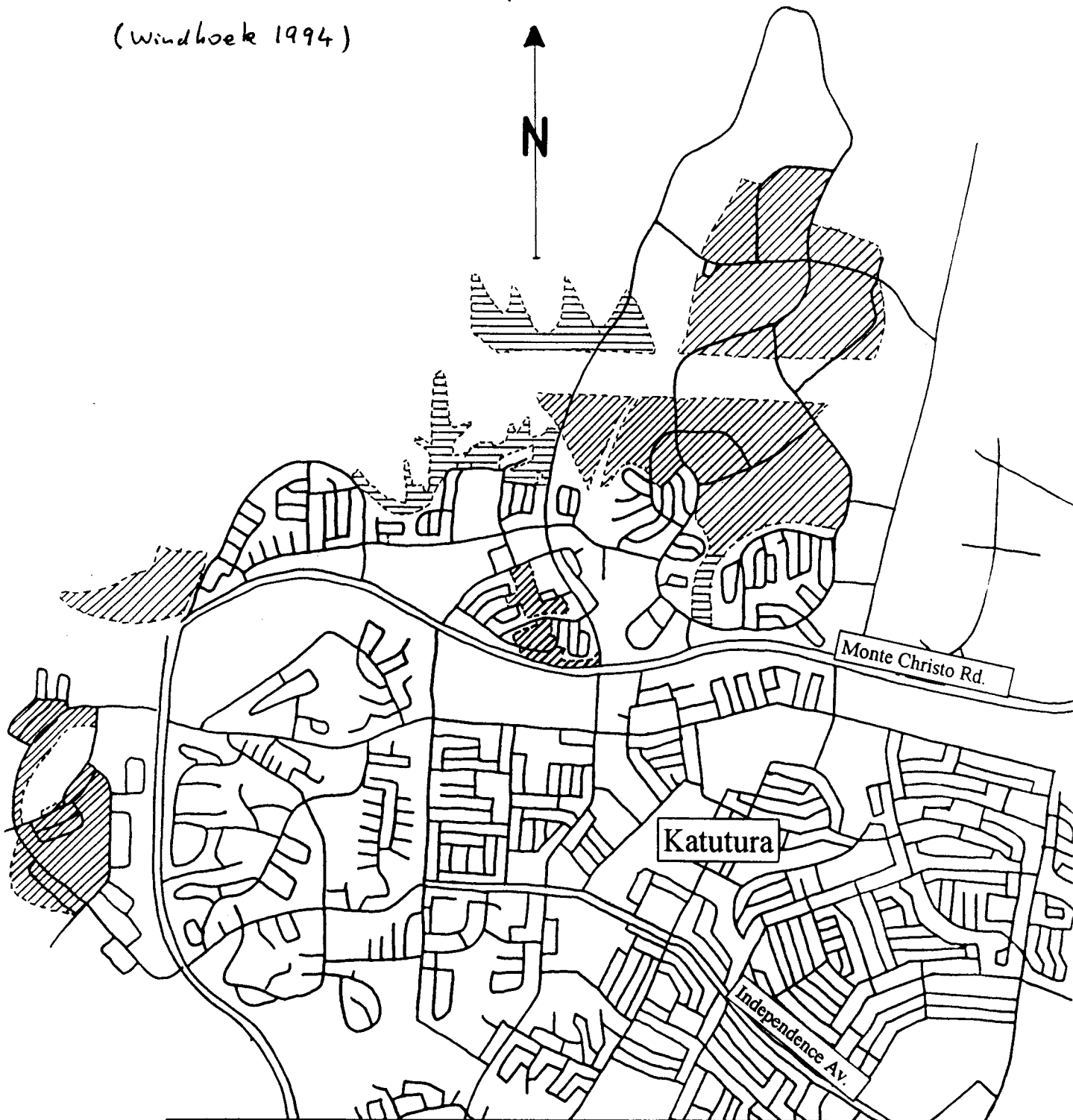
Bidonvilles/  
Squatter areas
  Réseau routier principal/ Main Roads

0      0,5      1      1,5      2 km

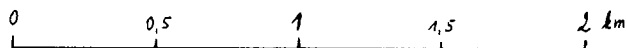
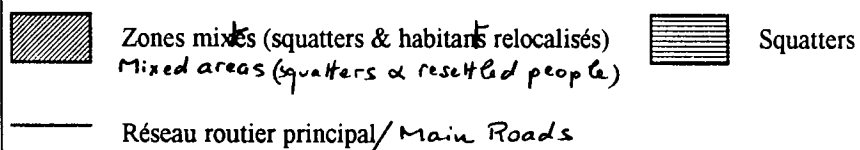
Source : Olivier Graefe d'après la municipalité de Windhoek et photos aériennes

Topic Map: Distribution of mixed residence and squatter areas

(Windhoek 1994)



Carte thématique : Répartition des zones mixtes et des zones de squatt (Windhoek 1994)



Source : Olivier Graefe d'après la municipalité de Windhoek et photos aériennes

## **2.1.2 Urban facilities and services**

### **2.1.2.1 A very limited network of basic services**

All squatter areas, other than One Nation, are provided with minimum services such as water pipes and community toilets. The extent of these sometimes overpopulated areas as well as their limited service network lead to two main problems: (a) the distance to water and sanitation points; (b) their insufficient quantity in relation to the number of users results in long queues and bad maintenance. The questionnaires have revealed that these daily problems of access to services are considered important by the residents.

Road networks mainly consist of secondary and gravel roads. The main tarred roads end at entry points to the areas which causes transport problems such as higher taxi rates because taxi owners are sometimes reluctant to drive into the areas. A bus line to and from Okuryangava, extension - 6, has recently opened.

Refuse collection should be assured by the authorities. None of the squatter areas have street lights.

All areas, except the transit area, ought to be progressively improved: street lights, tarred roads, bus services. Note must be taken of the fact that the distance to these areas will seriously affect the cost implications of such improvements.

### **2.1.2.2 Payment of services according to area and status**

Payment of monthly water fees is controlled and collected by the committee members or persons nominated by the municipality. In some areas, receipts are issued to the heads of household when they pay their invoice. The fees are collected at water points, reluctant payers being refused access to water taps.

The monthly average of water fees paid in all areas is about N\$ 19, varying between N\$ 5 and 30. This average figure does not reflect existing disparities between the various areas and between squatters and resettled residents. The average fee paid by resettled residents is N\$ 24/month as compared to N\$ 14.5 paid by the squatters. This difference is the result of two different methods of calculation: (1) a lump sum for

resettled residents; (2) cost-splitting of the collective invoice by all squatter heads of household. Dwellers in the Okuryangava transit area, extension - 6 (Babylon), pay a monthly lump sum of N\$ 50. This amount includes the rent for the land and the fees for water and toilet use. Resettled residents have refused so far to pay the municipal fees as a result of collective protest action.

The monthly contribution to be paid by Greenwell Matongo dwellers (squatter and resettled residents) is N\$ 20.

When ever a collective invoice is being shared, as is the case in most other illegitimate settlement areas, the amount is much lower (between N\$ 5 and 12 per month).

Some squatters living adjacent to residential areas such as Ombili and Okuryangava, extension - 4, get their supplies from house owners or tenants in the neighbourhood to whom they pay a contribution.

#### **2.1.2.3 Water: a matter of dispute between squatters and resettled residents**

Legal residents in resettlement areas will be supplied with communal water taps. Almost all areas surveyed are, however, mixed residence areas (squatters and resettled residents). The problem is certainly most pressing in Greenwell Matongo where resettled residents complain about squatters using water and not paying their fees.

A similar situation has been observed in One Nation and Onheilewa, two neighbouring areas with a non-homogeneous population: the squatters of One Nation get their water from communal water taps of resettled residents in Onheilewa, paying a monthly contribution to the president of the Onheilewa committee. Both communities are dissatisfied with the situation: the one community complains about the over-utilisation of water; the other complains about the distance to water sources and the lack of transparency regarding payments (collective invoices are never presented to them).

The supply of communal water taps and the payment of water fees are two crucial points. They seem to be a factor of common complaint but also a factor of division between squatters and resettled residents.



## 2.2 The population

### 2.2.1 Presentation of the sample

#### 2.2.1.1 Sex, status and age of heads of household

We have interviewed 101 people for our sample, 91 of them being heads of household and 10 of them being the partners of heads of household. The majority of households are headed by men (67%), the female representation being only 33%. The proportion of squatters is high (64%) as compared to 36% resettled residents.

**Table 1:** Presentation of sample according to sex of head of household

	Number	%
Men	68	67
Women	33	33
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 2:** Presentation of sample according to status of head of household

	Number	%
Squatters	66	64
Resettled residents	35	36
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

62% of the squatters are men and 38% women. Of the resettled residents 78% are men and 22% women. In a survey undertaken by NHE in June 1994, the investigated 140 resettled households were headed to 72% by men and to 28% by women. The strong proportion of men in both samples is due to the prevailing conditions regarding access to housing, requiring a regular and sufficient income, in other words, formal employment. We will, at a later stage, illustrate the difficulties surrounding the integration of women in the formal labour market, and their exclusion, which puts women at a disadvantage.

**Table 3:** Presentation of sample according to sex and status of head of household

Status	Women	Men	Total	
Resettled residents	8	28	36	36 %
Squatters	25	40	65	64 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100 %</b>

The young age of the heads of household is remarkable: 71% are under the age of 39, 30% being aged between 18 and 29 years and 41% between 30 and 39. Only 22% range in the 40 to 49 age group and 7% are over 50.

The majority of the heads of household, male or female, are younger than 39 - the average age being 35 for men and 34 for women. The representation of the two sexes varies according to age group. Women take a larger proportion in the 30 to 39 age group (46% women and 39% men) and in the 40-49 age group (24% women as compared to 20% men). Male heads of household are, in proportion, younger: 32% being aged 18-29 as compared to 27% women.

**Table 4:** Age of heads of household according to sex

	Male heads of household		Female heads of household		Total	
18 - 29 years	19	32 %	9	27 %	28	30 %
30 - 39 years	23	39 %	15	46 %	38	41 %
40 - 49 years	12	20 %	8	24 %	20	22 %
over 50 years	5	9 %	1	3 %	6	7 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>59*</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100 %</b>

\* 9 of the 10 questionnaires completed by the partner of the head of household do not reflect the age of the head of household.

### 2.2.1.2 Geographic origin

80 heads of household originate from former Owamboland, representing 79% of the people we interviewed. The remaining heads of household are of the following origin: 10 Damara, 5 Kavango, 2 Herero, 2 Tswana, 1 San and 1 Nama.

**Table 5: Mother tongue of head of household**

Languages	Number	%
Oshivambo	80	79
Damara	10	10
Okangwari	5	5
Oshierero	2	2
Tswana	2	2
Nama	1	1
San	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

### 2.2.1.3 Area distribution of heads of household

Most of the heads of household interviewed (19) are staying in Greenwell Matongo due to the size and population density of the area. Next range, in order of importance, Freedomland (12), Babylon (11), Onghuo Ye Pongo (10), One Nation and Ombili (9), Ongulumbashe (8), Oshatotwa (6), Onyeka (5), Okatunda (4), Okuryangava, extension 1, Onheilewa and Okahandja Park (2) and finally Okuryangava, extension - 4 (1).

**Table 6 : Date of arrival of heads of household in the areas investigated**

Area	before 1990	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994*	Total
Freedomland	1	1	1	5	3	1	12
Ombili		5	1	1	2		9
Greenwell Matongo				9	5	5	19
Okuryangava Ext.4				1			1
One Nation				1	7	1	9
Onheleiwa				2			2
Onghuuo Ye Pongo				3	3	4	10
Onyeka				2	3		5
Okuryangava Ext.1				1	1		2
Okatunda				2	2		4
Ongulumbashe					8		8
Oshatotwa					4	2	6
Okahandja Park					1	1	2
Babylon					1	10	11
Plakkertown						1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>101</b>

\*only until September 1994.

## **2.2.2 Migration routes and settlement conditions in Windhoek**

### **2.2.2.1 Recent economic migration**

Almost all heads of household interviewed, except the 7 born in Windhoek, are migrants of rural origin. Their migration is recent, 35% having arrived in Windhoek after 1990 and 31% between 1984 and 1989. 16% arrived between 1978 and 1983 and 18% have been living in Windhoek since before 1977.

**Table 7: Date of arrival of heads of household in Windhoek**

<b>Period of arrival</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Before 1977	16	18
1978 - 1983	14	16
1984 - 1989	27	31
1990 - 1994	31	35
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>

Migration, as demonstrated, is directly linked to the political situation prevailing at the time. Before 1977, the date when apartheid principles were officially abolished in Namibia, migration was the result of individual work movements and controlled by recruitment agencies. Of the 16 heads of household interviewed who arrived in Windhoek before 1977, 10 were recruited in their region of origin. Illegal circulation of workers has, nevertheless, escaped obligatory pass controls and supplied the labour market in Windhoek with work force.

**Table 8: Reasons of migration as stated by heads of household**

<b>Reasons of migration</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Search of employment	50	57
Employment provided by recruitment agency	10	11
Transfer of employer	4	5
Other*	24	27
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>

\* Other: family or medical reasons, schooling, etc.

After 1977, migration was the result of various reforms of the Contract Labour System, enabling the black population to hunt freely for jobs in urban areas and to settle there together with their families. Although old principles have prevailed until the beginning of the eighties, during the last two decades a flow of voluntary economic migration has developed due to the economic crisis in former homelands. The fact that migration has

accelerated since 1984 adds additional proof to this factor. More than half of the migrants who arrived in the capital after 1978 were looking for work. When Namibia attained its independence in 1990, many SWAPO freedom fighters returned from exile which caused another influx of people (8 heads of household interviewed are former exiles who returned in 1989 and 1990).

The small number of heads of household who arrived in Windhoek in 1993 and 1994 (about 10%) can either be ascribed to the time which has elapsed between their arrival in Windhoek and their settlement in squatter areas (see following table), or the absorption capacity of Old Katutura.

#### **2.2.2.2 "Rural urban" dwellers**

Squatter area residents are urban dwellers despite their rural origin. 93% have lived in Windhoek for more than one year before the investigated areas were established, 20% have lived there between 1 and 3 years, 23% between 4 and 6 years, 10% between 6 and 9 years and 40% have lived in the capital for more than 10 years. Only 5% have lived there for less than a year. Several years of residence in Windhoek make these rural migrants familiar with the urban way of living.

The heads of household born in Windhoek are represented in very small numbers in our sample. It would be interesting to determine their proportion on a much larger scale. Such investigation would elucidate the factors governing migration within the capital to squatter areas. It would also prove that original Windhoek residents are equally affected by the housing crisis.

**Table 9:** Duration of stay of heads of household in Windhoek before their settlement in the squatter areas

<b>Duration of stay in Windhoek</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Direct settlement in the squatter areas without previous stay in Windhoek	3	3
Less than 1 year	4	4
1 - 3 years	19	20
4 - 6 years	22	23
7 - 9 years	9	10
More than 10 years	31	33
Born in Windhoek	7	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>100</b>

NB: Heads of household whose partners could not answer this question are not included.

### 2.2.2.3 Instability linked to Windhoek's housing crisis

The number of times people have moved within Windhoek before settling in squatter areas is an indication of the instability prevailing amongst the population confronted with Windhoek's housing crisis. 35% of the heads of household interviewed have moved twice in Windhoek before they settled in squatter areas, 15% have moved three times and 9% have moved more than four times. Only 3% have lived in squatter areas as from their arrival.

**Table 10:** Number of times the heads of household have moved in Windhoek before settling in the squatter areas

<b>Number of times</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Never	3	3
1 x	36	38
2 x	33	35
3 x	14	15
4 x and more	9	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>100</b>

NB: 6 questionnaires are not included (no answer given)

This instability is directly or indirectly linked to an overpopulation in Windhoek's traditional residential areas. The factors explaining the reasons of successive moving relate, almost entirely, to a lack of space in houses, resulting in voluntary or forced departure. The financial incapacity to pay single room rents also adds to the problem. Loss of employment, domestic labour mainly, often results in a loss of accommodation provided by the employer at the respective work place.

Family matters can also be the reason for a domicile being abandoned. If a parent and owner of a small house dies, the descendants will take over the house and chase away extended or secondary family members. These factors all have a bearing on the mobility of this migrant population which is looking for formal housing facilities on arrival.

Direct settlement in squatter areas is a factor of marginal importance at the moment but this could change in future. Family migration links or relations with friends of the same rural origin could provide the basis for the formation of reception networks in squatter areas instead of formal residential areas.

#### 2.2.2.4 Reception networks in Windhoek and their limits

More than half of the heads of household interviewed (59%) live in squatter areas for the first time. 41% have lived in this type of environment before, the latter category including resettled single quarter residents and dislodged people from other areas predominantly within Katutura.

**Table 11:** Squatting experience of heads of household before their settlement in the squatter areas

Squatting experience	Number	%
Previous experience	40	41
First time	58	59
<b>Total</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>100</b>

The strong proportion of first time squatters is related to the fact that migrants are often accommodated in formal housing networks before their settlement in squatter areas.



The choice of first formal residence in Windhoek indicates the existence of family and friendship reception networks: 56% of the heads of household interviewed have lived in the house of a parent, close or extended; 18% have been accommodated by friends or persons coming from the same rural area. We have regrouped these two categories based on the assumption that the friends of a migrant in Windhoek originate from the same village or area.

18% of the heads of household interviewed live at their work place. This percentage represents, amongst others, the people who came to Windhoek through recruitment agencies and were accommodated at the Single Quarters or compounds, the latest of which was destroyed in 1987.

Alternative reception networks have been used only in two other instances.

**Table 12: Reasons determining the choice of first residence in Windhoek**

Reason of choice	Number	%
Family	49	56
Friends and people of same rural origin	16	18
Housing at work place	16	18
Space available	2	2
No answer given	5	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>

NB: Partners of heads of household and those born in Windhoek have not been considered

Migrants resort to formal accommodation networks on their arrival. Formal housing facilities are very restricted today and indicative not only of the housing crisis prevailing in the capital but also of the fact that many heads of household want to be independent.

The motives governing the departure from the last formal residence in Windhoek, followed by the settlement in squatter areas, indicate most of all the desire of being independent as expressed by the youngest heads of household interviewed (26%).

The desire of being independent is also linked to the actual living conditions in reception residences which, again, depicts the prevailing housing crisis: overpopulation causes 21% to leave, 13% leave because of too high rental. Differences with the landlord are also symptomatic of the tensions provoked in overpopulated houses. Of the 21% heads of household who have been chased away from their last formal residence, most have been driven out by their employers or landlords because they could not pay the required rent.

**Table 13: Motives of departure from last "formal" residence in Windhoek**

<b>Motives</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Wish to be independent	22	26
Overpopulation	18	21
Chased away	18	21
Rent too high	11	13
Differences with landlord	2	3
Other	10	12
No answer given	3	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

NB: This category excludes all heads of household who settled directly in squatter areas and those who did not stay in formal residences in Windhoek.

#### **2.2.2.5 Choice of squatter areas and conditions of access to land**

Because of the lack of alternative housing facilities, the heads of households resort to squatter areas, having been chased away from formal habitation or having left voluntarily. The factors determining the choice of squatter areas are linked to the time of settlement which characterises the respective areas.

It appears that the choice is mainly determined by the space available (accounting for 45% of the reasons stated by the heads of household). This concerns most of all latest arrivals who, on account of early squatter areas being saturated, do not have any other

alternative but to settle in the most peripheral areas furthest away from urban services (Ongulumbashe, Oshatotwa, Okahandja Park).

Appreciation and reputation of the place count for 28% of the factors determining the choice of squatter areas. Settlement at Freedomland, whose reputation is linked to its particular history which exerts some propaganda effect, is mainly governed by these factors but also because its proximity to the "formal" town entails advantages considered important by the squatters.

Settlement at One Nation is also determined by the latter factor even though this area is situated on the other side of a high voltage power line and has no communal toilet facilities. The resistance of some members of the committee to leave the camp and to be resettled in a more northern area also seems to play an important role for latest arrivals (a sign that information is being circulated).

The presence of family members or friends coming from the same rural region also constitutes an important factor for the choice of settlement (27%). This can be ascribed to reception networks being in place at Ombili, for example, where one can meet neighbours coming from the same village in former Owamboland, or at Onguuo Ye Pongo and One Nation where work mates settle together.

**Table 14:** Factors determining the choice of squatter areas

<b>Factors</b>	<b>Number of squatters</b>	<b>%</b>
Space available	29	45
Appreciation and reputation of the place	18	28
Presence of family members	10	15
Presence of friends	8	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100</b>

NB: Resettled residents are moved there by the municipality

These factors of choice are, most of all, an indication that information is circulated in all networks: family, friends, work place and possibly the sign of a future direct settlement

in squatter areas, meaning that the "formal" town will no longer be an obligatory stop-over.

Resettled residents are, however, not afforded the opportunity of choosing their place of residence. They are given a registration number by the Windhoek municipality after their dislodgement and allocated to an area according to their socio-economic status. The site of their plot is also determined by the authorities.

The squatters' settlement in squatter areas is nevertheless subject to the committees' approval. 57% of the heads of household have asked the president or members of the committee for permission to settle in a specific area. Areas where settlement is controlled almost entirely by the committees are Freedomland, Greenwell Matongo and Oshatotwa.

About 42% of the heads of household have settled without prior approval from the committees. The fact that committees have, in some areas and at times, been introduced with delay (One Nation, for example), must also be considered. This is linked to the fact that some squatter areas have only been recently populated.

In those instances where no committee existed or has voluntarily neglected its authority, the heads of household have asked nobody's permission to settle (25%). They turned to neighbours (16%) or the owner of the premises (as is the case at Freedomland, former private farmland).

**Table 15:** Terms of access to land in squatter areas

<b>Applied for approval to</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Committee	37	57
Nobody	16	25
Neighbour	10	16
Owner of premises	1	1
No answer given	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100</b>

## **2.2.2.6 Building of shacks and their characteristics**

### **2.2.2.6.1 Shacks made of scrap material**

Shacks in squatter areas are built quickly as neighbours and members of the future residential group always lend a helping hand. Before the shacks can be erected in pioneer areas, the ground sometimes needs to be cleared and prepared such as at Ombili and One Nation in 1990 and more recently the illegal settlement area of Okuryangava, extension - 6.

The shacks are built with corrugated iron sheets, wood boards, plastic or tent tarpaulins. New material is bought in Windhoek (34%) whereas scrap material is derived from various sources. It is taken over or bought from residents leaving the area; collected or stolen at the end of a building job; bought from private stocks or picked up at public dumps and reused (58%).

Other scrap material used are cardboard boxes, oil or petrol barrels (200 l), flattened and hammered onto each other to build walls, as well as all sorts of plastic material which is mainly used by the poorest.

Members of the Kavango community use different building material when compared to other population groups. In all areas visited, the shacks built by people from the Okavango region show a plastic tarpaulin structure supported by wooden poles. The building material is bought new at a much lower price than the corrugated iron used by members of the Wambo community.

The average cost of a shack is a further criteria of differentiation. Wambo shack owners quoted estimated building costs of N\$ 845 as compared to N\$ 400 quoted by Kavango shack owners. The difference could be explained with various assumptions. Are Kavango dwellers only staying in Windhoek on a temporary basis? Does the low financial input reflect their intention not to invest in a provisional situation? Are their financial resources more restricted than those of the Wambo population?

These average figures obviously hide large disparities, the investment in building material for a shack varying between N\$ 200 and 4 000.

**Table 16: Building material used for the construction of shacks**

*(2 answers possible on questionnaire)*

Type of material	Number	%
Scrap	68	58
New	40	34
No answer given	9	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100</b>

On account of the small representation of Nama, Damara, Herero and Tswana speaking residents in our investigation we could not calculate the average building costs of their shacks. Our observations have not revealed any clear difference in the building materials used.

#### 2.2.2.6.2 Mobilisation of savings

The mobilisation of relatively high funds for building the shacks (Wambo squatters) indicates that squatters do have a financial capacity which is based on savings. Utilised funds resort in 71% to personal or bank savings as compared to 13% of the heads of household who have to borrow money from family members or their employer.

The high number of people who rely on savings seems surprising in a community considered to have little means. Some squatter heads of household, who have invested N\$ 3 to 4 000 in their shack, should theoretically be able to afford to buy a municipal plot sold at an average price of N\$ 4 000.

**Table 17: Source of funds utilised for building the shack (2 possible answers)**

Source	Number	%
Savings	73	71
Borrowed	13	13
No answer given	17	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>

### 2.2.2.6.3 Shacks have a relatively large size

The majority of shacks have one or two rooms (respectively 34 and 33%). The cuca shop is included in the number of rooms. There are some very big shacks which have three to six rooms, kitchen, living room and bedrooms being clearly separated from each other and sometimes well furnished.

**Table 18:** Number of rooms in a shack

Number of rooms	Number of shacks	%
1 room	32	34
2 rooms	31	33
3 rooms	20	22
4 rooms or more	10	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>

The size varies from below 10 m<sup>2</sup> to more than 40 m<sup>2</sup> (sometimes close to 60 m<sup>2</sup>), the majority having a size of 10 to 20 m<sup>2</sup>.

**Table 19:** Size of shacks (estimated by researchers)<sup>5</sup>

Floor size of shacks	Number of shacks	%
less than 10 m <sup>2</sup>	9	11
10 - 20 m <sup>2</sup>	32	37
21 - 30 m <sup>2</sup>	16	19
31 - 40 m <sup>2</sup>	15	17
more than 40 m <sup>2</sup>	14	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100</b>

The size of the shack differs according to the dweller's status, the average size of squatter shacks being 25 m<sup>2</sup> as compared to 35 m<sup>2</sup> for resettled residents. One could assume that the squatters, being aware of their precarious situation, invest less in their shacks than resettled residents who are the legal occupants of a plot. One can also

<sup>5</sup> Cuca shop included.

assume that squatters are in a more precarious socio-economic situation than resettled residents, the latter having had to prove their financial standing (see: Allocation of resettled residents according to their socio-economic situation).

**Table 20:** Average size of shack according to status of head of household

Size	legal	illegal
Average size	35 m <sup>2</sup>	25 m <sup>2</sup>
Total average size	30 m <sup>2</sup>	

A comparison of the average size of a shack (30 m<sup>2</sup>) with the average number of dwellers per residential group (4.8 people) results in a figure of 6 m<sup>2</sup> per person. The number of square meters does not correspond to the size of habitable space because, as has been indicated before, cuca shops are included in the size of the shack.

It was also interesting to investigate whether any improvements are effected on the shack (extensions or building an additional room, replacement of old building materials). The shacks of the heads of household have, generally, not been altered since their construction: 63% as compared to 28% which have been altered.

A distinction according to the status of the shack owner indicates that squatters (73%) effect much less improvements than resettled residents (37.5%). Does this reveal, again, that squatters are aware of their precarious situation regarding land, therefore limiting their investments in the residential area?

**Table 21:** Number of shacks improved since construction according to status of owner

Status	Resettled		Squatters	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Improvements	12	37,5 %	16	27 %
No changes made	20	62,5 %	43	73 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>100 %</b>



## 2.2.3 Family and economic relations with the region of origin

### 2.2.3.1 Separated families keeping close ties

The total number of separated families accounts for 59% of the people interviewed as compared to only 25% re-assembled families.

Children usually stay in the region of origin. 46% of the heads of household live in Windhoek without their children or only some of them, usually the newly born and sometimes school children.

With married couples it is normally the husband who migrates to Windhoek. 10% of all heads of household interviewed live in Windhoek without their partner and none or only some of their children.

Only 25% of the heads of household in squatter areas live in re-assembled families with a complete nuclear unit (even though partner and children may not have arrived in Windhoek at the same time as the head of household)<sup>6</sup> or, in the event of single parent families, with all children being re-assembled.

**Table 22:** Family situation of heads of household immigrated in Windhoek

Type of family	Number	%
Totally or partially separated from children	47	46
Separated from partner and some or all children	10	10
Separated from partner	3	3
Family re-assembled	25	25
Single without children	15	15
Other	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

<sup>6</sup> Mainly male heads of household live separated from their families. Female heads of household are often single with children. Residents leave part of their descendants behind in the region of origin.

Although the people are separated from the family, they still keep close ties, as the number of frequent visits to the region of origin suggests.

89% of the heads of household return at least once a year to their region of origin, as compared to 10% who visit their region of origin only occasionally or never. The latter tendency is mostly determined by the lack of funds.<sup>7</sup>

The majority only visits the region of origin once a year (43%). 23% visit twice or three times a year, 5% visit four times and 8% visit more than four times.

**Table 23:** Number of visits to region of origin per year

Number of times	Number	%
Never or occasionally	9	10
1 x	40	43
2 x	17	18
3 x	14	15
4 x	5	5
More than 4 x	7	8
No answer given	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>

**NB: Separate category:** the 7 heads of household originating from Windhoek and one head of household who does not maintain any contact with his region of origin

The duration of the visits is rather significant. 48% stay for a month or more, 24% stay between one and three weeks and 17% stay for the weekend or less than a week.

<sup>7</sup> The average cost of a return bus ticket to former Owamboland is N\$ 80 per person.

**Table 24:** Duration of stay in region of origin (more answers possible)

Duration	Number	%
Weekend	18	17
1 week	14	13
2 - 3 weeks	12	11
1 month	31	30
2 - 3 months	9	9
more than 3 months	10	9
No answer given	12	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>100</b>

If one regards the two blocks of data, as they have appeared in the questionnaires, one can see that, in general, people visit once a year for a month or more or make several visits per year for a shorter duration (staying each time for the weekend or a week).

The number of visits depends on the financial means available, and, on the nature of work in which the head of household is engaged (formal employment or informal activities).

### 2.2.3.2 Economic ties between Windhoek and the region of origin

84% of the heads of household interviewed have stated that they have dependants in their region of origin. The flow of financial and material resources reaches beyond the residential group in Windhoek to the rural regions. Nearly all immigrants in the capital maintain economic ties with their region of origin.

**Table 25:** Heads of household having dependants outside their place of residence

Place of residence of dependants	Number	%
Region of origin	85	84
Windhoek	5	5
No dependants outside Windhoek	11	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

Support can also be given in the form of physical assistance in agricultural activities during the visit in the region or origin. 78% of the heads of household are involved in agricultural activities during their stay. The head of household, who has migrated to Windhoek, does provide support in various forms: money, goods, labour.

**Table 26:** Number of heads of household involved in agricultural activities during their stay in the region of origin

	Number	%
Agricultural activities	73	78
No agricultural activities	9	10
No answer given	11	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>

A reversed flow of agricultural products from the region of origin takes place to Windhoek. 58% of the heads of household take agricultural products with them as they return from their visits, in other words, 71% of the heads of household who are involved in agricultural activities during their stay. The products are generally intended for personal consumption (48%) and only occasionally sold (10%). They are a means of food support for members of the residential group. Agricultural products are sold in small numbers because only a small quantity is taken along. The heads of household do not want to be a burden on their families, as agricultural stocks in the region of origin are limited. Selling the products would therefore not entail a financial advantage over self-consumption.

Aside from the flow of agricultural products from rural regions to the capital, also money transfers are effected. Amongst the 11% of heads of household, who do not have dependants outside the residential group, range the poorest. They sometimes receive aid from their family staying in the region of origin.

**Table 27:** Number of heads of household taking agricultural products to Windhoek and their utilisation

Utilisation	Number	%
Personal consumption	44	47
Products are sold	8	9
No products are taken along	26	28
No answer given	15	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>

## 2.2.4 Structure of residential group

### 2.2.4.1 A majority of extended families around a nuclear family

Most residential groups are extended families. 13% nuclear families and 2% single parent families live together with other members of the residential group, 45% brothers and sisters live together. 60% of the residential groups are, in other words, extended families, as compared to 28% residential groups who are either nuclear (18%) or single parent families (10%).

Single people constitute 7% of the people interviewed, all being female.

The nuclear family forms the core of the residential group (45%). Brother and sister couples with children have also been considered as nuclear families in our investigation<sup>8</sup>.

Single parent families account for 21% of the residential groups. (They have been included in the group: single brothers and sisters with children since they can be regarded as single parent families.)

<sup>8</sup> Nuclear family means two partners with children. The family may not be complete (see table 22 "Family situation of heads of household immigrated in Windhoek")

**Table 28:** Detailed composition of the residential group

Type of group	Number of groups	%
Nuclear family with children	17	17
Nuclear family without children	1	1
Nuclear family and other members with children	13	13
Single parent family with children	10	10
Single parent family and other members with children	1	1
Single parent family and other members without children	1	1
Single brothers and sisters with children	9	9
Single brothers and sisters without children	17	17
Brother and sister couples with children	14	14
Brother and sister couples without children	6	5
No family relations with children	-	-
No family relations without children	5	5
1 person	7	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

#### 2.2.4.2 Residential groups mainly consist of brothers and sisters

Brothers and sisters living together constitute the dominant group amongst extended family residential groups - 45% of the people interviewed. They are usually single brothers and sisters without children (17%) under the age of 30.

This last figure reveals a type of migration, different from the one generally observed, with the partner leaving his region of origin in order to look for work and the rest of his nuclear family staying behind. This group consists of young adults, adolescents even, put under the care of an elder immigrant in Windhoek (some attend school) in order to provide a better future for them than can be expected in their native rural village.

Most extended families, mainly brother and sister couples, are an indicator of the housing problems prevailing in Windhoek, leading to a situation where family members re-assemble at the same place of residence. This situation also proves that family

migration networks progressively come into force. Cohabitation of individuals without family relation (5%) originating from the same rural area also reflects the housing crisis and reveals the existence of migration networks which are not based on family ties.

**Table 29:** General composition of a residential group

Type of group	Number of groups	%
Nuclear family (single and/or with other members) *	31	31
Single parent family (single and/or with other members) *	12	12
Brothers and sisters	46	45
No family relations	5	5
1 person	7	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

\* Except brothers and sisters

#### 2.2.4.3 Size of residential group according to head of household's matrimonial status

The residential group's average size is 4.8 people, the actual size varying between 1 to 17 members. A study conducted by NHE in June 1994 indicates an average size of 4.3 members per household, the actual size varying between 1 to 10 members.

A distinction according to the sex of the head of household reveals a difference in the average group size, residential groups with female heads of household being smaller (3.6 people on average) as compared to (5.4 people) for male-headed households.

**Table 30:** Average size of residential group according to sex of head of household

	Female-headed	Male-headed
Average size	3,6	5,4
Total average size	4,8	

**Table 31: Size of female-headed residential groups**

<b>Size</b>	<b>Number of groups</b>	<b>%</b>
1 person	7	21
2 - 3 persons	11	33
4 - 5 persons	7	21
6 - 7 persons	5	15
8 persons and more	3	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 32: Size of male-headed residential groups**

<b>Size</b>	<b>Number de groups</b>	<b>%</b>
1 person	-	-
2 - 3 persons	17	25
4 - 5 persons	28	41
6 - 7 persons	9	13
8 persons and more	14	21
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>100</b>

These figures have to be seen in relation to the head of household's matrimonial status. If more than half of the heads of household live in couples (56%), a strong proportion being married couples (38%), then the proportion of couples and single people is directly linked to the sex of the head of household.

Female heads of household are mostly single (76%) with children (67%). Only 24% live in couples, 3% in married couples and 21% together with a partner. These figures can be explained with a traditional recognition of male authority over the family group: a married woman or a woman living together with her partner will not be considered as the head of household. The few female-headed households represented in this investigation (7 out of 33) have been awarded head of household status because these



women have settled in the squatter areas before their partners and because they have built their shacks themselves (the partner was sometimes only met in Windhoek and not considered to have permanent status). During the course of our investigation we have also discovered that the person who has built the shack is considered the head of household.

**Table 33: Matrimonial situation of female heads of household**

Matrimonial status		Number	%
Single	with children	22	67
	without children	3	9
Married	with children	1	3
	without children	-	-
Living with partner	with children	7	21
	without children	-	-
<b>Total</b>		<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 34: Matrimonial situation of male heads of household**

Matrimonial status		Number	%
Single	with children	8	12
	without children	11	16
Married	with children	36	54
	without children	1	1
Living with partner	with children	11	16
	without children	1	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>68</b>	<b>100</b>

## 2.2.5 Socio-economic situation of head of household

### 2.2.5.1 Formal employment

Proof of formal employment guarantees consideration for a low-cost housing project. Access to land and housing does, in fact, require regular payments which can only be assured if a regular salary is received. Exclusion from the formal labour market therefore also means exclusion from the property market.

Of the people interviewed<sup>9</sup> only seven heads of household do not exercise income-generating activities, five of them being squatters.

More than half (54%) of the heads of household have a formal employment and therefore also the possibility of access to land and housing. A distinction within this category according to sex indicates a much stronger proportion of men: 83% men as compared to only 16% women who have formal employment.

**Table 35:** Number of heads of household with formal employment according to sex and status

	Illegal		Legal		Total	
Men	28	80 %	18	90 %	46	84 %
Women	7	20 %	2	10 %	9	16 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100 %</b>

### 2.2.5.2 Informal activities: specialisation according to sex and financial means

In total, 73% of the heads of household interviewed have informal activities. This high percentage points to the informal sector's important role in squatter areas. Often, these activities are carried out at the place of residence, facilitating close supply with food products (cuca shops and capanas). This form of sometimes very rewarding self-employment is associated with other activities which one could describe as "survival"

<sup>9</sup> Having only interviewed a small number of people, we are cautious in our statements and conclusions. An analysis of the socio-economic data gathered does, however, reveal predominant and tenable tendencies.

activities: collecting and selling wood and recovery of returnable bottles, etc. range amongst the most frequent activities practised by the poorest.

One can observe a form of specialisation according to sex, which also reflects the degree of financial investment in these activities. Female heads of household, usually not having a formal employment, mainly carry out informal activities: 79% female as compared to 70% male heads of household. Their main activity is selling capanas (40%), often on an irregular basis and directly dependent on the money available to buy meat. This activity does, however, require little financial investment, which explains why it is mainly practised by women, but it also bears risks if sales are low because refrigeration of the meat is not always possible and is also costly.

Cuca shops are run mainly by men (45% of the male heads of household interviewed). The figure of 31% female heads of household running a cuca shop does not reflect the details surrounding the situation, some of the women not being the owners but being employed by a man who does not live in the squatter area. Cuca shops owned by women are smaller than those owned by men.

One has to distinguish between several types of cuca shops according to the goods offered for sale, ranging from several cases of beer on a weekend or at the end of the month to groceries and basic goods. The latter category becomes increasingly important. Cuca shops often take customers away from supermarkets situated too far away from some squatter areas. Their activities also require increased financial means to renew stocks, aside from having to furnish the room which is used as the cuca shop. This factor explains why, to a certain extent, the cuca shop business is not accessible to all but only those who dispose of sufficient and regular financial means, in other words, an income from formal employment.

**Table 36:** Source of income of male heads of household according to status

Source of income	Illegal		Legal		Total	
Double activity (formal and informal)	20	50 %	10	36 %	30	44 %
Informal activity	9	22 %	9	32 %	18	26 %
Formal employment	8	20 %	8	29 %	16	24 %
No activity	3	8 %	1	3 %	4	6 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>100 %</b>

**Table 37:** Source of income of female heads of household according to status

Source of income	Illegal		Legal		Total	
Double activity (formal and informal)	4	16 %	1	12,5 %	5	15 %
Informal activity	16	64 %	5	62,5 %	21	64 %
Formal employment	3	12 %	1	12,5 %	4	12 %
No activity	2	8 %	1	12,5 %	3	9 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100 %</b>

### 2.2.5.3 Formal employment and informal activities - a profitable combination?

44% of the male heads of household combine a formal employment with informal activities (mostly a cuca shop of considerable importance). Men, in proportion, follow double activities more often than women. This tendency confirms that the income generated from formal employment is invested in informal activities. The combination entails two major advantages: aside from adding to the monthly income, informal activities are also a security when formal employment is lost.

Pursuing employment in town does not affect the running of the cuca shop, with family members or unemployed dependants being mobilised to take care of sales.

Male activities such as selling tombo and epwaka are often associated with activities carried out by the female partner of the head of household, namely selling capanas or other food.

**Table 38:** Range of informal activities according to sex of head of household

*(several answers possible)*

Informal activity	Male		Female		Total
	head of household		head of household		
Cuca shop <sup>10</sup>	29	45 %	13	31 %	42
Selling tombo <sup>11</sup> and/or epwaka <sup>12</sup>	13	20 %	5	12 %	18
Capanas <sup>13</sup> and food	12	19 %	17	40 %	29
Artisan activities	6	9 %	3	7 %	9
Collecting and selling wood	1	2 %	2	5 %	3
Other	3	5 %	2	5 %	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b>106</b>

## 2.2.6 Opinion survey

Our field survey also included an opinion poll. Open questions regarding day-to-day problems, living conditions and authority policies formed the background of discussions with people interviewed. The information gathered in this regard is manifold and difficult to report in a few lines.

The tables reflect the main answers given. We have grouped and listed these answers under various headings.

### 2.2.6.1 Main day-to-day problems encountered

Two major problems take the lead: (1) the lack of facilities and services; (2) insecurity and crime.

<sup>10</sup> Bar/illegal grocery sale

<sup>11</sup> Local sorghum beer

<sup>12</sup> Light millet beer

<sup>13</sup> Meat grilled on braai-roast

If the first answer reflects the worries of the majority of dwellers living in squatter areas, only having the most basic facilities and few urban services, the second answer is an indication of the prevailing social climate affected by numerous crimes of different gravity - pilferage, theft of washing left unattended, burglaries in empty shacks, nocturnal aggression which is promoted by the darkness in the area due to the absence of street lights. This insecurity is the reason why dwellers get organised to ensure the surveillance of their belongings.

20 of the people interviewed stated the distance to services, mainly schools and hospitals, as an obstacle. Children are mostly affected by the situation, having to walk long distances every day in order to get to school. Emergency services such as police or fire brigade are also expected by the people. The lack of these services is, when compared to the high degree of insecurity, even more severe with fires breaking out frequently.

Complaints regarding health and hygiene facilities are, in reality, much stronger than appears in the table. They are an argument in the demand of more facilities and services.

**Table 39:** List of main day-to-day problems stated by the people interviewed

<b>Problems</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Lack of facilities and services	32	26
Insecurity and crime	30	25
Distance from services	20	16
No problems encountered	14	12
Lack of job opportunities	10	8
Lack of food	4	3
Health and hygiene facilities	1	1
No answer given	11	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>100</b>

### 2.2.6.2 Suggestions to improve living conditions

Facilitation of urban services comes first long before employment and housing, with people allocating the same degree of importance to the latter two. It is important to remark that land security has only been stated by few people although it directly affects the dwellers' stability and hence urban integration.

**Table 40:** List of suggestions made by the people interviewed to improve their living conditions  
(several answers possible)

<b>Suggestions</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
More urban services	60	47
More jobs	25	20
A house	24	18
Land security	7	5
Payment according to means	4	3
More consultations	4	3
Better education	2	2
No opinion	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100</b>

### 2.2.6.3 Opinion on authority policies

The number of people having no opinion points to a definite lack of information regarding authority policies and it reveals the committees' incapacity, (most of them have only been established recently), to consult with the population. The reservation and reluctance to come forward with their opinion was widespread amongst people interviewed.

The main criticism concerns the way in which the squatter phenomenon is handled: with authority (to be seen in relation with the demand for consultation in the previous table) and without genuine consideration for the squatter population.

**Table 41:** List of main opinions stated by the people interviewed concerning policies of the authorities

Opinions	Number	%
Authoritarian policies	12	12
No consideration from the side of the authorities	7	7
Policies do not cater for low income groups	6	6
Fighting the overpopulation	4	4
Overpopulation as compared to existing services	4	4
Satisfied	4	4
Against land policy	2	2
No opinion	51	50
No answer given	11	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>

## 2.2.7 Some impressions about the municipal policies

### 2.2.7.1 Zoning policy limits

The classification of reception areas into *reception*, *transit* and *resettlement areas* indicates a policy, which is based on socio-economic and spatial discrimination of the population concerned, in order to provide services (water, electricity, road networks) and housing facilities (size of plots, for sale or on rent) affordable for the people living there. Moving between official areas is possible but depending on an improvement of the family's financial situation.

These theoretic principles clash with local realities. The practical situation reveals an absence of definite regulations and hesitation in a policy which is faced with a new phenomenon. This "policy", in real terms, is governed by a situation calling for daily adjustment as conditions change and develop further than initial schemes intended.

The debate centres on the status of the land, the distinction between areas where land is either leased or accessible for purchase seems to lose importance. In a long-term approach, resettled residents in transit areas could perhaps buy the plots which they



currently lease. According to the view taken by the authorities, permanent settlement is only possible if the land is bought, while lease holding only constitutes a temporary solution even for dwellers of weakest socio-economic standing.

Revision of these basic principles (zoning of residential areas according to the population's socio-economic position, permanent settlement associated with buying the land) would mean to call the differentiation of area facilities and status into question.

Does it mean, in general, that the limits entailed in a policy inherited from the apartheid system are recognised?

#### **2.2.7.2 Consequences of the resettlement policy**

The transit area concept only allows for temporary settlement, adding little to encourage investment at the place of residence in terms of housing or economic activities. Being put into a provisional situation of unknown duration, dwellers are reluctant to invest in improving or extending their shacks, or to start a small trade which would better their financial situation.

Resettlement undermines the commercial basis of informal activities (cuca shops<sup>14</sup>, capanas<sup>15</sup>), depriving small entrepreneurs of their clientele which was progressively built up.

Many resettled residents, mostly women selling cooked food, complain about a significant drop in sales due to the loss of their customers at the previous place of residence and difficulties in building up a new clientele.

Resettlements also affect social relationships, breaking up the existing social make-up. Resettled families leave a familiar environment for a new area where ties with unknown neighbours have to be made. In view of neighbourhood solidarity networks, which play an important role for the residents' economic and social survival, resettlements have an even more devastating effect.

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<sup>14</sup> Illegal bars

<sup>15</sup> Meat grilled on braai-roast

### **2.2.7.3 The persistence of former principles**

The resettlement policy for black population groups adopted by the Windhoek municipality is a continuation of old principles practised before the apartheid system was abolished.

The first resettlement (date unknown) was effected at the Klein Windhoek Camp, the residents having been resettled to the Old Location. In 1959, resettlement from the Old Location was carried out despite the residents' resistance and violently enforced by the police.

Today, this form of resettlement policy is still in place: in 1990, all squatters dispersed over the town area were dislodged and resettled in areas deemed appropriate by the authorities; other interventions took place in 1992 at the Single Quarters and Shandumbala and the most recent interference at One Nation in 1993 have failed.

Illegal squatter settlements have been officially prohibited by the Windhoek authorities. Squatters join resettled residents in reception and transit areas where they hope to blend in with their shacks which do not differ from those of resettled residents. The distribution of squatters in all categories of squatter areas makes it difficult to identify illegal dwellers and it limits the success of the bulldozer policy adopted by the municipality.

Resettlement policies contribute directly and indirectly to population density and concentration in squatter areas. The squatters, not being allowed to settle in the town itself, see their chances of urban integration fading away.

### **2.2.7.4 The poorest are excluded from the town**

The dislodgement of squatters in the centre of town and residential areas and their resettlement in transit and reception areas at Katutura's most northern and north-eastern periphery is a sign of intended exclusion of the poorest from urban centres. This assumption is based on the observation of huge open spaces in Katutura,

between Katutura and Khomasdal, and everywhere else in town. Windhoek is not faced with a shortage of space which would justify a peripheral extension of the degree shown.<sup>16</sup>

This exclusion of an "embarrassing" population group is not only of a physical or spatial nature - it is also, and maybe most of all, an economic and social ban. The areas' remoteness results in long distances to work, markets and potential customers for small informal activities. All these factors hamper urban integration. The access to public facilities (hospitals, schools, authorities) is more difficult and expensive as the costs for transport are increased.

A vicious circle, which is aggravated by municipal policies, takes its course. Not having sufficient financial resources to buy land or estate properties in town, most poor squatters are pushed to the periphery and thereby robbed of all chances for employment or other income-generating activities which would allow them to improve their socio-economic situation and integration in formal housing schemes.

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<sup>16</sup> The municipality is the owner of all undeveloped urban land

## CONCLUSION

This research aims at contributing to a better understanding of squatter populations and at creating awareness for their precarious living conditions.

The study of this urban phenomenon has revealed its constituting tendencies, but has not fully clarified the reasons and forms of its evolution which remain unanswered questions.

The analysis of migration routes and settlement conditions in Windhoek has shown that the squatting population mainly consists of urban dwellers and not of newly immigrated rural dwellers. The existence of family and friendship reception networks caters for a temporary stay of the migrants in the formal town.

To put a halt on migration to town (supported by many), would not stop squatter area growth. The process currently under way indicates that the squatters of tomorrow are already in Windhoek, catered for by formal accommodation networks. Due to the absence of political solutions the squatter phenomenon will continue to grow further.

The short and medium-term growth of the population in squatter areas seems unavoidable. One must therefore start to think about future options to condition its growth.

Direct settlement in squatter areas today only constitutes a marginal factor but this could change in future. The introduction of migration networks could encourage the formation of reception networks in squatter areas, networks which have so far only existed in formal residential areas. Windhoek would then no longer be an obligatory stop-over.

An analysis of the composition of residential groups has indicated a high number of brother-sister couples living in the family unit single or with their partners. Caused by the nature of the family relationship, these residential groups bear the germ for future splits which also increases the potential of population growth. The types of family grouping is, in fact, a temporary reply to the crisis. These residential units are, in the long term, bound to fall apart, as brothers and sisters have individual opportunities or wish to be independent once they have reached the age or situation to make their own homes.

Personal future plans indicated by the people interviewed outline the development scenario in these areas. More than half of the people interviewed have expressed their intention to return to their region of origin once they retire. The flow of retired people from the capital to rural areas does not necessarily mean that the population of squatter areas will be decreased because, according to the statements made, an inverse flow of migration, their children (in other words young adults), would follow. Should this tendency materialise<sup>17</sup>, it would result in a flow of active people to the capital and a flow of inactive people to the rural regions, as is the case in many countries in West Africa.

The physical features of precarious settlement areas suggest the success of low-cost housing projects intended for weakest socio-economic groups. The realisation of actual plans should lead to a transformation of squatter areas into residential areas with small individual houses. Financial constraints hamper many current projects, compromising the successful implementation of housing operations. Recovery of investment costs which, in theory, should be assured by monthly instalments of the future house owners, cannot be attained because of accumulated arrears. The recent warning of evictions concerning 300 families of an NHE housing project illustrates the financial limits of such projects.

A socio-economic analysis of the people interviewed indicates that 50% of the heads of household have a formal employment. They should therefore, in theory, also have the financial capacity to buy a plot or house. Their formal employment is, however, often insecure (short-term contracts in the construction sector, domestic part-time work), affecting the regularity of their payments.

Women have appeared to be socio-economically more fragile than men. Being single and having to care for school children, they are often excluded from the formal labour market. Therefore, they engage in small informal activities which only allow for their survival. They are not the only ones who live in precarious circumstances. Many unemployed male heads of household are also extremely poor.

Only a political solution can ease the existential fears of the most deprived.

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<sup>17</sup> In terms of future conditions as indicated today

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# ANNEXES

# **INFORMAL SETTLEMENT APPRAISAL**

## **Research outline**

### **Research project prepared by :**

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**For CRIAA**



## **1. Introduction**

Windhoek, capital of Namibia and the biggest city in the country, has approximately 200 000 inhabitants, and has experienced an astonishing urban growth. An estimate based on different sources gives a growth rate of about 10 % per year.

The largest sector of immigrants has settled in the northern suburbs of Katutura. Today the extensions of Windhoek are accommodating approximately 20.000 to 30.000 inhabitants mostly in shacks.

## **2. Research background**

Initially, the development of squatter camps was spontaneous and free. Recently, these settlements have been orchestrated by the Municipality that set up appropriate resettlement policy for specific areas. These areas intend to give people the opportunity to gain access to land and housing according to their socio-economic situation.

Few squatters located in different parts of Windhoek were gathered in 1990 and were resettled in Okuryarangava Extension 4 by the MRLGH. The aim of the MRLGH was to give houses to these people. A housing programme was set up in 1991, financed by the French Co-operation and implemented by CRIAA, a French NGO. Since then, 300 core houses were built but the problem of squatters remains and has even increased.

Beside this housing project, C.R.I.A.A. is also involved in small scale job creation projects in Katutura. It gained through practical involvement in low cost housing and job creation programme a valuable knowledge about the problems of sheltering and unemployment. But, this experience also raised a lot of questions which are still up to now not answered. This very recent phenomenon is also very complex to understand, this is why a specific research program is now introduced to gather data about squatters and the area were they are living.

To enlarge the research field and to integrate sociological aspects, C.R.I.A.A. asked two members of the University of Paris-X-Nanterre to conduct this survey.

A similar research was conducted in Rundu by C.R.I.A.A. in co-operation with D.G.E.S. (Department of Geographical Studies and Environment) of UNAM during June 1994. These two surveys will help to understand the phenomenon on a larger scale.

### 3. Objectives

The anthropological and sociological approach chosen for this survey will focus on social organization and socio-economic integration.

The history of evolution of the settlement will be recounted to identify the different stages and waves of immigration. What are the origins and the migration itinerary of the settlers? Do they originate from rural areas or are they former inhabitants of smaller cities? Further, what influenced or determined the movement and the location of individuals to settle down?

What integration processes or mechanisms proceed in these urbanized locations? The factors determining land access and utilization at these squatter camps are an important issue. Do social control structures exist (as one can find in rural communities in Namibia)?

What are these instruments of control, how do they develop and who implements them?

The formation of social groups is not accidental. They evolve and are influenced by many factors such as, the regional origins, the language of communication, social status and/or economic powers. Is there any kind of segregation inside and differences between the informal settlements? The research will gather demographic data about the inhabitants and their status.

As social groups evolve, they build their structures and social regulations. How these regulations between different groups maintain social links within the communities? Are there authorities or social organizations in these communities maintaining or establishing these regulations?

The socio-economic situation will also be pointed out. A survey about income, formal or informal, domestic work, expenditure will be done to identify the characteristics of this migrant population. This is, all the more interesting why socio-economic situation determines their access to land and housing.

Attention will be drawn to the relationship with the origin area. Are the financial and economic ties preserved or maintained? Do the squatters invest in Windhoek (purchasing an erf, a house etc.) Or do they use their income to support the rest of their family living in their hometown or villages? Is migration based on temporary economic reasons, with no investments in Windhoek, or on a permanent settlement?

#### **4. Methodology**

After first contacts with officials from the Municipality of Windhoek (Town Clerk, Town Planners, Director of Properties...) and from the Ministry of Regional and Local Government and Housing, further discussions were conducted with community liaison officer from the Municipality of Windhoek helping to finalize the research programme and the information needed.

After this preparation phase, socio-economic questionnaires were drafted and are currently tested.

The survey will use the questionnaires in the different squatting areas (reception, transit and resettlement areas) to try to identify a typology of squatter camps. Around 100 cases will be used as samples. This rather qualitative survey will also use aerial photographs of the northern periphery of Katutura enabling to locate the informal settlement districts and their actual extension.

A map of the present squatter areas of all the northern parts of Windhoek periphery will be drawn, as well as one presenting the former settlements before the intervention of the authorities. These maps intend to reconstitute the evolution of this phenomenon.

The final report will contain a socio-economic description of the population identifying problems, potentials and constraints. The research already started early August and will be achieved in late October 1994. The final report with the results, maps and analysis will be given to the relevant authorities by the end of year 1994 (MRLGH, Municipality of Windhoek, NHE...).

#### **5. Research team**

Pascal Renaud, project manager for the urban projects of C.R.I.A.A. in Namibia, gained significant practical experiences during his work in Rundu and Windhoek.

Elisabeth Peyroux and Olivier Graefe, geographer researchers, are currently implementing research projects in the frame work of French Paris X University programme devoted to Southern Africa

Translators will conduct the interviews in presence of the researchers.

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**Questionnaire for saving capacity and water consumption habits  
of the households (administred to the household head)**

Date  Location  Interviewer  Translator

1. Area  2. Plot nr.

3. Are you	Yes	No
	a) Plot owner	<input type="text"/>
	b) House owner	<input type="text"/>

4. Household head	female	male
	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

5. Mother tongue

6. Where are you born ?  7. age

8. Region of birth  9. Marital status

9.a) How many children do you have ?

10. Where did you resides before here ? 

1.	2.	3.
----	----	----

11. Duration 

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
----------------------	----------------------	----------------------

12. Educational level

13. Skilled in

14. Who show you to settle down here ?

15. How much did you pay for this plot ?

16. Since how long have you been living here on this plot ?

17. Did you bring your wife/husband with you, when you came ? 

yes	no
-----	----

18. Did you bring your children ? 

yes	no
-----	----

 If yes, how many ?

19. Any other persons ? 

yes	no
-----	----

 If yes, how many ?

20. Who are they ? friends  relatives  others

21. How many persons do have your household including parents and children now ?

22. How many people do you accommodate on your plot, excluding lodgers ?

23. On permanant basis on a temporary basis	<input type="text"/>	24. If on a temporary basis, for what reason ?
	<input type="text"/>	

25. Do you have any lodgers on your plot ? 

yes	no
-----	----

If yes, how many ?

25.a) How many people are permanently living on the plot including lodgers ?

25.b) How much do you charge each of the lodgers per month ?

N \$

For rental ?

For water and services ?

**Part B "expenditure"**

26. What is your expenditure ? Estimate your weekly expenditure.

26.a) How much do you spend on following ?

	N \$		N \$
weekly :		annual :	
food	<input type="text"/>	school	<input type="text"/>
tombo/beer	<input type="text"/>	clothing	<input type="text"/>
other basics	<input type="text"/>		
transport	<input type="text"/>		
other items	<input type="text"/>		

27. Do you pay anybody for help in shop/house/others ?  yes  no

If yes how many of them ?

28. How much do you pay him/her/them ?

	per day	per week	per month
N \$	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

29. Do you have loans to reimburse ?  yes  no

Item ?	car	account	housing material	
What is the duration ?	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Amount ?	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

29.a) do you pay rent for the land, if yes how much ? N\$

30. How much do you pay monthly for housing? N\$

For water ? N\$

For electricity ? N\$

31. Do you have arrears on any of the items stated ?  yes  no

If yes, please give details and reasons as to why.

32. How often a year do you go to your hometown or village ?

33. To Windhoek or other cities in Namibia ?

in Angola ?

34. How much do you spend on such a trip ?

For transport ? N \$

For support ? N \$

34.a) How much do you remit home ?

	per month	per year	irregularly
N \$	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

35. If a close relatives dies (mother, father, child etc.), how much would you spend on this way ? N \$

**Part c "Income"**

36. What are your sources of income ?

37. Do you have selling activities  Yes  No If yes :

drinks	yes	no
food	yes	no
clothes	yes	no
other items :	yes	no
	yes	no
	yes	no

38. How do you obtain the items for the selling activities?

	buy them	produce them
Tombo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
biltong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
bread	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
cakes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
fish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
complete meals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
any other item	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. How many days in a week this selling activity is done ?  day(s)

40. How much money comes in a week ? N \$

41. Once you have replaced the stocks, how much do you think is left over for spending ?

N \$

	per day	per week
	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

41.a) Do you pay something like a tax for this selling activity ?  yes  no

If yes, how much ? N \$

42. Where does the selling activity take place ?

In the house  
on the plot  
by the road side  
at a taxi rank  
market places  
other places

yes	no
yes	no
yes	no
yes	no
yes	no
yes	no

43. Do you do it yourself ?

yes	no
-----	----

44. If you do it for somebody else; for whom

Relative	friend	business person

45. Is he/she paying you ?

yes	no
-----	----

If yes, how much is it ?

commission  
salary  
food  
lodging

	per day	per week	per month

46. Do you have any other remunerating activities ?

Hair salon  
transport : bus, taxi, bakkie etc.  
Car repair  
Welding  
plumbing  
furniture making  
brickmaking  
handcraft  
wood carving  
other

	On the plot	any where else, where

47. Once you have bought the necessary materials; how much money do you think is left over for spending ?

per day	N \$	
per week	N \$	

48. Do you do this activity for yourself ?

yes	no
-----	----

49. If you do it for somebody else; for whom

Relative	friend	business person

50. Is he/she paynig you ?

yes	no
-----	----

If yes, how much is it ?

	per day	per week	per month
commission			
salary			
food			
lodging			



**Part D "Agriculture"**

51. Do you have any agricultural activity ?

yes	no
-----	----

52. If yes, what is it ?

	quantity	where ?
gardening		
mahangu		
sorghum		
cattle		
goats		
fishing		
others		

show it on the map

53. Is it for your own consumption ?  
for selling ?  
or for bartering ?

yes	no
yes	no
yes	no

54. If all of them, how much do you consum, sell and barter ?

Selling  
Consuming  
Bartering

	%

55. If you do barter, what do you give and what do you get ?

	quantity out	quantity in
per day		
per week		
per month		

56. Do you sell products ?

vegetables  
mahangu  
sorghum  
cattle  
goats  
other

	yes	no	quantity per year

57. What did you get out of this ?

per day	N \$
per week	N \$
per month	N \$
per year	N \$

58. Do you have any other sources of income out of agricultural activity outside Rundu like herd guarding etc. ?

yes	no
-----	----

If yes, what did you get out of this ?

per day	N \$
per week	N \$
per month	N \$
per year	N \$

59. How much do you spent for agricultural activities (in N \$) ?

	per day	per week	per month	per year
For seeds				
pesticide				
insecticide				
fertilizer				

60. Do you have any business activities ?

yes	no
-----	----

61. If yes, please give some details.

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**Part E "Formal employment"**

62. Do you have any formal employment ?

yes	no
-----	----

63. If yes, are you employed in (put a mark on the correspondent field) :

	full time	half time	part time	seasonal	others
public service					
private firm					
domestic					
other					

64. How much do you earn ?

per day	N \$
per week	N \$
per month	N \$
per year	N \$

65. How far is your job from home ?

km
----

66. Is the employer providing the transport costs ?

yes	no
-----	----

67. Do you get contributions from (in N \$) :

	per day	per week	per month	per year	irregularly
other household members ?					
relatives not living here ?					
for child maintenance ?					
boy/girl friend ?					

68. Do you get pensions (in N \$) ?

	per day	per week	per month	per year	irregularly
old age					
welfare (disabled)					
others					

69. Do you have lodgers ?

yes	no
-----	----

If yes, how much they are paying

	per day	per week	per month	per year	irregularly
N \$					

70. Do you have any other source of income ?

yes	no
-----	----

If yes, please give some details (source, amount etc.) ?

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71. Do you own any of these items ?

	yes	no
car		
radio/tape recorder		
bicycle		
TV		
Videorecorder		
fridge		
deep freezer		
motocycle		
stove		

**Part F "Savings"**

72. Do you have a savings account with :

	yes	no
a bank ?		
the post office ?		

73. Are you member of a credit union ?

yes	no
-----	----

74. Are you member of a cooperative ?

yes	no
-----	----

75. Do you make regular payments or contribution ?

yes	no
-----	----

If yes, how much ?

	per day	per week	per month	per year	irregularly
N \$					

76. Do you think you can improve your income situation ?

yes	no
-----	----

If yes, how and if not, why ? Please give some details.

---

---

---

---

77. Do you intent to upgrade your house ?

yes	no
-----	----

78. If yes, what type of upgrading do you have in mind ?

Please give some details.

79. How much money do you think you will spent on it ?

N \$	
------	--

80. How do you think to get this money ?

Please give some details.

81. Do you intent to build or to start building a house in bricks in the next 12 months ?

yes	no
-----	----

If yes, do you save money for that ?

yes	no	N \$
-----	----	------

82. How much do you think, you will spend on it ?

N \$	
------	--

**Part G "Water consumption habits "**

83. Where do you get your water from ?

84. How far must you go to fetch water ?

85. How much water do you need per day (specify unit : liters, baskets, drums etc. )?

86. Do you have to pay for your water ?

yes	no
-----	----

87. If yes, how much do you pay (specify units) ?

88. How often does your household need to fetch water, if it is not on tap in the house ?

89. How long does this take ?

90. Does your water supply ever dry up ?

yes	no
-----	----

91. If yes, for how many time (days, weeks, months) ?

92. what alternative source(s) of water do you have ?

93. How much do you think you can afford for water ?

N \$	
------	--

94. What is for you the most important ?

Please give the priority :

Tared road	
grave road	
communal water tap	
private water tap	
street light	
private electricity connection	

95. Anything do you want to add (precisions, suggestions etc. ) ?