NAMIBIA UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Integrated Land Management Institute (ILMI)
Land, Livelihoods and Housing Programme

The Integrated Land Management Institute is a centre of the Faculty of Natural Resources and Spatial Sciences (FNRSS) at the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST) committed to develop reputable and multidisciplinary research and public outreach activities in the field of land, administration, property, architecture and spatial planning.

The Land, Livelihoods and Housing Programme aims at deepening and expanding the focus on these three key issues in Namibia. The programme was developed to guide ILMI's activities by organising it in four aspects: institutional, environmental, fiscal and spatial processes.

New Livelihoods for Namibia's Urban Future: Workshop with Prof James Ferguson

Summary

This Document Note documents the activities during the workshop held with Prof. James Ferguson in August 12-15, 2019 at NUST.
The workshop took place in the context of the Urban Forum programme 2019-2020. The Urban Forum is a platform for multi-stakeholder engagement on issues of urbanisation in Namibia, Southern Africa and beyond.

This document describes the rationale for the programme of the workshop, and then briefly summarizes the highlights of each of the sessions, and concludes with the key questions that emerged from the workshop. These themes provide the basis for a research agenda on questions of livelihoods for Namibia's urban future.

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This document was compiled by Guillermo Delgado, 'Land, livelihoods and housing' Programme Coordinator, ILMI.

Acknowledgments

Firstly, our appreciation goes to Prof. James Ferguson, who kindly accepted to join us for a week in Namibia and who was very accommodating to the organisers' propositions and generous in sharing his insights and experience with participants to the workshop and those attending his public lecture.

The organisers of the event were Guillermo Delgado, Urban Forum and ILMI Coordinator at the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST); Phillip Lühl, Lecturer at the Department of Architecture and Spatial Planning, NUST; Ellison Tjirera, Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Namibia (UNAM); and Sigrid Nyambe, intern at the Urban Forum programme and Land Administration student at NUST.

We would like to thank the participants, as well as the guests that kindly agreed to join the moderated panel on local economic development initiatives: Veripi Kandenge, from the Namibia Informal Sector Organisation (NISO) and Elvis Kauesa from the African Builders Association; Werner Januarie, from the Namibia Transport and Taxi Union (NTTU); Panashe Daringo, from the Young Entrepreneurs Group Association (YEGA); and Delphia Suxus, from the Union of Institutional and Household Employees of Namibia (UIHENI).

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This document was prepared by Guillermo Delgado, based on his notes and those of Sigrid Nyambe, Nina Maritz, and Phillip Lühl.

All images in the document were taken by the organisers unless otherwise noted.

Introduction

This Document Note documents the activities during the workshop held with Prof. James Ferguson in August 12-15, 2019 at NUST.

The workshop took place in the context of the Urban Forum programme 2019-2020. The Urban Forum is a platform for multi-stakeholder engagement on issues of urbanisation in Namibia, Southern Africa and beyond. The programme dedicated a module to the question of livelihoods, which so far was one of the least-explored topics within the 'Land, livelihoods and housing' framework that the Integrated Land Management Institute (ILMI) has been developing since 2015. The module on livelihoods includes this workshop as well as a series of seminars with Dr John Mendelsohn, which are taking place throughout 2019[1].

Prof. Ferguson is a renowned anthropologist whose research is anchored in Southern Africa. Namibia is one of the countries that have served as the basis for the arguments he defends in his book *Give a Man a Fish* as well as other seminal publications that speak to the core of the questions of livelihoods[2].

In short, Prof. Ferguson proposes to engage decisively with the future of work that characterise Sub-Saharan Africa at large. In the continent, most employment takes place in the informal sector[3]. The policy responses to this are predominantly based on narratives of industrialisation and employment-creation; but also include new forms of social

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[1] See: http://urbanforum.nust.na/

[2] These were part of a list of recommended readings circulated to participants prior to the workshop. It included: Ferguson, J., & Li, T. M. (2018). *Beyond the "proper job:" Political-economic analysis after the century of labouring man* (Working Paper No. 51). Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies; Ferguson, J. (2015). *Give a man a fish: Reflections on the new politics of distribution*. Durham: Duke University Press [Chapters 1 and 2]; and Ferguson, J. (2013). How to do things with land: A distributive perspective on rural livelihoods in Southern Africa. *Journal of Agrarian Change, 13*(1), 166–174.

[3] Heintz, J., & Valodia, I. (2008). *Informality in Africa: A review*. Retrieved from WIEGO website: http://www.inclusivecities.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Heintz_WIEGO_WP3.pdf

security and welfare. It is these latter issues that interest Prof. Ferguson; in Namibia, examples of these include emerging universal grans (e.g. old age pension, child and disability grants) and the Basic Income Grant (BIG) pilots in Otjivero in 2008-9[4].

For us as organisers, these debates were extremely relevant for the question of Namibia's urban future. The key premise for organising this workshop was that if we indeed acknowledge that efforts toward industrialisation and employment-creation will not be sufficient; then we have to start re-imagining the way we go about urban development to support the actually-existing activities that provide livelihoods for households in urban areas and nationwide. This is not a defeatist or pessimistic undertaking, but a commitment to explore the alternative narratives that could potentially have an impact 'in the meanwhile'.

The workshop was attended by thirty participants who applied through an open call launched a month before the workshop. Attendants were members of local and central government, professionals in private practice (e.g. architects, urban planners, economists), businesspeople, members of civil society organisations and community-based organisations, academics and students (see List of participants). Shortlisting aimed to ensure a diversity of participants and that their practice demonstrated a relation to the theme of the workshop[5]. A list of recommended readings was distributed to participants prior to the workshop[6].

This document describes the rationale for the programme of the workshop, and then briefly summarizes the highlights of each of the sessions, and concludes with the key questions that emerged from the workshop. These themes, will provide the basis for a research agenda on questions of livelihoods for Namibia's urban future.

Finally, it is worth highlighting some of the limitations of the event. Firstly, the proceedings were highly determined by the diversity of participants. While this was to some degree influenced by the organisers, the biggest factor was the composition of the initial round of applications; 'representativity' was not a criteria for admission. Another limitation was raised by participants regarding the lack of an opportunity for them to share their reflections on the recommended readings. It became clear that a group discussion among participants before engaging with Prof. Ferguson might have created an enhanced common understanding of his arguments.

The workshop programme

The key objective of the workshop was to co-produce emerging questions regarding the livelihoods question for Namibia's urban future. Each of the blocks in the session aimed at establishing a common understanding through an activity, and then reflecting on the key ideas emerging after each session (See Programme).

The first activity was an optional excursion to places in Windhoek where participants could experience some of the various existing livelihood strategies. The itinerary was selected based on the experience of the organisers, which have engaged professionally in many of the places visited. The places were in the north-western areas of the city, which are generally the most densely populated ones, and lower-income areas of the city. The excursion did not include places in the central or eastern parts of the city due to time limitations, not because of the absence of alternative trading activities within these areas.

The first and second sessions on the first day of the workshop were designed to acquaint participants with the key themes around livelihoods, which Prof. Ferguson introduced; and with key highlights regarding Namibia's historical urban development; which Guillermo Delgado and Phillip Lühl presented. The third session in the programme was envisioned as an opportunity for participants to reflect about their own practice in relation to the input of the first two sessions. For this, participants were invited to gather in five groups and account to each other on what each of them does for a living; what are the challenges that they face with regards to their work but also in light of the earlier

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[4] Kameeta, Z., Haarmann, C., Haarman, D., & Jauch, H. (2007). *Promoting employment and decent work for all—Towards a good practice model in Namibia (Basic Income Grant)*. Retrieved from Labour Resource and Research Institute website: https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B-h_z2Ab5OhDaTZ3YzE2R0w2TnM/edit?usp=sharing

[5] Applicants were required to submit a 2-page CV and a short paragraph indicating motivation to attend.

[6] See 2

discussions; what enablers their work; and lastly what would be, from their perspective, an 'ideal scenario'. A rapporteur thereafter presented a synthesis of her group's discussion, which was followed by a general discussion. At this point, participants were versed in the themes of the workshop and acquainted with each other. The morning session on the second day invited representatives of organisations that arguably provide examples of potentially new or non-formal livelihoods in urban Namibia. These were representatives of informal traders', young entrepreneurs, transport, and domestic workers organisations. They were similarly asked to introduce themselves, outline the challenges they face, reflect on the aspects that facilitate their work, and to imagine future 'ideal' scenarios.

The last part of the workshop aimed to start envisioning livelihood scenarios for Namibia's urban future.

At this point, some new themes appeared to emerge repeatedly throughout the sessions, which the organisers continuously noted down. These themes were used as the backdrop for the final presentations on the last day.

The emerging themes were synthesised into four, and groups of participants were formed to address each of these. The groups were tasked to prepare a presentation during the afternoon of the second day, which aimed at synthesising the discussions, but also to develop 'action steps'. This was done through a structure predetermined by the organisers, designed to gradually tease out the conclusions of the workshop.

The last day was dedicated to the presentations. These are presented below (see Final presentations and key emerging themes). A final round of reflections led by the organisers and with inputs by Prof. Ferguson concluded this exercise.
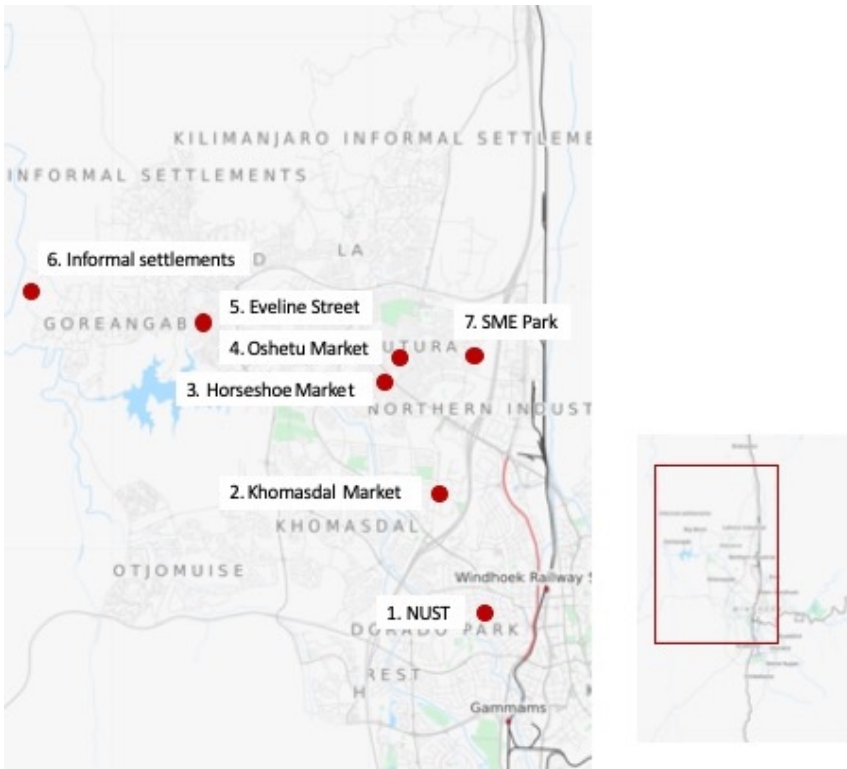
The workshop programme concluded with a public lecture[7] by Prof. Ferguson presenting key themes of his work, as well as some preliminary findings of his upcoming work.

Photograph 1 Public lecture by Prof Ferguson at NUST Mining Auditorium, on Thursday, August 15th, 2019.

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[7] Not documented in this report.

Field visit to places of trade in Windhoek

Map 1 Itinerary of field visit

The first stop was **Khomasdal Market**, a Municipal market in Khomasdal, a middle-income residential neighbourhood in the West of Windhoek. A signboard at the entrance displays the rules of the market[8]. The market is host to eateries, print shops, and clothing businesses. The place was largely empty, and although this might have been due to the time of the day, it is generally known that this market is not a popular venue. Some of the participants attributed this to the low density of the surrounding neighbourhood, which did not provide a critical mass of customers to support businesses there. Another observation was the lack of connectivity to other potential customers: although very near a university campus, the market seems to have been located due to the availability of land, rather than strategically positioned in a place where trade already occurs. Some observed that the market was designed with well-thought architectural strategies to make provision for some stalls bordering the street to remain open even after the market was closed by opening towards the street in order to service customers passing by. This was nevertheless evidence of the limits of spatial interventions where basic fundamentals of adequate location were neglected.

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[8] The sign reads the name of the market on top; the activities that are allowed (in this case: food and beverages, fruit and vegetables, clothing, printing services, etc.); the activities that are not allowed (in this case, no alcohol, drugs, weapons, gambling, smoking, or bringing animals); the behaviour that is not allowed (in this case, no fighting or 'indecent behaviour', or 'illegal trading'); and finally a disclaimer stating that the "right of admission is reserved" (the only item in the board stated in both English and Afrikaans).

Photograph 2 Khomasdal market with university campus nearby (lower right). (Source: Google Maps)

The second place was the **Horseshoe Market**, which was developed with public funds and donations in the 1990s, but did not become part of the Municipality and today is self-managed by traders. This allows them to establish their own rules in consultation with relevant authorities, specifically allowing them to this is their ability to sell alcoholic drinks. The market features eateries, tailors, electronic repair shops, among other services; and was quite busy. The horseshoe-like spatial layout includes a generous open courtyard facing a busy street; the courtyard includes trees providing much-needed shading as well as seating for customers. Most food and drink outlets surround the courtyard. Stalls are arranged in a double u-shape creating a corridor situation with various access points, making the market very permeable.

Photograph 3 Horseshoe Market (Source: Google Maps)

Photograph 4 Horseshoe Market

The third place was **Oshetu Market**, arguably the most popular Municipal market, known for its *kapana* (grilled meat) stands, which attracts many customers various parts of the city as well as tourists. The market is located in a more densely-populated area, neighbouring the former housing complex for male contract workers during the apartheid times; hence the colloquial name 'Single Quarters'. The group observed that the vibrancy in the market was not only due to the market itself, but also due to the interaction surrounding home-based economic activities. As the market is municipal, it has similar restrictions as in the Khomasdal case[9]; therefore, neighbouring houses fill this gap by selling beer and other goods and services not allowed at the market (e.g. electronics, car wash). The participants also observed the wider networks that sustain this market, specifically with regards to meat trading. One of the key attractions is that meat is freshly delivered daily, which logistically is made possible through a circulation arrangement procured by stall owners, which connects farmers to a slaughterhouse near Windhoek (Brakwater), from which fresh carcasses are brought to the market and processed further there. This is an alternative to the mainstream large scale meat industry aimed at export which is highly regulated and capital-intensive[10]. Another key part of the value chain is the timber used by the *kapana* businesses, which comes from neighbouring farms in the Ovitoto and Okakarara regions. The market also includes an open area for selling traditional food supplies coming from the northern areas in the country; which resembles some of the common market typologies found elsewhere in the world. The market appears to be economically successful, and its significance in the urban culture of Windhoek is well-established.

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[9] See 8

[10] The Meat Corporation of Namibia (Meatco) is a meat processing plant in Windhoek. See: http://www.meatco.com.na/

Photograph 5 Oshetu Market

Photograph 6 Views of Oshetu Market.

The fourth place was **Eveline Street**, arguably also one of the most popular places in Windhoek due to its concentration of bars and businesses in transformed former residential-only private properties. The group observed the wide variety of trades in the area beyond bars; including churches, office supplies and services, eateries, among many others. The organisers referred to a study recently undertaken on Eveline Street[11] which observed that, while businesses started indeed predominantly as bars, as time went by, economic activities significantly diversified. This is evidence of the importance of temporality in urban development and livelihoods. A business that starts off as a bar, can eventually evolve into other activities once a cash flow has been established, allowing investments in equipment used for diversification. Here, the importance of home-based businesses and livelihoods becomes evident; and the importance of land and housing as a platform for economic upliftment.

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[11] SLF. (2017). *Transformative Leisure Economies. Eveline Street, Katutura, Windhoek*. Retrieved from Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation website: http://livelihoods.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Transformative_Leisure_Economies.pdf

Photograph 7 Eveline Street; closeup (top) and image containing the entire street (bottom).

The fifth stop were **recent informal settlements** in the nearby area north of **Goreangab** dam. Here, it was observed that even in the most recent settlement areas, livelihood strategies began to emerge. These took the form of hair salons, crèches, and tuck shops; these were not necessarily in any 'main street' (as there were no clear layouts yet), but rather scattered throughout. However, it was clear that the distance to other economic opportunities was considerable. The group observed that only the bare minimum service of communal water taps was provided by the Municipality. Some structures appeared to have electricity connections either from neighbouring 'formal' structures or through solar panels. Concerns about cost of transport also emerged, as this area was towards the north-western periphery of the city.

Photograph 8 Informal settlements near Goreangab dam.

The visit concluded in a **'small and medium enterprise' (SME) incubator** near the Hakahana service station in Katutura central areas, which was established with support of central government[12]. The place is modelled after an industrial park, but reduced in scale. The complex is completely walled and has only one entrance to the main road, which is only in the periphery of residential areas. The complex is clearly designed for the efficiency of car circulation, even if many of the businesses seem to cater for lower income groups, which are unlikely to own a car. While some businesses appear to be sites of production (e.g. soap or ginger beer factories) and repairs (e.g. electronics, metalworks), others appear to be retail (e.g. clothing, eateries), or simply office space (e.g. wedding planners). Participants observed a lack of vibrancy in the place, and questioned whether this was indeed filling a significant gap in the livelihood landscape.

Photograph 9 SME Incubator, Katutura.

Throughout the excursion, participants discussed what was observed in transit from one place to the next; e.g. the abundance of businesses beyond the designated areas for trading, as well as the considerable distance from the places visited to the 'city centre'.

Key themes

This is a summarised transcript of Prof Ferguson's intervention at the start of the workshop, followed by a summary of the ensuing discussions.

We used to think that we knew where the economic development story ended: from rural areas and agriculture, to modern urban-based industrial society. From being a subsistence farmer, to someone with 'a proper job': paycheck, a house, and so on.

But then different things actually happened. Jobs were not available. People could not call themselves peasants, but they could also not call themselves 'workers', as they did not have that 'proper job'. How do we categorise them? They work, but don't have 'jobs'. This impacts not just on the youth, but also older people: the unemployed and informal workers. They are defined by what they are not: not employed, not formal.

We were satisfied with this terminology for a long time, thinking perhaps this condition was transitional. But now we see it is not. This category of people is expanding, and perhaps it is even the majority of the working population today.

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[12] The line ministry in this case is the Ministry of Industry, Trade and SME Development (MITSMED).

The recent Namibia Labour Force Survey indicates that there are 725,000 employed people in Namibia out of the 1.6m adults[13]; less than half. Many of those 'employed', about 57%, are employed in the informal sector[14]. This shows that a vast majority of adults in Namibia do not have formal employment.

In the old model, a 'proper job' was not just about economic provision, but also about social incorporation. It meant access to a house, health care, and other social benefits; at least for the 'able-bodied man'. This works 'well' when nearly everyone has 'a proper job'. If the vast majority does not, then the whole picture changes.

Informal activities are highly contextual. They are difficult to define and identify. It is not like a paycheck with a specific amount; or a registered plot (even in rural areas). I can share an example of a Zambian woman who does occasional trips to Katima Mulilo to buy essential commodities to sell them at a home shop to neighbours. Her income is not easy to pin down, she may herself not know it; and even if she did, she would not tell. So those who are running economic development programmes or social services struggle to establish a 'reliable' basis for their work.

The ideal of everyone having 'a proper job' will not be possible. And we cannot get impatient with people if they do not fit our categories, if our narratives are out of date, or if we cannot get 'reliable' data.

We should not give up on the issue. We can still talk to people to get a broader picture. This requires humility and recognition that people are experts at managing their own resources. We need to find policies that take advantage of this understanding and the knowledge that people have, to enable them to act on that knowledge.

I'll give you an example: during the AIDS epidemic in Zambia, there were women that took in orphans. The government tried to keep track of these women and delivered maize meal monthly to them. Think about if this was changed to a simpler system –giving women the cash of the value of the maize meal, so they can buy maize meal, or other things that might be necessary at that particular time: access to healthcare, medicines, transport. The value of income support through cash transfer social programmes is that it embodies flexibility. It opens the possibility for people to choose from a variety of options, according to their own priorities and needs.

This is what the Basic Income Grant did in Namibia[15], by giving cash as a kind of social programme.

Discussion

The following issues were raised and reflected upon:

- The relevance of methodology: how often 'research' seems to imply the collection of 'hard data' (i.e. numbers), while what may be needed are narratives about what actually takes place regarding the issues we investigate.
- The stark contrast between state control through overregulation and the complexity of life situations of those that it intends to regulate.
- Resources spent on policing regulation rather than impacting real lives.
- The mismatch between state social security and traditional welfare practices (e.g. child rearing, elder care).
- The danger of overregulation leading to increased informality and non-compliance.
- That that which is not known is conveniently put into the category of 'informal'. This is like 'sweeping' important issues 'under the rug'. Are people and practices being 'informalised' through discourse?
- The importance of differentiating within 'the informal'. Analytically, shebeens that might raise revenues in large amounts cannot be placed in the same category as a small trader selling oranges on the side of the road.
- The need for 'formal' interventions to learn from 'informal' ones. An example was given about how transport routes are often born out of the needs that people identify, even when the Local Authority might try to force designated routes and/or stops.

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[13] NSA. (2016). *The Namibia Labour Force Survey 2016 Report*. Retrieved from Namibia Statistics Agency website: https://cms.my.na/assets/documents/Labour_Force_Survey_-_20161.pdf

[14] Idem.

[15] See 4

- An example of a failed economic development intervention in Helao Nafidi. The town is emerging, and with public support, it was allocated funds to construct an industrial park and trading area. Excitement built up, the place was built and officially opened. However, existing traders refused to move; as they were not consulted. This led to a situation of forced removal, after which the situation remained unresolved, the venue remains underused, and the intervention is generally regarded as unsuccessful.
- Some practices are not fully within 'the formal' or 'the informal', but in-between. It was acknowledged that a range of formal-informal linkages exist.
- The need to think beyond dualities; thinking about urban-rural, communal and commercial, and 'formal' and 'informal'.
- It was observed that in communal areas we do not tend to talk about 'informality' as much as in commercial or urban areas.
- Our current urban development model seems to produce large amounts of domestic workers and security guards at the service of those with jobs.
- Some argued for the need to look at how new technologies can support informal trade and how innovation is born in 'the informal'.
- A participant reflected on how the label of 'informal' is something that is imposed on local economies; traders see themselves as traders or businesspeople, it is planners that categorise them in this way.
- A local government employee said that the municipality is already subsidising transport, and that they receive complaints from 'formal' businesses how 'informal' traders are negatively impacting their business.
- A participant stressed how notions of 'development' may be Eurocentric, while what was really necessary was to enhance self-confidence in local practices to allow the emergence of new forms of development.
- Another participant noted how 'the formal' needed to explore ways to support 'the informal'; not ignore it or punish it. He reminded of the public responsibility in authorities regarding the provision of services and improving lives of inhabitants.
- Is 'the rural' way of life being brought to urban areas?
- Local economic development infrastructure is based on full cost-recovery. Why is this not considered a public good, such as road infrastructure?
- The role of public space needs to be re-thought to enable economic activities.

Prof Ferguson concluded noting how governments are complex entities, and that one unexplored viewpoint is how government itself sometimes depends on 'informal' arrangements to perform its functions. He put the example of how in some countries, prisoners in jails are fed by friends and relatives; not by the prison services.

Photograph 10 Workshop session

Summary of Namibia's historical urban development

The following section summarises a presentation on Namibia's historical urban development from the livelihoods point of view by Guillermo Delgado and Phillip Lühl. It is followed by a summary of the discussions afterwards.

The first point was the on-going and long-standing separation of urban 'functions' that has been taking place since the Industrial Revolution. The logic of compartmentalisation and specialisation has been a trend that well suited mechanic reproduction; this was necessary in organising factories, workers, and circulation of goods for this purpose. This logic has, however, permeated various other aspects of life; including the way we think about cities. This is exemplified in the layout of Tony Garnier's "Industrial City" (1901-1904), which outlines clearly the thinking of an urban area in terms of 'compartments' or 'sectors' – residential areas on one hand, industrial areas on the other, and infrastructure separating the various spaces (see Figure 1).
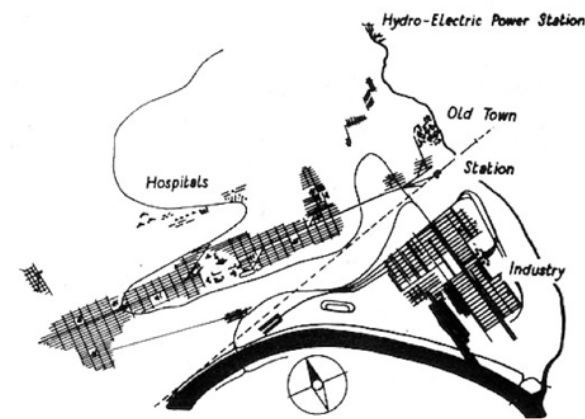
Figure 1 "Industrial City" (1901-1904), Tony Garnier[16]

This thinking came to Southern Africa through colonialism, which tried to re-organise life in the image of the 'modern' European project. In the case of Namibia, the entire territory was restructured through the contract labour system to support the colonial industry. Similar to the Industrial Revolution, migration from rural to urban areas (in many cases, newly-created ones) took place but in a strictly controlled manner. This is illustrated in John Muafangejo's "Men are working in town" print, where the divisions between workplace, home, urban and rural areas, appears emphasised by clear lines (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 "Men are working in town" (1981), John Muafangejo. [17]

Namibia's territory was re-structured at the national scale through the establishment of 'homelands' for each cultural group, through displacement and land dispossession. This is the backdrop to the uneven national territorial structure that Namibia retains to this day[18]. Urban areas became the sites of restructuring through displacement. When the movement of people was still under strict control, 'black' workers were housed in labour compounds or confined to 'townships' separated from the 'white' areas. Cities in Namibia display clear compartmentalisation of functions (e.g. central business district, residential areas, industrial areas); with an added layer of segregation along racial and income lines (see Figure 3). This is the structure that most of Namibian urban areas bear still today; even if they were not planned during the apartheid times.

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[16] Berlage Institute. (2008). *Social In-Habitat Caracas. A Unitary-Relational Project of Urban Space* (The Berlage Institute Research Report No. 17). Rotterdam: Berlage Institute.

[17] Gilmour, P., Levinson, O., & Tutu, D. (1992). *I was Loneliness: The Complete Graphic Works of John Muafangejo: a Catalogue Raisonné 1968-1987*. Struik Winchester.

[18] About 70% of the freehold commercial farmland in Namibia is owned by 'previously advantaged' (i.e. 'whites'). See: NSA. (2018). *Namibia Land Statistics*. Retrieved from Namibia Statistics Agency website:
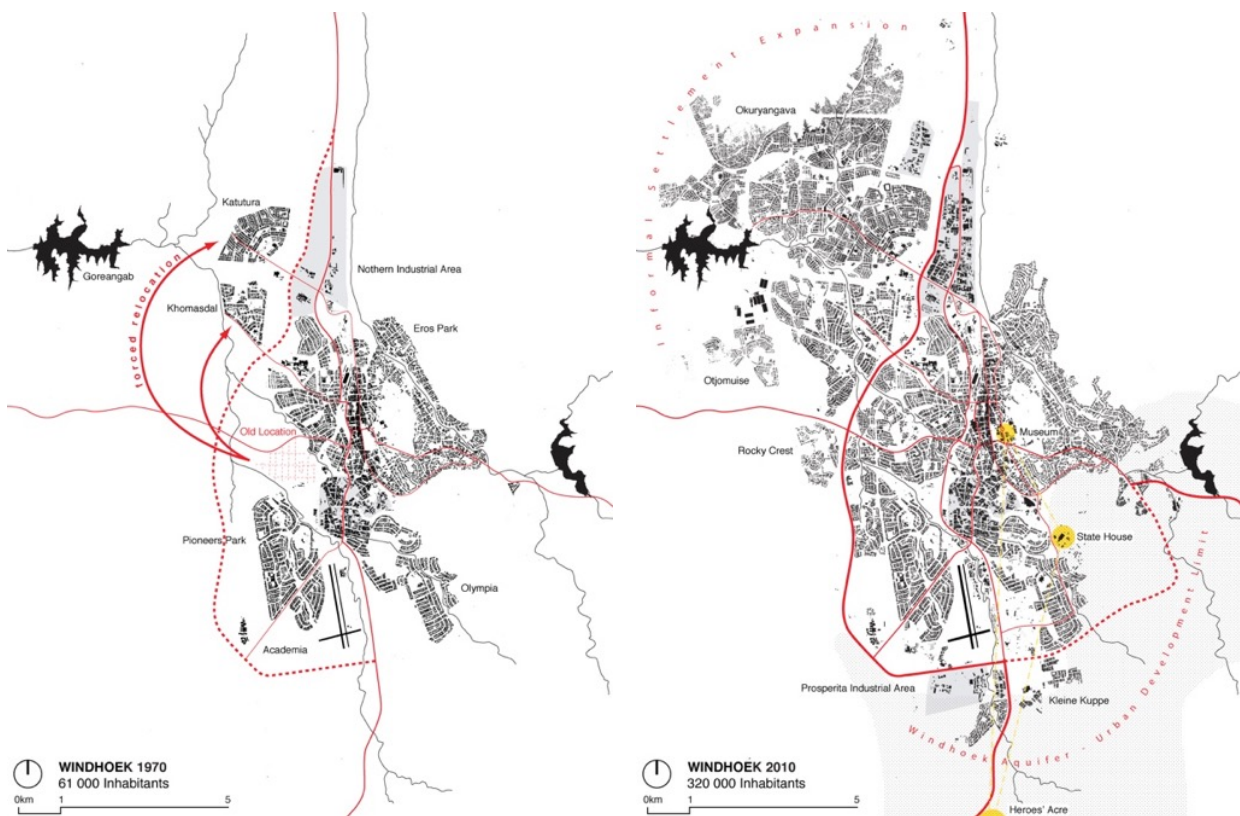http://dna.nust.na/landconference/submissions_2018/NamibiaLandStatistics2018.pdf

Figure 3 Maps of Windhoek in 1970 and 2010[19].

It is crucial to stress that this compartmentalised thinking about cities is still premised on full employment and, in the case of Namibian cities, on authoritarian control of movement of people. This translates into the promotion of new business parks, industrial areas, and SME 'incubators'; while on the other hand, discouraging street or home-based economies. However, the reality has changed, and today most of those living in an urban area live in informal settlements[20], and most of those considered employed work in 'the informal'[21]. This, however, has not changed the thinking at the policy level; which can be exemplified in how national documents (see Figure 4) still promote industrialisation and employment creation as the main strategy for public intervention, while neglecting almost fully informal livelihoods that arguably sustain most households today.

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[19] Lühl, P. (2013). The production of inequality: From colonial planning to neoliberal urbanisation in Windhoek. *Digest of Namibian Architecture*, 26–30.

[20] Muller, A. (2018). *Informal settlements* (No. 6/2018). Retrieved from Integrated Land Management Institute website:
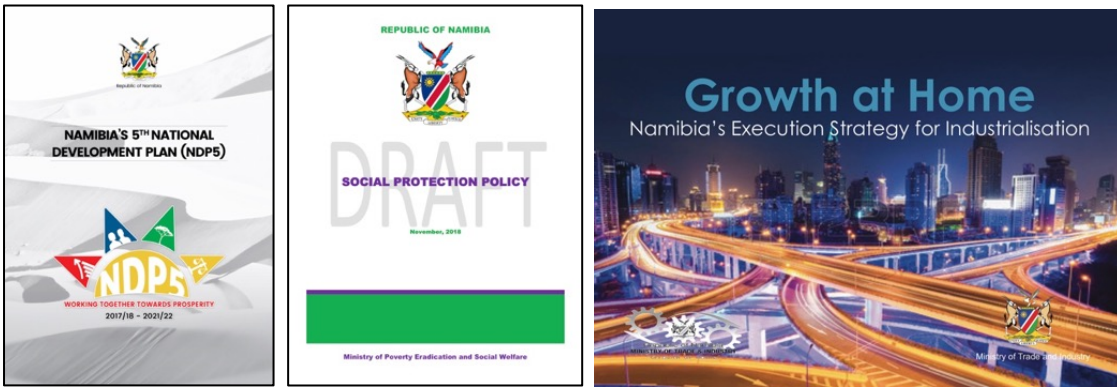http://ilmi.nust.na/sites/default/files/FACT-SHEET-6-2018-Informal-settlements.pdf

[21] See 13

Figure 4 Key national documents concerned with livelihoods[22]

This impacts the way we think about urban livelihoods and how Local Authorities deal with informal trade in urban areas. While informal trade happens in places that provide opportunities for traders, the 'formal' thinking about how business should be conducted remains influenced by imaginaries of 'formal' shopping centres (see Figure 5). However, these two models occupy the two extremes of a spectrum. A further problem arises when 'the formal' displaces 'the informal', causing damage and disruption in the livelihoods of those who do not have viable alternatives. This happens when ill-informed public interventions attempt to 'formalise' trade that happens without much regulation, which is a tendency that can be observed in the various local authorities where new markets have been developed for informal traders (e.g. Oshakati, Gobabis, Tsumeb). This shows that there is still no appreciation of actual emerging livelihood strategies, and that the segregated, compartmentalised thinking about the urban livelihoods continues to this day.

Figure 5 Wood workers informal market in Windhoek (Photo: Francis Shilongo); and images of the neighbouring Grove Mall (Source:

DuckDuckGo images).

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[22] Republic of Namibia. (2017). *National Plans | NDP 5 – National Planning Commission of Namibia*. Retrieved from Office of the President, National Planning Commission website: http://www.npc.gov.na/?page_id=948; MPESW. (2018). *Draft Social Protection Policy*. Retrieved from Ministry of Poverty Eradication and Social Welfare website: http://www.mpesw.gov.na/documents/227474/356397/Draft+Social+Protection+Policy/ebffdb18-771c-445c-a0e0-5c60a2064a68; MTI. (n.d.). *Growth at Home. Namibia's Execution Strategy for Industrialisation*. Retrieved from Ministry of Trade and Industry website: http://www.mti.gov.na/downloads/GrowthinNamibia.pdf

The concrete invitation to participants was to start imagining public interventions in urban areas in a new light, considering the historical legacies that continue to segregate functions and people. During the field visit to an SME Park in Windhoek, it was observed that the intensity of economic activity was much higher outside the park than inside; and even within the park, vendors would be found (see Figure 6). The concluding message was the urgency of re-thinking strategies to support actually existing livelihoods in urban areas.

Figure 6 SME Park in Windhoek, and a food vendor passing through seeking clients.

Discussion

The role of regulations as a factor in reproducing compartmentalised/segregated urban development was highlighted.

The case of Opuwo was highlighted, as recent research shows another attempt to displace an existing market due to a 'formal' development purportedly bringing economic opportunities[23].

The complexity of cities was said to be underestimated; it is still believed that a top-down intervention will 'solve' urban challenges.

The need for neighbourhood organisations to have a voice in urban development was highlighted.

A participant outlined several proposals made from the informal traders to government that were turned down and reported that traders experience a general sense of rejection from authorities.

It was argued that existing frameworks do not necessarily need to be fully abolished, as they can become more flexible. 'Appropriating' planning schemes to become more flexible and accommodating for street trading was suggested.

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[23] Namupala, M., Ganes, S., & Uarije, U. (forthcoming). *Upgrading the Epupa Market and Empowering Street Economies in Central Opuwo* (ILMI Research Report No. 2/2019). Windhoek: Integrated Land Management Institute.

Interactive/projective session on implications of new modes of livelihoods for Namibia's urban future

For this session, participants were acquainted with the questions and groups were formed in an aleatory manner. This section presents a summary of the results.

What do you do?

    Participants outlined their discipline or practice (see List of participants).

What are the challenges faced?

    Over-regulation and conflict in regulatory systems.

    Silo effect (e.g. in large municipalities, lack of cooperation)

    Opposition to change and risk aversion.

    Paternalism, lack of supporting independent judgement.

    Lack of information about the informal sector, many decisions are based on assumptions.

    Bureaucratisation of solutions that are in principle simple; the example of the Flexible Land Tenure was raised.

    One-size-fits-all policies.

    Lack of communication between those with information (e.g. academics, government) and the grassroots.

    Training institutions preparing graduates for jobs that does not exist.

What are the enablers?

    Interaction and networking, cooperation between agencies.

    Independent activities from institutional and corporate bureaucracy.

    Research on relevant issues.

    Workshops like the one documented here.

    Cultural practices that blur the line between categories.

What would be 'the ideal' situation?

    Dialogue in modalities that are more horizontal, where all parties can listen to each other.

    A scenario where there would be abundance of data and experimental projects.

    Public Institutions should be enabling rather than prohibitive or punitive.

    Place-based development: case-based learning and development based on this. Develop what there is instead of displacing it.

    Governance should not be 'definitive', but authorities should adopt 'a learning attitude'.

    'Friendly encounters' between parties that do not ordinarily meet.

    There should be more respect for self-regulation; increased trust.

    Integrated planning between institutions, between disciplines, and between geographies (urban and rural).

    There needs to be 'courage' to experiment, and also to follow-up on what has taken place.

Discussion

The importance of data was put in perspective; although it is important to gather information, it is also important to think strategically about how to mobilise this information.

Place-based development as a way to start at strategic places and then re-look at development and policies based on experience.

The need to think about open-ended processes, instead of aiming at having pre-determined outcomes was raised.

The language of regulation was highlighted; how authorities must articulate less what 'must' be and more with 'may' be.

The need for adequate regulation was raised; e.g. how a deficiency in health regulations in meat trade would also damage informal trade itself.

The question of the need to perceive a space as 'public' was raised, as how this would become an enabler for locally-based livelihoods. However, it was also noted that in some local languages the words 'public space' as such does not exist.

Prof. Ferguson concluded with a reminder that what is desirable or undesirable is conflicted due to the views that different parties have. A 'universal desirability' cannot be assumed.

Moderated panel with local economic development initiatives.

The panel was moderated by Ellison Tjirera, and it consisted of representatives from the Namibia Informal Sector Organisation (NISO), the Namibia Transport and Taxi Union (NTTU), the Young Entrepreneurs Group Association (YEGA), and the Union of Institutional and Household Employees of Namibia (UIHENI). Their contributions are listed below. These are followed by discussion.

What do you do?

NISO - Formed in 2009, Okatumbatumba Hawkers Association and Shebeen Association were under Namibia Small Traders Association; then with consultation with Ministry of Trade and Industry[24], the Namibia Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NCCI), and the Ministry of Urban and Rural Development (MURD), it was decided to form NISO. There were nevertheless frictions between government and informal sector, then they staged demonstrations in 2006 and 2007. The then-president Pohamba requested dialogue, and in 2007 an inter-ministerial committee was formed to discuss issues on the informal sector. The outcome was that there needed to be an organization representing the informal sector. Negotiations continue with MITSMED on working relationships.

YEGA - It represents entrepreneurship. The organisation started in 2014, and recently formalized as a section 21 company. There is a membership free, and there are bout 400 members. They do advocacy and aim to influence policy, as they regard young people are underrepresented in the process of policymaking. Their goal is to make environment conducive for entrepreneurship.

UIHENI - The union was founded in 2014. They undertook a survey, and when members were asked 'what are your needs?', most said 'housing'. Besides doing trade union work, they also undertake research.

NTTU – It was registered in 2006 to advocate for the interest of taxi drivers in Namibia. The industry is not regulated, so they advocate for regulation of the industry. They would like to see taxi drivers considered as 'labourers', not 'slaves'. They don't want to be seen as 'troublemakers'. There is a draft bill on the regulation of the industry currently being discussed.

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[24] See 12

What are the challenges faced with regards to livelihoods?

UIHENI - Domestic workers were affected by the minimum wage[25]. This was set by government without taking into account some of the claims from below. The wage is too small, and even then, some employees use the 'minimum wage' as a reason to retrench.

NTTU - The industry is un-recognised and un-regulated. Labour laws don't apply; and as an organisation, there are no membership fees to deduct. The industry is worth almost N$2bn[26]. NTTU looks at the interest of taxi drivers, other association represents taxi owners. In effect, they are a 'transport union'. Regarding tax, there are the government brackets for income[27]; but a levy can be established to support the industry.

NISO – While two-thirds of the workforce is in the informal economy[28], there is no national policy for the informal sector. There is, however, an 'SME policy'. Informality often leads to harassment by authorities. Market stalls are not enough; the CoW develops some, but they are in townships, not in the places where there are better economic opportunities. There are election promises to informal traders being made, instead of continuous engagement. There is also a 'bad reputation' of informal sector, a stigma. They have been criticized for 'protecting foreigners', as there is a perception that job opportunities should go to Namibians. The Africa Builders Association said that builders could help with the construction of houses in the informal settlements, which would have been a more successful approach than 'mass housing'.

YEGA – There is a cultural challenge where entrepreneurship is not regarded as a 'career'. Parents and government push younger generations for 'a proper job'. If one starts a new business, profit would be received in months or years; while in a job, one gets money after 30 days. There is also a lack of unity of purpose, 'we don't buy from each other'. 'The norm' requires one to have 'a job'. Entrepreneurship is regarded as something 'one does on the side', not a 'main activity'. There is a mechanism called 'infant protection' from MITSMED in order for new companies to benefit at the start[29], but the procedure to access this is cumbersome.

What are the enablers? What would be 'the ideal' situation?

UIHENI - Their strong membership base, and the skills that members have; some do businesses on the side of their employment.

YEGA – There are success stories, as there have been policy changes that are favourable to young people. They see a potential solution in the new public-private partnership (PPP) Act[30]. They see new forms of entrepreneurial opportunities emerging in transport, agriculture, energy, and water supply.

NISO - There could be 'seed funding' for small traders to start or grow their business. They see an opportunity to grow fresh produce in the city, as the distribution issue becomes less.

NTTU – [Mr Januarie had to leave early during the session.]

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[25] The minimum wage for domestic workers stands at N$1,502 per month. See: The Namibian. (2017, September 8). New minimum wage of N$1 502 for domestic workers. The Namibian. Retrieved from https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?page=archive-read&id=169068

[26] It was unspecified whether this is a yearly estimate.

[27] In Namibia, income tax is only due to the fiscus when yearly earnings are above N$50,000. See: PWC. (2018). *Historical Income Tax Rates—Namibia*. Retrieved from PWC Namibia website: https://www.pwc.com/na/en/assets/pdf/historical-namibian-income-tax-rates.pdf

[28] See 13

[29] See: MTI. (n.d.). *Namibia's Industrial Policy*. Retrieved from Ministry of Trade and Industry website: http://www.mti.gov.na/downloads/namibian%20industrial%20policy.pdf

[30] Act 4 or 2017

Discussion

The distinction between regulation and recognition appeared to be blurred. The desire to be regarded by the state as a legitimate stakeholder seems to be articulated as a claim for regulation.

The language of NISO speaks of 'the informal', while the state appears to favour the term 'SME'. This appears to raise the discrepancy between the 'small mindset' (i.e. small traders) and the potential for 'scalability' (i.e. and SME turning into a medium or large enterprise).

From the point of view of traders, the challenge is not the lack of opportunities, but that opportunities are not allowed to grow. A claim was articulated as 'grow me through what I am doing'. There were claims to see the informal sector as a poverty-eradication strategy.

The question of scale was raised; i.e. the regulation that large companies necessitate is not the same kind of regulation that would be appropriate for a small trader.

New terminology for 'the informal' was discussed: e.g. subsistence-based economies, hidden economies.

Photograph 11 Moderated panel discussion

Final presentations and key emerging themes

At this point, the key emerging themes were –

> (1) around issues of formalisation and regulation/de-regulation,

> (2) recognition and dialogue, and

> (3) spatial enablers/interventions (e.g. land, housing, public space, transport).

Participants voluntarily grouped in four teams around the theme they felt closer to.

To tease out new ideas and implementable actions, the authors employed a template that each of the groups had to complete with reference to the theme. The template followed the following structure[31]:

1. There was a time when we believed that…

2. And this is what was done…

3. However, we now know that…

4. This changes the way we…

5. So what we will do is…

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[31] This was a structure presented for doctoral researchers at the University of Cape Town's postgraduate workshop in 2017 led by Prof. Peter Meissner, which Guillermo Delgado attended.

The following is a summary of the presentations.

Economic hierarchy.

There was a time when we believed that economic hierarchies worked.
And this was done by assigning higher value to some jobs rather than others.
However, we know that this is not true as an informal vendor has just as enough value as a lawyer.
This changes the way we see each other in business, economic activities and everyday life.
So we will understand all sectors as a contribution to a holistic economic system.

Policies

There was a time when we believed that umbrella/blankets policies worked.
And this was done by assuming everyone had the same needs by experiencing the same problems.
However, we know that situations and scales differ vastly.
This changes the way government legislates and makes policies which are ineffective or inflexible and not suited for people.
So we will tailor policies which will recognize sectors as specific and unique by consulting, collaborating and advocating. As a result, suggesting alternatives which are fit for each specific branch.

Employment

There was a time when we believed formal ways of employment were what we needed.
And this was done by instituting universities, schools, formal education and registration.
However, we know that you do not need this to function economically.
This changes the way we see education and employment.
So we will gear opportunities of growth and opportunities by avoiding stigmatization by culture, allowing people's passion and opportunities.

Government

There was a time when we believed top-down governments were the solution to recognition.
And this was done by electing a government.
However, we know that top officials do not fully understand the situation on the ground because they do not experience it.
This changes the way we see central government.
So we will create bottom-up pressure by using recognition formats and dialogues.

Unions

There was a time when we believed unions are the primary formats to engage with government.
And this was done by forming unions for different sectors.
However, we know that alternatives to dialogue with Government exist, but current modes of dialogues do not work.
This changes the way we represent different groups and sectors to government.
So we will use pressure generated by effectively combining our recognition devices such as: media, (new) unions, demonstration, etc.

Data

There was a time when we believed convincing arguments are just made of data.
And this was done by following statistics which lead to drawing conclusions based on numbers and not experiences or the everyday.

However, we know that alternative ways of presenting arguments exist which can present evidence and be more effective.
This changes the way we structure and implement ideas in a representative manner to truly represent what is happening.
So we will find alternatives to data to change things.

Prof. Ferguson concluded with a set of reflections – he noted the resilience of regulations. How it seems virtually impossible to move away from these, which enhanced the dualities between formal and informal. He also reminded how in the continent; regulations are not necessarily followed strictly.

He also observed how there was an earnest regard of the role of the state, that 'it should do something'.

He also warned how regulations are not always solutions to problems, but in many cases they themselves become problematic. Regulations often create situations where one party benefits at expense of others. He also reminded that one needs to identify clearly which interests motivate regulations. He also reminded that overregulation can itself give way to illegalities.

He also noted that it is important to engage with the actually existing reality. In some cases, it is the laws and regulations that seem to be in a 'fantasy world'; regulating a world that is not there.

He stressed the need to attend to 'people's knowledge' and cultivate what emerges from it. It would be impossible for a state to find the details of the lives of everyone, but there is a possibility of policies enabling people's knowledge and mobilising it.

Conclusions: outlining a research agenda on livelihoods for Namibia's urban future

In lieu *of conclusions, this document outlines the themes that emerged throughout the workshop that could be considered a 'research agenda' on livelihoods for Namibia's urban future.*

- The implications of the labour outlook in Namibia.

- Outlining success factors in vibrant economic places in Namibia's urban areas.

- Mapping and evaluating local economic development strategies of Namibia's local authorities.

- Impact of land use and densities in local livelihoods.

- Mapping of strategic spaces for urban livelihoods.

- Assessing and reviewing the regulatory framework of public markets and trading spaces.

- Investigating and mapping self-managed trading places, with a focus on their governance.

- Nationwide distribution networks enabling local livelihoods in urban areas.

- Mapping change in the evolution of 'older' trading activities.

- Mapping of the rotation and permanence in local and central government trading spaces.

- Calculating revenue in local and central government trading spaces and self-managed ones.

- Spatial typologies enabling trade in urban areas.

- Mapping of actually existing land use in residential areas where local livelihoods are vibrant.

- Mapping of home-based economies where such livelihoods are vibrant.

- Adequate methodological strategies to account for actually-existing livelihoods.

- Measuring overregulation risk and assessing the likelihood of the regulatory framework of local economic development.

- Linkages between traditional and statutory welfare practices.

- Diversity within 'the informal', outlining categories within informal trade.

- Revisiting 'failed' public interventions for economic development, identifying 'bad practice'.

- Documenting 'hybrid' economic practices (in-between 'formal' and 'informal').

- New technologies and their contribution to actually-existing local (informal) economies.

- Emerging development categories: informing new development concepts based in local practice.

- Interrogating how the regulatory framework enhances segregation in urban areas.

- Mapping the presence of neighbourhood organisations and their impact in urban areas.

- Calculating the fiscal contribution of small traders.

- The role of land tenure and land use in enabling/discouraging informal livelihoods.

Annexures

List of participants

'New livelihoods for Namibia's urban future'
Workshop with Prof James Ferguson
August 13-15, 2019; NUST Hotel School

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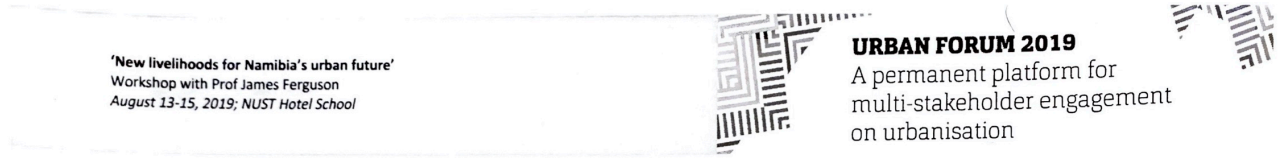
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Page 1 of 4

'New livelihoods for Namibia's urban future'
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Programme

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"New modes of livelihood for Namibia's urban future": Workshop with James Ferguson
FINAL PROGRAMME
7 August 2019

All events will take place at NUST Hotel School (Beethoven St, between Wagner and Brahms streets, Windhoek West), unless otherwise noted.

	MONDAY August 12	TUESDAY August 13	WEDNESDAY August 14	THURSDAY August 15
8.30-10.00	Guided visit through Windhoek's informal markets, informal residential areas, new government-supported residential and commercial projects.	Workshop Session 1 Introduction, workshop' programme; and key themes.	Workshop Session 4 Moderated panel with local economic development initiatives.	Workshop Session 6 Final presentations (open to invited guests). Key emerging themes.
			Break	
10.30-12.30	Meeting point: NUST Hotel School lobby.	Workshop Session 2 'Current narratives' and implications for urban development.	Workshop Session 5 Team formation.	Session 6 continues. Key messages emerging from the workshop.
		LUNCH		
14.00-16.30		Workshop Session 3 Interactive/projective session on implications of new modes of livelihoods for Namibia's urban future: 'cog wheel session' + synthesis (revised themes).	Workshop (independent work): Participants prepare final presentations individually/in teams.	
18.00-20.00				PUBLIC LECTURE 'New livelihoods for Namibia's urban future' Venue: NUST Mining Auditorium