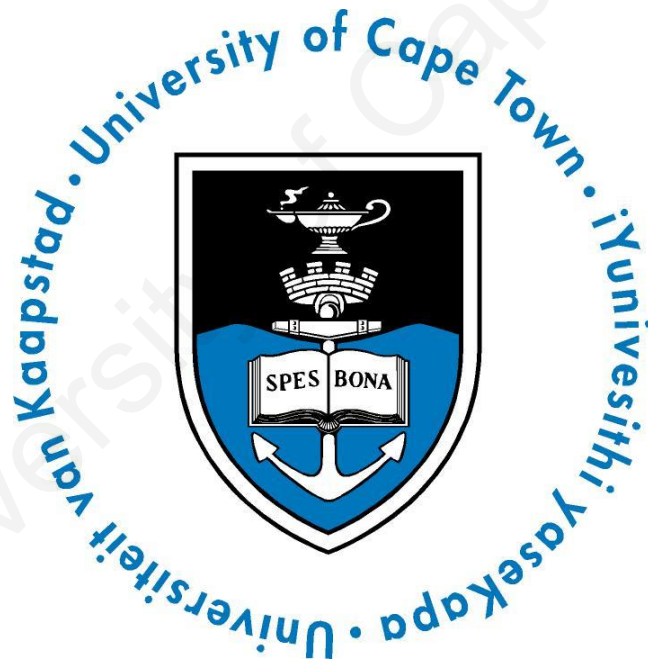


An Exploration for a Holistic Approach to Upgrading Informal Settlements as an Alternative to Settlement Elimination: A case study on Okapale informal settlement, Windhoek.

Max Uushona

Dissertation presented as part of the degree of Masters of City and Regional Planning

In the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics



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Supervisor: Professor Vanessa Watson

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This dissertation is a combination of an academic ambition with hours of reading, writing and oftentalking to the mirror. I here testify that writing a thesis is not an easy task. It took a lot of motivation, determination and perseverance. Nonetheless, I remain grateful to my support structure, which has proven that it indeed takes a village to raise a child.

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Abstract

In 2019, Namibia's president declared informal settlements in Windhoek as a "Humanitarian crisis", which he further declared to eradicate by 2025. The study highlighted a gap in the understanding of such a political statement's implications on the attitudes and efforts towards informal settlements upgrading processes. The study aim was therefore to unpack how the eradication declaration was interpreted, to assess its implications on the informal settlements upgrading practices in Windhoek, and to explore more nuanced and holistic means towards enhancing upgrading practices in Windhoek. The study problematizes the outdated eradication *rhetoric* used to enunciate informal settlements challenges. The study was necessitated to bridge the gap in understanding between political statements and their implications on planning discourses.

The study methodology was qualitative—the case and critical discourse analysis methods were used. The critical discourse analysis traced the emergence of the eradication declaration, while the case method investigated the responsiveness and performance of the Municipality's upgrading strategy. A sample size of ten Thlabanelo¹ households was selected, while seven Municipality officials and five participants from academia and NGO category participated. Semi-structured, focussed group interviews and field observations were employed as techniques.

The study found the eradication declaration to conform to Mitlin's (2020) political settlements concept, which political elites use to generate rents. Participants ignored the rhetoric. They instead appreciated the government's interest on informal settlements. Furthermore, the participants leaned towards Andrews et al's (2012) 'isomorphic mimicry' concept in interpreting the president's declaration. The theoretical concepts 'conflicting rationalities' (Watson, 2003) and 'urban fantasies' (Watson, 2014) reinforced some findings, such as conflicting positionality on the 'upgrading' concept [and what it constitutes]; and the imposition of formal planning standards on the upgrading of informal contexts. The study also highlighted the need for the City to adopt co-production towards enhancing and fast-tracking upgrading. The critical preposition which emerged supports that political statements have engendering implications on informality and upgrading discourses, hence the need for institutions to collectively position themselves in national statements, to ensure equitable production and distribution of rents for all. The eradication declaration thus engendered dissected attitudes and rationalities towards informal settlements.

¹ Upon data collection, I learned that the official name of the study site is Thlabanelo, hence it will be used interchangeably with 'Okapale'

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List of Acronyms

- APA-** Authorised Planning Areas
- ACHR-** Asian Coalition for Housing Rights
- AR-** Affirmative Repositioning
- BTP-** Build-Together Programme
- CBO-** Community-Based Organizations
- CDA-** Critical Discourse Analysis
- CoW-** City of Windhoek
- DASP-** Department of Architecture and Spatial Planning
- DUP-** Development and Upgrading Policy
- ECD-** Early Childhood Development
- HPP-** Harambee Prosperity Plan
- ILMI-** Integrated Land Management Institute
- IMF-** International Monetary Fund
- LAs -** Local Authorities
- LPM-** Landless People Movement
- MHDP-** Mass Housing Development Programme
- MULSP-** Mass Urban Land Servicing Programme
- MURD-** Ministry of Urban and Rural Development
- NAMPAB-** Namibia Planning Advisory Board
- NBIC-** Namibia Building Investment Corporation
- NDP-** National Development Plan
- NHE-** Namibia Housing Enterprise
- NPC-** National Planning Commission
- NGOs-** Non-Government Organizations
- NSA-** Namibia Statistics Agency
- NUA-** New Urban Agenda
- NUST-** Namibia University of Science and Technology
- SDGs-** Sustainable Development Goals

SDFN/NHAG- Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia/Namibia Housing Action Group [affiliated organization]

SDI- Shack Dwellers International

SWA- South West Africa

SWAPO- South West Africa People's Organization (ruling party)

TSP- Transformational Strategic Plan

UN- United Nations

UN-Habitat- United Nations Human Settlements Programme

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation is a reflection on a presidential declaration made to eradicate informal settlements in Windhoek, Namibia, and an investigation of its resultant implications for informality upgrading in Namibia. This chapter provides the overall research background, its objectives, the methodology it employed as well as the structure of the dissertation. Paltridge and Starfield (2007) assert that the introduction chapter functions as the 'research space' of a study, clearly signaling the relationship between the chosen research topic and the fieldwork in which it is inserted. In introducing the study's 'research space', the communicative purpose of the introduction establishes the informal settlements upgrading as the research territory and the poor understanding between political statements and its implications for planning discourses as the identified gap in the territory. This research focus therefore intends to bridge this gap by studying the implications of the eradication declaration on the attitudes and efforts towards informality upgrading discourses.

This chapter therefore sets the dissertation context, by establishing the research background and the identified problem in section 1.2. The research background focusses on the states in which informal settlements are found to date, then turns to the president's declaration to eradicate informal settlements. The research rationale, its objectives and questions, as well as the research methodology then follow in section 1.3. Section 1.4 outlines of the dissertation structure, and the final section concludes this chapter.

1.2 Research Background

Over time, research on informal settlements has become an interesting theme in urban studies and has since become a relevant component of the planning theory in the global South. The growing interest in human settlements, especially informal settlements could be explained by the unique contextual realities and complex challenges, which altogether present opportunities for co-production of knowledge and best-practices to build on global South planning practices. Before discussing the research problem, the 'informal settlements' as the research territory is discussed before unpacking the research gap identified. I use Paltridge and Starfield's (2007) framework to introduce research to link this study's research territory, its identified gap and how it intends to occupy the gap, as shown in figure 1 below.

In most global South contexts, urban informality often struggles to exist and thrive. The existence of informal settlements in sub-Saharan African cities is heavily politicized and constantly negotiated for reasons mostly justified by bureaucrats and political elites in governments. One such justification is the ever-growing inadequate water and sanitation provision in sub-Saharan African cities, whose implications not only further extend urban poverty indices in these cities, but additionally impact on the cities' productivities (Buckley, Kallergis, & Wainer, 2016).

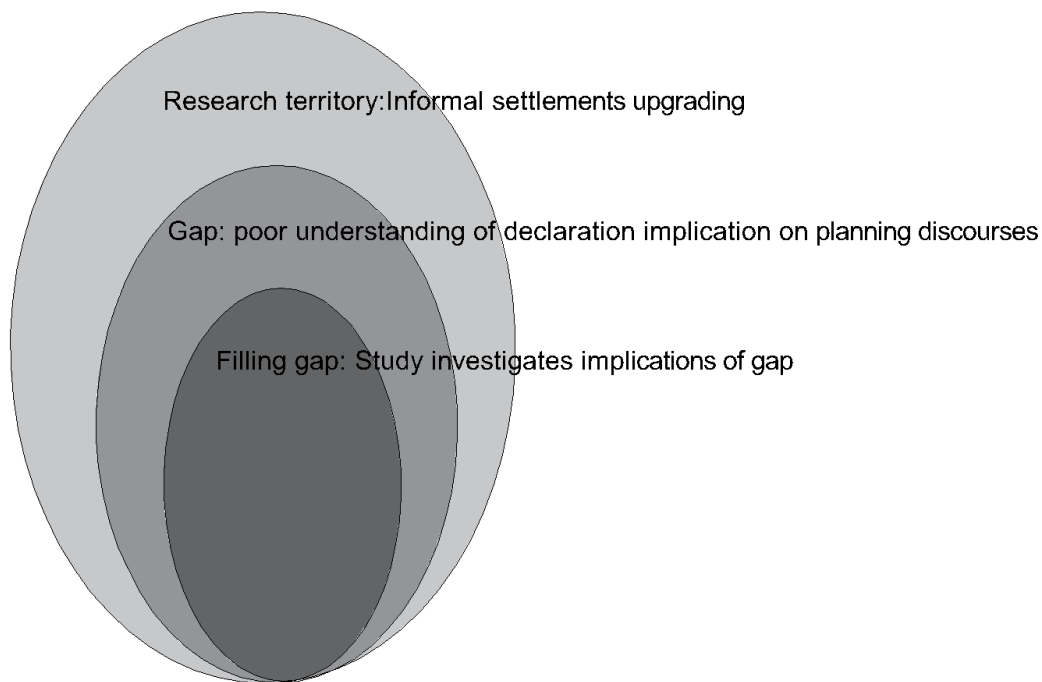


Figure 1: Research territory, gap and how it occupies the gap. (Source: Author, 2021)

Theoretical literature suggests that African Local Authorities (LAs) fail to achieve their informal settlements upgrading objectives, due to overlooked flaws and contradictions in their upgrades-enabling policies. While co-production lessons from Shack Dwellers International (SDI) member countries are often shared and tested in different contexts, some of the most pressing challenges facing LAs upgrading strategies are the absence of adequate collaborative efforts with other development stakeholders, unrealistic upgrading standards, full cost-recovery strategies for service installation and a generally poor level of political will and innovation regarding exploring indirect means to improve informality conditions (Chitekwe-Biti, 2018). As a result, many informal settlement communities remain unqualified to be upgraded, because of their inability to purchase land or pay full servicing costs (Chitekwe-Biti, 2018). Upgrading standards are another complex reason which contributes to informal settlements upgrading failures. This complication stems from LAs' rigid position on exploring relation of upgrading standards for informal settlements, which are often impractical for informal contexts (Peyroux, 2001). Peyroux (2001) furthermore argues that alternative self-help upgrading initiatives by communities remain poorly received, because the high development standards of LAs are often non-negotiable.

Another relevant factor advancing the growth of informal settlements is the poor management of urbanization. In Namibia, particularly Windhoek, the present-day informal settlements were designated as reception areas to accommodate and manage influxes of migrants, however the strategy failed to sustain the migration rate and to transform these reception areas into fully-fledged neighbourhoods (City of Windhoek, 2019). These perceived 'reception areas' became permanent residences. The challenge has been the rigidity of urban policies in accommodating changing dynamics in settlement attributes. Another

shortfall of upgrading policies lies in the disintegration of planning, which Buckley et al. (2016) discuss. According to Buckley et al (2016), sub-Saharan African cities attempt addressing housing related challenges in isolation from other prerequisites necessary to transform urban informal environments. Here, they explicitly emphasize that it is urban conditions, not housing conditions, which enhance the liveability and productivity in urban areas (Buckley et al, 2016). It is in emphasis of the latter viewpoint, that Condie and Cooper (2015) emphasize the social component of upgrading – encapsulating tenure security, livelihood enhancement, social relationships, to mention but a few – because this component does not often materialise. To this end, there is therefore a need for more inclusive discussions around negotiating upgrading approaches and developmental attributes to be included in upgrading processes.

Despite the long-standing development of urban informality in Namibia, the central government often played a passive role in the facilitation of upgrading. Until recently, upgrading processes have been at the helm of LAs, collaborating local and international NGOs, academic institutions, as well as the residents. For the first time in Namibia, the urban land reform was mentioned as an urgent and high government priority at the second national land conference [in October 2018], where president Geingob acknowledged that informal settlements in Windhoek were a ‘humanitarian crisis’ needing the utmost attention (Republic of Namibia, 2018). Towards the end of January in 2019, president Geingob invited a number of officials, among them management officials from the City of Windhoek (CoW), to further discuss the informal settlements in Windhoek (Ngutjinazo, 2019). The president then announced that this administration is going to eradicate informal settlements in the next five years (declaration details fully discussed in chapter 4).

The eradication declaration was the first of its kind to be made in Namibia, hence it sparked a mix of interest, confusion and anticipation from the public. While the eradication declaration was unprecedented in Namibia, I note similar rhetoric being used in other countries, such as the South African then Department of Housing’s 2004 declaration to eradicate informal settlements by 2014 (Tshikotshi, 2009) and the Zimbabwean government’s ‘Operation Murambatsvina’ of 2005, which destroyed informal markets in Bulawayo city.

Perhaps the informality eradication declaration in Namibia by the Head of state could be linked to the essence of events which followed. This eradication declaration was made prior to the 2019 Presidential and National Assembly elections; hence it could be assumed here that promising the ‘ultimate’ solution to the housing challenge in Namibia would guarantee political support from the public. Whether or not the President’s denouncement against informal settlements in the country was a political ploy to lure in the electorate’s votes – here it assumed that the declaration would instil hope in the electorate that informal settlements will be replaced by secured formal housing for all citizens - the threat remains that informal settlements in Namibia face the risk of being ‘wiped-out’, despite the established evidence that the informal sector accommodates a significant proportion of the urban economy (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2016). If informal settlements are a hindrance to Windhoek’s outlook and therefore should be eliminated, where will the dominant informal housing sector of the economy be accommodated? Are there sufficient and adequate mechanisms for the informal sector to be absorbed into the formal sector of the economy after the eradication has been hypothetically executed? These are some fundamental

questions which are likely to receive ‘no’ as answers. Publicly declaring the elimination of informal settlements does not only problematize and undermine the legitimate contribution of the informal housing sector to economic development, but it also disempowers the residents of informal settlements through the implied notion that informality is inferior to formal housing alternatives the President seems to hint at. At the heart of this study is the argument that with the president’s overzealous declaration, opportunities for innovation within informality are completely overlooked, henceforth its legitimate contribution to shelter and economic development is to a large extent compromised.

The identified research problem is the outdated *rhetoric* employed to enunciate and call for approaches to address deplorable informal settlements conditions, particularly those in Windhoek. I argue that calling for the ‘eradication’ of settlements has not received its much-needed attention and reflection; hence it presents a gap in the understanding how such declarations influences upgrading discourses. The declaration is further problematic in the sense that it draws on power politics (Mitlin, 2020), which to an extent implies the housing *inferiority* of the less privileged urbanites. Simultaneously, drawing from the South African lesson that the complete eradication of informal settlements is not attainable (Tshikotshi, 2009), I propose that more nuanced and holistic approaches to tackling urban informality are explored instead.

1.3 Research Aim, Question and Methods

In accordance with Paltridge and Starfield’s (2007) guide to signaling how the research focus occupies the identified gap, this section presents how the study intends to address the gap. Given the research issue explained above, the study attempted to unpack how the eradication declaration impacted upgrading approaches and processes in Windhoek. Of particular interest was the interpretation of the president’s declaration, and how the interpretations link and influence existing attitudes and efforts towards upgrading. The study then aims to explore improved upgrading approaches for incorporated in future upgrading practices.

The main research question asks: how has the ‘eradication’ *rhetoric* by the president revealed the complicated, yet necessary co-production means to upgrading informal settlements in Windhoek? This overall question was further broken down into these subsidiary questions:

- How did the president’s eradication declaration [and the *rhetoric* in particular] influence the attitudes and efforts of Windhoek’s development stakeholders towards informality in general and upgrading settlements?
- How responsive and performing is the Windhoek Municipality’s upgrading strategy in general and in its application to the Thlabanelo settlement specifically?
- How can the Municipality’s upgrading strategy be nuanced and made more holistic in its approaches to improve informal settlements?

The study was conducted on the Thlabanelo, one of the largest and most rapidly growing informal settlements within the Municipality, and it employed the case study and the critical discourse analysis methods. These methods (discussed at length in chapter three) facilitated a close examination of the ‘grey spaces’ (Yiftachel, 2009b) in the upgrading processes and plans, to demonstrate the disconnection

between planning guidelines and principles stipulated in the Development and Upgrading Policy (DUP) and the draft upgrade plan for Thlabanelo, as prepared by the Municipality. The study then enabled theoretical propositions (Yin, 2014) to be made regarding informality upgrading. The study furthermore used interviews, media reports and observations as critical research tools. The study was approached strategically, where the Thlabanelo participants were interviewed first, followed by Municipality officials and lastly academic and NGO participants. This approach was to triangulate information (Yin, 2014) to verify and cross-check the accuracy of information provided. This strategy aided the chronological presentation of findings, their interpretations, and the theoretical prepositions (chapters 6,7 and 8 respectively).

1.4 The Dissertation Structure

The dissertation is structured as follows:

This chapter introduced the dissertation topic; unpacking some key literature associated to the research focus and the research problem statement. It also stated the research aim, its overall research question and the study's methodology.

Chapter 2 provides a theoretical framework of critical theories and concepts which underpinned this research. This is done by reviewing a matured body of literature on governing informality, understanding the nature and complexities of informality, as well as propositions on enhancing upgrading practices.

Chapter 3 explains the qualitative research methods and techniques used in undertaking the study. It states the research objectives and questions to be addressed by the research and it describes the research process followed to arrive at the research findings. The chapter further explains the selection of the unit of analysis, the selection of the case study and the participants. The chapter also discusses how the verification of findings was made, as well as demonstrating how the study maintained its ethical credibility during and after the collection of data.

Then chapter 4 narrates the historical development of urban informality in Windhoek through Namibia's socio-spatial production discourse. It also traces the emergence of the eradication declaration. The chapter therefore develops a rich national context of informal settlement discourses in Namibia, which enriches the reader's perspective of the past, the present and the future discourses and rationalities managing informal settlements.

The fifth chapter unpacks the socio-economic profile and spatiality of the Thlabanelo settlement. The chapter familiarizes the site's context, highlighting the social and natural assets of the site, the population dynamics of the community, as well as the surroundings of the site. The chapter also assesses the draft upgrading plan against the planning guidelines and principles set in the Development and Upgrading Policy.

Chapter 6 synthesizes the research findings gathered from the study and presents them according to the responses from the participants. The chapter reports on the interpretations of the eradication declaration as gathered from the participants and it provides the participants' insight through their spoken words as quoted. It further addresses the disjuncture [between the Municipality officials and the Thlabanelo

community] in defining 'upgrading' and what constitutes the process. By so doing, the chapter reveals the major conflicting rationalities in the upgrading processes, and it describes how different stakeholders assess the Municipality's upgrading strategy in terms of its approaches and its technical applicability on informal settlements.

Chapter 7 interprets the findings from the empirical study presented in chapter 6. In interpreting the findings, it links them to the pertinent planning theories and concepts discussed in chapter 2, as well as links back to key development programmes and/or moments of historic significance in the Namibian socio-spatial development, as discussed in chapter 4. The chapter also theorizes why the implications of the eradication declaration matters to the upgrading of informal settlements and how unresponsive and poor performing the Windhoek upgrading strategy was found when the Thlabanelo upgrade plan largely deviated from the strategy guidelines. The chapter furthermore sheds light on how and why upgrading practices in Windhoek have been lacking, further clarifying the complexities and gaps existing in the system, due to the reluctance of the Municipality towards partnerships [co-production] approaches with communities from informal settlements and other stakeholders.

Chapter 8 proposes planning interventions and theoretical propositions on informality upgrading as developed through the coordination of the research findings, interpretations and the theories reviewed in chapter 2. These interventions and propositions address the main and subsidiary research questions, and overall demonstrates its reflection on the research topic.

In chapter 9, the research findings are summarized, but moreover, it concludes the entire research by demonstrating the significance of the findings gathered. The chapter also highlights the achievements and limitations of the study and suggests areas of future research.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter created the 'research space' which showed the relationship between the eradication declaration research focus and the upgrading fieldwork into which this dissertation is being inserted. The chapter introduced the identified research problem, the overall aim and the methodology with which the study was undertaken. It is now to the literature review section that the chapter turns.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter introduced the research background, highlighting the research problem being grappled with. To fulfil its aim, one requires a critical and thorough review of interrelated fields of literature – particularly urbanist and planning theory – to uncover the complex interfaces between daily planning practices, theories and worldviews influencing actions and opinions governing the development of informal settlements. In his *Doing a Literature Review* article, Hart (1998) emphasizes the importance of literature review as being a key informant of critical aspects about the research topic; hence it is the demonstration of an understanding of major theories and their applications on the research topic, as well as critiques of these theory applications. Moreover, Hart (1998) summarizes the relevance of the literature review as the foundation of ideas for which one justifies their approach to a study, the selected research methods and the demonstration of the research discoveries. To this end, the scope of this chapter intends to provide appropriate breadth and depth to answer the research questions introduced in Chapter 3.

In this chapter, I intend to review some key theories, concepts and/or ideas on informal settlements and major debates about informal settlements upgrading. I further intend to unpack general political standpoints on informal settlements, the definition of informal settlements [and upgrading], and how the knowledge on informal settlements is organized. Hart (1998) also highlights the need to establish the main questions and problems that have been raised and/or addressed about informal settlements [upgrading] and presenting some of the epistemological grounds on which the discipline is found. Overall, the literature review will therefore demonstrate how responses to these questions have increased understanding and knowledge about informal settlements.

2.2 Understanding informal settlements and their significance

The rapid urbanisation brought about by the ‘second wave of urbanisation’ (Fieuw, 2011; Pieterse, 2013) has reshaped global South city fabrics, where the urban populations are expected to double by the next decade - 2030. This urbanization is however characterised by a seemingly chronic ‘urbanisation of poverty’ (Chitekwe-Biti, 2018; Pieterse, 2009; Buckley et al, 2016; Cohen, 2016). In most African cities, massive urbanization waves have been recorded in recent decades in forms of rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban migration patterns (Winkler, 2013). Unfortunately, due to low economic growth of African cities, the rates at which these urbanization waves occurred outweighed the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in cities, which presented a negative dependency ratio. As a result, most cities have been faced with challenges to accommodate these immigrants in their economies – both for employment and housing. This notion is well captured by Cohen (2016) in the urbanization paradox: many people come to cities for better employment and living opportunities, however the urbanization of poverty is yielded instead. These observations to this end have formed conclusive evidence that urbanization in the global South (especially in Africa and Asia) is different from the urbanization in the global North (Pieterse, 2009; Watson, 2014).

Another important feature of urbanization in Africa is the parallel increase of massive housing needs (Buckley et al., 2016) and thus housing backlogs overwhelming many local authorities (Tshikotshi, 2009). As Pieterse (2009) explains that shifts to cities in the global South comprise relatively unequal

demographic and income-level distributions in contrast to global North cities, resulting in unaffordability and poor access to adequate shelter (Buckley et al, 2016). This phenomenon has resulted in these urbanites being pushed to urban peripheries and into compromised shelters, now referred to as 'slums' or 'informal settlements'. With reference to the 2008 [and arguably 2013] global crisis, Cohen (2016) demonstrates how financial crises at the global level generates adjustments to urban levels, which he qualifies as a great contributor to the growth of informal settlements in cities. Due to the rapid growth of informal settlements, it has become inevitable for urban agenda policies to ignore the situation of informal settlements, which continues to spiral out of governments' control. Adding to some of the above-mentioned theories, this section qualifies the significance of informal settlements further below.

Defining informal settlements has been a challenge, due to urban organization conflicting rationalities and complexities from contexts theorists write. While no single universally accepted definition for informal settlements exists, it is worth to recognize the vast body of theory contained in various academic journals, including [but not exhaustive of] *Urbanisation, Urban Studies, Settlements and Spatial Planning, Environment and Urbanization* (Buckley et al, 2016; Fieuw, 2011; Pieterse, 2009; Huchzermeyer 2008a; 2008b; 2009; Lombard, 2018). Different origins and definitions of informal settlements have been proposed, underpinned by a variety of complexities in identifying structural causes of these informal settlements. An 'operational definition' from a UN Expert Group Meeting in 2002 combined several factors to characterize slums [informal settlements] - based on legal and physical dimensions, as opposed to complex social dimensions. These factors included high residential densities resulting in overcrowding; the inadequate access to potable water; inadequate and insecure housing conditions; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; and poor structural housing quality; (UN-Habitat 2003, as cited in Fieuw, 2011).

Academics have noticed the interchangeable use of 'slum' and 'informal settlements' and a distinction between these two is made. Gilbert (2007) (cited in Mitlin, 2020) interprets that not all slums are informal settlements, because some slums are found in formal settlement. In addition, Mitlin (2020) explains that the large populations living in informal settlements are due to the absence of effective government policy frameworks to holistically address informality, as well as the absence of deliberate state policies targeting to generate more public rents – where rents in this context refer to the acquisition of money, goods and/or services received by an individual as a result of government action, such as favourable decisions, policies and/or programmes. As part of public rents, housing is a crucial priority for all city residents, but more especially the low- and middle-income residents, whose access to such assets is constrained, if ever made possible (Mitlin, 2020).

Other conceptualizations of informal settlements also depict association with contestation, confusion and uncertainty (Simone, 2010). For instance, Yiftachel (2009b) describes urban informality as 'grey spaces' in urban fabrics, meaning spaces between options of approval and destruction, ambiguity and manipulation by those governing them. On the other hand, these settlements furthermore illustrate how space is not solely government control instruments and objects of political struggle between citizens and governments but are also objects of contestation and struggle between different community groups amongst the citizens themselves (Mitlin, 2020). These statements become useful thinking tools to understand why and how politics governing these settlements often behave and influence communities living in these

geographies. Due to the contestations and ambiguities within informal settlements, their vulnerabilities are left exposed at the mercy of bureaucrats and technocrats, who continuously negotiate their [settlements] existence in favour of their [elites] interests. In fact, due to the messy, conflicted and heavy politics, much of the contemporary literature overlooks the nature of upgrading practices (Cirolia et al, 2016 cited in Basson, 2019).

An account by Calderon (2012) is suitable to explain the development and growth of informal settlements in the global South. Calderon (2012) explains that the high, rapid and unmanaged urbanization in urban areas, births the haphazard development and growth of spontaneous settlements. The absence of managerial interventions from local governments in facilitating urbanization processes means that these settlements result in deprived living conditions, characterised by inadequate housing, poor quality public spaces, services and infrastructure, high poverty levels and segregation (Calderon, 2012), which create the socially, economically and spatially complex environment.

Ananya Roy asserts that informality is produced by the state, instead of resulting from state failure. Furthermore, she defines informality as 'a mode of production of space defined by a territorial logic of deregulation' that facilitates state-sanctioned forms of elite informality (Roy, 2009 as cited in Lindell, 2019). To this end, Fieuw (2011) and Roy (2005) explain that informality can thus be understood to be a consequent situation when a sense of order is suspended, and this suspension becomes a new unique arrangement. Furthermore, urban informality does not simply comprise of the activities associated with the urban poor or labour status or marginality as often alluded. Rather, it has been investigated to be an organising logic which stems from liberalism paradigms of governments, as ways to liberalise - thus informalize - urban poor settlements (Fieuw, 2011).

Some major challenges in these settlements include inadequate access to basic services, often through inaccessibility to utility services, adequate shelter and secure tenure (Basson, 2019), yet the current population figures in informal settlements, regardless of unique nation-to-nation contextual realities are expected to increase to a few billions by 2050 (Basson, 2019; Pieterse, 2009) due to projected migration trends still expected. The implications of these growths will be adversely felt on the already fragile urban infrastructure in most African informal settlements.

The study is being conducted years after similar rhetorical approaches to informal settlements in Africa have been conducted, providing precedent cases to inform the research. An exemplary study is South Africa's 2004 quest to eradicate informal settlements by 2014 (Tshikotshi, 2009). During a forum hosted by the GIBS Business School, Professor Tania Winkler referred to this eradication declaration in discussing South Africa's response to the then '*migration versus housing*' challenge. Winkler (2013) asserted that the rhetoric of 'eradicating informal settlements' was common practice in South Africa and the rest of Africa at the time. The major lesson then was the impracticality of eradicating informal settlements. The latter therefore invites for a pause to reflect and presume that Namibia may fall in the same pit if no critical dialogue precedes state commitments towards its eradication objective. Moreover, while I recognize that the South African government's eradication plan was proactive in nature, it would be primitive for Namibia to promote this rhetoric now, especially when a vast body of knowledge and expertise on informal settlements exists.

2.3 Theories on Political Statements

2.3.1 Informal Settlements Elimination Declaration

This sub-section gathers theories which could be useful to explain the president's declaration to eliminate all informal settlements in Namibia, particularly in the capital city – Windhoek. In 2018, the president declared informal settlements a 'humanitarian crisis', where in 2019, he declared his government's commitment to eliminate informal settlements by 2024. Mitlin (2020) explains in her article *The Politics of Shelter* that political settlement theories can be used to understand political frameworks governing development.

In her abstract, Mitlin (2020) states that governments often affect shelter options achievable for urbanites through multiple facets of land and shelter, such as housing policies. Due to the citizen-accrued significance of housing, politicians thus find any housing-associated policies attractive, to earn them popularity and endorsement. This theory could be hypothetically correct, especially given that 2019 was an election year in Namibia. The declaration could have been a campaign strategy to influence to electorate (Ngutjinazo, 2019). The inaccessibility to land in Namibia may have been used as an instrument, because of its sentimental value to Namibians. Without doubt land or housing is a valuable subject, therefore any declaration or intervention proposed towards supply will have public traction.

Mitlin (2020) alleges that the materiality of urban management has long been recognized to significantly establish political elites as legitimate leaders. She states that urban managers contribute to the further glorification of ruling elites, by proving the state administration's capability. This ideology could be interpreted to mean when the implied 'good' urban management is pledged and realized, it is deemed to prove the legitimacy, capability and trustworthiness of the ruling administration. Moreover, Goodfellow and Jackman (2020) (cited in Mitlin, 2020) recognize capital cities as significant spaces in which ruling elites publicly assert their authorities. This recognition could be because capital cities are the assemblages of larger populations (the ruled), affluent individuals, more resources; hence the overall seat of *power*. One could further assume that once the capital city is captured, then it is easier to influence other smaller towns.

In defining 'shelter', Mitlin (2020) states that shelter is a package of land, dwelling or housing and basic services, which further encompasses good[s], such as tenure status and a range of basic services. These place shelter as a critical aspect to achieve wellbeing, hence it is commodified in global South cities. Given this description, shelter has also been previously used as a tool to secure citizen support as the elite trade redistribution for political advantage (Croese 2016, Gilbert 2002, cited in Mitlin (2020)); and opposition movements may highlight shelter issues to motivate a political challenge to elites (McGregor and Chatiza 2019, cited in Mitlin (2020)). These ideologies can be supported or dismissed, depending on the positionality of the research. While I may not be able to prove them right or wrong, they remain useful in understanding conceptual foundations on which urban areas are politically governed. The chapter now turns to theories which influence planning.

2.4 Modernism in Planning

This section discusses theoretical conceptions which contribute responses to the second research question of the research – how responsive and well-performing Windhoek's upgrading strategies are. To

begin this section, I find Buckley et al's (2016) question thought-provoking in thinking about the role of urban policies in negatively influencing [housing] development. They ask whether urban regulations are a central cause of housing unaffordability, however I further scrutinize to investigate *how* urban regulations contribute to the housing affordability challenge, which as qualified by Fieuw (2011), is an integral component in the settlement enhancement rhetoric. Densities and building standards are discussed as significant elements which influence the effectiveness and efficiency of urban policies to facilitate housing development.

Diverse literature bodies have been essential in dislocating urban models that hypothesize the 'formal' city as the conventional form of urban development and in challenging dystopian views of urban informality which often deny agency to marginalised communities (Lindell, 2019). Lindell (2019) states that:

"Previously created spaces have been tightly controlled or reclaimed by powerful actors. The spaces, subjects and practices of street work are increasingly problematised as a threat to an envisaged socio-spatial order and as a priority field for intervention....often represented as *pathological* and as obstructing the attainment of particular *visions of modernity and global standards* (Lindell, 2019:3; Watson 2009)

Modernist planning systems in the global South have been inherited from global North planning systems through the colonial period and through current socio-spatial restructuring of globalisation (Fieuw, 2011). While the 2009 UN-Habitat State of World's Cities Report, re-emphasized the role of planning to realize transformation of urban areas in the global South, the modernist urban planning system is now generally considered as adding to the urban crisis. Watson (2009) argues that modernist planning systems, which are contextually set in the global North, have not been concerned with the challenges of poverty, urbanisation, and environmental sustainability characterizing global South cities. Watson (2003) theorizes that the adoption of modernist planning approaches in global South contexts results in 'conflicting rationalities' in planning discourses. Meanwhile, these planning guidelines are often translated into policies which are not suited for the lower-income communities; hence resulting in the poor being 'swept away'. Furthermore, zoning ordinances/land use regulations and building regulations are some of the most revealing aspects of planning systems that indirectly excludes the poor and reinforces informality (Watson (2009a) cited in Fieuw, 2011).

2.4.1 Densities

Dense urban areas developed because of the advantages high density provided for the growth of industry, trade and services – based on the returns of agglomeration for businesses. These advantages can underpin large and economically successful cities (Cohen, 2016; Satterthwaite, 2011). Additionally, high density also brings potential advantages for the public good. Apart from businesses, returns on agglomeration also apply to the health and quality of life for urban communities, but for informal settlements, high density settlements usually benefit residents by reducing the time and cost of travel to work and to access services (Satterthwaite, 2011).

According to further assessment by Satterthwaite (2011), it is possible to support low - income housing development to achieve high density by applying the lessons of successful urban upgrading. However, it

is difficult for residents to retain control of upgrading when this involves the construction of multi-storey buildings [as was the case in Sri Lanka] leaving them open to displacement or ill-suited upgrades. (Satterthwaite, 2011). Rather than constructing multi-storey buildings, small residential plots can be developed incrementally by the residents themselves, if the initial construction is sufficiently solid to allow safe expansion (McGaffin, Spiropoulos & Boyle, 2019). This approach allows the family to retain control of the land and its development (Satterthwaite, 2011).

2.4.2 Building Standards

Buckley et al (2016) argue that all cities need a set of building standards to guard against utility defects and ensure proper reticulations of services and infrastructures. Ensuring compliance with these building standards is done, because they [standards] are easier to implement during construction, than after development is completed. Standards are useful for standardization purposes, which according to Buckley et al (2016) contributes to the appreciation of housing.

In Africa, British colonies inherited building standards that were grossly inappropriate for many of their residents' level of income (Watson, 2009a; Buckley et al, 2016). It would have been wise for newly installed governments to lower standards, but the new African political elite wanted to join modernity, not weaken it (Buckley et al, 2016). In this light, modernism was intentionally maintained to suit the outlook of the new African elite, therefore planning systems in Africa remained stuck with these inherited building regulations. Not only were these standards not revised downward, they inevitably conveyed the impression that modernization would, if anything, require that from time to time standards should be further raised. These have affected the rate and success of upgrading informal settlements in African cities.

The key indication that regulations are excessive is that housing construction has split, with regulations being ignored in the informal market, which caters to most ordinary households. Their homes do not adhere to building standards, which are unenforceable because they would impose excessive costs. An important consequence of informality is that such houses are hard to price. These houses do not conform to any standards, and key aspects of its quality, for instance the depth of foundations, cannot be observed (Buckley et al, 2016). In turn, the fact that it is hard to value, and often illegal because it is in breach with one or more regulations, obstructs its entry to resale markets, meaning that it cannot serve as collateral financial assistance from banks.

The availability of standards of course serves well the elites and middle income population segments, due to the appreciation in housing valuations and aesthetical pleasure derived from these standards. Overall, these properties can be used as security – collateral for bank loans – hence massively benefit from building standards. In contrast to these urban minorities, the urban poor in informal settlements derive less benefits from standards, if not completely disadvantaged. This account thus justifies the need for lowering planning/building standards to make the regulations more equitable and inclusive of the urban poor. However, as (Buckley et al., 2016) weighs on the pros and cons; on the one hand, lowering standards may be good in that it will not require any public expenditure, therefore it will be costless, but on the other hand, lower standards may depreciate house values for existing houses, hence they [lower standards] are likely to be opposed.

The meeting of planning and engineering standards is therefore a complex reason which contributes to slow, unsatisfactory or even failed settlements upgrading projects. This complication stems from the Municipality's firm stance for informal settlement plans to meet specific standards, which are often simply impractical to implement in informal settlements. Partially, the slowness is premised on the urban economics concept of demand and supply of land, which is not matched; while the demand for serviced land and/or housing keeps rapidly increasing, the supply side of the market responds very slowly. Secondly, the in-situ upgrading process, through which services are supposed to be installed as part of the upgrading component, is further slowed down by existing planning and design standards.

2.5 Neo-liberalism in Planning

Neo-liberal policies have extensively changed the roles of governments of developing countries from that of a provider to an enabler. Neo-liberalism has been introduced through the global development agencies, namely the International Monetary Fund (The IMF) and the World Bank, which provide macro-economic policy advice and technical and financial assistance to their members – the developing countries - (Tshikotshi, 2009). To respond to balance of payments difficulties, developing countries have adopted Structural Adjustment Frameworks, known as SAFs and Structural Adjustment Policies, referred to as SAPs. These tools have made structural adjustments to emerging economies, often by removing additional government controls, encouraging market competitions, as the core mandate of the neo-liberal agenda (Tshikotshi, 2009). As a result, these alterations led to the privatisation of commodities and deregulation has reduced the scope for governments to intervene on behalf of the urban poor. As Fieuw (2011) puts it, these structural adjustment policies have made governments dysfunctional, and have negatively affected the livelihood strategies of urban poor households.

An observation by (Buckley et al., 2016) is useful to depict the overwhelming reliance of cities in sub-Saharan Africa on foreign consultancies to spearhead and development projects, especially in the social development sector. There have been increases in capitalistic wealth accumulations, through targeted social development projects, which are required by communities; often through the privatization mechanism of services. These neo-liberalism symptoms perpetuate new forms of capitalist colonialism, where urban inequalities and tenure insecurities, amongst others have deepened (Durand-Lasserve and Royston, 2002 as cited in Tshikotshi, 2009). Furthermore, these neo-liberal tools have crippled many developing countries' agencies abilities to accelerate growth and development, therefore have reduced the diversification of economies and expansions of livelihood strategies to reduce abject poverty among the urban poor communities.

With regards to informality, its evaluation should be done in accordance with the (rationalist/structuralist/positivist) regulatory logic that the government adopts (often in pursuit of 'world city' status) (Fieuw, 2011). Here, Fieuw (2011) argues that the perpetuation of urban informality under these state structuring paradigms and liberalisation are problematised when the neoliberal state of ten converges on policies that discriminate and criminalises the urban poor. The result of these restructures often sees policy makers resort to the isolation between the 'kinetic' city and the 'static' city, which often leads to the criminalisation of the urban poor (Fieuw, 2011). However, Roy (2005) debunks this misconception by highlighting the important interface shared between the formal and the informal. To

this end, informality should be regarded as a 'series of transactions that connect economies and spaces to one another' (Huchzermeyer, 2010b as cited in Fieuw, 2011).

2.6 Solutions to Informal settlements

The solutions to informal settlements are not easy and without repercussions; they come with trade-offs which one needs to thoroughly evaluate to determine the best response for the presented challenge. Relocations and [in-situ] upgrading have been the most practiced, especially in African cities, (with some exceptions where informal settlements were completely wiped out); hence they will be briefly discussed in this section. The section also introduces some responses to the third question of the research, which aims to explore other nuanced ways to approach upgrading.

2.6.1 Relocations

Relocation as a response to overcrowding in informal settlements has had more criticism than endorsement. Physical and social displacement is the major aspect which distinguishes relocation from other approaches. Nonetheless, community relocations can only occur when serviced land –a constrained resource in many local authorities– is identified. A scenario by Satterthwaite (2011) best illustrates the application of relocation: the installation of utility services, such as sewer networks or social amenities, for instance schools in densely-settled settlements, often require specific reticulation pre-requisites, such as specific road widths, offset servitude distances and elevations. This means that numerous households are often unfortunate to be displaced from the rest of their community and placed elsewhere by local authority. Although relocations are mostly voluntary de-congesting mechanisms, mandatory relocations sometimes occur, where the settled land could be hazardous for habitation (Cherunya et al, 2020) or may be intended for critical developments. This feature of living in informal settlements is often correlated to reasons why residents in informal settlements seldom use permanent structures for housing (Satterthwaite, 2011; Tshikotshi, 2009); because they are likely to be relocated any day. The latter also forms a strong correlation between relocation [as a threat to communities] and the motivation to seek tenure security, especially in dense illegally occupied areas.

Another argument against relocations is linked to the broader concept of the social contract, where local governments often enter into partnership agreements with housing suppliers to provide housing for informal settlement communities, pending community consultations for whom such housing projects are intended. As a result, communities are relocated onto a site, through what Alfredo Garay and urban economist Michael Cohen (2016) refer to as 'entering the city through the bathroom and the kitchen', instead of engaging all affected communities as an approach to creating vibrant communities. Cohen and Garay (2016) further emphasize the need for social contracts to be expanded to incorporate all relevant stakeholders; the city governments, the housing providers and the affected communities, to represent a bottom-up, inclusive and community-centred approach to housing provision.

Relocations further cause deep social divides in communities. When numerous households are displaced from their community, the ramification is the disruption of the social ties which are entrenched in communities. These new relocated households result in smaller isolated islands of houses. Already in 1961, Jane Jacobs opposed these single-use housing developments, due to their poor integration within the broader urban fabric. Jacobs (1961) postulates that due to the lack of other compatible amenities to

facilitate and sustain living, their immediate surroundings often deteriorate. Additionally, the relocation of communities is a costly exercise, because it requires massive injections of funds to provide [utility] services new grounds. This often takes the approach of relocating to green fields, which could be minimised if relocations are done to areas closer to existing settlements (Satterthwaite, 2011). Relocating closer to where residents resided also minimises the degree of disruption on the community's social cohesion. Upgrading informal settlements without community displacement is hence a more preferred response to informal settlements, and this is discussed next.

2.6.2 Settlements Upgrading: The case of *In-situ* Upgrading

As suggested earlier, upgrading informal settlements is in multiple ways more restorative and sustainable than eradicating informality through relocations. While the latter is supported by many theorists, there is need for a common ground of departure in understanding what '*upgrading settlements*' means and what it constitutes, because there is a need to re-evaluate the core objective of upgrading and mainstream it in upgrading practices. Here, I claim that upgrading of informal settlements is often understood [especially by local authorities] to be one dimensional – serving a single component (technicalities), and on a once-off basis – rolled out on a '*one size fits all*' and '*one complete, next one*' basis, which in my opinion completely defeats the precise motivation which ought to underpin the upgrading practice in the first place (UN-Habitat, 2007; Tshikotshi, 2009). To this end, it is therefore important to expand the scope of improving settlements through upgrading. My theory could be useful given that the upgrading definition is re-configured: instead of approaching the upgrading discourse through the '*how to upgrade informal settlements*' lens, this practice could be approached through the '*how to improve the informality in settlements*' lens. The latter lens makes provision for more nuance and a more incremental process to address informality, than the relatively cumbersome approach seeking to address a system which seems gigantic and complex to dismantle. Notice how the reconfiguration of language shifts the cultural approach to upgrading.

Towards defining the upgrading of settlements, Tshikotshi (2009) outlines the intended transformation in housing, where he mentions the transformation of illegal structures into legal ones, to improve the housing. He further highlights that upgrading ought to recognise and acknowledge three conditions; property rights, property values and physical features of the underlying assets, and the impacts these each present on one another. In a similar vein, the UN-Habitat (2007) emphasizes that settlement improvement involves regularizing rights to land and housing. Simultaneously, the misconception about the construction of housing units as part of the upgrading package is debunked (UN-Habitat, 2007; Tshikotshi, 2009), however it is further clarified that loan options for home improvements could be offered as part of the upgrading package. Tshikotshi (2009) further explains that upgrading may involve other actions such as the removal or alteration of environmental obstructions and/or hazards, empowering communities through social development programmes, building and maintaining communal facilities. It is another advantage to communities when their investments – time, skills, and funds – into their informal housing structures are included in the upgrades.

Besides the upgrading role to transform housing, the practice also addresses the improvement of services and infrastructure (Tshikotshi, 2009). Services and infrastructure are either installed or existing services are improved from communal bases to individual bases. The latter is common in in-situ upgrading

approaches. In situ upgrading approaches, unlike eradication and relocation of informal settlements, has the potential of realising the poor's *moral* right to the city (Fieuw, 2011; O'Loughlen, 2015). However, local authorities ought to be cautious in the installation of services during settlements upgrading not to allow the privatisation of service provision, because it controls and limits deprived communities to access services (Haarhof, 1983; Tshikotshi, 2009). It is therefore worthwhile for municipalities to avoid profit-driven and unregulated utility service privatisation, to prevent the exclusion and further marginalisation of the poor from these urban services.

There are however challenges to upgrading informal settlements. Firstly, the legal frameworks negate the urban poor from accessing tenure security. This occurs because only middle and upper socio-economic segments of populations have ease to benefit from these frameworks. Secondly, the planning and building standards are not appropriately suited for application on land for the urban poor, due to exorbitant costs or insufficiency of land for expansions. The extremely exclusionary land markets occur on commercial bases; therefore, the poor communities are immediately excluded. Another constraint is on knowledge and information about informal settlements, which is still not fully developed, especially in cities with limited capacities. Moreover, the attraction of economic investors into informal settlements can present a challenge in the manner that residents on city peripheries get expelled (Tshikotshi, 2009). The use of 'reception areas' to accommodate communities temporarily has always been a problem, because these reception areas become permanent residences. The challenge occurs in transforming these 'temporary-labelled' settlements into fully-fledged neighbourhoods (Chitekwe-Biti, 2018). The challenge has been the rigidity of policies; inflexible to accommodate changing dynamics in the evolving settlements.

2.6.3 Nuanced Holistic Upgrading Approaches

In this section, I intend to unpack theories and concepts, which would be useful in responding to my last research question: holistic nuanced approaches to upgrading practices. To unpack some of these conceptual frameworks, I borrow Buckley et al's (2016) rhetoric towards housing affordability and contextualise it to ask whether informality conditions are so dire that the agglomeration economies concept, traditionally associated with urbanization processes, is not applicable to the context of upgrading settlements. The urban economics concept of agglomeration economies could be useful to adapt in upgrading settlements, just as it is applied in macro-economies of scale (Satterthwaite, 2011; Cohen, 2016). This concept presents the idea of crowding institutions or services together in metropolitan areas to increase their productivities through effectiveness and efficiency. The idea behind the concept is to reduce transportation costs for goods, services and ideas (Cohen, 2016).

Contrary to modernist planning theories which are seldom pro-informality, more international agencies originating from developing nations - especially Latin America (Calderon, 2012) - have boldly recognized that future cities largely comprise of informal neighbourhoods. There is therefore a need for commitment towards continuously exploring improved and nuanced approaches to integrate these neighbourhoods into the entire urban contexts, as opposed to perceiving them as marginal areas on the urban peripheries. Calderon (2012) is one of many other academics who have contributed to the social urbanism concept through their work in Latin America, and through this concept, other countries are exploring ways to develop more nuanced, well-integrated and inclusive approaches to improve the informality in African cities.

2.6.3.1 Livelihood Restructuring

In her article calling for the re-spatialisation of urban informality – street workers - Lindell (2019) unpacks a constellation of articles addressing the dynamics of re-spatialising street work in cities of the global South. Where Cherunya et al (2020) refer to the concept of restructuring livelihoods, Lindell (2019) refers to the language of ‘street work’, that is, livelihoods reliant on streets, in which she identifies two main categories: street vendors and motorcycle drivers. Lindell (2019) proposes two different conceptual orientations, which in her words are ‘ways of seeing’ informality and street work in urban areas. One literature perspective highlights the empowerment of ‘occupancy urbanism’, a notion endorsing the urbanism of the subaltern, and silent space-encroachments by ordinary communities. These perspectives depict forms of insurgency in citizens – the subaltern – to challenge and/or interrupt state programmes which in any way advances urban modernisation. In so doing, such disruptions birth innovative and flexible opportunities for the urban poor to grab hold of urban opportunities and simultaneously resist political and economic displacements. On the other end of the spectrum is the literature perspective on informality that debunks the former dichotomy on informality, by questioning the government rationalities for projects and probing the relations of power and rule, as well as the processes which lead to the formation of informality. This school of thought is further built on by Foucauldian theorists in quest to establish how urban informalities are formed through government-led logics. Here, they suggest that the fate of informal sites - whether they are tolerated to be approved or deemed illegal, hence destined for destructive interventions – depends on whether the nature of informality enhances or discourages specific projects of rule.

2.6.3.2 Governance in Upgrading

Governance in upgrading usually takes a strong top-down approach – where government dictates courses of action - with the served communities at the receiving end of the spectrum. The governance rhetoric ought to be about managing power relations between governments and communities (Cherunya et al, 2020; Lindell, 2019; Tshikotshi, 2009). For better governance, the first step is what Buckley et al (2016) propose: to cease seeing slums as cancers to be erased from the urban fabric, and for urban policymakers to shift their focus from targeting large-scale, ‘neatly arranged mechanical schemes’ and to truly explore ways to enhance the operationality of cities. Moreover, there is a need for a shift in the social contract of upgrading – housing and services supply – where the contract needs to be between the served communities and the government, instead of service suppliers and the governments only (Buckley et al, 2016). In addition, governments need to rectify their fragmented structures and improve their governance capacities, because in many contexts, limited government capacity compromises the efficacy of its attempts to govern and facilitate growth in street economies (Lindell, 2019).

2.6.3.3 Inclusive Participation in upgrading

Local community-driven institutions are taking the lead in improving their living conditions by themselves, instead of heavily relying on government and private sector partnerships to provide them with social amenities, particularly housing. In an annotated map showing world sources of knowledge and capital and their targeted beneficiaries, (Buckley et al, 2016) illustrate the overdependence of emerging economy countries on foreign capital [particularly from the global North to the global South countries] to solve housing and other development-related projects. A few countries, including South Africa and Latin American countries, fund most of their developments locally, and it boosts the co-production of local

knowledge and innovation to solve their challenges. The significance of these approaches is increased community participation and empowerment through these tasks; an approach most African countries are still learning to adopt. Furthermore, communities together with municipalities are experimenting solution-based initiatives on areas, then scale up to larger scales when outcomes are satisfactory. This is another creative and smart approach to tackle the challenge of scaling-up of projects.

In Asian countries, the experience of the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) also demonstrates how scale can be achieved, perhaps more slowly at first, by working with active community engagement. The ACHR relied on an incremental process based on four simple steps which address a combination of market and government failures, often affecting housing conditions of the urban poor. The initiative improves the existing local knowledge as a credible knowledge source, and simultaneously, it mobilizes active community participation in the development (Buckley et al, 2016). Other strengths of the ACHR also highlight greater community buy-in, which assures improved maintenance of structures by the community.

2.6.3.4 Tenure Security

Many theorists have identified tenure security as a legitimate component to accompany the upgrading of informal settlement. Tenure security is concerned with conferring legal rights to live in a house or occupy and/or use a piece of land. In upgrading, it provides the conditions under which land or buildings are held or occupied either by an individual or a community (Fieuw, 2011; Tshikotshi, 2009) and ought to also clarify entitlements and obligations attached to the owned portion of land. Tshikotshi (2009) further alludes that the rising irregular informal settlements in cities in emerging economy countries indicates disparities in the share of wealth and resources; hence *indicative of the stark inequalities in cities between the affluent and the poor*.

Insecure land tenure often discourages the improvement of housing structures within poorer households, as they are unsure of their future occupations (Mahanga (2002) as cited in Tshikotshi, 2009). In areas where evictions remain rife, the urban poor fear to make any [permanent] improvements on their structures, which could be demolished whenever the government decides to evict them from their residences. Coupled with the fact that the urban poor have low incomes, hence they lack access to credit facilities to improve their housing. There is thus urgency in every upgrading practice to recognize tenure security as a significant step in the right direction to enable the attainment of sustainable urban livelihoods (Tshikotshi, 2009). Tenure formalisation calls for full land rights titles – the freehold is often perceived to be ideal, however it is expensive and complicated for low-income communities. Long leases (for example the 99-year leases) are simpler and more suitable for low-income communities (Tshikotshi, 2009).

2.7 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the theoretical framework governing global South informal settlements, referring to numerous concepts from the planning literature. It attempted to unpack the meanings of informal settlements and upgrading, on which a personalised view on upgrading was made. I proposed that upgrading be approached through a broadened lens seeking nuance and holism, by asking 'how to improve informality in settlements', rather than an approach which seems to take on a complex gigantic system. Key of concepts conflicting rationalities in upgrading processes, power struggles between the

powerful elites [and state agents] and mobilised communities, as well as urban fantasies characterised by ideational ambitions of 'world city' statuses are some of the challenges and concepts further engendering the complexities and deepening growth of informal settlements. The chapter also used the political settlements framework to link the eradication declaration to theories of commodifying shelter, which political elites use to generate rents for themselves - that is, exchanging the provision of shelter options to the poor, in exchange for political endorsement.

Three critical reflections emerged from this chapter: firstly, informality is produced by the state, but not when the state fails. Informal settlements are resultant situations when the sense of order has been suspended, and this new situation becomes a unique arrangement. Secondly, derogatory views perceiving informality as cancers needing to be eliminated from the urban fabric need to be dismissed. Instead of pondering resources and efforts towards developing regularised 'world cities', urban policies need to explore means to improve the functionalities of cities. Due to the complex nature of informal settlements deeply rooted in planning discourses, the eradication of informal settlements at this stage seems impractical.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the methodological approach to the study. The research employed a qualitative study which used the case method and complimented by the discourse analysis method. The chapter discusses the limitations, strengths [and hence the importance] of the case method, drawing on Flyvbjerg's (2006; 2011) and Yin's (2014) arguments to highlight its suitability in unpacking the research problem. I furthermore explain the research processes and procedures the study took to gather and analyse data.

The chapter is divided into eight sections and follows this structure: after this introductory section, section 3.2 discusses the identified research gap, stating the research problem, the research objectives and the asked research questions. In section 3.3, the relevance of the discourse analysis method to establish how the eradication declaration emerged is explained. Additionally, the significance of using the case study method is discussed in relation to unpacking the declaration's implications on upgrading efforts and attitudes. The chapter then explains how the unit of analysis was selected in section 3.4. The research process is narrated in section 3.5 and thereafter, the chapter explains the critical ethical considerations made during the study in section 3.6. Finally, section 3.7 concludes with the important points of the chapter.

3.2 Research Gap- Research Problem Statement

Many countries in different contexts have attempted to contain and/or eliminate informal settlements in cities, however, the persistence of informality has remained to manifest a unique form of urbanization, and a prevailing form of shelter (Manda, 2019). The realization that most urban residents reside in informal settlements has forced international institutions to acknowledge the urban poor's 'right to adequate shelter'. International institutions such as the UN-Habitat have for decades been on the journey promoting sustainable urbanization, through its numerous programmes on housing, urbanization and socio-economic growth in cities. In these programmes, the UN-Habitat has consistently highlighted the instrumentation of urban planning in achieving equitable and sustainable development of cities, with a special emphasis on urban informality. The Global Report on Human Settlements, the State of World Cities Report, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the recent New Urban Agenda (NUA) guide are some of the UN programmes which have all highlighted the significance of planning in the attainment of improved living conditions of all city dwellers, their economic prosperity and the overall alleviation of all forms of urban poverty throughout different cities (UN-Habitat, 2009; 2013; 2015; 2016).

In response to supporting development efforts by the international community, countries around the world adopted/aligned their development plans to those of the UN, however, the command or approach of implementing these plans is sometimes of a self-sabotage nature. The adoption of the SDGs in national planning discourses is a notable example. In Namibia, several development plans and programmes have been introduced, providing policy direction towards achieving nationally set development ambitions. Plans, such as the Vision 2030 (Office of the President, 2004), the Harambee Prosperity Plan (2016), the fifth National Development Plan (National Planning Commission, 2017) and the Windhoek Municipality/

Transformational Strategic Plan (City of Windhoek, 2017) all reference 'alleviating poverty' and 'achieving economic prosperity' for Namibia. The biggest challenge for the Namibian context - as it would be noted in other global South contexts - is that governments have a tendency of simplistically emulating global North planning approaches and applications without grounded contextualization (Watson, 2014). Moreover, planning practices in the global South contexts are such that consensus in planning decision-making is seldom realized due to the complexities inherited from colonial legacies and a conflictive planning nature (Watson, 2003). The fifth National Development Plan (NDP5) for instance states the 'slow implementation' of housing and land delivery programmes as a factor hampering the government's goal to achieve its set urban poverty alleviation goals.

While there have been commendable efforts towards improving informality from Local Authorities (LAs), Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), there have been other subtle, yet critical factors engendering the growth and complexity of urban informality. I note that there have been striking 'moments of utterances' made by government and political party leaders, which have exerted momentum on planning [upgrading, land and housing access] processes and practices, however their implications on planning discourses are not adequately documented and critiqued by the literature in planning theory. In Namibia for instance, several statements and inferences by government and political leaders have caused intended and unintended complexities for land processes and the discourses on informal settlements in its entirety. Examples of these critical 'moments' include former president Pohamba's warning against a young black people-led land revolution back in 2005, and reinforced in 2012 and 2014 (Al Jazeera, 2012; Staff Reporter 2, 2014), as well as a 2020 statement by the Landless People's Movement (LPM) political party president publicly supporting urban land grabbing (Reporter, 2020).

This research identifies the limited understanding of how political statements implicate and engender informal settlement discourses as a gap in the Namibian literature. The cases stated above are relevant examples adding to the eradication declaration, in better understanding this gap. In the case of president Pohamba, critics argue that his repetitive reference to the occurrence of a land revolution if white commercial farmers remain unwilling to sell land to the government for redistribution may have influenced land grabbing tendencies, which led to the sprawling of informality in the north-western part of Windhoek (Staff Reporter 2, 2014). Furthermore, it consequentially led to the delays and complications on the Municipality's efforts towards conferring tenure security, service delivery and the overall facilitation of informal settlements upgrading processes. The case of the LPM party has intended malice which could be understood from Mitlin's (2020:9) viewpoint on the 'politics of shelter'. I reproduce her argument to explain the latter case: "...opposition movements may highlight shelter issues to motivate a political challenge to elites". The eradication declaration, being the first of its kind, therefore necessitates a study to understand how the rhetoric used influenced efforts and attitudes towards informal settlements and the upgrading processes. Establishing this understanding will then render itself to the close examination of the Windhoek Municipality's current upgrading strategy and how the entire upgrading approach could be made more holistic.

3.2.1 Research Objectives

The study's fundamental motivation is to establish numerous means on how to nuance the Windhoek's upgrading context, by using the eradication declaration as the investigative lens. Its overall aim is to firstly understand the implications of the eradication declaration for the Windhoek's upgrading context, then initiate a conversation around the performance and the responsiveness of the current upgrading strategy to establish its main limitations. As a contribution to knowledge, the study then aims to establish improved approaches to be incorporated in future upgrading processes. The specific research objectives are as follows:

- To interrogate how the president's eradication declaration has influenced the attitudes and efforts of Windhoek's development stakeholders towards informality and upgrading settlements,
- To investigate the responsiveness and performance of the Windhoek Municipality's upgrading strategy, and
- To explore nuanced and holistic approaches to improve informality attributes within informal settlements

3.2.2 Research Questions

The research questions were derived from the research objectives above. The main research question asks: how has the 'eradication' *rhetoric* by the president reveal the complicated, yet necessary, co-production means to upgrading informal settlements in Windhoek? This overall question was broken down into three questions below – I refer to them as 'threads of inquiry' - through which the objectives above are further explored:

- How did the president's eradication declaration [and the *rhetoric* in particular] influence the attitudes and efforts of Windhoek's development stakeholders towards informality in general and upgrading settlements?
- How responsive and well-performing is the Windhoek Municipality's upgrading strategy in general and in its application to the Thlabanelo settlement specifically?
- How can the Municipality's upgrading strategy be nuanced and made more holistic in its approaches to improve informal settlements?

3.3 Research Methods

The study employs a qualitative methodology. It uses two methods; the case study and the critical discourse analysis methods. For its first task, the study tracks the emergence of the eradication declaration, which necessitates the use of the critical discourse analysis of the urban informality context and its planning interventions at large in chapter four. To closely unpack the Windhoek's upgrading strategy, the study uses the case method to study the Thlabanelo settlements. Collectively, these two methods complement one another by leveraging on either one's limitations. Together with the research techniques discussed in section 3.6, they make up the research approach.

3.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Initially known as a branch of linguistic research, the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be applied to any practical discourse analysis situation (Liu & Guo, 2016). This study focuses on the historical context

[including society and politics] and type of critical discourse analysis, which Liu and Guo (2016) explain to take a historical-discourse analysis approach on a research interest. This method is furthermore used to draw attention to the use of language, which is critical in this study. The use of the '*eradication of informal settlements*' language is of particular interest, because as postulated by Fairclough (1989) [cited in Liu and Guo (2016)], language can be a social practice element instead of being perceived as a simple linguistic phenomenon. From this viewpoint, one can claim that spoken or written 'language' is a component of communicating processes, hence by analysing it, individuals' consciousness towards 'exploitative social relations' is revealed (Liu & Guo, 2016). To specifically pinpoint to what led to the declaration; when; where and how it was made, there needs to be a critical review to address the identified gap or issue (Winkler, 2019). Critical discourse analyses make provisions for the engagement of policy systematic reviews and is a critical and comprehensive process of inquiry (Winkler, 2019).

For this study, the discourse analysis will review extensive documentation, including the Municipality's 2019 upgrading policy, the Transformational Strategic Plan of 2017, several national development plans, planning laws and regulations, a variety of media reports and any document the study deemed relevant to inform the context of the eradication declaration, as well as the informality planning discourses. The Municipality documents were provided by the Municipality officials during and after the interviews, while other documents were collected from other interviews. Media reports published between the 28th of January 2019 and the 5th of February 2019 - which covered the eradication declaration - were printed, arranged according to their dates and analysed. Despite being from different media outlets, the details contained in them were similar. These media reports were also presented to the participants for familiarization with the eradication declaration. Yin (2014) substantiates that the review of documentation greatly complements the qualitative case study research in a contributory manner, because the review reveals hidden meanings and insights. For these justifications, the Critical Discourse Analysis method was used to compliment the case method.

3.3.2 The Case Study

Case studies are close intense examinations of individual units within defined boundaries, states Flyvbjerg (2011). Yin on the other hand defines case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context may not be readily evident" (2014:16). Understanding research methods as processes of inquiry, case studies play a significant role in planning. As Flyvbjerg (2006) describes, case studies allow researchers to construct predictive and explanatory theories in anthropology-related fields. Through their contextual nature, case studies create platforms to engage in a variety of rich, complete, detailed studies, from which major theories can be generalized to analyse and/or justify discourses (Flyvbjerg, 2011).

Although case studies are an effective research method, arguments against them have surfaced, limiting the method's effectiveness. In response to these alleged limitations, Flyvbjerg (2006; 2011) clarifies that these shortcomings are in fact misunderstandings about case studies. For the purpose of this study, two main shortcomings are identified as limitations. As the first one, case studies are contested for a level of bias associated with verifying information, which is often assumed to confirm the researcher's pre-conceived notions (Flyvbjerg, 2011). In his argument, Flyvbjerg (2006; 2011) explains how case studies are

equally biased to verifying pre-conceived notions like any other method of inquiry. He retaliates by emphasizing that the bias contained by case studies is rather towards falsification of preconceived notions, than on verifying these notions.

Secondly, case studies are perceived to have a limited scope (Flyvbjerg, 2006), invalidating any form of generalization from a single case analyzed. This argument can be qualified by varying contextual realities from one government to the other, as substantiated by Buckley et al. (2016), who reckon that attempting to draw strong generalizations from starkly contrasted countries in terms of socio-cultural and spatial factors, can either be heroic or foolish. While this point holds substance, it completely disregards the opportunity in deviant cases to develop theories (Flyvbjerg, 2006) and; to outline emerging ideas and concepts which justify such deviant cases. Even Buckley et al, (2016) further reminisce that despite the dangers of generalizing from single cases, some shared commonalities are worth learning from, due to significant implications to be grasped in the sub-Saharan African context. Therefore, the planning processes pertaining to specific case studies may inform new theories or ideas (Flyvbjerg, 2011), which in turn, may be relevant in other contexts. In addition to generalizing from cases, Yin (2014)' views are that cases are useful to test and/or generate theoretic propositions. In this view, the Thlabanelo case in Windhoek is well-suited to examine views from residents in informal settlements on the eradication declaration, especially given that the community is one which was established through means unwarranted by the Municipality. The case is further well suited for the study, because minimal upgrading efforts on the ground have been made yet, although an upgrade plan has been drafted. The wish is that prepositions and interventions from the empirical study will contribute to the actual upgrading process.

To eliminate some of the criticisms against the case method in my study, I used a strategic research approach and different research techniques discussed in section 3.5 to triangulate information. The triangulation technique, which Yin (2014) defines as the cross-checking and verification of information for accuracy, was particularly useful when interviewing the participants from academia and the SDFN/NHAG, since they may give more objective views and contextual depth to issues raised. I also probed the participants' responses to clarify information further and to eliminate my personal biases towards the raised issues. The selection of the case study therefore follows below.

3.4 Unit of Analysis: Selection of the case study

The unit of analysis for the study is the Windhoek Municipality, because the declaration was in principle made for Windhoek, although it was made to be applicable to the rest of Namibia. Other reasons include Windhoek being the largest urban centre in Namibia, naturally experiencing the highest urbanization trends, the largest and most complex informal settlements in Namibia, and being the concentration of knowledge, skills and resources to benefit the study. The capital city is also one from which development discourses are arguably benchmarked, hence it would be relevant for Namibia if knowledge produced by the study would benefit other urban areas.

Among the approximately 76 informal settlements within the city, I selected the Thlabanelo settlement for numerous research considerations, apart from its natural and cultural assets discussed ahead in

chapter five. I selected this site prior to the commencement of the dissertation; therefore, I had not considered any other site. First and foremost, I selected Thlabanelo because of its natural and man-made attributes [river stream, proximity to the Goreangab dam, soccer field and farming portion] which initially thought are relevant elements on which I could experiment to direct my research towards establishing a self-sustaining intimate community. Other than this, the settlement is within my living proximity and accessibility [within a kilometres radius from where I once resided], therefore I did not have hindered access to the community. Since I was once a local in the area, I would not be a stranger to the community, needing formal ‘invitation into the space’ – although I resorted to this option for procedure. Being a local resident once also means there is a level of openness and trust between the community and I, and there were no major language barriers. Figure 2 below summarizes these considerations.

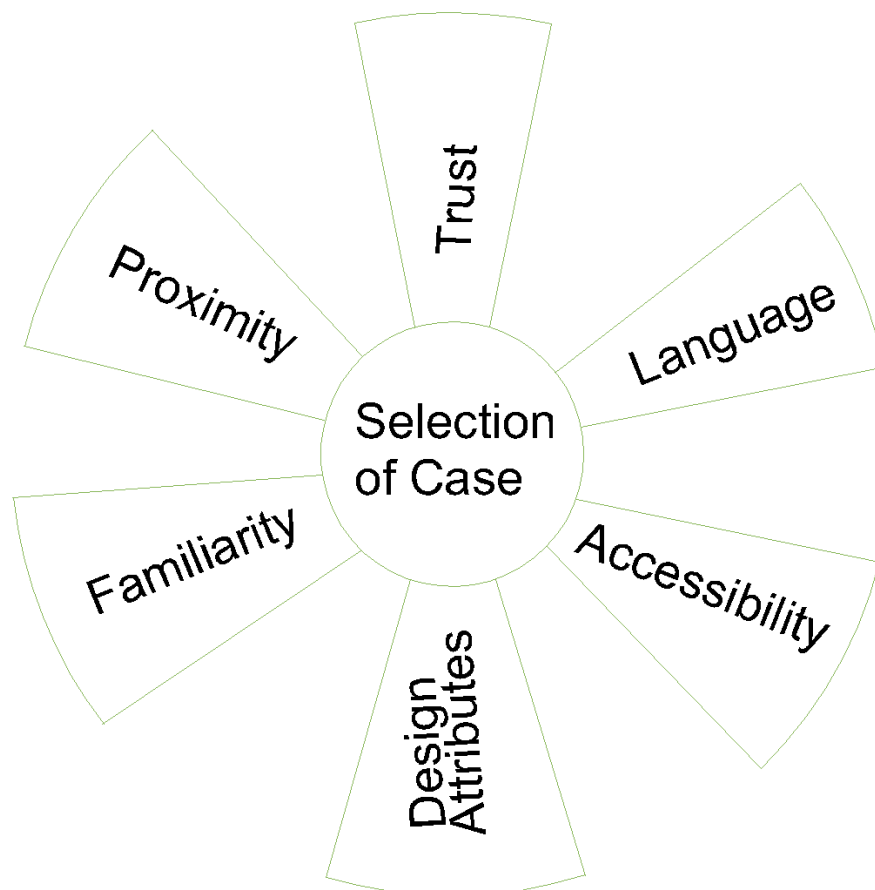


Figure 2: Factors considered in choosing Thlabanelo as the unit of analysis. (Source: Author, 2021)

Apart from the considerations above, the settlement is one of the largely sprawled and rapidly growing informal settlements, young in existence and very few studies have been conducted on the community. The study was therefore an opportunity to give exposure for academic research, and for the documentation of information. Furthermore, it is a site of intersection between the formal and informal setting, presenting an opportunity to observe how planning in these two contexts intervenes and engages with one another. Refer to figure 3 which locates Thlabanelo within the rest of Windhoek.

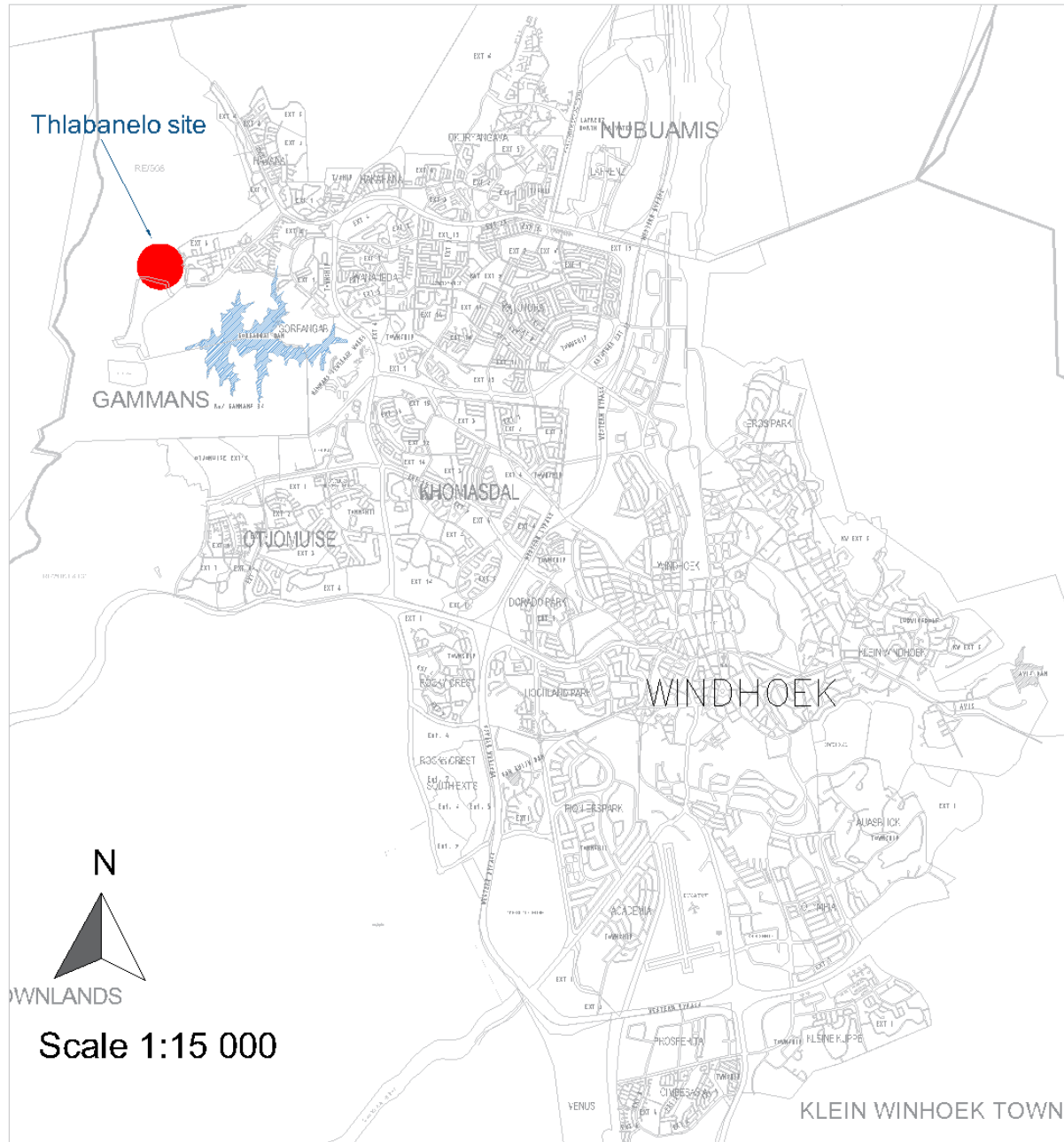


Figure 3: The situation of Thlabanelo in relation to the entire Windhoek, (*Source: Author, 2021*) Data adopted from the City of Windhoek.

3.5 Research process and techniques used

3.5.1 Research Process

After completing the literature review chapter, the actual process of the empirical study began with identifying the different categories of research participants, scouting for their contact details and reaching out to them for a brief introduction of myself and my study, and arranging a date for the interview (refer to Appendix 1 for the compiled interviewees list). This first step was quick, because I personally knew most of the participants from work and academic engagements. Two sister-departments were targeted for

interviews; the Human Settlements and Property Management; and Urban and Transport Planning Departments. The Sustainable Development (SusDev) Division – dealing with forward planning of the city - from the Urban and Transport Planning Department was selected for interviews, while the Human settlements [deals with spatial planning] and the Community Development [deals with community engagements] Divisions were selected from the Human Settlements and Property Management Department. The selection primarily targeted participants who were well familiar with the Municipality's upgrading approaches and its planning attitudes to urban informality. For the community, I visited the Samora Machel constituency office to introduce my study to the councillor. I should also indicate here that some invitations for other stakeholders, such as state representatives from the Ministry of Urban and Rural Development (MURD) did not yield any success due to their unavailability throughout the study period.

The second step was to obtain the necessary approval letters to be presented to the participants; one from the councillor (Appendix 5) and the other from the CoW Human Resource Department (Appendix 4). In the third step of the study, the critical analysis of urban informality context in Namibia and Windhoek was done (chapter 4). I appreciated the discovery of the historical socio-spatial development of Namibia, and how the country's planning discourses arrived to where they are today. Upon completion of the contextual analysis, step four took effect with the first half of data collection. I then designed the methodology in which I strategically approached the data collection process. As the initial step, I gathered the community's responses first with those of the former Municipality officials. This was to capture the perspectives of the Windhoek community from the grassroots level [community] and the *outside the window* perspectives [former City officials], before I could get the Municipality officials' responses. The responses from the former city officials largely problematized the Municipality as an institution and suggested a re-configuration of my study to focus on the City's responsiveness and performance towards informality upgrading practices. After consulting with my supervisor, it became clear that the re-configuration was not necessary – because upgrading ought to be a collaborative task involving many other stakeholders, which the study would forfeit, had it studied the City alone. Instead, it nuanced the study to investigate 'how the eradication declaration made co-production in upgrading processes complicated, yet necessary'. This step gave me insight on how research can take unexpected turns and how earlier findings in the research process can nuance the study and better inform future interviews.

By the time the interviews with the Municipality officials came, I had an assertive perspective on the City's upgrading processes and its general attitudes towards collaborating with other stakeholders in informality upgrading discourses. The remainder of the participants [more academia and NGO] anchored the findings from the community and the municipality, giving an objective perspective on the community-municipality-other stakeholders relationship, and 'connecting the dots' in the upgrading practices of the municipality. In step 5, I analysed the findings, drawing on the similarities and differences among the responses, and observe developing theories and concepts (chapter 6). I then developed these ideas into critical discussion themes in step 6 by linking some themes from the contextual analysis and from the literature review chapter (chapter 7). The overall discussion of findings pointed to the interventions and propositions made in chapter 8. My experience with conducting investigative research is that conducting

empirical studies is a more cyclical process than the premature view that it is linear. Figure 4 below captures this research process in the methodological diagram shown.

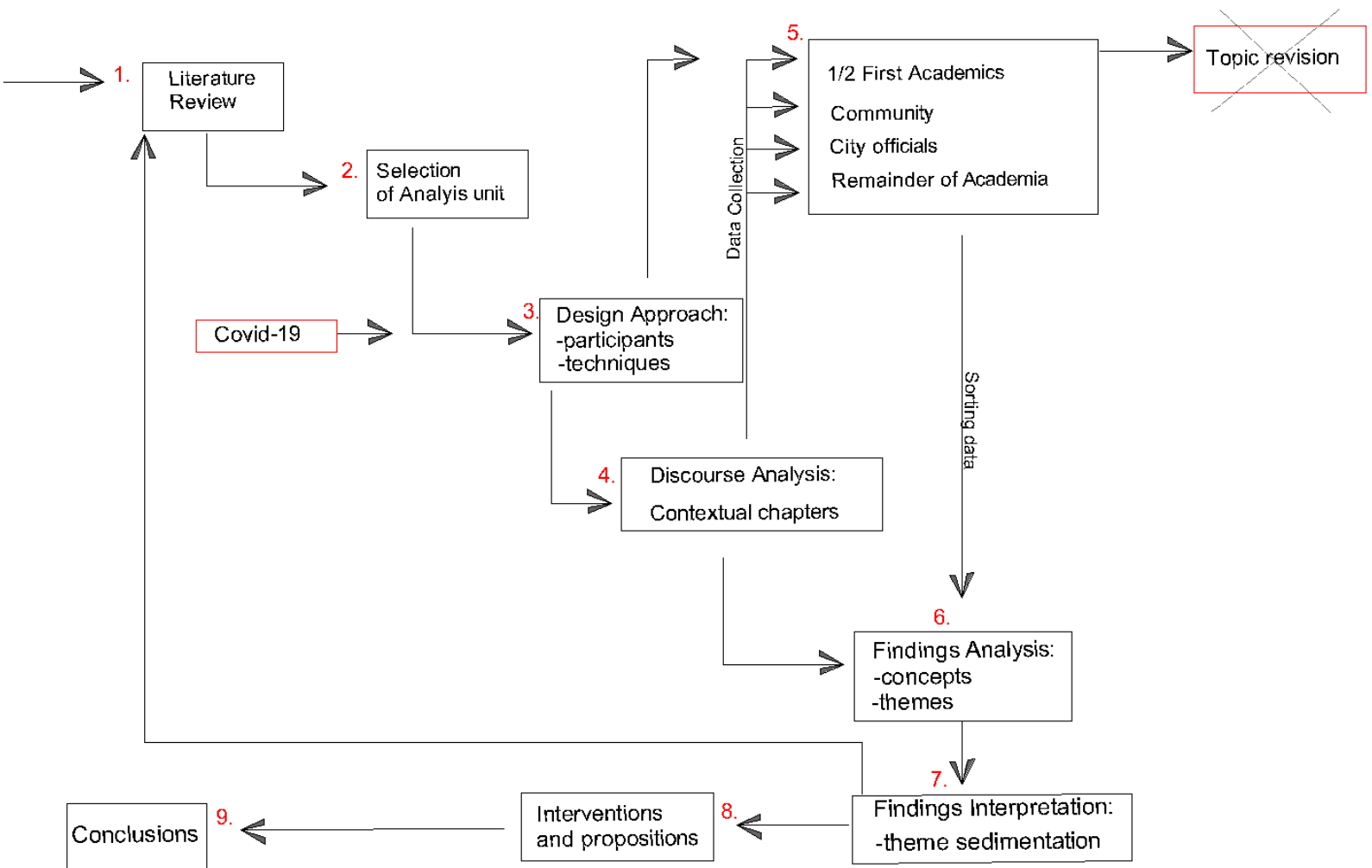


Figure 4: Research process from the initial step to the final step. (Source: Author, 2021).

3.5.2 Interviews: Semi-structured interviews and Focussed group interview

In the social science research field, interviews are understood as sites for co-production and sharing of knowledge (Roulston, Demarrais, & Lewis, 2003) where interviewers and interviewees meet to challenge knowledge on a specific subject, and in that process, they co-produce knowledge. The definition of interviews has shifted from simply 'obtaining' information, to a more robust one: the creation of a space where findings are shared and co-produced with research participants (Roulston et al., 2003). Therefore, the study uses the semi-structured interviews for the Municipal officials, the participants from academia and the Shack-Dwellers Federation of Namibia/Namibia Housing Action Group [also referred to as the SDFN/NHAG].

Semi-structured Interview

I conducted face-to-face semi-structured interviews for some of the professionals, however for others, the face-to-face component was compromised by the Covid-19 inconveniences. As a result, I explored

communicating via Zoom, however later we resorted to communicating via the normal and WhatsApp calls. The professionals further gave me consent to record, and I assured them that the recordings will be deleted post the findings analysis stage. The Municipality officials engaged questions relating to the declaration interpretation and its implication for their operations; how they rationalised urban informality, upgrading practices and the Municipality's upgrading strategy; how they assessed the Thlabanelo settlement against the upgrading strategy; and other means they foresaw to be included in the upgrading approaches to improve its holism and its quality of good practice. These general questions were kept for all other participants, except for some tweaks as was necessary (Appendix 3). The semi-structured interview format was used, because it makes provision for a not-too-porous conversation, yet flexible enough to enable probing responses and seeking insights about the individual [planning officer] and institutional [council] stance with regards to issues.

Focus Group Interview

The focus group interview of ten (10) residents from different households was used to eliminate the dangers of a single-sided story. The technique was conducted with strict adherence to the Covid-19 regulations – at the time, gatherings were limited to 100 people in a setting provided a minimum one-and-a-half (1.5) metres distance was maintained between participants. The group interview took an open-ended question structure to encourage the sharing of reflections and thoughts on the posed questions (refer to Appendix 3 again). The open-ended questions, moreover, gives an authentic flow to the interview and they give a general sense of what issues are of greatest importance to the community, as they gravitated more to such issues during the interview (Winkler, 2019). A focus group is also a safe space for the researcher to ask the 'difficult' questions and discuss sensitive issues with the larger community.

3.5.3 Field observations

Interviews to some extent place the researcher at the centre of the study, hence they miss out on the significance of behavioural patterns and other notable observations. Field observations therefore address limitations of interviews. Through these observations, the researcher becomes a 'stranger', for which Collins (1986) describes as the opportunity to see patterns which may be difficult to observe while one is immersed in situations being studied. Collins (1986) further states that field observations require the researcher to be invited into the space and once they have entered the space, their presence might trigger unusual behaviour from the participants. To counter this discomfort, I revisited the study area more than once to eliminate irregular behaviour. I further learned that observations are critical, as they add another assessment lens to address whether upgrading strategies in place (and essentially those to be suggested) are practical and effective to address the realities on the ground.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

As part of the research's credibility, the study conforms to the University of Cape Town, particularly to the Engineering and Built Environment's (EBE) ethical standards. In addition, I familiarised myself with the EBE 'Ethics in Research Handbook'. The research maintained the principles of ethics in protecting the identity and dignity of the participants, obtaining voluntary consent and adhering to the engaged institutions' prescribed procedures of conducting research – the Samora Machel Constituency office and the City of Windhoek.

Firstly, the research proposal was approved by the EBE Ethics committee (Appendix 6). This approval form, together with my student identification card granted me approval from the City of Windhoek Human Resource Division and the Samora Machel Constituency councillor to proceed with the data collection process. The constituency councillor formally introduced me to some of the community leaders from the Thlabanelo settlement, who further introduced me to the community members. Upon all introductions and familiarizing the community and all other participants, I sent the consent form (Appendix 2) to the interview participant[s]. As indicated in the consent form, the participants were informed of their voluntary participation before the interview began. Following their consent, a signed consent was then collected.

With regards to the medium of communication, Oshiwambo and English were used, given the context. Considering that the majority of the of the community members were Oshiwambo-speaking like me, the interview was done in Oshiwambo, while English was used for the rest of the research participants. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, I ensured that the Covid-19 protocols were adhered to during the interview processes, such as the correct wearing of masks and the 2 metres social distancing. For the community, the discussion was therefore done in a circle, which further symbolized a form of sharing and validating information. Some interviews with the academia participants, which were conducted in the later stages of the study had to be done over other social media platforms, namely zoom - due to the national lockdown which restricted face-to-face contact - but the normal calling option was reverted to, because of connection glitches.

With regards to anonymity and confidentiality, the study sought permission from all participants to take notes while discussions were ongoing, take pictures of surroundings or documentation, as well as make recordings. The community had reservations about recordings and disclosing their identities, hence their identities have been concealed and I only took notes without any recordings. At the end of the discussion, I read through the interview prompts and their responses, to ensure that they verify the notes I had taken. The Municipality officials and the rest of the participants gave full consent for recordings and their identification, however for uniformity, I chose not to disclose their identities in the body of the dissertation. I furthermore assured the participants; which I did, that all information will be kept confidential, and that only I would have access to it. I further assured them that information will be transcribed, and the recordings will be deleted, and notes shredded upon compilation of the findings.

3.7 Conclusion

The chapter outlined the studied research problem, the associated research objectives and questions to be addressed by the study. The study used a qualitative approach, in which the case study and discourse methods were used. The critical discourse analysis method was used in tracing the roots of the eradication declaration in addition to the informality context in Namibia [Windhoek in particular], while the case method was used to investigate the responsiveness and performance of the Windhoek upgrading strategy on the Thlabanelo settlement. The chapter clarified that the eradication declaration was used as an entering point of the debate about the Municipality's approaches to upgrading informality. The research process revealed major lessons; that investigative research can be cyclical, rather than linear in nature;

that research may take un expected turns, which should only be seen to add nuances to the study; and finally that a good researcher is a careful listener and a sharp observer, they triangulate information and maintain high levels of ethics to establish trust and a good relationship between themselves and their participants.

Chapter 4: National Contextual Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter introduced the methods and techniques used to gather the research data. To fully contextualize the research findings and reflections thereof, it is useful to first have a holistic understanding of the national urban context, in which informal settlements are located. Understanding the urban context is useful in accounting for why numerous discourses unravelled the way they did, to demonstrate the country's current position on its earlier set developmental scale and to establish the direction of future planning. In the same vein, the holistic view encapsulates the entire environment, where a variety of actors interact to continuously shape the urban landscape, particularly the policy discourse. This background therefore necessitates a brief socio-spatial history of Namibia to account for past and current events and make projections for the future. The chapter provides both a descriptive analysis of legislation impacting the eradication case presented, but beyond the latter, it attempts to engage in a discourse analysis, which interrogates policy and legislation to find out how the eradication approach came to influence attitudes towards informal settlements.

This chapter is thus a national contextual analysis of Namibia's socio-spatial development over time. It unpacks institutional frameworks along a series of development programmes which were [or are] launched to facilitate and enhance an understanding of the socio-spatial production in Namibia. Additionally, the chapter attempts to thoroughly address the tenacious question: *"how did the Namibian socio-spatial rhetoric get to this point - a point of deplorable informal settlement conditions, which have resulted in the eradication declaration by the President?"*. This question is used as the compass point to narrate the past, present, and to imagine how a desirable future could be pursued. The chapter therefore contextualizes the research in Namibia, particularly the capital city, Windhoek, and its findings will inform the data collection and analysis of findings in chapter 6.

Before further engagement with the chapter, I wish to clarify the gravitation of contents towards the term 'socio-spatial', as it will be noted. In an article narrating the trajectory of Namibia's socio-spatial development, Delgado (2018) describes the term 'socio-spatial' to emphasize that spatial dimensions occur within social discourses. In his words, "to have simply left the term 'spatial' would have missed the point of spatial production as a social process" (Delgado, 2018: 2). He reminds readers that space is not independently critical, but its significance is derived from how it is interacted with by different users. This reason therefore qualifies the use of 'socio-spatial trajectory' as an appropriate lens to analyse the urban context, without encompassing the research on merely urban planning-related elements (housing, zoning schemes), but also illuminating the intertwined spatial social processes influencing space production. The above is of important consideration, especially in constantly negotiating urban informality

This chapter is divided into three 'threads of analysis', which are further divided in several sub-sections. Subsequent to this introduction, section two briefly discusses the historic development of the socio-spatial field in Namibia, before and during the colonial rule. An analysis of socio-spatial transformation is also done for the period leading to the attainment of independence in 1990, and the first two decades thereafter [independence]. The succeeding section delves into some of the inherited colonial elements, which are experienced to date, and are to an extent the reason for deplorable conditions in most urban informality. The chapter then turns to section three, which examines how socio-spatial developments

have generally transformed in Namibia. With that narration, it then discusses how informal settlements got to their current deplorable conditions, possible triggers for the president's elimination declaration, and a brief introduction to the study area. Finally, section four concludes with major reflections discussed in the chapter.

4.2 Background on the socio-spatial production in Namibia: Its historic development

A body of literature demonstrates that socio-spatial transformation in the Namibian landscape began long before the colonial era (Delgado, 2018; Wallace, 2011). There is however no doubt that the colonial moment claims the larger extent to which socio-spatial changes occurred, and even to a larger extent, how socio-spatial transformation continues as a result of redressing colonial legacies. This section analyses crucial milestones in the pre-colonial, the colonial and the post-colonial era of the Namibian socio-spatial landscape. I however disclaim that numerous milestones discussed in this section may not necessarily be equated to those of national [historical] relevance, and that they may be discussed against their actual order of occurrence. It should also be noted that their discussion is engaged directly and/or indirectly to the development of the eradication rhetoric over time.

4.2.1 Socio-spatial production in the pre-colonial era

This section's relevance is to establish the influence of the first missionaries on the pre-colonial socio-spatial discourses, and how they penetrated land and governance. Pre-colonial socio-spatial transformation in Namibia was mostly agrarian-based. Wallace (2011) states that South West Africa (SWA) – as Namibia was referred to then – was already considerably transformed by the time colonizers arrived. Wallace (2011) narrates how central and southern areas of Namibia were environments of “complex politics [...] in which groups of people speaking Otjiherero, Khoekhoegowab, Cape Dutch and San languages maintained varied and intertwined relationships, and where claims to rights to land, water and grazing sometimes flared into conflict” (2011:1) by the 1870s. The period between the 18th and 19th century, was characterized by pastoralism and trade negotiations, and inactive polities took shape from time to time. A while later, some transformation then occurred as a result of the devastating Rinderpest disease outbreak in 1897 (Kinahan, 2011 cited in Delgado, 2018) and some of the first ever land dispossession by colonial forces (Delgado, 2018).

Another key factor which influenced socio-spatial transformation during this era was the arrival of the missionaries. The arrival of the Rhenish Mission Society in 1842 (Wallace, 2011) was initially perceived as a threat to the indigenous' power, however it expanded with time. The arrival of missionaries facilitated the transition between pre-colonial and colonial times, premised by their activities and attitudes (Wallace, 2011; Delgado, 2018). Missionary activities and attitudes are note-worthy, as they established the proto-modernist order later employed by colonizers for segregationist ideologies. As a governing framework, missionaries placed space “within a package of idealized European virtuosity promoted by the church” (Wallace, 2011:5). The production of space was combined with a bundle of other 'virtues' and modernization, and religion was employed to introduce the colonial regime, referencing and endorsing the idea of 'the state' as the mechanism to achieve and maintain order- as a virtue equivalent to discipline. The church would then assume coordinating roles to mend 'fractures' of the colonial state, while in some cases, mediate between the state [colonial regime] and its congregation [indigenous communities] (Delgado, 2018).

From the facilitation role the church played in grounding 'orderly' and 'disciplined' values within indigenous communities, it simultaneously cultivated a manipulative mindset amongst the indigenous; one which the colonizers employed to oppress and launch their extractive agenda. It is therefore clear that the arrival of missionaries was the first point in time when indigenous people were manipulated to perceive their native organization of space as negative or uncivilized. This then began the period of on-going contestation and negotiations between the preservation of what is left of socio-spatial African organization, and the complete European assimilation in Namibia. The following sub-section now discusses some socio-spatial transformations during the colonial period.

4.2.2 Socio-spatial production during colonial rule: Dispossession, oppression and segregation

The arrival of colonial powers in the then SWA began with European explorations and trading adventures. The attention to Namibia increased with an interest in the endowed natural resources, but also with their political-economic events which were happening in Europe at that time (Delgado, 2018). Again, the objective of the sub-section is not to narrate the colonial moment, but to outline critical moments and factors which influenced the stark indifference to informality in contemporary times.

The colonial era officially began with the assigning of Namibia to Germany at the 1884-5 Berlin Conference, where the continent was subdivided and apportioned between European colonial powers (Delgado, 2018). Thirty years of Namibia's colonialism by Germany from 1884 to 1914 paved the way for the continued white minority rule under the South African regime (Melber, 2019). Regarding the production of space, the colonial era was characterized by more land dispossession, colonial oppression and segregationist planning, which further entrenched the divide between 'modern' and 'primitive', 'order' and 'chaos'; and these were adopted into the contemporary language of 'formal' and 'informal'.

4.2.2.1 German Rule

After the scramble for Africa in 1884, the view was that colonies needed to be administered (Delgado, 2018), hence colonizers needed to physically be present in the colony for effective administration. After the official establishment of Namibia as a German colony, German settlers began relocating to Namibia, where they set up their living spaces in Namibia (Wallace, 2011; Delgado, 2018). The early structures of colonization for resource extraction were in full swing as well, and more German settlers were motivated to relocate to Namibia, because among other colonies, Namibia was "the one that could provide the healthiest conditions to settlers", and the resultant armed struggles which erupted, saw Namibia as a territory "bought with the blood of German soldiers" (Wallace, 2011:194).

The arrival of more German settlers motivated the development of transport and other infrastructure. By 1896, Windhoek's first town plans were developed (Delgado, 2018). It is note-worthy that this planning system laid European values and norms as the fundamental planning principles in Namibia, where distinct African-embedded organizing logics and patterns previously shaped space. The organic African structural patterns and logics, especially in settlements were undermined and suppressed to enable the super-imposition of European standards onto local construction models and civilization (Wallace, 2011; Delgado, 2018). All socio-spatial development systems which occurred afterwards were therefore built on this framework. It was also in these early stages that the 'Red Line' – a geographical control fence - was established to control cattle in the commercial areas from being affected by the diseases from the northern regions. This line eventually acquired other socio-political and economic dynamics, creating a clear social-spatial divide that arguably continues until today. To date, this line largely distinguishes towns

in communal areas (northern Namibia) from towns in commercial areas (central and southern Namibia) (Delgado, 2018).

The start of colonialism was gradual, and the birth of institutionalized corruption and inequality developed over time. The observation of gradual oppression and institutional flaws by the Germans is of course not to deny any previous inherent traits of corrupt and unequal land ownership processes in indigenous ethnic groupings, however to highlight the formal induction of an institutionalized bias and greed hegemony of commercial [urban] land by co-opted elite figures.

The dispossession of land and the resultant oppression of indigenous communities was further eased by the Germans' control over the land registration. This powerful tool allowed them to gain influence in the politics of succession in local politics by conditioning land sales (Wallace, 2011). Moreover, Delgado (2018) confirms that land tenure was employed to exercise significant power over political decisions and colonial expansion. To that end, a system of property rights and a capitalist land market had been established in the 1890s, which ingrained a Western capitalist logic in the 'DNA' of spatial production in Namibia (Delgado, 2018). At this point, the resource extraction paradigm had already transitioned into settler colonialism rapidly gaining roots; and the grounds for a capitalist spatial production and political economy were laid.

As colonial effects on land dispossession deepened, indigenous groups organized themselves to resist the rapidly changing political landscape. This resistance manifested through unrests and war, and the 1904-8 war between the German colonizers and the Herero and Nama groups was particularly crucial for the socio-spatial development of Namibia (Delgado, 2018). Wallace (2011) indicates the significance of the war to have been the creation of unequal and racially determined land ownership processes.

The emergence of economic activities in central and southern areas of Namibia birthed the emergence of the contract labour system. The discovery of resource mining potential, the diamond industry in Luderitz - a southern coastal town - and copper industry in Tsumeb - a northern-central town - accelerated the contracting of labourers from the northern regions of Namibia and eventually became a forceful restructuring factor for geographies within Namibia (Tvedten & Mupotola, 1995; Delgado, 2018; Wallace, 2011). The restructuring factor also intersected more with the uneven investments in commercial areas than in communal areas, resulting in a varied pace of development between towns in commercial areas in comparison to those in communal areas. As time has revealed, the varied pace of development has enabled different local authorities to respond differently to the dynamics of informal settlements, where recently proclaimed local authorities would learn lessons from older urban areas.

The end of German rule in Namibia came after its defeat in the first world-war and its subsequent dispossession of its colonies (Delgado, 2018). German colonialism created the infamous structures of an apartheid society, in which the forced removal of the colonized communities from their land in substantial parts of the country and its subsequent occupation by white settlers became an enduring and essential component of a past still actively felt to date (Weber, 2019). Namibia was then temporarily placed under the administration of South Africa tasked to prepare the previous colony for its independence, however this placement was further extended into another period of colonialism which strengthened the systematic land dispossession and oppression initially laid out by the Germans (Delgado, 2018).

4.2.2.2 South African Rule

The South African colonial regime in Namibia was characterized by a welfare state role with a consistent bias towards the white minority and its influences on development. Wallace notes how, particularly during the 1929 economic crisis “white farmers and workers received state help” and in Windhoek, the capital, an example of this was the construction of the Avis Dam [in Windhoek] as a relief project (2011:227). To date, despite several solemn pieces of documentation aimed to have addressed colonial inequalities and to improve governance, it is arguable how progressive and responsive the redressing of institutional bias has been, especially in the socio-spatial and socio-economic fields. The level of bias [towards the perceived ‘knowledgable’ bodies] institutionally ingrained in development processes persists to date, often observing a stark differentiation between the formal and the informal; where the latter is often associated with being negative, hence needing rectification. It is thus during the South African colonial regime that the roots of inequality, segregation and the vilification of informality were solidified into the Namibian socio-spatial development legislation, and amendments made somewhat remain slow and unprogressive to rapidly changing urban realities.

In some of the socio-spatial transformation factors during the South African regime, Delgado (2018) refers to the 1964’s infamous Odendaal Plan by the Odendaal commission, which resulted in the spatial organization still observed in Namibian urban areas to date. In his words, the “extensive efforts and thorough planning that the Apartheid administration put into restructuring Namibia’s territory through the Odendaal Commission have not been matched by a comprehensive and unitary document countering this and chartering the way for a new spatial reality for the country” (2018:11). This magnitude of spatial restructuring depicted in this argument is useful to understand the emergence of urban settlement for the ‘homelands’ in the 1960s – where homelands were communities clustered on ethnicity and racial ground - and the triggered increase in government investment on infrastructure (Wallace, 2011). Rapid urbanization occurred as a result (Delgado, 2018). Alongside the racial divide implications of the Plan, it was also a powerful government tool to increase state control over the territory (Wallace, 2011). Although the racial homelands have been dissolved, Namibia’s spatial-political division [its regional administration] remained in this frame.

Economic factors also contributed to the socio-spatial production of Namibia under the South African apartheid era. From mining being the largest contributor SWA’s economy during the German rule, Wallace (2011) notes how the economy shifted to white-owned agriculture under the South African administration (2011:235), particularly in the karakul sector. The Red line previously established by the Germans was also shifted further north to expand farming and white settlement (Wallace, 2011), while black communities were confined to the northern region beyond the Red line. The Natives (Urban Areas) Proclamation of 1951 was passed to give effect to the northern regions confinement and to further regulate African mobility (Delgado, 2018). Alongside subsequent enactment of town planning ordinances, such as the Town Planning Act of 1954, the South African regime established “new means of enforcing spatial apartheid in the towns, using the title deeds of individual properties to prevent land in ‘white’ and ‘Coloured’ areas being sold to Africans” (Wallace, 2011:252).

Despite the discouragement of black communities’ permanent migration into urban areas and prohibition of property ownership, black communities were later taken in as labourers, and they lived in separate areas [“locations”] with housing and other social services being inferior to those of the white areas

(Tvedten & Mupotola, 1995). Soon after, the regime began with the displacement of black communities in urban areas, which was of course met by resistance from the residents. From the late 1950s, the closure of the 'Old Location' in Windhoek and relocation of its residents to a new 'township' in the northeast of Windhoek sparked large protests, which were violently crushed by authorities and resulted in the killing of 11 demonstrators. The incident marked the first relocation in Windhoek's history, and birthed communities' general hostility towards relocations (Delgado, 2018).

4.2.3 Period leading to Namibia's independence: The paralleled liberation movement and socio-spatial development

The period leading to independence paralleled the liberation movement with socio-spatial discourses which bear the legacy of constant negotiation for land and inclusive development. The role played by economic movements mobilized action against the infringement on human rights, and this was how the subaltern Namibian workers revolutionised the quest for socio-spatial justice in development. In 1971, a major strike by mining works caused a major dent in the administration and economy at the time (Wallace, 2011). The punishment for such 'indiscipline' was the shutdown of mines and industries, and the mass deportation of labourers back to the northern areas of origin (Wallace, 2011). This resulted in the large figures of unemployment, and the inequality gap surged up. The myriad of these developments further deteriorated already deplorable living conditions in informal settlements (Wallace, 2011). These unemployment and inequality conditions slowly reflected in the growth and complexities of informal settlements within and beyond their boundaries.

During the preparation of Namibia's political independence, movement restrictions were suspended, abolishing travel and residence restrictions, resulting in the free movement of black communities into urban areas. Conditions in informal settlements deteriorated even further, resulting in the creation of the Namibia Building Investment Corporation (NBIC), which promoted homeownership among black populations (Delgado, 2018). For the lack of a general housing policy, NBIC attempted to create low-cost solutions for 'blacks' in urban areas, and while the institution was competent, it faced resistance from local authorities who didn't want 'low income' housing developments in their constituency, as well as from beneficiaries, who perceived their products as inferior and expensive (Delgado, 2018).

In preparation for political independence in 1990, Melber (2019) reflects that the negotiated transition towards independence did not introduce any decisive redress to the skewed patterns of colonial land distribution. Clauses in the Namibian Constitution had been already drafted in the early 1980s as an integral part of preconditions set for a negotiated decolonization. In support of this argument, Delgado (2018) and Wallace (2011) substantiate that the agreed principles on which the Namibian Constitution was premised were of a liberal democracy, indicating a lesser commitment to socialism. Consequentially, existing socio-economic inequalities were officially entrenched (Melber, 2019), where initially privately owned freehold land remained in the ownership of white minority farmers, while more than 70 per cent of the population remained directly or indirectly dependent on the 35 per cent available communal land. As such, the land distribution and ownership pattern continued to perpetuate class and racial inequalities, and by independence in 1990, socio-spatial policies reflected an anchored paradigm of individual private property and preserved privileges for the well-connected elite.

4.2.4 Namibia's first two decades as an independent nation: The awakening of socio-spatial justice

In review of government's developmental commitments two decades after independence, this subsection analyses direct and indirect influencers/enablers of socio-spatial developments in Namibia, between 1990 to 2010. My observation is that the first decade after independence is characterized by a strenuous adoption of administrative frameworks, which laid the basis for socio-spatial developments which came after. The second decade continued solidifying the administrative frameworks, with some adoption of new legislation and amendments of existing ones, to aid development. To a great extent, this two-decade period marked a moment in the Namibian history, symbolic to a subtle awakening and daim of socio-spatial justice.

At the beginning of Namibia's independent state, housing was one of the top government development priorities (Simion, 2007; Office of the President, 2004; Republic of Namibia, 2016), due to the overwhelming demand for land and housing. The demand for land by the previously marginalised black communities has been ever-present, and so has been featuring housing as a top government priority with very little success (Republic of Namibia, 1991; 1998; 2004; 2015; 2018). The Namibian Constitution enshrined numerous administrative tools to improve and safeguard rights to shelter. It is on these grounds that the government hosted the first national land conference in 1991. It took place in a context where less than 25 percent of Namibians lived in urban areas; a situation becoming a precise inverse of the current reality, where more than 50 percent of Namibians live in urban areas. Holding the conference shortly after independence is proof that land was already a top national priority to address the pressing land question. However, as much research has indicated, the first land conference was more focused on issues related to rural areas [communal land] than urban areas (Melber, 2019; Delgado 2018; Luhl, 2018; Werner, 2015). It was also thought to have generally failed.

Government reports on both land and housing events had enunciated hope that land and housing inequalities and inefficiencies would be overcome after independence. To great disappointment, the patience for these hopes has been crushed in the first two decades through poor deliverance of promises made and unaccountable actions. The National Land Policy [drafted in 1998] is an example of such disappointments, due to its biased endorsement towards the freehold title, which maintained loyalty to the financially secured communities, while the poor remained neglected.

Although recognition for the informal sector and the housing grassroots processes is given in the National Housing Policy of 1991, it considerably raised its concern with the impact "that housing had on the economy and made clear that the Namibian government would favour homeownership as the main objective of supporting housing" (Delgado, 2018:15). It was during this time that the NBIC changed its leadership and transitioned into the National Housing Enterprise (NHE), which was mandated to be the housing executing agent of the government, as per its defining legislation; the NHE Act No 5 of 1993. The shortcomings of this mandate were i) the exorbitant pricing - the prices of these houses and the requirements to qualify for loans made NHE houses unaffordable for the urban poor - which were unaffordable for the intended beneficiaries and ii) the slow housing supply rate; only 8,000 houses constructed between the programme's inception (1993) and 2010 (NUST, 2017; Weber & Mendelsohn, 2017). This was another housing provision initiative by the government which failed to serve its intended beneficiaries; the urban poor.

Shifts in the socio-spatial field got overwhelmed by the increasing housing backlog in many urban areas, and the government introduced housing programmes one after another, which continued to fail due to a

recurring approach which clearly had not been working. The main shortcoming the government seem to keep missing is the unaffordability element, coupled with incapacitated abilities to administer and poor collaboration efforts, especially from the public which it intends to serve (Weber & Mendelsohn, 2017). The Built-Together Programme (BTP) for instance was a self-help programme initiated in 1992 to provide shelter to low and ultra-low-income earners in the country (Simion, 2007). Another housing programme is the Mass Housing Development Programme (MHDP), which ambitiously targeted a mass housing provision of 187,000 units by 2030 (Republic of Namibia, 2015; Weber & Mendelsohn, 2017). To put this in perspective, this would have required constructing about 14,000 housing units per year, while the state-owned housing parastatal (NHE), which would be implementing the project, only has a record of approximately 400 units per year (NHE, 2014 cited in Delgado, 2018), contrary to 660 housing units stated in the National Report to Habitat II (Republic of Namibia, 2015).

These programmes not only had a very insignificant impact on the 'containment' or reduction of informal settlements' growth, but they were furthermore unresponsive to the affordability and suitability needs of their intended beneficiaries. In an example presented by Delgado, he quotes that "house types were designed for the socio-economic needs of a nuclear family living a euro-American lifestyle", despite the reality on the ground, where there were no "nuclear or elementary families for which modern houses are usually designed" (2018:18). This demonstrates a variety of theorists' arguments against the co-optation of global North contexts without adequate assessment of their suitability to local housing realities.

Already in the first decade of independence, Namibia was confronted with challenging living conditions in informal settlements. In 1996, Namibia became a signatory to the Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements, which deliberated on its two major themes; "adequate shelter for all" and "sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world" (United Nations, 1996:5). Some of the core commitments Namibia made from the Istanbul declaration also vowed to improve the quality of living and the access to adequate housing, basic services and facilities in human settlements (Republic of Namibia, 2015). Similar to the National Land Policy of 1998, the eradication of informal settlements was not considered. Instead, emphasis was put on improving living conditions. But perhaps pressures in informal settlements were not so dire then, to convince the government about the need to refocus its approach to informal settlements. The chapter now turns to the evident legacies of colonial footprints, and how these legacies may have factored in shifting towards the eradication rhetoric.

4.2.5 Colonial influence and its remaining legacy: A handicapped urban environment

It is without doubt that there are more continuities of the colonial legacies, than there are breaks in the way spatial production in Namibia continues to unfold since independence. Some of these legacies are a continued extractive economy, the inefficient planning systems which frustrate socio-spatial development processes, and continued segregation and inequalities in urban areas. The relevance of each of these legacies for the eradication declaration and the exploration of more nuanced approaches to enhancing the outlook on informal settlements is discussed in this sub-section.

4.2.5.1 An unharnessed extractive economy

The extractive nature of Namibia's economy did not end with the abolition of the colonial regime, but it carried on to date (Delgado, 2018). This simply put by Delgado (2018) means that the Namibian economy continued to produce what it does not use and to consume what it does not produce. Furthermore, although Namibia's economy has been based on resource-extraction, minimal production and poor value

addition [if any at all] has been invested in local industries to support local enterprises and supply the evident local demand (Luhl, 2018). On the contrary, Namibia's independence tripped the country in the hands of highly competitive globalizing markets, such as China, which to large extents 'paralyzed' local entrepreneurship.

This ideology of an unharnessed resource-extractive economy is useful in explaining the physical infrastructure in the local socio-spatial production space, particularly the construction materials affordable to the ultra- and low-income clusters in urban areas. On the one hand, government advocates for formal [brick] housing, which is not affordable to most of the poor urban dwellers. On the other hand, explorations for alternative [locally available] building materials are seldom promoted, despite the government's establishment of the Habitat Research and Development Centre, whose aim is to "experiment" on feasibilities of other building materials, especially for the low and ultra-low income households (Republic of Namibia, 2015:31; Simion, 2007). As the only viable option left, residents erect shacks with corrugated iron sheets efficiently supplied by the Chinese markets. Meanwhile, part of the Presidential eradication declaration captures the 'unsightly' view of scattered shacks which "offend" President Geingob (Ngutjinazo & Kahiurika, 2019).

Additionally, the 2016 Labour Force survey by the Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA) revealed that more than half of the urban dwellers depend on the informal economy to make a living (NSA, 2016), and by now it has been verified that 308 informal settlements exist country-wide, where 995,000 people - about 70 percent of urban dwellers (ILMI, 2018) - are accommodated in approximately 228,000 shacks (Ngutjinazo, 2019; Ngutjinazo & Kahiurika, 2019; Nashuuta, 2019; New Era Staff Reporter, 2019; ILMI, 2018). There are critical conclusions on this phenomenon: the government is determined to support the western-idealized building standard of brick housing to provide shelter - but with an underlying objective of preserving a certain visual order. This is seemingly the government's ambition, even when failing housing models continue to indicate unaffordability as the main stumbling block for the poor to access housing. Another point stems from the unharnessed local markets of building materials, such as timber and rocks, whose potential to employ and empower skilled individuals within the informal economy is completely overlooked.

4.2.5.2 Spatial inequality and segregation

Segregation continues to be an evident legacy from apartheid times, especially from the racial group divisions of the Odendaal Plan. Similar to South Africa, Namibia tops the list in the inequality index measured through the GINI coefficient and as this brief trajectory has laid out, this condition has been an on-going and long-standing process in the making; and one that has been unfolding in and through the socio-spatial milieu (Delgado, 2018). Residential differentiation had clear racial connotations, where different housing standards have been observed across urban areas. Of this housing differentiation, a uniform mass housing scheme, especially in low-income associated areas remained, and these are the same areas where the housing development programmes are targeted to redress, however with little success. The segregation in urban settlements clearly exposes the socio-spatial inequalities in urban areas, which exposes the most vulnerable segments of society to extreme poverty traps (Delgado, 2018). Unfortunately, this planning approach has preserved inequalities initially instilled during the colonial era.

Equally important, the low-density sub-urban model which mostly shapes Namibian urban geographies is unsustainable and reproduces inequality. Luhl (2018) argues that the development model segregating the function of the city to separate industrial and residential areas was specifically adopted from western

societies, and that has been the development model promoted since the 1950s. Given this context, housing is often simplistically understood as the mere construction of houses, disregarding the long-term sustainability of the infrastructure needed to support and complement adequate housing, such as bulk infrastructure, public amenities and services and facilities to sustain health, well-being and dignified living (Luhl, 2018).

In another scenario, planning terminologies, such as 'low-density' and 'high-density' popularly used to distinguish the 'wealthier' from the 'poorer' neighbourhoods in urban policies, continue to embed inequality and segregation through race and class differentiation (Luhl, 2018). This apartheid legacy has robbed Namibian urban geographies of the existence of mixed-income neighbourhoods, which Luhl (2018) state "satisfy 'land value', keeping the 'property market' on a growth track" as desired by financial institutions, but maintains social segregation among communities and limits the urban poor from participating in the urban economy.

These colonial legacies - in addition to a lack of legitimate national reconciliation efforts to restore unity amongst Namibians - have yielded a factionalist state of government. This state is characterized by the categorization of people on either ends of a spectrum: the privileged and well-connected versus the poor and marginalized; insiders versus outsiders; the formal versus the informal, which resultantly excludes/overlooks the possibilities of innovating and nation-building which lies in the intermediaries of either ends of spectra. From a personal viewpoint, the above-discussed reflections would seem to have justified eliminating informal settlements – on arguable grounds that these settlements manifest the existing inequalities and segregation in the Namibian society, hence formal housing needs to replace them – however the proposed solution [eradication] to segregation and inequality challenges is a surface-level response. Socio-spatial advocacy and insurgent radicalism dominated the socio-spatial field and discourses associated with it. The next section therefore analyses how these movements might have influenced the declaration.

4.3 Socio-spatial reforms in the last decade: the transformation of persistent urban complexities

4.3.1 Recent national socio-spatial developments: Redressing colonial legacies

The socio-spatial discourse in Namibia has always been that of negotiating access to land and housing. While the international community projects urban populations in countries [especially in the global South] to surpass their rural counterparts in the next few decades, this phenomenon was first experienced in Namibia in 2018, where half of Namibia's population was recorded to live in urban areas (Delgado, 2018). However, while 20 percent of the urban population lived in informal settlements at independence (Luhl, 2018) this figure has grown to 70 percent of urban dwellers living in informal settlements as of 2018 (Ngutjinazo, 2019; Ngutjinazo & Kahiurika, 2020; Nashuuta, 2019). This massive urban transformation has put excess strain on bigger local authorities, especially due to the absence of national urbanization strategies to guide and manage rapid urbanization (Tvedten & Mupotola, 1995).

The dramatic increase in rent and property prices between 2012 and 2016 caused a national outcry to government and stakeholders to negotiate the access to affordable housing, especially by lower income earners. This increase caused more urbanites to flock into affordable shelters in informal settlements, further frustrating already poor conditions in these settlements. It was in reaction to this outcry that

government launched the Mass Housing Development Programme in 2013, as discussed earlier, however it seldom had any significant impact. In 2014, several SWAPO-party youths radically grabbed a plot of land in Windhoek's Kleine Kuppe [an up-market suburb] to demonstrate their frustration with the government's slow/stagnant processes in enabling poor urbanites to access land and housing. This unprecedented move, along with threats to invade urban land nationwide, placed the radical youth - called the Affirmative Repositioning (AR) - in a politically powerful position to negotiate land access (Delgado, 2018).

By the beginning of the Geingob administration in 2015, President Geingob invited the AR activists to engage in a dialogue on the land delivery and housing challenge (Delgado, 2018). One of the meeting resolutions was the announcement of the Mass Urban Land Servicing Programme (MULSP) in 2015; aiming for the servicing of 200,000 plots of land nationwide (Delgado, 2018), and anticipating to observe a shift in the land accessibility by low-income earners. However, the Land Servicing programme had no significant impact on the ground either, apart from incomplete earthworks which commenced due to the novelty of the MULSP.

The growing restlessness towards the land question grew exponentially, resulting in the establishment of a few more political parties, such as the Landless People Movement (LPM) party. The growing restlessness towards land and affordable housing, the need to address issues pertaining to 'ancestral land' claims, the growing urban phenomenon and the need to revise unsuccessful land redistribution resolutions from the first land conference are thought to have motivated a second national land conference, which was hosted in October 2018 (Lobo, 2019; Delgado, 2018, Luhl, 2018; Republic of Namibia, 2018). Although Weber (2019) and Lobo (2019) denounce the legitimacy of the conference, due to a hinted censored participants' list, I argue that sentiments of informality in urban areas being a humanitarian crisis (Namibia Press Agency, 2020; Ngutjinazo, 2019), expressed by President Geingob during the conference could have partly inspired the eradication rhetoric. Several resolutions pertaining to urban land matters triggered a closer examination into informal settlements.

Among the 160 resolutions made from the second land conference, a significant new addition captures the pressing needs of an urban land reform and informal settlements focus (Weber, 2019). With the evident growth in urban populations; especially in Windhoek, the government has come to realize that growing informality now strongly characterizes urban areas in Namibia, hence the need to fully focus on informality at all government levels. Resolutions under the Urban Land Reform theme relevant to the informal settlements rhetoric include the prioritization of "large-scale informal settlement upgrading and integrated, planned urban expansion areas (for new urban residents) and mainstream to all local authorities" and the revision of "standards for building materials (perhaps in certain zones) to allow for more flexibility including consider[ation of] low cost energy for the low income housing" (Republic of Namibia, 2018:22). Important to note is the absence of the informality eradication rhetoric in government policies until this point; defining the beginning of a newly envisaged urban agenda. The second national land conference therefore set the scene for the eradication declaration which followed afterwards

4.3.2 Windhoek's socio-spatial transformation

This sub-section focuses on the socio-spatial transformations experienced in Windhoek, in relation to the arrival of the declaration. From the early 19th century of labourers living in squatter camps as residences to relatively recent decades of political freedom, marginal shifts have been observed where squatter camps have been abolished with the emergence of informal settlements (Delgado, 2018; Luhl, 2018). The focus in transition here has been of a physical nature – where concentrated cohabitation in unhygienic conditions were abolished with the introduction of temporary reception areas, where each household had a shelter – but seldom of a holistic socio-spatial nature (Chitekwe-Biti, 2018). As a result, more advocacy movements for land ownership by previously excluded segments have to a large extent influenced the rhetoric around informal settlement, especially in Windhoek. In addition, the Hepatitis E outbreak in north-western informal settlements since 2018 have also contributed to the negative outlook on informal settlements, hence indirectly motivating the eradication declaration.

Due to the exponential growth of the population of Windhoek observed in the last decade, the City of Windhoek and the Khomas Regional Council have been under pressure with demands to avail affordable serviced land for low and ultra-low-income groups, among other population segments. The vigorous demand for land in Windhoek gained substantial traction with the emergence of the radical land-advocacy movements, the Affirmative Repositioning (AR) formed in 2014 and the Landless People's Movement (LPM) formed in 2016 (Delgado, 2018). These movements have rallied behind discourses for spatial justice, such as amplifying the voices of informal settlements' inhabitants and fighting against land evictions (Delgado, 2018). These two social movements have gained substantial support from the public [youth], which has been argued to have partly contributed to the factionalism within the ruling political party.

4.3.3 Arriving at the declaration: A pause for reflection and informality re-imagination?

It appears that the eradication declaration was arrived at, due to a built-up of frustrations found in informal settlements conditions. Reflecting on a few steps back prior to the declaration, key events are linked to have resulted in the declaration. The 2017 outbreak of Hepatitis E in informal settlements first established the dilapidated sanitary conditions in informal settlements to have caused the outbreak. These 'conditions' included poor sanitation and dysfunctional sewerage systems, the lack of access to enough potable water and inadequate shelters, which President Geingob noted during his Hepatitis E-motivated trip to Windhoek's Havana informal settlement in 2018 (Pienaar, 2018). During the second land conference later in October 2018, President Geingob highlighted informal settlements conditions to be a human settlement disaster needing central government's urgent intervention (Ngutjinazo, 2019). It can further be argued that the radical activities of different social movements have also contributed to the fight for serviced urban land to be availed for the poor.

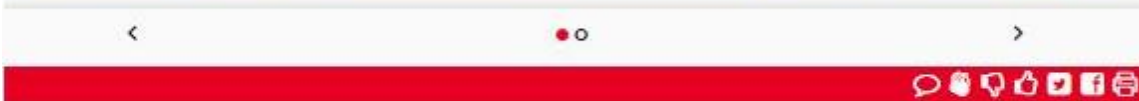
The eradication declaration was well captured by several newspapers. This section of the chapter pays attention to the use of language, to establish some insights into the declaration. Firstly, the president reinforced his position on eradicating informal settlements on more than one occasion. In one case, he invited the Regional governor, the CoW mayor, CoW Chief Executive Officer and the entire City council to the state house on the 29th January 2019, where he made his plans on the declaration the president invited the I clarify that the president firstly declared a state of emergency in all informal settlements across the country, and the eradication component was added onto the state of emergency declaration. Several newspapers termed the declaration differently; "a clarion call", "announcement" "bold promise" (Ngutjinazo, 2019; Staff Reporter, 2019; Nashuuta, 2019) which all express a sense of magnitude and

urgency in the declaration. The media quoted the president to have said: “informal settlements undermine the dignity of fellow Namibians. For that reason, government took the bold step of eradicating informal settlements by declaring the situation in these areas a humanitarian crisis.” (Staff Reporter, 2019). No context was given as to how these areas will be eradicated. He was also reported to have said: “therefore, we should... get rid of these informal settlements” [cited as it appears in the newspaper article] (Ngutjinazo, 2019). According to the newspaper articles, the president had also repeated the declaration in his new year message in January 2019. In another related instance, the president revealed that he had informed the Namibian police to prevent people from erecting ‘shacks’ as a better option than demolition later. He was quoted saying: “there must be order. The police cannot allow people first to put up a hut, then demolish it. They must stop it before people move in. If you demolish it after they move in, it looks bad. Refer to one of the articles in Figure 5 below.

Shacks 'offend' Geingob... wants them gone in 5 years

News - National | 2019-01-30

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OKERI NGUTJINAZO and NDANKI KAHURIKA

PRESIDENT Hage Geingob yesterday said the living conditions of informal settlements' residents should be declared a national humanitarian crisis.

Data from the Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia for 2018 state that 995 000 people are living in shacks in urban centres of the country.

The federation also said there are 308 informal settlements in urban areas, with about 228 000 shacks.

Geingob made these remarks yesterday during a meeting with the City of Windhoek mayor, chief executive, councillors and Khomas governor at State House, in view of one of the resolutions from the second land conference to address the situation in informal settlements.

He said the conditions are a disaster, and therefore should be addressed to get rid of these informal settlements.

"We have a crisis where human beings are staying in conditions that are unbearable. Some are even security officers who come and guard us in the luxury areas where we are staying. A person who would come from that condition, how will their mental state be?"

Figure 5: One of the several newspapers which reported on the eradication. (Source: <https://www.namibian.com.na/185139/archive-read/Shacks-offend-Geingob-wants-them-gone-in-5-years>)

Although it is expected that a course of action would naturally take time to be developed to address conditions in informal settlements – as per the second land conference resolutions – some members of the public alleged that the president’s declaration was ‘pure electioneering’ (Beukes, 2019), arguing the sudden attempt to reserve votes from the land-desperate electorate, and further interrogating where the “crippled government will find the money to eradicate shacks in five years” (Ngutjinazo & Kahiurika, 2019). In response to the criticism, President Geingob dismissed the alleged political ploy for elections, citing that this course of action was bound to happen as per indications from the second land conference resolutions and Harambee Prosperity Plan (HPP) which he argues was going to tackle the urban informality issue in its next five-year tenure (Ngutjinazo & Kahiurika, 2019). Whether the President’s justification is legitimate, the political accusations made cannot be completely dismissed, as political parties would traditionally politicize informality for their hidden agenda in earning votes. In 2019 for instance, different party parades were reportedly making rounds in informal settlements [where the majority resides], where manifestos were read to the public. There are therefore enough grounds to maintain that the declaration could have been politically motivated.

Regardless of the details surrounding the declaration motivation, it presents a moment for reflection in the socio-spatial development history of Namibia. With local municipalities and urban stakeholders [such as SDFN] embracing the president’s declaration (Nashuuta, 2019; Ngutjinazo, 2019), the call presents an opportunity for all urban stakeholders with co-production as an approach to redefine and harness urban informality dynamics in the favour of a more just and inclusive socio-spatial development. At the time of the declaration, the government had not indicated its plan to ‘eradicate informal settlements’ (State reporter, 2019), but that could be a challenge to be embraced by all stakeholders. This study therefore embraces the call to explore nuanced ways to improve urban informality, and the site of intervention is briefly introduced in the following section.

4.4 Conclusions

To render an understanding of how the rhetoric of informal settlements got to the eradication notion, a trajectory of the socio-spatial development in Namibia had to be undertaken; with emphasis on the development and growth of informal settlements, especially Windhoek. The chapter discussed socio-spatial developments under the pre-colonial, during the colonial and post-independence era, highlighting the main events which influenced the development and growth of urban informality. The reader will find that an argument inductively emerges; one that suggests the development and consolidation of inequality in Namibia’s governance through socio-spatial production. The latter is vividly manifesting through a handicapped urban environment, characterized by outdated and unresponsive planning legislation, uneven land distribution, segregated development and inequality. Moreover, one notes that socialist rhetoric guides policy and government-initiated land/housing programmes, but actual socialist politics are replaced by neo-liberal development approaches.

Namibia’s urban population is expected to expand by 2050, however the implications of an urban future is somewhat far from being understood. This is shown by a poor [passive] pro-urbanization strategy to mobilize accommodative resources and infrastructure. Additionally, some of the discourses and initiatives which were introduced appear more reactionary than a conscious strategy to accommodate future expansions in informal settlements. Meanwhile, urban informality continued to expand exponentially – hence continuously transforming urban socio-spatial forms – and informality conditions have simultaneously worsened. The chapter argued that pressure from radical socio-political movements

advocating for the realization of the urban poor's 'right to the city' regarding housing matters, coupled with the Hepatitis E outbreak, increased the government's consciousness of the importance of the poor's right to urban life. Urban Land Resolutions from the second land conference with political factors thus brought about the eradication declaration. The chapter has also hinted on employing the declaration to explore nuanced approaches towards improving urban informality. Having laid the basis for presenting the primary research findings, the following chapter will discuss a synthesis of findings organized according to emerging themes, and the three 'threads of inquiry' introduced in chapter 3 as the main research questions.

Chapter 5: Local Context Chapter

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the historical development of Namibia's urban areas and the national socio-spatial context within which informal settlements locate. It further outlined the development of the eradication declaration within the urban development discourse. From the national scale, the chapter now turns to a narrowed focus on the case study's local context. This chapter familiarises the reader with a background understanding of the geographic location, urban fabric, residents' socio-economic profile, types of activities within the study area and development proposals within the settlement's surroundings. The chapter also evaluates the Municipality's current upgrading plans for the settlement. By the end of the chapter, the reader is expected to have a well-rounded understanding of the site and its significance to the neighbourhood and the city at large.

5.2 Settlement Situation

Thlabanelo is one of the fast-growing informal settlements situated on the peripheries of Windhoek. Located on the north-western edge of Goreangab extension 3 in the Samora Machel constituency, the overall sprawl of informality towards the north-western edge hinterlands measures over sixty (60) hectares in extent. A 2018 Municipality map indicates that the settlement is one of the twenty-two (22) informal settlements within the city – labelled as *Goreangab West*, number 66 on the map in Table 1 below from Figure 6- with the 'upgrading informal areas' status (Refer to Figure 6 below). The map further indicates that it is among the settlements yet to be fully serviced with water and sewerage. To put this information into perspective, the Municipality's recent Development and Upgrading Policy (2019) describes that *City of Windhoek Upgrading Areas* [labelled as 'upgrading informal areas' on the map] make up the largest proportion of informality in the city, and they are to be upgraded in-situ, with the Municipality leading these efforts. This category of informal settlements is differentiated in the Development and Upgrading Policy (DUP) from other 'types' of informal settlements, namely the *Resettlement/Relocation areas* and the *Self-Help Upgrading Areas* [where the latter are labelled as 'savings groups_Independent groups/SDFN groups' on the map]. Altogether, the Informal Settlements Map of 2018 shows that there are 87 informal settlements in total under the Municipality's jurisdiction.

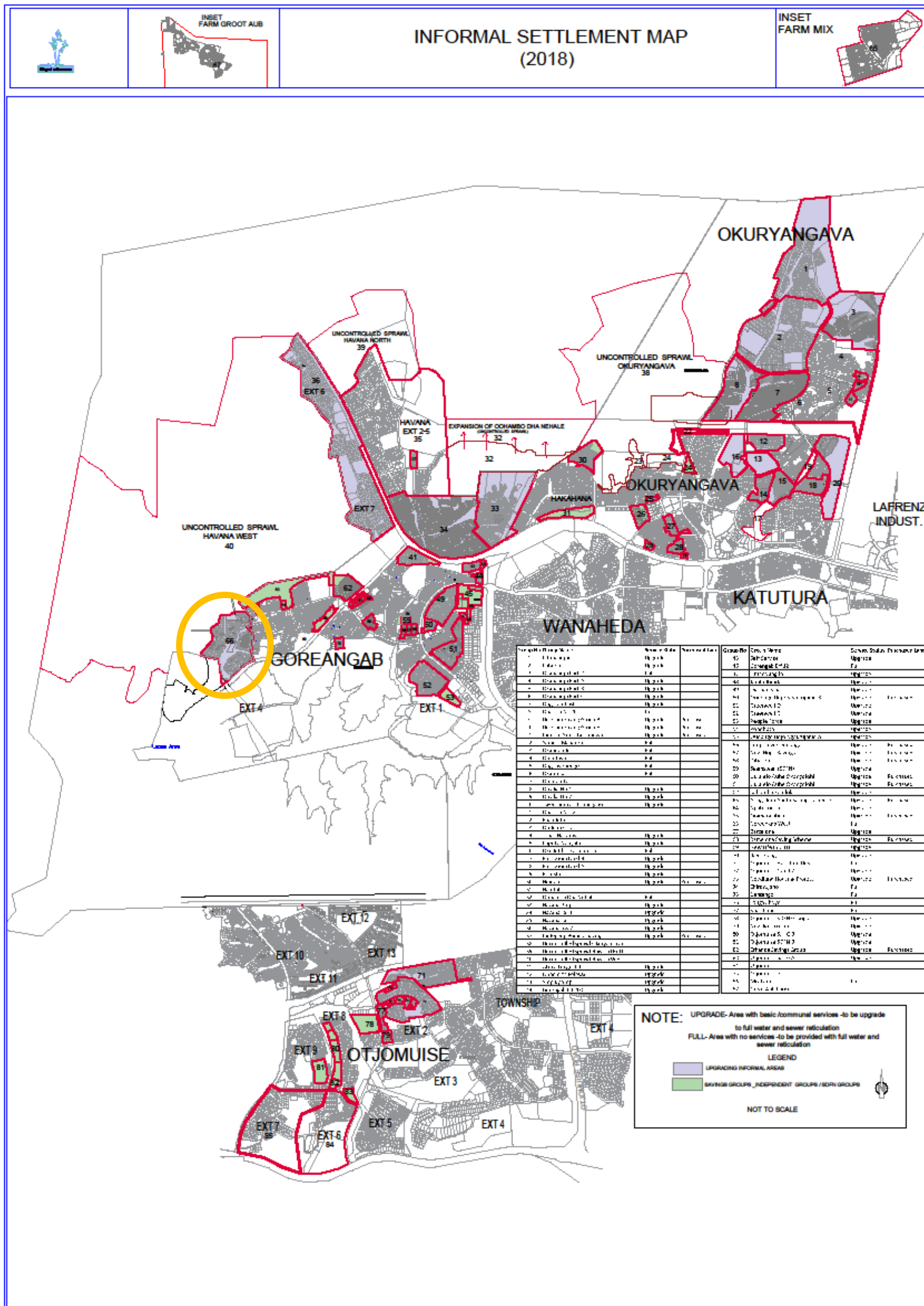


Figure 6: The CoW's Informal Settlements Map of 2018. The Thlabanelo settlement is circled in yellow on the map. (Source: City of Windhoek, 2020).

Group No	Group Name	Service Status	Purchased Land	Group No	Group Name	Service Status	Purchased Land
1	Kilimandjaro	Upgrade		45	Self Service	Upgrade	
2	Babilon	Upgrade		46	Gorengab Erf 12	Full	
3	Okahandja Park D	Full		47	Limandunglala	Upgrade	
4	Okahandja Park A	Upgrade		48	Jambidhinda	Upgrade	
5	Okahandja Park B	Upgrade		49	Twahangana	Upgrade	
6	Okahandja Park C	Upgrade		50	Ounongo Uoje Ngaurujame B	Upgrade	Purchased
7	Ongulumbashe	Upgrade		51	Greenwell D	Upgrade	
8	Onation No. 1	full		52	Greenwell C	Upgrade	
9	Distsami Saving Group B	Upgrade	Purchased	53	People Force	Upgrade	
10	Distsami Saving Group A	Upgrade	Purchased	54	Rehoboth	Upgrade	
11	Indileni Ndee Tamupewa	Upgrade	Purchased	55	Ounongo Uoje Ngaurujame A	Upgrade	
12	Samuel Maharero	Full		56	Turiparmwe Ounongo	Upgrade	Purchased
13	Okandundu	Full		57	New Hope Savings	Upgrade	Purchased
14	Omuthiya	Full		58	Dibasen	Upgrade	Purchased
15	Onghuyepongo	Full		59	Saamstaan (SDFN)	Upgrade	
16	Okatunda	Full		60	Uulalelo Ashe Okongolohi	Upgrade	Purchased
17	Omuramba			61	Uulalelo Ashe Okongolohi	Upgrade	Purchased
18	Onyika No.1	Upgrade		62	Kahumba Kandola	Upgrade	
19	Onyika No.2	Upgrade		63	Gongeleni Aantu Savings Scheme	Upgrade	Purchased
20	Tweetheni and Ehangano	Upgrade		64	Ngatukondje	Upgrade	
21	Onation No. 2			65	Onghendabala	Upgrade	Purchased
22	Epadulo			66	Gorengab West	Full	
23	Ondeli totela			67	Barcelona	Upgrade	
24	Johas Haiduwa	Upgrade		68	Barcelona Saving Scheme	Upgrade	Purchased
25	Kapuka Nauyala	Upgrade		69	New Life (SDFN)	Upgrade	
26	Oku Infill development	Full		70	Ikemoleng	Upgrade	
27	Freedom Land B	Upgrade		71	Otjomuise Ext 1 Infill Dev	Full	
28	Freedom Land A	Upgrade		72	Otjomuise 1 and 2	Upgrade	
29	Betesta	Upgrade		73	Goodland Housing Project	Upgrade	Purchased
30	Huidare	Upgrade	Purchased	74	Ehirorujano	Full	
31	Habitat			75	Dantango	Full	
32	Oohambo Dha Ne hale	Full		76	Longa Shoye	Full	
33	Havana Proper	Upgrade		77	Khaithani	Full	
34	Havana Ext 1	Upgrade		78	Otjomuise SDFN Group a	Upgrade	
35	Havana Ext 2-5	Upgrade		79	New Mintu Group	Upgrade	
36	Havana 6 & 7	Upgrade		80	Otjomuise S.H.G B	Upgrade	
37	Ipelegeng Bomma Savings	Upgrade	Purchased	81	Otjomuise SDFN B	Upgrade	
38	Uncontrolled sprawl Okuryangava			82	Erhandu Savings Group	Upgrade	Purchased
39	Uncontrolled sprawl Havana North			83	Otjomuise S.H.G A	Upgrade	
40	Uncontrolled sprawl Havana West			84	Otjomuise 6		
41	Africa Tongoshili	Upgrade		85	Otjomuise 7		
42	Onhele Ya Felewa	Upgrade		86	Mix Farm	Full	
43	Step by Step	Upgrade		87	Groot Aub Farm		
44	Gorengab Erf 700	Upgrade					

Table 1: Informal settlements in Windhoek, their services upgrading and land purchase statuses. The Thlabanelo settlement (labelled as 66 and highlighted in yellow) shows that no services were available, hence the 'full' services needed status. (Source: Adapted from the Informal Settlements Map, 2018).

Similar to other informal settlements in Windhoek, Thlabanelo is settled on the Municipality's land. It is fairly young in existence, compared to other informal settlements. Some estimations have established that the settlement might have been first settled in the last quarter of the 2000s; with the City of Windhoek (CoW)'s aerial maps capturing its first occupation in the 2011 aerial mapping exercise. As observed in the 2011 aerial image (Figure 7A), Thlabanelo only accommodated approximately one hundred and fifty-five structures, although no official document could inform this study about the actual number of households these structures represented. In comparison to the 2020 Google Earth image (Figure 7B), there has been an exponential boom in the population and densification within the settlement (refer to Figure 7 below). Furthermore, it has further been confirmed that this settlement is one of the city's localities where rapid settling and encroachment has manifested over the years.



Figure 7: Thlabanelo's exponential growth from 2011 in 7A on the left image to its current intensity in 2020 in 7B in the image on the right. (Sources: City of Windhoek, 2011; Google Earth, 2020)

5.3 Urban structure and Fabric

Within the sixty-plus (>60) hectares of the settlement, the selected site for this study is only some twenty-four (24) hectares of land, immediately adjacent to the formalised edge of Goreangab extension 3 towards the west and south-western edge, as shown in Figure 8. The chosen site has a fairly structured form, and is bounded by the Green Mountain collector Road on the north-eastern edge, an informal road on the northern edge - which is proposed to be formalized and expanded - and informal road networks on the east, west and southern edges (refer to Figure 3). The site's fabric is comprised of soft [unbuilt] spaces, the river streams, -one abandoned land portion which used to be an irrigation scheme and the other a multi-functional soccer field - and temporary structures [mainly of corrugated iron] arranged in some order, in comparison to the haphazard settlement structure on the west of the site. The site is one of informal settlements where the municipality has prohibited the construction of permanent structures for upgrading purposes, despite such attempts by the community. The river streams subdivide the site into blocks namely; Blocks A, B, C and D, which are relevant for structure numbering and service provision processes (City of Windhoek, 2019). Moreover, the roundabout turn of the Goreangab Road generates a volume of vehicles, people and goods traffic, which has created a local vibrant market area - a node of activity - complementing the spatial arrangement of people within the surroundings. These attributes are rich elements which one

immediately observes as components of the site's *genius loci* and hence relevant to consider in upgrading processes.

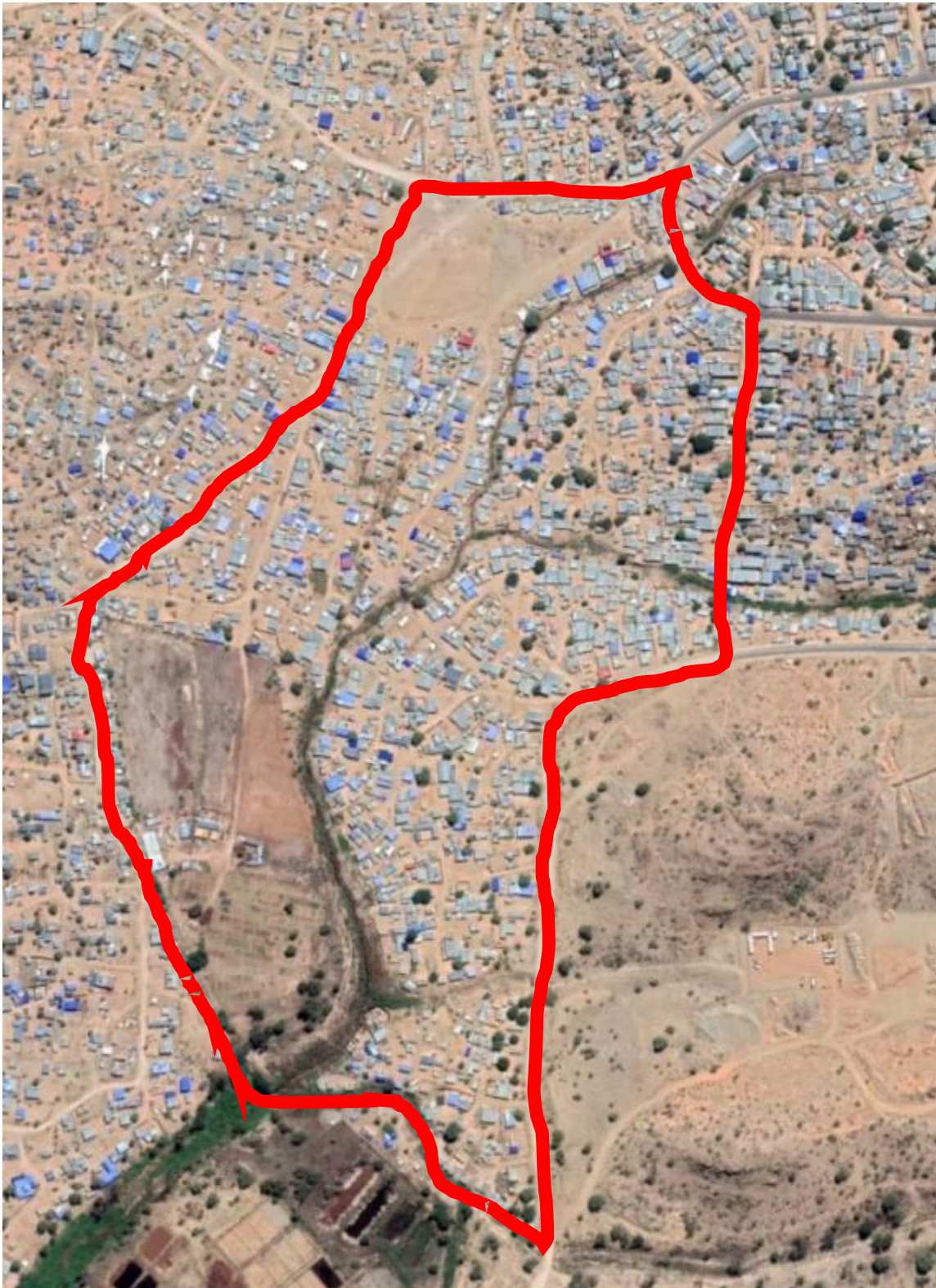


Figure 8: Study site within the Thlabanelo settlement, Goreangab. (Source: Google Earth, 2020).

5.4 Socio-economic Profile

Although the study could not obtain recent site-specific socio-economic data, the 2011 Census data has been obtained and presented as an indicative background on the community's profile. The data presented in Tables 2, 3 and 4 below reflects the site's population distribution amongst age groups and sex, the community's involvement in economic activities, and the types of households as defined by their sources of income, as per the 2011 Census. These datasets can provide insight in understanding the social, cultural and economic dynamics of the site. While these datasets are outdated, some of the data collected during the community focus group discussion will be used to present an updated outlook on the elements outlined below.

5.4.1 Ethnicity and culture

The site under analysis is a multicultural community with almost all Namibian ethnic tribes represented. Nonetheless, the Aawambo make up the majority ethnic group, rendering Oshiwambo as the most spoken language in the community on the site. Other ethnic groups, such as the Damara - Nama are also dominant within the site. Ethnicity immediately becomes relevant to understand the settling patterns, the housing material and designs, the extents of land occupied by single households, lifestyle preferences – for example gardening – and the types of economic activities different segments of this community participate in. During numerous visits onto the site for observations, it was noted how regardless of the time of day, there was always some presence of people in the public space and some level of activity. For this reason, it has been concluded that the settlement is one with an active public engagement culture.

5.4.2 Population sizes and age groups

An updated estimate of the population size living on the site is unknown, however the 2011 census indicated that more than 2000 residents lived in the settlement. The 2016 National Labour and Socio-Economic survey by the NSA and the recently concluded regional and local government elections have proven Samora Machel constituency, particularly this settlement in Goreangab, to accommodate a large population. While the current approximate number of households on the site is unknown, the 2011 data shows that the site is occupied by younger people; with the three major age cohorts being young children (aged 0 to 4), young adults (20-24) and school-going children (5-9 and 10-14), as shown in Table 2 below. The data could be interpreted to infer that the majority of residents on the site are younger adults with children. In addition to the population size, focus group discussion revealed a household average size of 3 to 6 people on the site, although household structures were not clearly articulated.

The group discussions further revealed that due to the land being on the city's periphery, more youth in need of land encroached on the cheap vacant land, and this accounts for the majority of young people on the settlement and within the site. It was clear during site visits that the site's vibrancy is accounted for by the community of many young people – school-going children and tertiary institution students – on their journeys from institutions of learning and some economically active working adults from places of employment. This observation would automatically hint at this community's types of developmental needs.

**2011 POPULATION BY FIVE (5) YEARS AGE
GROUP AND SEX**

Five-year age group	Sex			Activity Status	Sex			Households by source of Income	
	Total	Female	Male		Total	Female	Male	Source of Income	Total
0 - 4	126	64	62						
5 - 9	84	42	42						
10 - 14	86	29	57						
15 - 19	58	36	22						
20 - 24	117	59	58						
25 - 29	79	39	40	Economically Active (in Labour force)	419	191	228	Farming	1
30 - 34	79	36	43	Employed	298	114	184	Business Activity - Not Farming	32
35 - 39	71	35	36	Unemployed	121	77	44	Wages and Salaries	168
40 - 44	38	14	24	Economically Inactive	99	59	40	Old-Age Pension	0
45 - 49	35	14	21	Student	89	53	36	Cash Remittances	5
50 - 54	23	9	14	Homemaker	2	1	1	Retirement Fund	0
55 - 59	15	5	10	Income recipient	0	0	0	Orphan's Grant	2
60 - 64	10	5	5	Old age pensioner	1	1	0	Disability Grant	1
65 - 69	0	0	0	Unable to work (ill)	5	3	2	Others	4
70 - 74	2	1	1	Unable to work (disabled)	1	1	0	Total	213
75 - 79	2	2	0	Other	1	0	1		
80 - 84	4	3	1	Do not know	5	3	2		
85 - 89	0	0	0						
90 - 94	0	0	0						
95+	0	0	0						
TOTAL	829	393	436						

Table 2: The site's 2011 socio-economic data; population distribution in Age groups and Sex proportions, Economic activity status, and Household types by definition of their income sources. (*Source: Namibia, Statistics Agency, 2020*).

5.4.3 Employment and activities

At this point, the study lacks a verified outlook on the employment and unemployment figures of the site, however, there has been a clear legibility of the type of economic activities on the site. The Labour and Socio-Economic survey (NSA, 2016) and the Municipality's DUP (Development and Upgrading Policy, 2019) have indicated that most informal settlements residents are low and ultra-low-income earners who are either employed in the informal economy or formal employment sectors. A considerable number of residents on the site are unemployed and survive on family allowances and occasional earnings, while an equal proportion are self-employed. A variety of local business enterprises are evident on the site, varying from traditional food and beverages to leisure [alcohol] drinking outlets and hairdressing activities. Small spazza shops are also frequent on the site. Other activities within the site include household farming and/or gardening, offering Early Childhood Development (ECD) services, and scrapyards and auto-mechanical services. The site is also one of the settlements to have its soccer field which holds celebrations, political activities and recreation (See figure 9 below). The site also has a now-abandoned irrigation scheme.



Figure 9: Activities on the site. Image above shows a typical busy day at the local node, and the image below shows football and its spectators, adjacent to the node. Images were taken at the same time on the 2 August 2020 during a site visit. (Source: Author, 2020)

5.4.4 Services and Infrastructure

Thlabanelo is one of the settlements within the Municipality with no municipal services. A few communal water taps are found on the site; however, they are at some walking distance from houses. The site has no sanitation [toilet] facilities, except temporary self-made facilities. Simultaneously, electricity is not accessed by the residents, although those households closer to the formalised households have connected their structures. Individual households have made efforts to power their

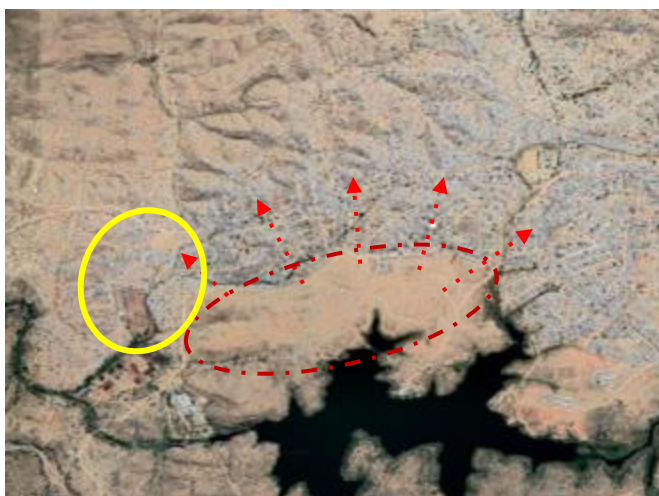
homes with solar energy and some use gas for cooking. In terms of access and mobility, only informal roads provide access around the site, however, there has been information from the Municipality of plans to extend a major road from the north-west of the settlement to the Green Mountain Road. With regards to social facilities, educational, health and policing facilities are more than 2 kilometres away. At the moment, no government school[s] of any schooling level are within the site, and the nearest primary school is approximately two and a half (2.5) kilometres away in Goreangab extension two. The network of river streams is currently used as waste deposit sites and open space is used for open defecation.

5.5 Proposed Developments

This section of the chapter considers on-going development plans within and around the site. Enhancing understanding of on-going activities within its surroundings informs the suitability of proposed interventions and highlight possible impacts from existing activities. Firstly, it briefly studies a large scale waterfront development project on the south-eastern edge of the site and considers possible implications of such development onto the site. Secondly, the section discusses the draft plan designed for the site, outlining limitations within the plan and laying a foundation to enhance upgrading means and propositions in the interventions chapter ahead.

5.5.1 Proximity project: Waterfront Development

The proposed waterfront development on the south-eastern edge of the site is circled in red and the site is adjacent to it as circled in yellow, as shown in Figure 10 below. The red arrows illustrate the development's spatial impact on its surrounding settlements. According to information found on the development custodian website, the Windhoek waterfront development, the project is a mixed-use development with mixed-housing options and economic activities. According to the developers, the development is intended to generate increased land value, localised economic opportunities, improved social amenities and an improved life quality in this marginalised area of the city (Windhoek Waterfront Development, 2020; The Architecture Master Prize, 2020). Contrasted to the developers' viewpoint, there appears to be a disjuncture between the anticipated 'mix' of development, with which the development has been justified, and the affordability levels of development provided in the project. The gap between the type of development provided for (refer particularly to Figure 11 below) and the lived realities of the residents surrounding the development raises scepticism about the further marginalization and exclusion of these communities, because the development plans do not seem to capture the surrounding residents' lived realities. Instead, the development appears to cater



for middle to upper classes of the market, which could result in the displacement of the community.

Figure 10: The Waterfront development in proximity to the site and its projected catalytic growth and land appreciation effect on its surrounding; and particularly the study area. *Source: (Google Earth, 2020).*

The site's proximate situation to the waterfront development would in theory bear numerous advantages to the site. According to the city planners, a few of such benefits are the Municipality's cheaper infrastructure expenditures when the settlement upgrading commences later. A given example are the sewerage ponds being developed by the developers on their site, which the Municipality envisions using later to drain Thlabanelo when upgrading commences. Other probable benefits to the community may be job opportunities for technical [maintenance] and cleaning services in the development and the eventual appreciation of surrounding land, which in theory the planners expect to spill over the development surroundings. However, these opportunities do not overshadow the social exclusion this development would create, despite its proximity. The developers' website confirms the development's likelihood to cater for the middle class' housing needs, given its housing types and their costs. This attribute alone eliminates any chance for the surrounding community to reside in the development [despite the land being well located to have accommodated the residents]. As shown in Figure 12 below, these housing types range from 2-3-bedroom houses, classified as suburban, sectional titles, double storeys and streetliner houses, each on a three hundred or more (300) square meter plot of land. Single storey two and three freestanding and semi-detached houses range between N\$ 850 000 and N\$ 985 000, while double-storey two and three house types range from N\$ 750 000 to N\$1 200 000. From these pricing figures, residents within the settlement have no chance of equally benefiting from these developments, given their socio-economic profile shown in Table 2 above.



Figure 11: The 3-Dimensional view of the Waterfront development and the kind of development it promotes. It appears to be an up-market development, with no acknowledgement of the surrounding settlements' realities. *(Source: Windhoek Waterfront Development, 2020).*



Figure 12: The Housing typologies offered in the waterfront development. The top image shows double storey house types, ranging from N\$750 000 – N\$1 200 000, while the image below shows single storey houses ranging between N\$850 000 to N\$985 000. (Source: Windhoek Waterfront Development, 2020).

5.5.2 Current Upgrading plan

The Municipality's current draft layout plan for the site is evaluated here in terms of the planning and design principles, its technical provisions in relation to socio-economic needs, as well as existing and proposed developments, especially the waterfront development discussed in the preceding subsection. This layout is shown below in Figure 8. It is important to note a probable assumption on which the upgrade plan has been drafted: that families within the site have regular incomes, and they are at a financial standing where they are able to rent or buy formal housing units.

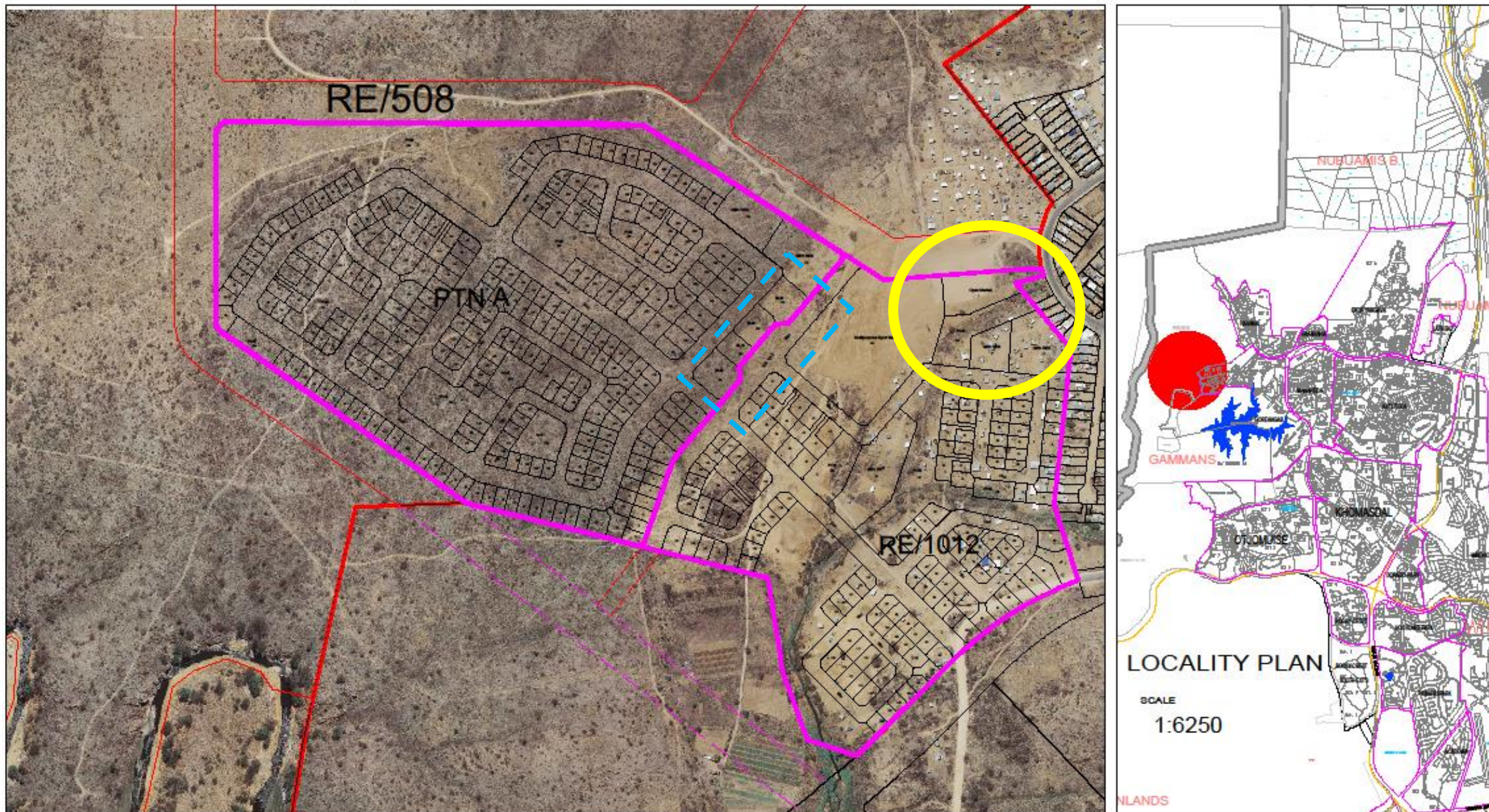
The upgrade plan has several limitations which are discussed here. Firstly, the plan does not seem to have been informed by the fundamental needs and affordability of the Thlabanelo community, as most interventions assume a vehicle-oriented community able to buy and/or rent individual properties. The one institutional erf indicated on the plan is not enough to accommodate the community's pressing needs for a health facility, a primary/junior school or a policing facility within the area. Secondly, the plan does not show a clear relationship with the large-scale waterfront development on its south-eastern edge, and as such, the urban form around the settlement may not be well synchronised with the new development. This limitation is evident with the unclear road alignment on the south-eastern edge of the site, in relation to the detailed road design in the waterfront development in Figure 6 above. In addition to the road detailing, another limitation is with the extension of the road labelled RE/508 in Figure 7 to the Green Mountain Road lacks a well-considered road design fit for that node. The plan does not illustrate how it will accommodate the anticipated volume of traffic – both people and vehicles – onto the local node to be created as a result

of the envisioned road extension from the west. In the fourth case, more clear design principles need to characterise the plan, in terms of place-making tools and elements [example gateways, precincts of significance, diverse erven sizes and street widths] to enhance the site's identity, sustainability, integration and social justice among other performance qualities.

On affordable housing and accessible economic opportunities, the plan does illustrate the **60/40** residential provisions principle described in the DUP. This principle makes provision for more residents to be accommodated on smaller portions of land, reserving some twenty (20) percent of land for public spaces, economic opportunities and other amenities (Development and Upgrading Policy, 2019). Given the estimated large population size on the site, the planners argue that the principle will guarantee a minimal number of relocations, if any at all, due to its capacity to accommodate many residents. This argument is however inadequate, as it appears that only four (4) business erven (shown in blue rectangle in Figure 8 below) are planned for the entire settlement, which can be argued insufficient to accommodate the township economy within the community. Closely located to the business erven, the dominant residential erven provision encourages individual house ownership and rented housing typologies, whose affordability to the current residents on-site is questionable.

Despite the upgrade plan's limitations outlined above, some positive aspects about the plan observed. One of them is the guiding planning and design principle which orders the site by the network of river streams. The plan clearly recognises and responds to the river system as the main structuring element of the site, and this recognition is intended to maintain the site's character. The planning of the river stream network also integrates well into the natural systems within the surrounding areas and there is an opportunity to transform these nine (9) marked open spaces on the site into useful recreational spaces for the community (See upgrade plan in figure 13 below). Secondly, the market area and the sports field have been preserved in the layout, with the city planners suggesting plans to transform the existing soccer field into a multifunctional sports facility centre. Adjacent to it are the local market area and two [high density] general residential areas, which will altogether announce a local node for the community (refer to the yellow circle in Figure 8 below). In this small manner, the plan would give the community an opportunity to experience an enhanced sense of a cohesion with the services to be offered.

See Figure 13 overleaf.



Erf Zoning	No of Erven	Erf size range
Residential	279	250-600sqm
General Residential	2	
Business	4	
Insitutional	1	
Public open Space	9	
Total No of Erven	295	




REV.	DATE	DRAWN	CHECKED	REVISIONS
CARDEX:				REF. DWG:
FILE:				NETWORK: data4all RE_508/Farm 1012
		DESIGNED BY:	DATE	TOWNSHIP ESTABLISHMENT ON PTN A (A PTN OF FARM 1012) (FARM 1012 IS A PTN OF FARM RE/508)
		Helena	2020	
		CHECKED:	DATE	
Kakero	2020	HUMAN SETTLEMENT	DATE	
SCALE				REV.
1:4000				Farm 1012

Figure 13: Proposed Layout for Portions A and Re/1012 on which the site is located, in which the study area falls. The blue rectangle indicates the business erven provided on the site and the yellow circle illustrates the local node location (Source: City of Windhoek, 2020).

5.6 Conclusion

Thlabanelo is one of the large and vibrant informal settlements in Windhoek which rapidly settled thousands of residents over the years. Its local context and the site are interesting in its multi-layered dynamics and the potential elements; existing market area, river system and soccer field, the settlement exhibits for its progression. These elements make up the natural and cultural assets of the settlement. These however have not been optimally harnessed in the current upgrade plan to enable the settlement's progression. The site's development potential is challenged by its level of marginalization, due to unemployment and low incomes, which would be expressed in the unaffordability challenge to access services. Thlabanelo's dominant population, the youth, would require more age-appropriate planning interventions, however the current upgrade plan and the proximate waterfront development do not seem to enhance such opportunities for this population segment.

There are three main attributes to take from this chapter, namely i) the site's characteristics presents a unique opportunity to harness the dynamics of informality and to strategically package these and develop them into a closely-knit community. ii) the settlement accommodates [and continues to attract] more residents, whose majority are a young, studying and modestly earning population. This aspect alone is indicative of where the city's future dominant population is located, hence the need to accelerate service delivery and generously invest efforts into the locality's development. The iii) attribute is relevant in that it proposes a [Windhoek] precedent for a large-scale high-end development in a predominantly low-income informality area, and how such developments affect upgrading mechanisms will be learned to inform the City's future practices. The developmental and upgrading assumptions made by the planners and developers will be reflected on in a later chapter, however the chapter now turns to the findings of the completed empirical research.

Chapter 6: Research Findings

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the Thlabanelo settlement and the site under study. This chapter now returns to the unpacking of the research problem and methodology as set out in the first and third chapters, by presenting findings from the empirical research done. The research problematizestheuseof the ‘*eradication*’ language in seeking ways to upgrade and re-conceptualize Windhoek’s informality. Given this, the findings in this chapter help answer the research questions, by presenting descriptive findings according to the sources of information, only interpreting and reflecting on them in the following chapter. With the leading question of ‘*how has the President’s idea of eradicating informality influenced upgrading efforts and attitudes*’; the chapter synthesizes collected data on the three main research ‘threads of inquiry’ introduced earlier in the Methods chapter. The findings are presented under smaller themes where raw data is presented where possible in the form of quotes to communicate actual responses and emotions of the participants. For confidentiality reasons, the participants are referred to as ‘*participant/official 1, 2, 3*’ for anonymity. Readers are also reminded that some of the detailed research instruments are found in the Appendix section.

The chapter is structured in four main subsections including this introductory section. Following this subsection, the community’s responses are presented. In the third subsection, the Municipality officials’ responses are presented and understanding of positioning and dealing with informality in Windhoek are discussed. The fourth subsection then presents findings from academics and NGOs. Finally, the chapter ends with an emphasis of the main findings of the research.

6.2 The community’s responses

This sub-section presents findings gathered from a group discussion with ten (10) household members from the study area. The residents ranged from young adults aged between the mid-twenties and older adults in their mid-forties. Some of these participants are amongst the first settlers on the site, while others settled three to four years ago. The reader is also reminded that these participants were selected in a snow-ball manner, where the community leaders within the site referred me to the next participant, balancing the representation between the community leaders on the site and ordinary residents. These participants also reside on different parts of the site, giving a balanced representation of the community.

6.2.1 Settling and living in Thlabanelo

A body of literature has confirmed that informal settlements grow as a result of the in-migrations of people from a different setting into a new urban setting, but more from the migration of people within the urban context. For this reason, the study aimed to establish how Thlabanelo as a settlement evolved and grew. One of the two main findings of the study established that Thlabanelo grew from within the city, not necessarily from residents directly moving into the space from other areas outside Windhoek. The group discussion revealed that the first residents on the settlement settled between 2008 and 2010, and they came from other localities and settled in Thlabanelo, in search of their own land portion. One of the participants narrates as follows:

“I am originally from Ohangwena Region. When I first came to Windhoek in 2012, I first lived with relatives in Greenwell Matongo [Goreangab], then later moved to Rocky Crest where I rented a room. In 2018, I left Rocky Crest in search of my own place, and that is when I came to Thlabanelo with my daughter. I used to ship clothes from abroad and sell locally, but since the Covid-19 pandemic occurred, I have lost my income and have been surviving on my savings and minor incomes here and there.” (Participant 1)

Other accounts are much longer than the above account, and they are associated with work opportunities and seeking of services. In addition, the second important finding is the way they move into the settlement – that of quietly encroaching into the unoccupied space. In the account below for instance, one of the participants connects the need for land to the accessibility to work opportunities. The community also recalled how the municipality tried to prevent settling on the land, but more people settled either way. Another participant narrates:

“I am originally from the Elim constituency in the Omusati Region and I first came to Windhoek to work in the Ramatex textile factory, where I worked from 2002 to 2008 when it closed down. I lived with family members in Wambo location at the time. In-between my employment at the factory, I rented rooms elsewhere twice; once in Havana, and the other time Ombili. Then in 2011, I was informed that there was cheap land in Thlabanelo [number] 3 which only cost N\$ 600.00. I bought my portion of land from people I was introduced to as the owners and moved on the portion that same year. I remember I was one of the furthest on the settlement when I put up my structure... I now live here with my family [six members in total] and I work at the Constituency Council’s Food Bank scheme and I volunteer in the community development committee, while my husband has a formal job in town.” (Participant 2)

Households on the site range from two to six members on average, and there seems to be a balanced ratio of men to women. Apart from food theft by monkeys which occasionally visit homes from the mountains, the community’s living experience on the site seems satisfactory, as they explain that there aren’t cases of theft or crime in general, nor conflicts. The general relational atmosphere within the community is friendly as I observed neighbours informing each other to guard one of the other’s home while they rush out quickly. Snacks were also organized for the group discussion. Another observation I made was the level of alarm the community showed as I approached the scheduled discussion home, especially the children playing. These actions showed how closely knit and guarded the community was.

6.2.2 Interpretation of the eradication rhetoric

The second intention of the discussion was to gather the community’s emotions and interpretations of the eradication rhetoric. Given that the discussion was mostly in *Oshiwambo*, I was very careful with asking the eradication rhetoric question not to influence their responses by trying to translate the declaration, therefore I used the same “informal settlement eradication” language. The responses were not always explicit, and in some cases did not answer the question (familiarize with residents’ questions in appendix). Mixed interpretations of what the president meant emerged, some suggesting he meant relocation, others suggested building houses for residents and another group stated efforts to improve residents’ living conditions to get rid of destitute realities in informal settlements. Regarding how the eradication declaration made them feel, the group rather digressed on the stigma and victimization with which they are associated, by being called “illegal” settlers or living in “an illegal area”.

The discussion furthermore yielded insight on the community's thoughts on the background of the declaration by the president. At this point, I noted the uninterested expressions in the participants short unsubstantiated answers, as well as their laying back bodies. Some even looked on their phones. After probing further, I realized a common frustration with the Municipality's response to their lived experiences, hence whatever the cause of the declaration was, they were uninterested. A consensus was then presented; that this declaration was politically influenced. The group referred to the 2015 election campaign period when the settlement received its first communal water taps, persisting that the declaration was a campaign strategy by the ruling party to gain political support. One of the participants expressed that:

"It [declaration] could have been a campaign strategy for those in government to gain votes for the presidential elections. You know those politicians always do these things whenever elections are coming up [...] even some of the sanitation facilities and water taps you hear being distributed in any informal area recently, it is either because of the Hepatitis E outbreak in 2017 or this year's Covid-19 [...] now they are promising to provide houses for us in informal settlements, let us wait and see." (Participant 3)

Regardless of the trigger for the declaration, the residents were split between ignoring the president's message and remaining hopeful that their dreams to own their own land and houses will materialize. They moreover envision an improved future where their homes will get electrified and possibly have individual water in their homes, given the small level of development they have acquired since they settled on the land. The 'level of development' they referred to here was their shared communal water taps in comparison to their earlier years then they would need to fill up containers with water to last them for a week, depending on the household size.

6.2.3 Views on upgrading

I found that the community parallels the meaning of 'upgrading' to 'holistic development', in addition to services and infrastructure provision. I noticed that in defining what upgrading meant to everyone was associated with the individual's current developmental need and their priorities of needs. I noted several words with which the community associates upgrading, namely: "re-organization", "relocation", "order", "service provision", and "land ownership". One of the participants emphasizes that:

"Upgrading for me is about getting access to water and electricity, but mostly it means getting ownership of land. What most of us need is to own our own land, then we can figure out how we can build it." (Participant 3)

It was at this point when I asked how practical it is for everyone to get a portion of land, considering the finite land available. The participant's response suggested that the community can be provided with options from which they can select according to their needs and affordability levels. Reference was made to owning land as a group of self-organized individuals (which the majority did not approve) or getting smaller even. The participant insisted that:

"The square meters of land can even go low, as long as people have their own pieces of land. Even a 150 square meters piece of land is alright". (Participant 3)

I further asked for opinions on the Municipality's perceived slow upgrading process. The responses did not necessarily answer the 'why do you think it is slow' question but highlighted what is lacking from the upgrading package. Moreover, this question sparked criticism and frustrations about what the

Municipality is failing to provide the community, and the much-needed services the community needs. Below are some of the responses:

“The Municipality is very reluctant to engage the community [about its need], [...] it is also partial or corrupt because there are a few residents who you will see building a formal house... how did they get building permission if no permanent structures are yet allowed in an informal settlement?... So it’s slow, because it jumps ordinary residents to serve people who seem to have influence or status.” (Participant 1)

“It is slow because there is a lack of initiatives from the Municipality to assist the community develop, and there are conflicted parties within the Municipality... For example, look at how many young people are in Thlabanelo, but there are no youth programmes –young people waste their time just drinking alcohol.” (Participant 5)

“The Municipality loves money... they do anything, even provide services to charge the community more money. Political leaders do not understand the community; therefore, they do not truly work for or with the community. Even this food bank is a very good initiative for the community, but it excludes most residents just for simple reasons like not having identification documents.” (Participant 2)

6.2.4 Nuanced upgrading mechanisms

The participants highlighted several factors to be incorporated in the upgrading of the settlement. Firstly, they emphasize the need for the Municipality to start engaging communities about development programmes, not only when relocations are anticipated. They also requested that institutional services be availed for the community, especially schools, a clinic and a policing center, as the nearest ones now are in other neighborhoods more than 2 kilometers away. On this background, the participants even suggested that the now abandoned garden be the site for the school, since it is centrally located and not currently occupied, hence no displacement of people will occur. Regarding tenure rights, the community wants land titles, but not renting or sharing. I further asked their position on the Municipality’s intention to densify settlements for better accommodation of people and they confirmed that these ideas will be welcomed, if the Municipality explains them well to the community and well in advance.

6.2.5 Conclusion

The Thlabanelo community was first settled by residents from other localities within Windhoek, who quietly encroached on a vacant piece of land on the periphery of the city at the time. The community’s interpretations of the president’s eradication rhetoric are that it was politically influenced for the ruling party to earn political support for the 2019 presidential elections, however the community remains hopeful that it inspires the Municipality to focus on providing their developmental needs. It was clarified that the community’s upgrading expectations should be expanded to include a holistic approach to the social, economic and cultural development of the residents, beyond the provision of municipal services. The community however emphasized that they do not necessarily want to be provided with formal housing, but with tenure security. This counters the state assertion that the eradication of informal settlements is the best solution. In exploring enhanced mechanisms to include in upgrading processes, the participants emphasize the need to be engaged consistently across time.

6.3 City of Windhoek's responses

In this subsection, I turn to the Municipality's responses. I have set the empirical study in this flow to ensure that the CoW officials respond to the interview questions, but on top of that, they cross-verify some of the findings I obtained from the community. I remind the reader that the officials interviewed are from the Human Settlements, Community development and Sustainable Development divisions. The officials work in different portfolios: some are planning technicians, some are developing officers, while others work in managerial positions. Furthermore, this diversity in employment duties is complimented by a good mix of experience, ranging from 3 years to over a decade in their current positions.

6.3.1 Understanding the plight of informality

The study found a shift in the Municipality's attitude towards urban informality. This shift in attitude was found in the tolerance and acceptance levels, which have not entirely superseded the colonial regime's attitude, however they have shifted from a complete control attitude [by fencing off and demolition of structures] to a more accommodative and negotiating attitude. In addition, the planners further acknowledged that informal settlements have outgrown the 'reception areas' status, with which earlier administrations defined them, and that they are now 'lived realities' and a fully-fledged type of settlement within the city. The officials confirmed that these settlements are one of the City's priorities, as more people are accommodated in them, and it is becoming clear that future residents will be accommodated in them as well. On the growth of informal settlements in Windhoek, one of the officials responded:

"There seems to be no stopping [...] informal settlements are fast-growing than the formal areas, and most people coming to the city are poor people." (Official 1)

The state in informal settlements was described to have deteriorated. On a different note, I found that the planning and engineering divisions within the Municipality lack a common position and outlook on informal settlements. The officials revealed that the engineering division still has a somewhat narrow view on the complex nature of informality, and that they underpin informal settlements with being stubborn. One of the officials stated that:

"As planners, we plan with an understanding that these [informal settlements] are not stubborn realities, but are people's living realities, [...] I do not foresee informal settlements going away, because remember they fill gaps in the housing and service provision systems, and as long as a segment of our population is challenged by unaffordability to live in formal areas. So we need to treat informality with all these things in mind." (Official 2)

6.3.2 Eradication rhetoric interpretation

Given the officials' understanding of informality as described above, I investigated their interpretation of the eradication declaration made by the president, and its implications thereof on their complimentary responsibilities. Upon introducing the research topic and problem statement, I found two contrasting reactions on the 'eradication' rhetoric, which are worth mentioning: i) that too much inquiry into the language being used is unnecessary, as the underlying message is clear, while ii) that the language being used is critical, because it sets the tone and command of instruction on which work will be done. In their exact reactions, official 3 justified the rhetoric by saying:

"What is problematic about the language here?... What the president means is just that the government will be committed to improve the situation in informal settlements." (Official 3)

On the other hand, official 4 condemned the rhetoric:

“No, we do not use such language. We do not eradicate; we upgrade informal settlements.”
(Official 4)

One important detail I observed was that most officials were not well-familiarized with the eradication declaration, but only with the declaration of informal settlements being in a humanitarian crisis. I had to explain that the eradication declaration followed and showed the officials the printed media articles. Nonetheless, one of the officials recounted the declaration well, because he was among the Municipality officials who accompanied the president to the informal settlements' familiarization visit in 2018.

“...In fact, I was on the site visit with the president in 2018 [...] The president even went on to say he does not want Windhoek to be an informal city or just like another typical African city where informality is seen as a norm. But interpretation is something else, intent is what is important.”
(Official 1)

From the above explanation by the official, I gained insight in the intentions the Geingob administration has for the capital city and a sense of background to the rhetoric justification. When asked to comment on the practicality of the eradication declaration and what foreseen impacts it may have on the future of informal settlements in Windhoek, the officials were adamant to comment explicitly, highlighting that the actionability of the declaration depends on the financial reservations allocated by the national government. The officials also confirmed that the Municipality is dedicated to improving the living conditions in these settlements, hence the declaration is in alignment with their strategic goal to provide adequate housing and services to all its residents. Official 1 responded:

“If we go with the message by the president, we do not envision informal settlements as part of Windhoek's future. [...] Of course the limitations will be the availability of financial resources, but what we will do is to target a number of particular projects in a financial year, where we target a combination of 2500 single and general residential units per year, to eradicate the housing problem in the next five (5) years.” (Official 1)

In responses to my questions about the implications the declaration has had on the divisions' operations, officials from the Human settlements division indicated that it has resulted in the division redirecting its priorities to focus on the mass planning of greenfields and brownfield intensification. On the other hand, the planners express that it has put strain on the already limited technical capacity within the division; highlighting the voluminous workload amongst a small team, and inefficient working equipment. From a forward planning viewpoint, the officials explained that the declaration has not set a new plan or action, but it has only placed emphasis and added some momentum to the Municipality's efforts towards service provision. The official furthermore cautioned me to note that its development projects [referring to the electrification of informal settlements, such as Havana Proper, Okahandja Park and Otjomuise, and the on-going 200 houses handover] were already planned and running long before the declaration, Hepatitis E, the second land conference, and Covid-19, and now the regional and local government elections emerged, as several claims have been heard to argue otherwise. In the official's words:

“These events only emphasised the urgency in tackling informality and the declaration intensified the Municipality's commitment and assisted the city to prioritise this objective.” (Official 1)

6.3.3 Municipality's upgrading strategy

After gathering the officials' interpretations of the eradication declaration, I interrogated numerous aspects pertaining to the Municipality's upgrading strategy. I found that the 1999 Informal Settlements Upgrading Strategy was revised into the new Development and Upgrading Policy, approved and adopted by the Windhoek Municipal Council in July 2019. To this end, I caution the reader that my study investigated the new upgrading policy, since there are just a few fundamental changes between the new and the old strategy. In the interpretations chapter ahead, I will however make comparisons between the new and the old documents as the discussion may necessitate.

The first aspect I sought clarity on was the Municipality's definition of 'upgrading' and the attributes the upgrading process constituted. I first consulted with the new upgrading strategy for its definition of upgrading, before asking the officials to respond. This is to investigate the consistency between the formally adopted policy position on upgrading, and the implementing agents of the policy. According to the Development and Upgrading Policy (2019:10):

"[Upgrading] is an action whereby an existing formal or informal settlement is regularized to provide a form of security of tenure or where new or additional municipal services are installed or a combination of these is pursued. An upgrading programme may comprise of various combinations, depending on the target community's need, priorities and affordability levels."

Furthermore, the policy described an 'upgrading area' as:

"An existing informal settlement undergoing or scheduled for upgrading and its associated greenfield development."

The policy also clarified the forms in which upgrading occurs. One, through 'in-situ' development, also referred to as brownfield development, where "the upgrading of a community's living conditions (such as installing additional services and subdivision for individual ownership) on the site where it is settled" (Development and Upgrading Policy, 2019:4). Two, through 'new field development', also referred to as greenfield developments, where "land development on a terrain where no households are settled at the time of planning, and the development follows a normal path of planning, servicing, registration (including allocation) and occupation." (Development planning and Upgrading Policy, 2019:4). With regards to the planners' definition, I found that all officials were consistent in highlighting one aspect; service and infrastructure provision. In addition to that emphasis, I found that the Municipality adopted a compartmentalised approach to upgrading and development, where utility service provision is separated from housing and social amenities provision. Official 2 explained that:

"From a planning perspective, an area is considered to have been upgraded if a layout plan has been drafted to make sure that people are settled in an orderly manner, and the plan has undergone all necessary the planning procedures - going through the NAMPAB and Townships Board, and has been granted approval. But one also has to think of an approval services layout plan, [...] we can say an area has been upgraded if its access to the basic services [water, electricity and sewerage]." (Official 2)

I further probed why the emphasis has only been on service provision among other aspects, when services alone would not improve the residents' qualities of life. Official 2 responded by highlighting that upgrading is a multidimensional concept, which could even be studied further. In cross-referencing the community's

expectations of incorporating more social development initiatives in the upgrading process, Official 5 still held firmly onto the city's position that upgrading and housing provision are not mutually exclusive:

"An upgrading settlement in our definition is a situation where we have improved living conditions of residents of an area- by that we mean the residents have been provided with municipal services." (Official 5)

The officials' position on what constituted upgrading remained that utility services were the only aspect the Municipality considered as a component of the upgrading process, on top of arranging residents in an orderly manner. Unlike the housing aspect which seemed to matter, however was viewed as another 'phase' of development, very little reference was made to land ownership as being a considerable aspect. It was then necessary to interrogate situations such as *Onyika settlement*, where services were provided, however it arguably looks un-upgraded. Official's response gave more insight as follows:

"That then becomes a housing issue. Housing and upgrading are two different things, which are usually confused by people. Remember, we have an independent housing policy in this country, so when you are providing housing you are not upgrading an informal settlement, but you are basically just building a house... and it should be viewed in that light. Unless we say the upgrading, we are embarking upon is that of housing units, but at the moment, the upgrading we are doing is to improve the service conditions of service layouts within informal settlements." (Official 1)

The views expressed by the officials on the upgrading definition evoked some critical reflections on the Municipality's fundamental principles governing its rationale and approach to the upgrading process. These reflections will however be discussed later in the following chapter. My final follow-up question asked whether other aspects apart from housing could be harmonized with the service provision in the upgrading process, as an approach towards holistically developing informal settlements, and the officials gravitated towards emphasizing the need for an incremental approach which sees development take shape in phases. The officials explained that this approach helps communities to afford services better, and it is beneficial for the Municipality, because service provision is done on a cost-recovery basis.

Proceeding with responses, the officials also shared opinions on the responsiveness and performance of the upgrading strategy towards improving living conditions in informal settlements. I particularly interrogated the officials' responses to the public's perception that the Municipality's upgrading process is slow and lacking in scope. Five out of seven officials disagreed that the Municipality has been slow and unsatisfactory in upgrading informal settlements.

"It is not necessarily true, considering that Windhoek is the economic centre of Namibia, so the number of people moving to the city cannot be compared to the number of people moving to Karibib for instance, therefore the upgrading impact in Windhoek cannot be felt as clear as that in Karibib's informal settlements." (Official 2)

It was further explained that the general public lacks insight on the magnitude of work that the Municipality handles. To this end, some officials felt that contrary to the public's belief, the Municipality was doing well, in comparison to other urban areas, despite the large population to which it renders services:

"In fact, Windhoek is even doing better because it has been proven that the number of erven, we service are more than any of those serviced by other local authorities. [...] People are not able to

comprehend and to contextualise the magnitude of what Windhoek is dealing with in comparison to the rest of other local authorities. They also think the municipality has money [to fast track upgrading processes], but they do not know that Windhoek does not have money, and as an autonomous municipality, it has not been receiving any funds from the government until recently.” (Official 1)

However, the remaining two officials expressed that the public’s frustrations were justified, because the processes can be lengthy, due to the bureaucracy within the planning system. Furthermore, these officials cited a disjuncture within the planning system, where a formal planning system and all its technical requirements is applied on an informal system, whose fundamental principles of existence are completely different.

“We need to relook at how we apply all these technical requirements, like minimal street widths, which seem to work well in formal areas, but difficult to adopt in informal areas, because of difficulties on the ground. How do we promote 15 meters wide streets in informal settlements, when residents there barely have cars to get to their homes?” (Official 2)

Some of the experienced upgrading challenges expressed included limited finances to undertake scaled upgrading processes, the lengthy planning processes, due to technical clashes between the planners and the engineers on the technicalities of settlement layout plans. Moreover, the Municipality is challenged with inadequate technical capacity to accelerate upgrading processes. The officials further highlighted the projected massive populations presented a challenge, due to the lack of land available for future accommodation. The current challenge associated with this phenomenon is the community’s stern traditional preference of individual residential properties, as opposed to the willingness to explore other land and housing ownership options.

According to the officials, the revised upgrading strategy recently reduced service installation standards and costs to meet the low and ultra-low communities of the city’s affordability levels. Requests to further re-negotiate the services installation standards is not an option, because as the officials put it:

“Unfortunately, standards cannot be further negotiated, because they are set for safety and health precautions, and once they are reduced and you consider health hazards, such as Hepatitis E, then informal settlements quickly become breeding grounds for health hazards. Any further service reduction of these standards could result in serious hazards.” (Official 5)

With regards to reducing high upgrading costs, the officials argued that increasing residential densities is the only feasible way to reduce installation costs.

“Increasing densities is the only way to reduce costs... The shorter the distance to be covered for service installation, the cheaper it will be. Also, the more the people to benefit from a service, the better the affordability of that utility service. So, densities and intensification of people should be the way forward.” (Official 6)

Regarding the communities’ traditional mindsets and reservations towards exploring different other forms of residential ownership [particularly general residential] and living in higher densities, the officials emphasised the need for a mindset shift towards general residential types of accommodation:

“Whether there is a shift or not, urban areas are areas of intense development and urban services are better provided when people are in high densities. So, we have to convince our people for their mindsets to move towards that shift. We can only do more with what we have [finances] if we are doing intense development. If we continue to sprawl, there are going to be problems.” (Official 4).

6.3.4 Nuanced and holistic upgrading approaches

The officials did not provide insightful opinions to prompts I made pertaining to aspects to improve the settlements’ upgrading mechanisms. However, I referred to the DUP to understand the technical service provisions and upgrading principles. These principles include a public participation process and a socio-economic profiling exercise. I furthermore found that the collaborative relationship with other development stakeholders, the communities, NGOs and Universities, was estranged, given the reactions I noted:

Very short and simple responses about NGOs and community relationships. Not so often communication with these stakeholders shown in the ‘here and there’, as well as ‘good’ language when referring to collaborations with high learning institutions, NGOs and the community. (Interview notes).

I found that some officials had a more generic understanding of Thlabanelo than others. Some of the attributes they referenced, such as the old Chinese garden on the site, had ceased operating, and are abandoned. I also found that there is a draft upgrading layout plan for the site, yet to be circulated within the Municipality for comments. Upon studying the layout, as discussed in chapter 5, there is fundamental disjuncture between the development proposed in the draft layout plan and the expected level of development on such an unplanned informal settlement, as highlighted in the DUP. The overall impression of the draft plan is that it is unaffordable for the site residents, with reference to the general residential [sectional titles] forms of land and housing provision.

When asked about any important function Thlabanelo has to its surroundings and the city at large, most of the officials did not highlight any significance, besides that ‘it is important to the residents living there’. Official 2 however highlighted the local node, comprising the existing informal market and the soccer field there, being a note-worthy component of the site. Similarly, there were simple responses on the question about surrounding developments, such as the Waterfront development on the south-eastern edge of the site and the Ongos extension development on the further north of the settlement, which is envisioned to grow towards the informal settlements. According to official 7:

“It is good that those developments are happening before the upgrading of Thlabanelo, so that the city can save on servicing costs... Like there in Ongos, they have one large sewerage pond, which the city can later use to drain these northern informal settlements when we upgrade them.” (Official 7)

Tenure security did not strongly feature in the discussion as a fundamental component to include in the upgrading process. It was nonetheless found that the Municipality was at the time of these interviews, running an acknowledgement of occupation certificates to several informal areas within the city. Several households within some parts of Thlabanelo had benefited from this initiative, while the rest of the settlement was to be included later.

Overall, no nuanced responses were gathered to upgrading Thlabanelo or informal settlements in the broader sense. Instead, the DUP was cited as the guide to direct the upgrading processes, and divisions would provide forward and technical planning in these upgrading processes. In addition, strengthening collaboration with other stakeholders was mentioned as an add-on.

6.3.5 Conclusion

The Municipality officials acknowledged that informal settlements are lived realities for the less-economically advantaged population segments in urban areas. The latter is a major shift from earlier perceptions that informality was a temporary condition, which needed to be controlled and/or alleviated. The officials expressed that the eradication rhetoric's interpretation is less important. Instead, its intention to focus on, and accelerate service delivery in informal settlements towards social progression should be highlighted. In the definition of 'upgrading', the research found that the concept is strongly connoted with utility service provision, and it is distinguished from other development attributes, such as housing and social amenities. Furthermore, the officials disputed claims of slow and poor-performance with regards to its upgrading process, arguing that its efforts have been significant, however they have been overlooked by the public, due to a lack of insight into the magnitude of upgrading bestowed upon the Municipality. The research found that the officials lacked substantive contributions towards more holistic and nuanced upgrading mechanisms.

6.4 Responses from the Academia and NGOs

This section is presented last, because findings from these sources marry the findings from the community to those from the Municipality officials. Opinions presented include those of two former Municipality staff and now lecturers in the Department of Architecture and Spatial Science (DASP) at the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST) and a representative from the SDFN/NHAG – Namibia Housing Action Group. Two other participants are research specialists, one from the Integrated Land Management Institute (ILMI) and the other participant is a specialist on land tenure issues, based in the Property Studies department at NUST. Their opinions have been used as both an objective lens to scrutinize the research findings, as well as a reflective canvas to juxtapose competing demands and expectations from both the community and the Municipality (Figure 14 below shows the category's significance in closing the gap).

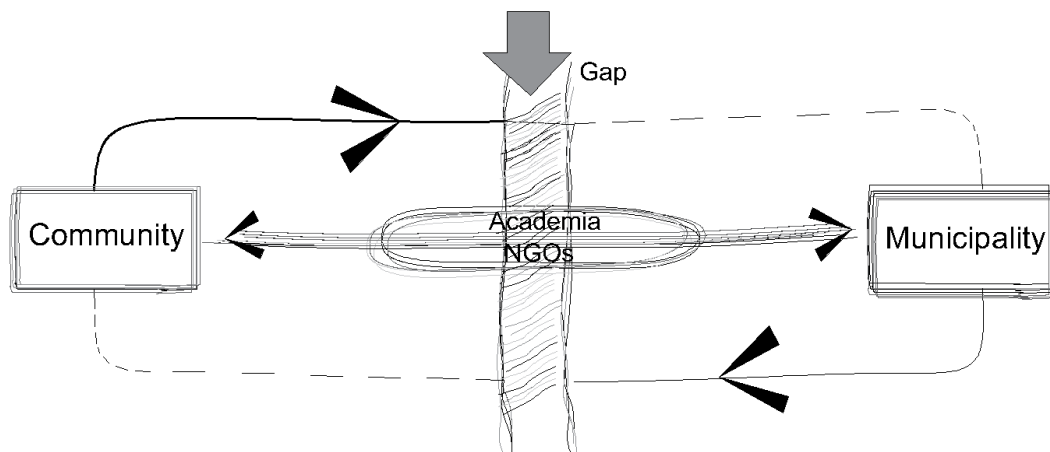


Figure 14: Illustration of how Academia and NGOs close the gap between Municipality and the community communications. (Source: Author, 2021).

6.4.1 Perspectives on informality and general upgrading processes

From the participants' accounts, perspectives on informal settlements have been negotiated numerous times, in pursuits of expanding ways to better manage informality within the city. Oftentimes, clarity on which areas are considered informal has been sought, due to inferiority and stigmatization being attached to residing in these settlements. Explaining some of the informality conundrums dealt with, one of the participants shared that:

"We sat in many meetings just trying to define which are informal settlements [...] are they where it is upgraded, but people still live in shacks, or are they where people live in brick houses, but the settlement is not in a formal layout?..." (Participant 2)

Some participants' thoughts also cross-referenced an earlier point by a Municipality official, that informal areas are further marginalized, because their management is unfairly conducted to emulate the servicing and management of formal areas. Additionally, these participants argued that the fundamental principle of upgrading informal settlements [which the Municipality adopted] has a limited scope, which contributes to a non-holistic upgrading approach. From their viewpoint, the definition of upgrading needs to be done collectively:

"The meaning of upgrading is like an empty container, which needs to be filled. I think that is why it is important that local partners come together to negotiate its meaning and what it should constitute. [Also] that question comes down to emphasize the importance of community-led upgrading processes, because development is very localised; meaning what seems important in one community may not necessarily be important to another community. The community has to inform the process about what needs to be done, by when and possibly how." (Participant 1)

Upgrading does not take on a universal approach, it can happen in a form suited for a specific context, as Participant 2 explained:

"I think in simple terms [upgrading] is just to mean that you want to see improvement, and that could take any form or shape [...] and there is no specific formula of what needs to happen first. Your strategy will just need to be responsive to the community's needs to be in-situ - meaning to work with the people on the site." (Participant 2)

However, according to participant 3, upgrading processes sometimes occur through the formalization and/or regularization of settlements, to create some level of permanency in settlements:

"For me, I sometimes use formalization and even add regularization, because it needs to improve the service delivery, but you also have to provide town planning services [I mean proclaiming a township establishment, then subdividing it into an erf, put in roads and the services] to provide some structure. I prefer this approach more than just providing some communal toilets and taps, then years later you relocate the people again [...] At least by formalizing the area, you give people some sense of permanency from the start." (Participant 3)

6.4.2 The eradication rhetoric interpretation

The participants paid attention to the use of language in addition to analysing the message made by the president through the declaration. They explained that terminology is often used to demonstrate commitment and alignment of government programmes to international agendas, although not much contextualization is given to justify the said statements:

“If we talk about the city and informal settlements, you realize that ‘eradication’, ‘upgrading’, ‘development’ or ‘relocation’ are words often used. Do not underestimate the wording of eradication [...] I think it is purely to say that we [as a country] are committed. The hows, whens and ifs are not so much a priority, it is just that we see there is a problem and we need to solve it.” (Participant 2)

Despite the difference in interpretations of the declaration, the field of academia also concurred with the Municipality professionals that the intention and the shifting of focus from rural areas to urban land issues, was a milestone, which presented opportunities for urban development approaches. The participants however debated that the declaration could have had political motives:

“The president’s declaration is historical, [...] this means that the priority of national land-related programmes has now shifted from rural areas to urban areas, but it may also have political reasons, which can be debated.” (Participant 1)

6.4.3 Comments on CoW’s upgrading strategy

I gathered that the new upgrading strategy was thought to lack the clear objectives and courses of action on undertaking processes, in comparison to the older strategy. The participants also criticised Windhoek upgrading processes, because they lacked elements of good upgrading practices, and as a result, the upgrading strategy’s success was reduced. In one participant’s account:

“The CoW has not got many good practices of upgrading, and by a good practice, I mean a good established working environment where the city officials talk to the community, academia and private sector when upgrading settlements.” (Participant 1)

The participants cited that the Municipality’s collaboration was poor. The poor collaboration was linked to the level of contestations within the Municipality, as a result of politics at play. In addition, the poor collaboration resulted in the bad upgrading practices, where settlements keep growing in their own way, regardless of the Municipality’s preventative measures. Other opinions suggested that the Municipality often distances itself from collaborative processes by means of contracting consulting services to lead upgrading projects. One of the participants recounts that:

“In a lot of meetings we [university] sat with the Municipality officials seeking to engage them on making upgrading processes more community-led, the officials made it quite clear that they have a plan to do that [lead projects], maybe through consultancy I imagine.” (Participant 2)

Tenure security and providing optional types of tenure rights were prioritised as the most important development enabler to informal settlement residents. The security of residents in informal settlements was described to have improved in the last couple of years, with evictions of residents and demolition of structures being condemned in Windhoek. The participants also expressed that tenure rights provide assurance to informal settlement residents that their properties will be inherited by their next of kin, and this is one of the greatest assurances these residents wish to have. Participant 4 stated that:

Tenure security is very important in upgrading informal settlements, because it basically protects the residents from evictions [...] But then communities reach a point where they are now secure, and they now want to own their own pieces of land, which they can develop and leave for their children. (Participant 4)

While we discussed tenure rights, I questioned the participants' opinions on how legitimate the giving of occupation acknowledgement certificates to. Participant 4 confirmed their legitimacy, but further cautioned as follows:

"[Yes] the on-going certification programme is a form of giving tenure security to the poor, because it recognizes the residents' occupation of a piece of the Municipality's land. It does not however give ownership, it just acknowledges their occupation, while they wait to receive starter titles, I assume. But I have my reservations whether the community was well-informed that it is not a title deed, as some claim." (Participant 4)

6.4.4 More nuanced and holistic upgrading mechanisms

The research found that after the eradication declaration was made, there followed a roundtable discussion on the plight of informal settlements in Namibia, attended by local stakeholders and international delegates. A National Alliance for informal settlements was formed and launched. The roundtable discussed how other countries handle informality and how such lessons could be locally adopted. The research further established that participants during that workshop recommended that no new special programme needed to be adopted, but that the local stakeholders need to strengthen collaboration and good coordination.

We [Namibians] do not need any [new] special entity to solve the current informal settlements challenge. What we need to do is come together as an alliance, [that is] the Shack Dwellers' Federation, academia, the CoW, Local Authority (LA) associations in Namibia and the private sector to speak to one another and work together. (Participant 1)

Seven actionable ideas were concluded from the roundtable discussion as some of the insights which can be incorporated in the processes of upgrading informal settlements. These ideas included i) scaling up upgrading by integrating on-ground existing development efforts, ii) improving the living conditions in informality areas and planning for future growth, iii) revising upgrading standards to ensure that they are realistic to communities, iv) adopting a minimalist approach which firstly adopts the needs of the lowest income groups, v) re-thinking and revitalising any available land portion, vi) nurturing public spaces as opportunities for community development, and vii) creating a national urban land campaign (Integrated Land Management Institute, 2019). In chapter 8, I intend to discuss some of these seven ideas along with some other propositions gathered through this study.

6.4.5 Conclusion

This source cluster positioned the eradication declaration as a commitment by the national government to focus and accelerate social progression in urban areas, particularly informal settlements. The participants argued that the eradication rhetoric may have been used to indicate the government's commitment to international urban agendas. With regards to defining 'upgrading', the participants highlight the need for collective efforts in building consensus on what constitutes upgrading. The Municipality's upgrading strategy was criticised for lacking a strong sense of collaboration with other development stakeholders, leading to its unsatisfactory upgrading practices, according to the participants. Several development insights were mentioned as ways to nuance and bring about the holistic development of informal settlements. Overall, the participants emphasised the importance of co-production in upgrading, because development needs to be localized.

6.5 Overall Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings of the empirical study conducted. It categorized the findings according to the sources of information and presented them in a descriptive manner. The chapter gathered both similar and conflicting views on the interpretations of the eradication declaration and its implications on upgrading processes thereof. It further juxtaposed views on what upgrading should constitute; from the Thlabanelo community, the Municipality officials and academia participants. Perspectives on the Municipality's upgrading strategy were presented, and major findings indicate that there is a disjuncture in the upgrading expectation from the community and the upgrading provisions from the Municipality. The research also found that there is a fundamental conflict in the upgrading and development of informal settlements, as a result of imposed formal standards on a completely different type of urban setting. Thirdly, the research found that Windhoek's upgrading processes undermine the contributions of co-production. In merging these findings, the study found that the eradication declaration created an opportunity for various development stakeholders to converge and discuss the plight of informal settlements in Namibia, and it accelerated efforts towards service delivery in informal settlements.

Chapter 7: Interpretation of Research Findings

7.1 Introduction

This chapter uses the findings presented in chapter 6 to interpret how the eradication declaration influenced and necessitated co-production in informal settlements upgrading processes in Windhoek. In so doing, the chapter links critical theoretical concepts discussed in chapter 2 and the local development context discussed in chapters 4 and 5 with the findings of the empirical study in chapter 6 to respond to the first two research questions introduced in chapter 3. The main research question asks how the eradication declaration complicated, yet necessitated, more nuanced and holistic upgrading approaches to informal settlements upgrading processes in Windhoek, by closely studying the case Thlabanelo. This discussion will therefore establish a foundation for which propositions will be made for upgrading informal settlements, as discussed in the following chapter 8.

The chapter is structured as follows: after this introductory section, section 7.2 discusses how the perceptions towards informality have changed in Windhoek, as a starting point to digress the state's attitudes towards informal settlements. The Thlabanelo settlement is discussed against some of these perceptions. In section 7.3, the discussion turns to unpack how the eradication declaration has influenced the perceptions discussed in section 7.2 and how it has swayed attitudes and efforts towards upgrading processes. This is followed by section 7.4, which addresses whether, and how, the Municipality's upgrading strategy has been responsive to the community's needs. The results discussed in the latter section will inform how the upgrading processes can be further nuanced and made more holistic to advance social progression in informal settlements, as discussed in the following chapter. The study's position on the research findings is then synthesised and concluded in section 7.5.

7.2 Discourses on Informality in Windhoek

In chapter 2 of the dissertation, I reiterated Hart's (1998) emphasis on addressing research queries and problem statements with appropriate theoretical foundations. In the same chapter, I stated the need for the study to establish different stakeholders' standpoints on informality, and definitions used in the administration and management of informal settlements, particularly '*upgrading*'. In this section, I link some of the theoretical concepts discussed in chapter 2 with the research findings to give a background on how Namibian - particularly in Windhoek - discourses on informality have changed over time.

The question 'what is an informal settlement?' is one single question which has not been formally contextualised in state policies of Namibia (ILMI, 2018). In the case of Windhoek, for instance, the Municipality's forward planning and policy directives, such as the Development and Upgrading Policy (DUP) of 2019 and the Transformational Strategic Plan (TSP) 2017-2022, the concept of 'informality' or 'informal settlements' has not been discussed, yet three types of informal settlements have been described in the DUP. Instead of locally defining informality, the state and civil society conform to international definitions of informal settlements, which have been coercively applied to define what they are and what constitutes them, in a Namibian context. This observation could further mean any of these three assumptions or all of them: firstly, that informality in Namibia is exactly what international sources define informal settlements to be, hence no need to divorce the given definition; secondly, that informality has become part of 'the normal', so that questioning how they are locally understood becomes

irrational; or thirdly that the definition does not matter. The findings gathered indicate that many discussions had among different stakeholders and the Municipality prove that defining informality is complicated, yet necessary. Unfortunately for Windhoek, the 'countless meetings' held to define informality in Windhoek, and the subsequent lack of a local definition has created lots of 'grey spaces' (Yiftachel, 2009b) in the informality discourses.

In a 2018 fact sheet on informal settlements in Namibia, informal settlements were defined as per the UN-Habitat's definition of 'slums' (ILMI, 2018). The lack of one or all these conditions was cited to resemble informal settlements in Namibia [as per international standards defining slums], namely: adequate shelter, sufficient living space to accommodate only three individuals per room, accessible and affordable potable water and adequate sanitation, and the security of tenure (ILMI, 2018). The sheet further revealed that defining informality has been left to different local authorities, since the state does not stipulate this in its national documents. This is a major gap in planning discourses, because the blurry distinction of formal areas from informal areas contributes to its contradictory actions, which in the end only further facilitate the growth and complexity of informal settlements. The latter is more concerning with the recent findings from the Namibia Labour Force Survey (NSA, 2016) that two-thirds (2/3) of those considered employed in the country fall in the informal sector (ILMI, 2018).

Chapter 4 of this study established that informal settlements, particularly in urban areas, are mostly a post-independence phenomenon, which came with Namibia becoming more urban. The informality discourses thus transitioned from one form to another where they gravitated towards urbanity. Focussing on Windhoek, the transition in discourses has been evident within the Municipality. By the term 'discourse', I refer to written or spoken language and inferences, to which informality in Windhoek is associated. First and foremost, I argue that criminalizing discourses, within the Municipality, have continued to largely influence the outlook on informality in Windhoek, until numerous years after independence. Although there has been a switch in emphasis from eviction and control to upgrading, there are more contradictions and disjunctures within the Municipality towards informal settlements. This is clearly observed within the Municipality's technical departments where planning discourses towards informal settlements clash. From the empirical study, it was found that planners demonstrated an accommodative approach to planning - proposing ultra-low income-favourable planning standards and regulations, while the engineers assumed a restrictive approach towards informality.

Writing on the case of India, Ananya Roy (2009) conceptualizes that informality is a mode of urbanization and a development scenario where land use is not in accordance with existing planning laws and regulations, hence it operates on a legality and illegality spectrum. This viewpoint could perhaps explain the Namibian outlook on informality, especially one that emphasizes the 'illegality' of informality. The study found that the Thlabanelo site in its earlier years of existence was referred to as an 'illegal site', which was seen to distort the urban form - through sprawling - and defeated the purpose of city planning to promote urban growth in an orderly manner. The discussion with the Thlabanelo community confirmed this, adding that the city would prevent the invading residents moving onto the site, but in vain. From the national contextual analysis, the study has learned that the reference to informal settlements as 'illegal' is an inherited colonial narrative which criminalised informal settlements - and by all means promoted segregation between the colonisers and the natives - and with time crept into the planners' discourse post-independence. It was the abolishment of restrictive laws and regulations on movement, such as the Pass Law, which enabled the mass migration of Namibians from communal

areas to economic opportunities in commercial urban areas which encouraged the mushrooming and growth of informal settlements. The manner in which this phenomenon manifested is what Chitewe - Biti (2018) and Pieterse (2009) amongst other scholars refer to as 'the urbanization of poverty', which exacerbated poor living conditions in informal settlements, but mostly promoted the defaming attitudes towards them by the political elite and those who used planning as a control tool.

The rapid growth and complexity of informal settlements soon became apparent and relevant to different urban stakeholders, and the quest for accessibility to affordable land and adequate housing became the top priority for informal settlement residents. With the number of informal settlements communicated by the SDFN rising sharply to 308 informal settlements, 228 423 'shacks' and 995 000 informal settlements residents by 2018 (ILMI, 2018; Ngutjinazo & Kahiurika, 2019), one would highly expect discourses towards informality to shift. With the mobilization of radical socio-political movements, such as the Landless People's Movement (LPM) and the Affirmative Repositioning (AR) between 2014 and 2015, the state and the Municipality were forced to focus on the plight of informality, accelerating service delivery and upgrading. The study further established that it was around these years when the Human Settlements division within the Municipality was established, presumably as a strategic division to manage informal settlements.

Indeed, the built-up momentum from mass mobilizations and pro-informality by radical social movements, an active civil society and citizenry with particularly informal settlements residents, can be argued to have shaken the defaming discourses towards informality in Namibia, particularly in Windhoek. Findings from the study confirm this observation. Firstly, the Thlabanelo residents expressed a form of renewed hope to receive adequate services and access to land from the seating state and municipal administrations. This renewed hope, as explained by the residents, comes from the confidence that the state has now learned that the community is exhausted with waiting on its 'empty promises' as testified by the 2019 presidential and National Assembly elections, where the ruling party lost its two-third majority to other political parties. Moreover, the ruling party losing dominance in major cities in the country in the recent - November 2020 – local authorities and regional councils elections is self-explanatory in the community's opinion. Clearly, power dynamics which ... discusses as factors shaping informality are at play in the Windhoek case. The residents in informal settlements no longer fear to be evicted on grounds of 'illegality', because the constitutionality of evictions has been revoked by the courts. This is another proof of a shift in influencing the informality discourse by a state body. In the Thlabanelo case, the community understands that eviction infringes on their constitutional rights to reside in the city, hence will not be executed, however some households will be relocated to make way for necessary upgrades, such as the RE/508 road extension to the Green Mountain Road.

In the second scenario to prove a transition in the informality discourse, I return to the planners within the Municipality. My argument that there has been a shift in the planners' perceptions towards informality is grounded in the core realization and acknowledgement from the empirical study that informal settlements are 'the community's lived realities'. This acknowledgment by the planners divorces earlier perceptions of informal settlements as 'illegal', 'stubborn/unruly' and 'provocative', and shifts to a somewhat sincere acknowledgement that informal settlements are vulnerable areas fundamentally challenged to meet basic developmental needs, hence needing to be accommodated

and in need of urgent intervention. On the one hand, this viewpoint appears legitimate, while on the other it may be a mere example of ‘isomorphic mimicry’ which Andrews et al (2012) discuss and Manda (2019) argues to characterize informality discourses in the city of Mzuzu, Malawi. (The isomorphic mimicry conceptualization will be discussed under the eradication rhetoric section). The study found that the planners’ discourses on informality are not in unison with those of politicians and the engineers within the Municipality. As a result, rationales towards upgrading informal settlements clash and delay upgrading processes, as will be discussed in detail under the upgrading section ahead.

7.3 Declaration on implications on informality and upgrading

This section intends to respond to the first research question, which investigates how the president’s eradication rhetoric has influenced the attitudes and efforts of Windhoek’s development stakeholders towards informality and upgrading. I draw on the findings gathered during the study and link these with theoretical concepts discussed in chapter 2. There are two contrasting views on the eradication rhetoric. One criticizes the rhetoric being used, highlighting its isomorphic mimicry as discussed by Andrews et al, (2012), and manifesting its instrumentation as a political statement (Mitlin, 2020). The other viewpoint does not necessarily support the rhetoric used; however, it takes advantage of the declaration’s novelty to emphasize a policy directive for Windhoek’s informality planning discourses.

7.3.1 Indifference towards informality and its marginalization

I remind the reader at this point that the ‘eradication’ rhetoric used by President Geingob is the core motivation for undertaking this study. In the problem statement in chapter one, I argued that the rhetoric used is a politically flattering statement, which could be misinterpreted and could sabotage its possibly well-intended rationale. The study proved this assumption to be correct. The declaration interpretation by the participants indicated that the message was more important than the actual rhetoric used to promote the seeking of the improvement of living conditions in informal settlements. Although most participants ignore the rhetoric used, others were outline the naivety and manipulation of the public by the state in using such language.

The ‘eradication’ rhetoric is an example of isomorphic mimicry explained by Andrews et al (2012) and found to be commonly used by the Mzuzu council in Malawi (Manda, 2019). In his description of the mimicry concept, Manda outlines the state’s tendency to introduce policies or reforms “merely to enhance its external legitimacy and support when in fact there are no intentions to improve things” (2019:157). In the Namibian case, it is debatable whether the president’s underlying intentions were sincere, because previous government programmes aimed at improving the poor’s accessibility to services, land and housing never came to fruition. The latter can be proven by the 2015 Mass Urban Land Servicing Programme (MULSP) which was intended by government to accelerate the mass land servicing for the poor’s access to serviced land, after the mass demonstration for land and housing for the poor led by the AR in 2014. Reflecting on the incident years later, it is clear that the state’s introduction of the MSLP was a manipulation strategy the state employed to appease the youth, because the servicing project stopped a few months after it was started and no physical work has continued to date. Furthermore, the declaration could be an intended demonstration to the international audience that the Namibian government is a state committed to global policy trends. Being a signatory to global initiatives, such as the New Urban Agenda (NUA) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the state would want to

be perceived as doing something towards informal settlements, hence possibly benefit from global funding programmes, although the willingness and/or capacity to work towards realizing this goal may be lacking (Manda, 2019). Participants from academia confirmed this assumption, stating that as soon as one notes the language of ‘eradication’, ‘upgrading’, ‘development’ and these trending terminologies from international institutions, it becomes apparent that government is seeking external validation, especially when no actionable plan is provided, nor do tangible actions follow after.

The declaration could as well be interpreted from Mitlin’s (2020) viewpoint, which argues that governments make political statements to gain favour and support from the general public. From this point of view, there are numerous factors to consider about this declaration: Namibians, particularly the urban poor, are in dire need of adequate shelter, hence access to affordable land and/or housing is the highest priority to the masses; the declaration was made earlier in 2019, way ahead of the Presidential and National Assembly elections later in November; the declaration was focused on Windhoek, the capital city. These factors surrounding the declaration align to the arguments presented by Mitlin (2020) in exposing how the state uses political statements in its favour. Mitlin (2020) assesses that politicians in governments see policies attached to shelter, such as housing policies, as lucrative campaign points to earn the electorate’s endorsement. This sentimental value attached to shelter, she argues, is due to the citizen-accrued significance of housing, which informal settlements residents desperately need. The argument that the declaration could have been a campaign strategy therefore holds substance, as further suspected by the Thlabanelo residents. While the community indicated that they are no longer moved by statements made by politicians, their ‘hope’ in government to come to accelerate services, land and housing provisions prove otherwise. This renewed hope is exactly what the ruling government would want to maintain in the electorate, therefore to this end, it can be argued that the declaration gained some traction.

Moreover, Mitlin (2020) alleges that the management of cities has long been instrumental in establishing political elites as legitimate leaders. She further states that urban managers in city councils contribute to the further glorification of ruling elites, by proving the state administration’s capability. Most of the Windhoek Municipality officials for instance, were quick to defend what the president ‘meant’ by the declaration without any critical interpretation. To this end, the ideology manifesting here is that when the experienced and capable urban management professionals validate and endorse the president’s declaration, it is deemed to prove that the leading head of state is goal-oriented, legitimate and capable to lead the nation to prosperity. Additionally, the focus of the declaration on the capital city is not surprising. Due to Namibia only coming to terms with becoming an urban country, Windhoek is one of the older urban areas in Namibia, hence its development trajectory is influential to other urban areas. Windhoek seems to be the benchmark of development in Namibia. Goodfellow and Jackman’s (2020) recognition of the role capital cities play in the implementation of socio-spatial interventions could render understanding on why the declaration was focused on Windhoek. The capital city is the seat of power; it is the assemblage of the largest urban population in Namibia – who can also be viewed as the ruled – it is also the concentration of the affluent and those with more resources. Therefore, the declaration was focused on Windhoek, in which ruling elites publicly assert their authority; once political and access institutional buy-in is obtained in the city, then it is easier to influence other urban areas.

Despite the ideologies presented above, I further argue that there has been some tactical sophistication used by the head of government, which necessitates a closer examination of the president’s philosophy. Since the beginning of his reign, President Geingob has maintained his ambition for prosperity and economic emancipation for Namibia. This ideology grounded the rationale of the 2016 Harambee

Prosperity Plan (HPP) and was further substantiated by slogans, such as ‘one Namibia, one nation’ and ‘building the Namibian house’, which were understood to mean inclusive socio-economic growth for all Namibians (Harambee Prosperity Plan, 2016). Nonetheless, his philosophy seems to exhibit critical contradictions as his governance style and administration at large seem to promote and favour the middle and higher classes of society. From time to time, several reflective articles in the media and a few from literature have supported this analysis. For example, Lobo (2019) cited the enlargement of the president’s cabinet - despite the economic recession the country has been experiencing – and close ‘friendships’ with prominent local and international businesspeople as clear characteristics of a bourgeois state. In theory, it has been established that the bourgeoisie controls the economy and thus controls the state, therefore the state functions as an instrument of class rule.

To link the above analysis to the eradication rhetoric, the president may have influenced anti-informality attitudes disguised as genuine concern for informal settlements residents. To ‘*eradicate*’ informality may not mean to improve conditions for better living experiences, but instead to bluntly ‘*get rid of the shacks*’. By listening closely, one would agree that the two perspectives have different tones and connotations. Moreover, my argument is confirmed by media reports of the eradication declaration. Several media report headlines after the declaration were made to read “Shacks ‘offend’ Geingob... wants them gone in 5 years”, “Geingob declares shacks a human disaster”, “Eradicating informal settlements on 2019 agenda” and “Geingob calls for order in informal settlements” (Ngutjinazo & Kahiurika, 2019; Ngutjinazo, 2019; Staff reporter, 2019; Ngutjinazo, 2019). Furthermore, the findings further confirm what may be indifference towards informality, as he was quoted to have said “he does not want Windhoek to be an informal city...” and that “he does not want Windhoek to be just another [typical] African city where informality is seen as a norm” (Interview participant). This viewpoint conforms to the concept of ‘urban fantasies’ argued by Watson (2014), in which global south leaders, particularly African leaders continue to fantasize about futuristic developments completely plugged out of African contexts. From a personal viewpoint, the eradication declaration came from the president’s personal perception [of indifference] towards informality. It may or may not reflect the views of his office, however it has had implications of facilitating factionalist views and attitudes towards informality, which Luhl (2018) describes in his concept of class differentiation; the idea of classifying the rich differently from the poor and the formal from the informal.

7.3.2 Declaration as Milestone and accelerator for action

Despite the implications of indifference, the eradication rhetoric has had on informality, urban development stakeholders took advantage of the declaration’s novelty to mobilize capacity for direction towards informality planning. The study found that numerous workshops followed the declaration was made, and I was privileged to discuss these with some of the workshops’ participants. Additionally, the participants interviewed during the study expressed that the declaration was a milestone in Namibia’s urban historical development. According to them, it presented a reflective pause where stakeholders came together to determine a better route for informal settlements going forward. Lastly, the participants stated that the declaration reconfigured efforts towards informal settlements and accelerated action towards services delivery. These points are briefly discussed in this subsection.

7.3.2.1 Declaration as a Milestone

Some participants described the declaration as a milestone in the historical discourses of urban development in Namibia. The participants highlighted the significance of the declaration as an event that marks a shift in the government’s focus from rural land targeted programmes to urban targeted programmes. Already from the second land conference resolutions, Luhl (2018) and Delgado (2018) highlighted that the government finally understood that the future of Namibia is headed into an urban

trajectory, hence the importance to focus on the pressing urban land related issues, particularly the plight of urban informality, which has not had the government's full attention in the past.

One would agree that the declaration has set the scene and created the environment for all urban development stakeholders to come together and pave a way forward for the future for urban informality. The round table discussions gathered all relevant stakeholders to discuss how they will best co-produce knowledge and practice, as well as pool resources to attend to urban informality, given the government's full pledge and commitment to improving conditions in informal settlements. A National Alliance for informal settlements upgrading was also launched afterwards. More than setting the scene for the co-production of best upgrading practices, the declaration brought together development partners which usually do not gather around a table for discussions, and it has enabled a partnership approach to up-scaling upgrading on a national level in a more co-ordinated and holistic manner.

7.3.2.2 Declaration as an accelerator for action

The findings further indicated that the declaration influenced the Municipality - especially the Human Division responsible for the improvement of informal settlements – to prioritize its focus on accelerating service delivery. From my viewpoint, the declaration brought coercion upon the upgrading processes of the division. The Thlabanelo community, for instance, explain how they were informed about the road extension on their site, and the affected residents were 'instructed' to prepare for relocation. In seeking clarity for details about relocation and some residents objecting to relocate, the community expresses that the Municipality officials showed no willingness to negotiate, emphasizing that the plan was set and condescendingly stating that those were the services they have been pleading for, yet the community would not be co-operating. This scenario is one of the many unfortunate incidences which result from rushed processes. While there is a sense of acceleration in service delivery, there are also inconveniences which are not resolved amicably.

7.4 Responsiveness and performance of Windhoek's upgrading strategy

Since the implications of the eradication declaration have been established in the preceding section, this section intends to address the second research question. The question intends to investigate the Municipality's existing upgrading strategy in terms of its responsiveness and its performance to improving the living experiences in the informal settlements. The performance of the upgrading strategy is evaluated against the identified upgrading objectives pronounced in the DUP of 2019. The conflicting rationalities found from the study between the community and Municipality's definition and expectations of upgrading will be discussed in this section. The Thlabanelo draft upgrading plan and the Municipality's nature of engagement also make up this section.

7.4.1 Conflicting rationalities on 'upgrading'

The findings highlight a disconnect between the Municipality and community's definition and expectations of upgrading. This disconnect comes from a 'grey area' of *what the Municipality can render to the community* and *what the community expects from the Municipality*. This grey area exists because of a lacking communication culture between these two parties, but also lack of willingness from the Municipality to offer more. Nonetheless, the disconnect (shown in figure 15 below) necessitates defining the term 'upgrading' from both perspectives.

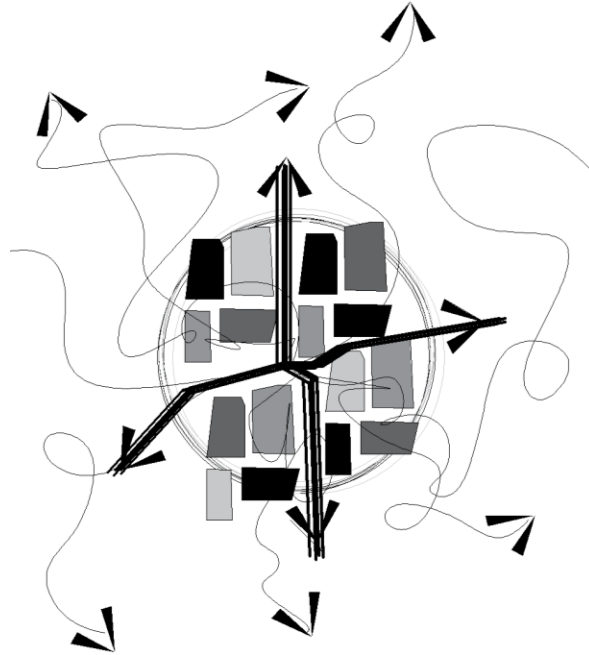


Figure 15: Illustration of conflicting rationalities within the definitions of ‘upgrading’. (Source: Author, 2021)

According to the Thlabanelo community, upgrading ought to be a process through which their living qualities are improved. They reference the term ‘development’ in expressing their understanding of upgrading. The Municipality on the other hand defines upgrading in its DUP as “an action whereby an existing formal or informal settlement is regularized to provide a form of security of tenure or where new or additional municipal services are installed or a combination of these is pursued. An upgrading programme may comprise of various combinations, depending on the target community’s need, priorities and affordability levels” (2019: 16). In comparing these two perspectives on upgrading, what is sought after is improvement for the living conditions, however the difference lies in the extent of improvement which ought to be given/received.

From propositions by Luhl (2018) on housing to include more complimentary factors and Buckley et al, (2016) on upgrading informality to include nurturing conducive environments where informal settlements become fully-fledged neighborhoods, the upgrading definition of the Municipality has a limited scope. The Municipality surely needs to provide utility services, but it furthermore needs to facilitate and nurture the community development capacities, which enhance residents’ [human] development indices. These development capacities are multifaceted, and they stretch beyond just utility services. They can be provided through collaborating efforts amongst development partners. Therefore, it can be argued that the upgrading strategy has not been responsive to the needs of the residents, hence they are justified to demand more, as part of their social contract with the Municipality.

In addition, the Municipality uses a compartmentalised approach to be upgrading, which leaves many gaps in development processes and room for unaccountability. The Municipality officials argued that ‘upgrading’ is not the same as housing, because housing represents another form of development on its own. The argument is that upgrading elements (tenure rights, utility services, social amenities, housing) should not be compartmentalized. Instead, they should be harmonized into an integrated and co-ordinated process. Perhaps the point raised by other participants that there is not enough capacity within

the Municipality on 'how to facilitate upgrading processes' would explain the poor upgrading practices, but that would be defeated by the number of qualified professionals within the Municipality, and the available resources the municipality has at its disposal. With regards to the housing element which surfaced as an important component to be part of upgrading, the Municipality officials referred to the Housing policy, which the study found to work in isolation. Generally, development policies operate in silos and are poorly co-ordinated, which yields uncoordinated developments.

The study also found an institutional conflicting rationality within the Municipality, especially between its technical divisions and the engineering and planning divisions. While this point will be discussed in-depth in the following subsection, I mention it here to highlight a fundamental conflict within the municipality which applies different standards to upgrading. The study found that planners felt intimidated and frustrated by the engineers [and politicians], which resultantly frustrates the upgrading processes in general. In addition to this issue, the DUP cites the Informal Settlements Committee as a well-represented team established for the management of informal settlements, however it is unclear if it is still in existence, or if it got dissolved with the adoption of the new upgrading policy. The study therefore argues for the re-adoption of the committee as it is well represented by all relevant Municipality divisions involved in the upgrading processes, and it integrates external members from NGOs and community representatives. The full re-adoption of the Informal settlements committee will help eliminate the disconnection between the communities' expectations from upgrading and the Municipality's contributions to upgrading, and it will tackle the ongoing institutional conflict between the technical teams in the Municipality.

7.4.2 Draft upgrading plan for Thlabanelo community

The draft upgrade plan of Thlabanelo presents a major disjuncture between the objectives and upgrading processes stipulated in the DUP and the draft upgrade plan for the site. While I take note that the plan has not yet been approved as the plan to be implemented, I recognize that the planning guidelines and principles used to draft the plan are likely not to change, neither is there intention to propose a new one, given the urgency of the upgrading project. These reasons therefore justify my critique of the upgrading plan as it follows below. I furthermore remind the reader to refer to chapter 5 when reading this subsection.

The disjuncture appears in the planning guidelines used to prepare the plan, which appear not to have followed the stipulated process in the DUP. According to the CoW (2019), the Thlabanelo settlement falls under the 'Planning Area' category. The stated planning objectives for this category are "to provide basic survival needs at communal level" and "to ensure reasonable health standards" (CoW, 2019:46). Furthermore, the form of tenureship offered at this level is the issuance of an acknowledgment of land occupation letter following a socio-economic profiling exercise, which functions as the registration process. While these have been clearly stipulated, I learned through the study that the plan was prepared before the registration process was done, and when the socio-economic profiling was undertaken, it was rushed to print out acknowledgement certificates, and that no relevant data for planning purposes was collected and documented to inform the planning process. This unsystematic approach accounts for the disjuncture between the plan and the actual needs of the community.

The plan was not informed by a formal registration process, but rather through the planners' assumptions of what the community needs. This is a common unethical practice which planners have adopted as a planning dilemma. The registration process - which Delgado (2018) describes as a process through which

the community introduces itself to the Municipality - is a critical process through which the Municipality ought to understand the community better and learn how to best cater for the community's needs. Omitting this process is therefore fundamentally unethical. Moreover, it is unfortunate that a settlement which has been in existence for more than a decade is only being registered now, yet the municipality refutes allegations of being slow.

Another fundamental issue is the lack of engagement in preparing the draft plan. Two of the DUP objectives are "to facilitate self-help development" and "to facilitate urbanization management" (CoW, 2019:5), however the community complains about the Municipality's passive nature of engagement with them. How will the Municipality facilitate development and manage urbanization when it does not engage the community it claims to serve? Additionally, promoting community initiatives for gradual improvement of living conditions is stipulated as one of the principles of the DUP, yet no efforts were made. The plan is therefore being imposed on the community.

Moving to the technical aspects of the upgrade plan, the plan does not cater for the affordability level of the Thlabanelo residents. Considering that Thlabanelo accommodates a large community of low, ultra-low income and the unemployed segments of Windhoek, the upgrade plan's suitability for the settlement is out of the question. The general residential provisions made are said to be sectional title flats and rows of attached houses. It goes without saying that the maintenances of sectional titles by a vulnerable community such as Thlabanelo is beyond their affordability range. Similarly, the provision of single residential units would also not be affordable to the residents. Although the Flexible land tenure Programme is aimed for this settlement, the incremental starter and landhold titles will be suitable for some of the residents, however the desired freehold title at the top of the hierarchy will be expensive for the residents to afford. This observation therefore contradicts the guideline which states "the level of service provided must coincide with the affordability levels of households" (CoW, 2019:7).

On top of these costs of land right titles, the upgrade plan disregards the chronology of upgrading steps stipulated in the upgrading policy. Instead of a minimal intervention plan suitable for a 'planning area', described to accommodate the little to no income earners in the city, the drafted plan is ambitious and caters for a middle-income community. The incremental process of upgrading is not reflected in the Thlabanelo case. At the current level of affordability, the settlement upgrade plan would have been suited for blocking the settlement in its current structure, demarcating a road network, which will be aligned with the reticulation of communal services, and intensive community engagement, capacity development programmes and assessments to promote self-help schemes, towards development 'level 1'. The implementation of the current plan will result in the displacement of the residents.

Chapter 5 highlighted the Waterfront development, whose scale will impact on the Thlabanelo settlement. It appears the upgrade plan did not consider any possible impacts on the settlement, given that the structure of the layout plan does not feed into the waterfront development. The developers indicated on their website that the development is intended to accommodate a mixed-use development, which offers a variety of amenities and institutional opportunities to its soon-to-be residents and the surroundings. This is however contentious, as the type of properties in the waterfront development are targeted for the up-market clients. Now, this development will not serve the Thlabanelo settlement with any significance. If anything, it will further exclude the community on grounds of inaffordability. The municipality ought to have had an upper hand in the negotiation of development's terms of approval, to

ensure that the development would make provisions for affordable housing for the poor towards social justice.

7.4.3 Imposition of formal standards onto informal contexts

This subsection particularly speaks to the technical standards applied in in-situ settlement upgrades, the bureaucratic processes involved in upgrading processes, and the connection the perceived 'slowness' of the upgrading process in Windhoek. The in-situ upgrading approach is often the preferred upgrading approach, because it targets installing services where the community is settled, therefore minimizing disruptions. The challenge highlighted by the city officials with in-situ upgrading comes with the services installation standards - that is, the road widths and other technical [engineering] standards, such as built-to lines, panhandle sizes and splays - which further reduce area to accommodate the residents. As a result, some households would end up being relocated elsewhere, which breaks an existing social fabric.

The planners furthermore express that due to the required formalization standards, some scenarios are difficult to upgrade because the standards would not just apply, due to the complexities of the settlement. One participant expressed that formalizing settlements often operates like imposing a set of formal standards onto an informal setting which functions and operates differently. The coercion of a set of formal standards on an informal setting is impractical, due to the complexities of informality. In the same way it is impractical for Global north planning practices to be imposed on Global south contexts, and it is hypocritical to impose formal upgrading guidelines on informal settings. In my view, planners are often stuck in the dilemma of either conforming to the engineering guidelines, which dismiss the deeply rooted African [organic] patterns of organization, or to conform to politicians' fantasies of urban development which exclude the poor. Without doubt, planning is a regularized profession, however, there need to be special standards reserved for informal settlements which would still promote the wellbeing of the public but would be well suited for the informal context.

The back-and-forth processes between planners and other professions, as well as the dependence on the Namibian Planning Advisory Board (NAMPAB) and the Townships Board for the approval of all planning applications are some of the major factors which slow up the upgrading process. These bodies function at a national scale, hence the process is very slow. At the time of writing this dissertation, the regulations of the Urban and Regional Planning Act of 2018 were being promulgated. This means that the entire planning fraternity, particularly the procedures of processing planning applications would be accelerated, with the dissolution of NAMPAB and Townships board and replacement with Authorised Planning Authorities (APAs) at each local authority level (Republic of Namibia, 2018).

7.4.4 Poor engagement and co-production

The study has verified through its participants, municipal documents and media reports that the Municipality has a poor engagement and co-production culture. The participants have referenced actual cases when the Municipality officials expressed unwillingness and no interest to engage, neither to actively collaborate with other stakeholders in upgrading projects. This observation alone should be a contravention of the Local Authorities Act of 1992, which enshrines local authorities to render services to the public in pursuits for development. In addition, the definition of 'community participation' lacks a broader scope. It is rather reduced to consultation, where the Municipality is the provider of decisions, physical plans and development options/alternatives, while the community is at the receiving end.

With this kind of approach to planning, the Municipality mostly takes a reactionary approach to planning - given the community's example of how communal services were only provided as a result of health

hazards – than a proactive planning approach. This furthermore gives context to how the ‘quiet encroachment’ phenomenon happens on the Municipality’s watch. One notable characteristic of the Municipality is its slow action, which is mostly defeated by the community’s assertiveness, fast action and impatience to wait for the Municipality’s pronouncement on issues. Therefore, informal settlements in Windhoek are rapidly expanding and changing, and remain in destitute conditions, despite the Municipality’s claims of ‘action’. The rate of development is simply unmatched, and the level of interaction is practically non-existent.

The Municipality’s upgrading strategy is furthermore characterized by the ‘service provider-client’ relationship, which overlooks the contributions that residents can render to the upgrading processes. In addition to the alleged money-generating schemes the Municipality is always seeming to introduce to the residents, it appears as though the Municipality does not value the residents’ local knowledge or practices in upgrading informal settlements. For a Municipality which claims to be a ‘caring and smart city by 2022’, it is alarming to learn that its residents only associate it with money-milking schemes to remain operational. The Thlabanelo residents demand that they should be treated like valuable development partners and experts on aspects to consider in upgrading their settlement.

7.4.5 Misplaced upgrading priority

The discourse analysis of municipal documents found that the Municipality misplaces its upgrading emphasis in informal settlements. As confirmed by the study participants, the biggest challenge and complexity lies in the ‘Planning Area’ level which has only started with the large-scale securing of informal residents’ tenure rights in 2020 and ongoing provision of communal services, yet the Municipality is not focused on addressing the needs in this category. As part of the national informal settlements upgrading programme, the study learned that an amount of N\$50 million was allocated from the Ministry of Urban and Rural Development (MURD) to the Municipality. While this effort should be applauded, there is disappointment from the Municipality and Government on the other end. These institutions partnered to offer 200 brick houses for a few residents, instead of using the funds to upscale the provision of tenure rights. The findings have proven that informal residents do not need the government to build houses for them, but to provide serviced land to build their own houses and accelerate residents’ land ownership. The Government is missing this point or that it is choosing to invest in tangible outputs which can be argued to collect political points.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the findings gathered from the Thlabanelo case study and the analysis of Windhoek’s upgrading discourses. The chapter addressed the first two research questions, while laying a foundation to address the third research question in the following chapter. By linking chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6, it established that the eradication declaration raised attitudes of indifference towards informality, but more than these attitudes, it birthed a co-production platform where different urban development stakeholders came together to determine the good practices of upgrading and the future of informal settlements in general. The study participants confirmed the possibility of the declaration to have been a political statement (Mitlin, 2020) made to influence the electorate, but very importantly, they argued the rhetoric used to illuminate the destitution in informality was an example of isomorphic mimicry (Andrews et al, 2012). This declaration furthermore created a platform to enunciate institutional contradictions, disjunctions and conflicts in the definition and scope of ‘upgrading’, as they appear from the Municipality and Thlabanelo residents’ viewpoints. In evaluation of the Municipality’s upgrading strategy, the chapter

analysed the Thlabanelo draft upgrading plan against the objectives and guidelines of the upgrading strategy, which proved a fundamental disconnect between the draft plan and what was stipulated in the Development and Upgrading Policy of 2019. This proves that the strategy was somewhat side-lined. Although the strategy seems to be a good upgrading guide on paper, its practical application on Thlabanelo lacked in many ways, hence it can only be deduced that it's responsiveness and performance is poor.

Chapter 8: Interventions and propositions

8.1 Introduction

This chapter synthesises the upgrading lessons as presented in the previous chapters of this dissertation. Through the study, a wealth of nuanced and holistic means to upgrading informal settlements have been generated and are herein presented as upgrading interventions in section 8.2. These interventions therefore address the third research question, which sought for means to enhance upgrading, as an alternative to the eradication rhetoric. Additionally, the study also confirmed and substantiated planning and urbanist theories and conceptualizations made about informal settlements, as discussed in chapters 2 and 7. These confirmations are presented in section 8.3 of this chapter as propositions of the study. Section 8.4 then concludes the chapter.

8.2 Upgrading Interventions

The bulk of the study found that all relevant stakeholders ought to embrace the platform that the declaration has created in the interests of co-producing knowledge and best upgrading practices for Namibian informal settlements. To substantiate my claim, one of the participants particularly said:

“The declaration has presented both challenges and opportunities. The challenge is that the details about who and how informal settlements eradication have not been clarified by the president, therefore it is very vague. But then the opportunities are far greater [...] in a way, it is good that the president did not say how exactly the eradication is going to happen, because the implementing stakeholders can fill the vacuum with good practices from the grassroots level.”
(Interview participant, 29 July 2020).

The participant’s viewpoint therefore anchors the study’s objective to explore holistic and subtle, yet critical approaches to upgrading informal settlements. Moreover, some participants also hinted that the Municipality may be lacking more innovative ideas to upgrade informal settlements. The latter reflection thus brings me to a viewpoint I presented in chapter two, that the idea of ‘upgrading informal settlements’ may seem complex and overwhelming - especially to a Municipality only learning to deal with high urbanization figures of people, in which the majority are financially challenged. I therefore propose that local authorities replace the seemingly complicated ‘*how to upgrade informal settlements*’ lens with a more nuanced lens which seeks ‘*how to improve the informality and quality of life in settlements*’. The latter lens simplifies the approach to improve informality and living conditions in urban settlements. It also introduces a perspective which continuously seeks to ‘improve’ the residents’ qualities of life, instead of the existing one which inclines a linear and once-off process. These approaches discussed below have incorporated ideas from the empirical study and others from the 2019 high-level roundtable discussion on informal settlements upgrading.

8.2.1 Proactively plan for future growth

A strategy is needed to proactively plan for the [current] approximate 1 million residents in informal settlements and the expected residents in the few decades to come. This strategy would need to empower the existing NGOs upgrading initiatives by upscaling their technical capabilities. Considering the large urbanization rates expected in future, Municipalities need to promote mixed income neighborhoods, where any new urban development would be required to reserve a proportionate

percentage of its residential units for low-income populations. The Johannesburg inclusionary housing policy would serve as a good precedent for this intervention. Furthermore, there is a sense of urgency to target well-located land for the low- and ultra-low-income groups. The in-situ upgrading approaches could further be explored to structure residents in orderly developments. Furthermore, the Ministry of Urban and Rural Development could create regional technical teams with adequate technical staff members – planners, engineers, and community development officers – to support technical upgrading capacities in smaller local authorities.

8.2.2 Promote realistic standards for upgrading areas

Through the draft upgrade plan of Thlabanelo, the study confirmed that upgrading plans are often anchored in middle-income aspirations, whose planning standards do not fit to local contexts. As a result, the upgrade plans displace the residents further. Introducing ‘special planning areas, a concept well-familiarized in Kenya (Integrated Land Management Institute, 2019) would acknowledge the special development challenges in certain areas, which would necessitate case-sensitive upgrading guidelines. These guidelines would necessitate adjusting standards, such as flexible minimal road widths and even sizes, to remain realistic yet dignifying lived experiences. Pro-poor land use regulations would allow for home businesses and a variety of housing typologies could be pre-approved to accommodate incremental housing.

8.2.2.1 Special Planning Areas in Kenya: The case of Mukuru

Mukuru is one of the largest informal settlements in Nairobi, accommodating more than 100 000 families. The settlement highlighted typical informality complexities, such as contested accessibilities to urban services (Refer to figure 16). Mukuru’s destitution was first addressed in 2017 with the introduction of the introduction of special planning interventions by the Nairobi City County. The county declared Mukuru as a Special Planning Area, which further meant that form of development within the settlement was allowed, until an Integrated Development Plan was produced for the settlement.

The Mukuru community did not only wait on the Nairobi County for their settlement upgrade. Instead, they mobilized themselves, collection data on themselves, which further informed and facilitated their upgrading process. The ‘Special Planning Area’ designation also made provision for a sound legal basis on which planning was conducted and the space was revitalized altogether. The case further confirms that transformative change is possible when planning authorities and the territorial owners of land collaborate to improve levels of informality. In the process, the community grew closely knit, and different agencies came together and formed consortiums, through which facilities and services were co-produced.

The Mukuru Special Planning Areas approach is a special precedent to inform upgrading practices, because it teaches local authorities to grant local communities’ permission to plan their communities, given the acknowledgement that conventional planning processes cannot always adequately address the complex challenges of informal settlements. In addition, the Mukuru County council empowers the Mukuru community by recognizing its critical inputs in upgrading settlements. The experience also creates an opportunity to explore more innovative and inclusive upgrading solutions.

Mukuru informal settlement

100,561 households & **302,000** people

670 acres of land divided
between **230+** land deed holders

7 billion ksh annual economy

Majority of structures informally owned
94% of residents are **tenants**

Housing density is up to **240 hh/acre**
In 2002, structures covered 50% of SPA area
In 2016, structures cover 95% of SPA area

150+ informal schools

Average **234** households share **1 tap**

Average **67** people share **1 toilet**

Services run by **cartels**
Households pay a poverty penalty of:
142% more for electricity &
300% more for water
(than nearby formal neighbourhoods)

Data source: participatory research by Muungano wa
Wanavijiji, Akiba Mashinani Trust & partners, 2015–17



Figure 16: A map with additional data about the Mukuru settlement. (Source: <https://www.muungano.net/about-the-mukuru-spa>)

8.2.3 Prioritise the needs of ultra-low-income groups first

Improving informality and quality of living needs to consider local employment realities and to charge for utility services accordingly. A minimalist approach would necessitate that taxation is made sensitive to the underpaid, unemployed, home-based, and informal workers in informal settlements. As cited in the Integrated Land Management Institute (2019), the UN for example, estimated that water costs ought not to exceed 5% of an individual's income. In the Namibian case, the 2017 national minimum wage for domestic worker was N\$1502.05 per month². Considering this minimal wage, water should not therefore cost more than N\$75 per month (Integrated Land Management Institute, 2019). Municipalities thus need to explore smart and progressive utility pricing mechanisms for the ultra-low-income earners first. Pre-paid mechanisms for households to control their spending on services should also be explored.

8.2.4 Introduce a national urban campaign

The study [alongside other literature, such as Delgado (2018) and Delgado and Luhl (2018)] has established that Namibia is steadily becoming urban, however there is a lack of national and local preparedness programmes to capacitate both the migrating residents and the urban managements on 'how to live in cities'. For so long, the knowledge on the latter has been assumed to be instinctive, however studies are proving that actual preparedness programmes are necessary. A national urban campaign would acquaint Municipalities, urban residents – particularly the youth – community-based organizations and other interested parties with the principles of urban development and residence. The campaign could take different forms, such as introducing training programmes with higher learning institutions or public administration and management institutes to train public officials on urban development fundamentals.

8.2.5 Strengthen and uphold co-production practices

The improvement of living experiences in informal settlements requires robust and active collaborative processes to transform informal settlements. The Municipality's current practice of passively collaborating with other stakeholders needs to transition into a collaborative framework. The framework would necessitate a close working relationship with NGOs and CBOs, the academia, the private sector, the Informal settlements upgrading committee and a new partnership model with residents as critical development partners. This new approach will coordinate upgrading efforts better and align upgrading programmes and processes with national development objectives. The approach will furthermore upscale good upgrading practices and target upgrading bottlenecks efficiently.

8.2.6 Use intersectionality as an upgrading tool

The Namibia Labour Force Survey report of 2016 (NSA, 2016) highlighted a lack of access to facilities as one major deprivation to informal settlements residents. These lacking facilities include community centres, recreational centres for the youth to join clubs, leisure parks, libraries, and as in the Thlabanelo case, accessible schools and clinics to access health care and counselling. Numerous deprivations in informal settlements (sanitation facilities, electricity, and limited indoor and outdoor spaces) could be addressed by co-producing and managing public infrastructure through partnerships. The 'social ills' in informal settlements, such as crime and Sexual and Gender-based Violence (SGBV), alcohol and drug abuse, and gangs could be addressed through incorporating urban design, arts, crafts and culture designs, community policing and a variety of social programmes to promote safe and vibrant neighborhoods.

8.2.6.1 Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading: The case of Khayelitsha

The crime level in Cape Town's Khayelitsha township was a major challenge and risk for the locals and the Municipality of Cape Town. Khayelitsha and Nyanga, another low-income township in Cape Town, are known to have the highest rates of homicide in Cape Town, with 120 and 132 deaths per a 100 000 population. The Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme was introduced in Khayelitsha in 2005 to transform the community from a culture of violence to one of peace, by using social capital and public space upgrading to promote safety. The VPUU adopted a transformation strategy which targeted these pillars: violence prevention through lifelong learning, community Cohesion through community social capital, protection through safe communities, and evidence through research development.

The strategy was furthermore complimented by a framework which conceptually integrated different layers of the urban fabric into one another to create a Public Investment Area (PIA), guided by a Public Investment Framework (PIF). The framework (shown in figure 18 below) links major nodes or activity 'pockets'. The programme's success owed to the participation of public agencies; such as the City of Cape Town, the South African National Treasury and the German Development Bank, the active citizen associations and Non-profit agencies, as well as committed teams of Designers and Engineers. From these success factors, one learns that the transformation of the township from a high crime area into a multifunctional, sustainable and safe public space was a result of the participatory design and development process led by an active local leadership, and well-integrated with a dedicated team of relevant municipal departments and professional teams. Figure 17 compares Khayelitsha before and after the project.



Figure 17: A site in Khayelitsha before and after the VPUU programme intervention. (Source: <https://globaldesigningcities.org/publication/global-street-design-guide/streets/streets-informal-areas/recommendations/case-study-2-khayelitsha-cape-town-south-africa/>)



Figure 18: A conceptual framework the VPUU uses in integrating spaces when upgrading.
 (Source: <https://vula.uct.ac.za/access/content/group/a5cabdc4-32fd-43cf-a61c-394016745ce/Presentations/VPUU%40UCT%20August%202019.email.pdf>)

8.2.7 Re-thinking land availability

The options to improve the informality in settlements should not be left to 'greenfield developments' and in-situ upgrading alone. One of the resolutions of the Second National Land Conference encouraged a wide-ranging audit of under- and initialized urban land to provide access to well-located [and services] land to the low-income groups. The audit should then identify these land portions to be made available for the allocation of low-income housing and public infrastructure. In the cases where these unused and underutilized land portions belong to the state, the release of such land should be fast-tracked. In the cases where the land in question belongs to private owners, negotiations could be made, and if necessary, expropriation could be explored. The latter ought to be undertaken in partnership with private sector organizations to ensure a mutual understanding and a unified approach, instead of one which incites division.

8.3 Theoretical propositions

The chapter now turns to the propositions made from the study. This section links back to chapter 3, in which the importance of the case study method has been highlighted not to generalize from a case, but to establish theoretical propositions applicable to other contexts. These propositions are briefly discussed below.

8.3.1 Political statements facilitate discourses on informality

The eradication declaration is an intended manifestation of what Watson (2014) refers to as 'African urban fantasies', where African cities [and leaders] urban plans seek to glorify internationally acclaimed first-class city standards which do not reflect African realities. The overall research aim was to establish how the eradication rhetoric by the president influenced attitudes and stakeholders' efforts to upgrading practices. The study found that the rhetoric used was side-lined, due to its mimicry [to international agendas] (Andrews et al, 2012) and its assumed political embedment. However, the declaration was seized on to innovate a policy directive for the future of urban informality in Namibia. The eradication declaration, being a political statement, accelerated housing delivery in Windhoek and it rushed the Municipality's registration process on the Thlabanelo settlement, which resulted in 'short-cuts' in the process and an incomplete registration task. While the president exhibited attitudes of indifference towards informality, the urban stakeholders adopted a sense of motivation, determination and hope to transform informal settlements. Therefore, the declaration enabled and facilitated the co-production of an enhanced upgrading meaning and sharing good practices towards upgrading settlements.

8.3.2 Urban informality is a unique form of urbanism which needs to be understood, constantly improved and integrated in formal urban developments

The Thlabanelo case has nuanced understanding that urban informality is a legitimate form of urbanism which has resulted from a myriad of urban limitations, inconveniences and many 'grey areas' (Yiftachel, 2009b). Through the case studied, the reader learns to understand that informality is a manifestation of several gaps in the urban areas 'formal' market, in terms of access to adequate land and housing, tenure security, and services and infrastructure (Cohen, 2016; Pieterse, 2013). The complete eradication of informality is an almost unachievable ambition, given the perpetual existence and growth of inequality and affordability levels in society. In the case of the Thlabanelo settlements and other informal settlements, the Windhoek municipality has learned to accommodate them, instead of controlling them. Given the expected second wave of urbanization in Africa as suggested by Fieuw (2011), Pieterse (2013) and Buckley et al (2016), it is imperative that African cities constantly revise their urbanization

management strategies, and constantly explore ways to improve their residents' qualities of living, especially given that Africa's urbanization is characterized by the 'urbanization of poverty' (Buckley et al, 2016; Fieuw, 2011). Resultantly, there's an urgent need to bring equity to the urban development core – seeking ways to integrate the urban poor in formal housing and service developments, and to introduce special planning areas for informal settlements with altered standards to fit their contexts.

8.3.3 Development is context-specific, and it should be locally defined in a collaborative manner to achieve the envisioned aim[s]

This proposition speaks to the need for contextualizing development and its associated concepts for a common goal. The direct application of Global north development concepts onto Global south contexts is fundamentally impractical. When the latter is not locally defined and adapted by all its stakeholders through collaborative efforts, conflicting rationalities in defining concepts – here referring to upgrading – and disconnections in upgrading practices occur, as was the case in the Thlabanelo case.

8.3.4 Upgrading is not only about utility services and housing, but it is about promoting and strengthening livelihoods and social developments in communities

In addition to the preceding proposition, this case supported the argument made by Buckley et al (2016) that upgrading informality ought to be expanded from the current perspective of housing and utility service provision, to include the overall enhancement of the living environment. The study suggests dismissing the narrow lens of upgrading as a once-off process and supports a more holistic lens of continuously improving the informality and the living qualities in settlements. Buckley et al (2016) furthermore emphasize that upgrading should incorporate the residents' livelihoods, that is, upgrades should encourage home businesses and different economic opportunities for residents to earn income and grow towards securing better services. The social development component is also critical to build cohesive and resilient communities. From the Thlabanelo case, soccer games proved to be a significant unifying activity for the community, and the soccer field hosts several ceremonies. Due to its accrued significance to the community, it is one common asset which the community guards and proudly owns.

8.3.5 Innovation in informal settlements is the means to actualize an Afrocentric urban future for Namibia

The nuanced and holistic approaches in section 8.2 are evidence that upgrading practices in African cities need to explore options specific to African realities. Via co-produced means, African cities can actualize informal settlements transformation by sharing innovative practices which shift from Eurocentric approaches engrained in planning systems during the colonial moment. In Namibia for instance, most informal settlements are located on state or local authorities land, which is easier to release for housing the low-income population segments. The Thlabanelo settlement has a variety of assets – natural, socio-cultural assets - which can be harnessed to transform the settlement into a vibrant local node. Through intersectionality and a well-run national urban campaign, informal settlements in African cities could be sites of cultural and heritage preservation, identity and socio-economic progression.

8.4 Conclusion

The chapter presented the upgrading interventions as sought by the third research question, and it synthesized the study's main propositions. The chapter acknowledged the discussion opportunity necessitated by the eradication declaration, which enabled different stakeholders to dismantle the 'upgrading' concept in Windhoek. A critical shift in the approach to upgrading has been discussed. The shift advocates for a holistic framework which continuously explores ways to improve informality and living experiences in settlements, as opposed to the current complex approach to upgrade informal settlements. The suggested approaches are holistic in nature not just technical per se – to provide a broader upgrading scope. The propositions made from the study conform to different theoretical concepts discussed in the earlier chapters. The final chapter of the dissertation therefore follows hereafter.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter is a conclusion of the research process and the dissertation. It consolidates the main findings of the research in connection to the theory consulted. The chapter summarizes the main findings and it responds to the research objectives and questions identified in chapter 3. However, beyond just summarizing the research findings, the chapter concludes by stating the significance of what the research found. The chapter further reveals the research limitations and includes prospects of future research.

9.2 Research Aim and Approach

Global South cities expect large urbanization waves in decades ahead, however their urbanization management frameworks are inadequate to accommodate large and rapid in-migration of people. For Namibia, its first recorded moment where urban populations were greater than those in rural areas has already been recorded in 2018. Unfortunately, the 'urbanization of poverty' characterizes Namibia's urbanization, which translates in enlarging informal settlements, their complexities, and destitute living conditions. President Geingob's 2019 declaration to eradicate informal settlements in Namibia further worsens [and delays adequate solutions to] the plight of informal settlements, by making derogatory statements beneath an-already confusing declaration.

The challenge [research gap] found by the study is the limited understanding of how political statements bear implications on upgrading discourses. The research asked how the eradication rhetoric revealed that co-production is a necessary means to upgrading informal conditions in settlements. The research aim was therefore to explore nuanced and holistic means to upgrade informal settlements, through studying Windhoek's upgrading approaches. Additional motivations for this aim were the need to unpack how different development stakeholders understood the president's declaration and how the said declaration influenced their attitudes and efforts towards settlement upgrading. The declaration also necessitated interrogating what has and is being done by the Windhoek Municipality with regards to its upgrading strategy, since most informal settlements have been in the same state since independence. This thought inspired the second objective: to assess the responsiveness and the performance of the upgrading strategy, as the Municipality has set, but also according to the participants. In the third objective, the research explored how upgrading ought to be approached more holistically to enhance informal settlements. These objectives were explored through these three questions I referred to as 'threads of inquiry':

1. How did the president's eradication declaration [and the *rhetoric* in particular] influence the attitudes and efforts of Windhoek's development stakeholders towards informality in general and upgrading settlements?
2. How responsive and well-performing is the Windhoek Municipality's upgrading strategy in general and in its application to the Thlabanelo settlement specifically?
3. How can the Municipality's upgrading strategy be nuanced and made more holistic in its approaches to improve informal settlements?

The nature of the main research question and the aim necessitated that I employ the case study and the Critical Discourse Analysis methods. Firstly, interrogating ‘interpretations’ and implications of the eradication declaration required me, the researcher, to familiarize myself with the declaration details – from what context it emerged, when and how it was made, and the language used in conveying the declaration. These prompts are best answered when a critical analysis is made, hence the study used the Critical Discourse Analysis. The second focus of the study assessed the responsiveness and performance of the Municipality’s upgrading strategy, necessitating a close examination of where the strategy was applied. The case method was therefore employed. These methods were complimented by different techniques; semi-structured interviews, a focus groups interview, media reports and other document analysis as well as field observations.

The research process was strategically designed to obtain responses from the grassroots level up the hierarchy of knowledge and expertise. The research process revealed critical lessons: research is cyclical, but not linear; research can take any turn, hence one needs to be open-minded and dismissive of their own biases to notice the smallest details; conducting interviews requires a tactful, good listener and probing responses. I further learned the importance of triangulating information, as a means to verify the credibility of information.

9.3 Summary of Research Findings

With regards to the general reflection on the findings, they [findings] did not completely authenticate some of my personal biases and expectations towards the eradication rhetoric interpretations. Instead of strongly critiquing the eradication rhetoric, most of the research participants did not comment with any rigour, and when they commented, it was to excuse the rhetoric used by the president, in a counter-argument that the underlying message ‘meant well’. Nonetheless, this indicates the level of expectation that development stakeholders in Windhoek have for those occupying leadership positions. I argue that the rhetoric used to seek solutions for deprived conditions in informal settlements is outdated and worrisome, even more because it is being conveyed by the head of state. Furthermore, there is a need to emphasize that informality is a manifestation of a unique way of living, which does not need to mimic formal settings. Attitudes and efforts ought to understand this fact, approach residents in informal settlements and communicate how to steadily improve living conditions, as opposed to ambitiously declaring to ‘get rid’ of a challenge seldom understood. Some level of argument emerged to outline the ambiguous nature of the declaration - that is, not very clear what the state’s pronouncement on the livelihoods of informal settlement residents, despite a clear indication that ‘shacks’ and informality by nature are not tolerated.

In response to posed research questions, the interpretations seem to be insignificant, given that the stakeholders’ past experiences with politically made statements rarely materialized. Most of the participants associated the declaration with electioneering, claiming that the excuse given inline with the urban land resolutions passed at the second national land conference was a hopeless one. The implications on the other hand gave momentum for pending upgrading work, but very importantly, it revealed the necessity of co-producing knowledge and practices at different levels of governance. Development stakeholders took advantage of the declaration’s novelty to get together and discuss the future of urban land and informality during a challenging period of rapid urbanization expected soon. As a result of the declaration, the National Alliance for upgrading informal settlements was launched. Furthermore, the declaration did not seem to have much influence on attitudes towards upgrading or

informality in general. This could be because attitudes are a temporary value, which the declaration did not influence, especially if they already concretized their rationalities on informality. Most participants however showed a commitment to contributing to the improvement of informal settlements.

The Municipality's upgrading strategy had the longest discussion, suggesting dissatisfaction with the current system. Firstly, the conflicts and disjuncture on defining upgrading and what it constitutes is a critical point, which suggests that development is not equitably contributed to, from all components of the city. Development which is not contextually negotiated often has one benefactor controlling the type of development offered and the pace at which it is offered. Moreover, this observation also justifies why formal planning and engineering standards are imposed on informal contexts, ignoring any illogical application of standards. This is true for Windhoek, where Thlabanelo residents expressed that they rarely have any form of engagement with the Municipality, except when there was concerning issue needed from the community. From the conflicts and disjuncture in defining what upgrading constitutes, it is not surprising that the Thlabanelo residents disagree that the strategy is performing nor that it is responsive to the community's needs. This point still returns to the need for collaboration and locally discussing upgrading and development in general. The strategy does not adequately support participatory means, setting itself up for failure with the projected high populations. The Thlabanelo draft plan was not designed according to the guidelines and principles stipulated in the Development and Upgrading Policy. As a result, the plan will displace current Thlabanelo residents due to unaffordability to live there.

The third research question is the most important one, because it is futuristic in nature and it presents an opportunity to rectify past mistakes and to strengthen existing planning capacity. Chapter 8 of this dissertation outlined numerous nuanced and holistic approaches to broaden the scope of upgrading. The cases studied under chapter 8 are well-suited for the Windhoek context, because the nature of challenges is similar, and the technical capacities are available. Once a co-production culture has been adopted in the Municipality, informal settlements in the Windhoek will have some good upgrading practices too. There is a need for the CoW to target providing communities with secure land ownership, as opposed to the small impact, yet costly provision of housing units who may not be able to maintain them, due to expenses. Overall, upgrading needs to transform its approach through holistic frameworks not viewed as 'upgrading informality', but as 'small simple interventions to provide a new service and to improve living qualities'. The latter framework presents a broader scope for a variety of investors to offer services, than the former framework, which is assumed to be limited to planners only.

9.4 Research Limitations

Two main research limitations have been identified; the lack of representation from the state and the limited study area, when the research topic examines informal settlements as a collective. Regarding the first limitation, the efforts to connect with Ministry of Urban and Rural Development officials to participate on behalf of the government were unsuccessful until the full development stage of the study. Although the Windhoek Municipality is a local authority, it operates as a parastatal. It is therefore a large study limitation that the study does not reference any response from the government for fair representation. The second limitation is also valid, given that the research examines implications of the eradication declaration on Windhoek development stakeholders and explores more improved upgrading approaches for all Windhoek informal settlements, however the study was only limited to one site. The study was unfortunately largely constrained in terms of time and capacity to study other sites, largely due

to the Covid-19 pandemic. Even more inclusive and thorough data collection techniques could not be executed, because of Covid-19-borne limitations.

9.5 Future Research

This study was influenced by numerous planning themes, such as power relations in urban areas, land and politics, the informal economy, tenure security and modernism/futuristic planning in African cities. While the study took portions of lessons from each one of these themes, the findings, their interpretation in chapter 7 and propositions in chapter 8 raised some of these issues which could be good to explore in future research:

- The concept of political settlements comprises the [ruling] elites generating rents for themselves in exchange for shelter provision to the public. There is however a primitive understanding [especially in the Namibian planning context] on the significance of land to political settlements; there is a need to ask: is it more significant to generate rents (income flows) or votes (territorial control)?
- Given that political parties offer social packages, such as shelter to maintain their political dominance in a geography, there is a need to understand how different shelter provisions affect political loyalties and campaigning strategies.
- Now more than ever, when cities are preparing themselves for large waves of urbanization in coming decades, there is a need to explore ways in which new different provisions could be made effective to accommodate inclusive urban development and secure cities.
- How can the 'Special Planning Areas' approach be retrofitted to the Namibian context to promote locally-suited upgrading practices?
- 'Urban fantasies', also referred to as grandiose city planning has been an ambition for many African countries, and Namibia has caught on with the eradication declaration. Should planning ambitions be serving these Euro-centric ambitions or focus on enhancing the advancement of Africans? Also, how can informal settlements be enhanced through innovation to create unique Afrocentric cities?

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter synthesized the contents of the dissertation. It restated the research aim and approach used to undertake the study. The findings responded to the posed research questions, in which the eradication declaration was not interpreted, however its implications on planning discourses accelerated some upgrading work. The Municipality's upgrading strategy on Thlabanelo was found to be unresponsive, due to its ignorance on the community's developmental needs. The research found several means to holistically upgrade informal settlements, which mostly reinforce co-production. The chapter also highlighted two main limitations; the misrepresentation of the state in the study and the small study area to represent all informal settlements in Windhoek. In conclusion, the study outlined some themes to be explored for future research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Interviewee's list

Participant's Name	Institution	Position/Description
Mr L. Hangula	Thlabanelo	Resident
Mr J. Vernando	Thlabanelo	Resident
Ms S. Shimbome	Thlabanelo	Resident
Mr. L. Nambinga	Thlabanelo	Resident
Ms. R. Iiyambo	Thlabanelo	Resident
Ms. F. Uupindi	Thlabanelo	Resident
Ms. M. Shoombe	Thlabanelo	Resident
Mr. P. Johannes	Thlabanelo	Resident
Mr. T. Tobias	Thlabanelo	Resident
Ms. E. Frans	Thlabanelo	Resident
Mr V. Endjala	City of Windhoek: Sustainable Development	Manager
Mr O. Kakero	City of Windhoek: Human Settlements	Section Head
Mr M. Ashipala	City of Windhoek: Community Development	Section Head
Ms M. Amukugo	City of Windhoek: Human Settlements	Planning Technician
Ms H. Sylvanus	City of Windhoek: Human Settlements	Planning Technician
Ms J. Nambala	City of Windhoek: Community Development	Development Officer
Ms V. Hoffman	City of Windhoek: Human Settlements	Development Planner
Dr G. Delgado	Integrated Land Management Institute (ILMI)	Research Coordinator
Ms R. Mabakeng	NUST: Department of Land and Property Studies	Junior Lecturer & Researcher
Ms G. van Rooi	NUST: Department of Architecture and Spatial Planning	Lecturer
Mr A. Harris	NUST: Department of Architecture and Spatial Planning	Lecturer
Mr A. Edison	Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia/ Namibia Housing Action Group	

APPENDIX 2: INFORMATION SHEET & CONSENT FORM –

An Exploration for a Holistic approach to Upgrading Informal Settlements as an Alternative to Settlement Elimination: A Case Study on Okapale Informal Settlement, Windhoek.

Good day Sir/Madam

I am Max Uushona and I am conducting research towards a Master's degree in City and Regional Planning at the University of Cape Town. I am researching on the upgrading of informal settlements in Windhoek, and I would like to invite you to participate in the project.

The project is about exploring nuanced and holistic ways to upgrade the Okapale informal settlement in Goreangab, Windhoek.

I am interested in learning your opinion about the President of Namibia's 2019 declaration to eradicate informal settlements in Namibia. I want to understand how your work/livelihoods are affected by this declaration, and what this means to you as an institution/individual. Focusing on the informal settlement upgrading, I would further like to learn some of your experiences regarding the City of Windhoek's settlement upgrading processes. Finally, I would appreciate your contribution towards developing holistic and sustainable approaches to upgrading the informal settlements in general.

Please understand that your participation is voluntary, meaning it is your choice to participate. If you choose not to participate, there aren't any consequences directed to you. If you choose to participate, but wish to withdraw at any time, you will be free to do so without negative consequences. However, I would be grateful if you would assist me by allowing me to interview you.

I will ask you to respond to several questions, therefore be free to converse with me. I intend to have our interview no more than 30 minutes. Please inform me whether you require any form of payment or any cost is required to interview you. I will however ask for your permission to note down, record our conversation and/or take photographs of documents [and the site when interviewing residents].

Please note that this is an academic project, hence there may not be any direct benefits for your participation.

This interview might cause you some harm; such as discomfort, emotional disgruntlement or pain, due to the issues asked and the direction the interview might take. I however assure you that I will strive to minimize any risk of harm for your participation. You can also set the limit on what documentation is useable in this research.

Regarding anonymity and confidentiality, your identity will be protected throughout all the stages of the research. Reference to your response will be anonymized as "the respondent", and affiliate you to your institution when necessary. "They" shall be used instead of "he" or "she" to hide your identity.

Upon completion of the interview, the raw data will be transcribed, and all hard copies of sensitive information will be shredded. Instead of hard copies, soft copies will be stored and secured with passwords only known by me, the researcher. To ensure that your participation is meaningful, the transcribed information will be shared to eliminate any misinterpretations or misunderstandings, and the final dissertation will be shared, if you indicate such interest. Thank you for your contribution.

Name of participant[s]Date

Signature of participant[s]

APPENDIX 3: Interview Questions

With reference to the background given in the Information Sheet and Consent form, this list of questions will be directed to the i) City of Windhoek, ii) Academia and SDFN/NHAG professionals and the iii) residents:

I. City of Windhoek Professionals

Two departments are targeted for these interviews, namely the Department of Human Settlements, which is responsible for the planning and upgrading of settlements in Windhoek, and the Department of Urban and Transport Planning, concerned with the sustainable development and future growth of Windhoek. The questions are categorized as follows:

Establishing the professional's professional background and stance on informal settlements

1. How long have you been working with the department and what are some of your daily tasks and responsibilities in your current portfolio?
2. What would you say is your profession? [hint: planner or something else]
3. How do you describe the current **state** and **growth** of informal settlements in Windhoek?

Introducing the President's declaration

4. Last year [2019], the President declared his intentions to eradicate informal settlements in Namibia within the next 5 years. How do you interpret this declaration?
5. What would you say was his rationale- why has the president taken this position?
6. In your opinion, how practical and sustainable is eradicating informal settlements?
7. Engage me on the technical capacities for this to happen.
8. The President has on several occasions referred to Windhoek informal settlements with plan to eradicate settlements. What does this mean for the City of Windhoek? How does your department position itself in this declaration?
9. Given these eradication intentions of government, what do you think is the future for informal settlements in Windhoek?

Understanding the upgrading of Informal settlements in Windhoek

10. In your understanding, what constitutes that an informal settlement has been upgraded?
11. Several media reports highlight that the upgrading rate of informal settlements is very slow. Do you agree or disagree with this statement, and what would justify your position?
12. [Whether agreed or disagreed with Q11] why do you think is the reason for the perceived slowness in upgrading settlements?
13. I'm aware the City of Windhoek has an 'Informal Settlements Upgrading Strategy'. How successful/unsuccessful has the strategy been in upgrading informal settlements over the years? What accounts for this success/failure?
14. What have been some of the pressing challenges in upgrading informal settlements?

15. Literature points out that high service installation standards and costs when upgrading informal settlements are some of the limiting factors to successful upgrading. What are some of these standards and costs, and why are they particularly pressing limitations?
16. How is the City of Windhoek planning to accelerate the upgrading rate of informal settlements?

On the Thlabanelo/Okapale Settlement

17. The Okapale settlement is one which accommodates thousands of Windhoek residents. Is there any socio-economic profile done on the settlement?
18. Please describe the relationship between the City of Windhoek and informal settlements (particularly Okapale, if any).
19. What significance does/could the Okapale site present to the surrounding neighbourhoods and the entire Windhoek at large?
20. Through a collaborative upgrading process, how can Okapale be upgraded holistically and integrated better into Windhoek?
21. Regarding housing, what construction standards ought to be met to upgrade Okapale
22. What institutional support and collaborative role is your department prepared to take in improving living conditions in Okapale?

II. Shack Dwellers' Federation of Namibia (SDFN)/ Namibia Housing Action Group (NHAG) professional[s]

23. What is your mandate as an institution and how has this mandate evolved over the years?
24. What is your interpretation of the President's declaration and how does it influence your mandate as an institution?
25. Please share with me your working [collaborative] relationship with the City of Windhoek and the communities you work with?
26. Do you take a co-production approach to planning and development? What does this mean to you?
27. How do you as an institution define upgrading settlements and what role do you play in that process (if any)?
28. From your perspective, which are the most pressing limitations to successful upgrading of informal settlements?
29. Has there been any socio-economic survey on Okapale and/or surrounding settlements?
30. What major strengths and weaknesses in the Okapale are worth noting for upgrading purposes?
31. What broader Covid-19 lessons could be adapted into informal settlement upgrading to improve the quality of lives in informal settlements?

III. Okapale Resident

Personal Context

32. Where did you first settle, and who accommodated you when you first moved to Windhoek?
33. How long have you lived in Okapale, and how is it like to have lived here for that long?
34. Why did you leave from your previous residence and why did you choose to come to Thlabanelo?

35. How big is your household?
36. What type of economic activities do you do to sustain your household?

President Declaration

37. In your understanding, what was the message of the President's declaration?
38. How did/does the declaration make you feel as a Windhoek resident in an Informal area?
39. Please share your thoughts on the causes for such a declaration.

Residents' perspectives on informal settlement upgrading

40. In your understanding, what defines upgrading an informal settlement?
41. Informal settlements upgrading is generally described as 'slow'. In your opinion, what causes this slowness?
42. How do you describe the working relationship between informal settlements residents, the City of Windhoek and the Shack Dweller's Federation of Namibia, as settlement upgrading stakeholders?

On the upgrading of Okapale

43. What form of tenure security do you have to where you live and what tenure arrangements would work for you?
44. Are you part of any saving group association here in Okapale?
45. What livelihoods sustain your household where you live?
46. Where you currently live, what forms of basic services (water, ablution facility, power) do you have access to?
47. Where is the nearest clinic and primary school to where you live? Is this where children in your household or neighbouring household attend school and access health care?
48. If Okapale should be upgraded, what are the major attributes to be considered in the upgrade process?
49. There have been several claims from the Municipality that habitable land has run out. How willing are you to share a piece of land with another household on a rental basis?
50. Municipality policies are advocating for high densities for developments. How do you feel about living in double storey structures instead of single storey buildings?
51. In your opinion, how best can the Okapale community, SDFN and Municipality work together to improve your quality of life?

IV. NUST Professionals (former CoW employees)

52. What were/are your thoughts on the President's declaration? Are you for or against the declaration?
53. Comment on the i) relevance and ii) practicality/feasibility of declaration in Windhoek.
54. What constitutes upgrading informal settlements currently? Can we equate this upgrading with transforming informal settlements into flourishing neighbourhoods?

55. Share your opinion on what is/has been the biggest challenge in Windhoek [and Namibia] in the transformation of informal settlements.
56. In comparing the initial and revised CoW upgrading strategy, what are some of its major setbacks/limitations challenging its satisfactory implementation?
57. Modernistic planning features e.g high planning and engineering standards are captured as some challenges. Your thoughts how these could be negotiated in the informal settlements' formalization?
58. Much of the literature points at the absence of legitimate collaboration with communities in upgrading. How do you describe the nature of CoW's collaboration with other stakeholders?
59. What processes [or perhaps roles] need to be introduced or strengthened to improve co-production in the city?
60. What are your thoughts on the significance and influence of the existing Planning legislation in Namibia [and Windhoek] in the development and management of informal settlements? (Any specifics from the new Planning Act?)
61. Central government's role - what role should they be playing? Fiscal, legislation, other enabling factors?
62. Which should be the focus of local AND central government be; providing actual houses –like we see aimed at – or availing land?
63. Tenure security – how willing are the Windhoek communities in informal settlements towards exploring tenure options, especially leaseholds and sectional titles?

Preparing for the future..

64. From your lessons over the years, share on how you equip future planners for the planning industry -professional conduct, but also social engagement.
65. I'm of the opinion that holistically, informal settlements can be re-imaged. What are some of your major [or less] nuances we could explore to achieve this?
66. **What functions, processes, and tools** ought to be mobilized to achieve this re-imagination. Can you conceptualize this on a drawing?
67. Imagine we are in the early 2000s when settlements are beginning to spiral out of control. What sequence of work should we do urgently to manage things much better than current management?

APPENDIX 4: City of Windhoek Consent Letter

Department of Human Capital and Corporate Services

☒ 59

80 Independence Avenue
WINDHOEK, NAMIBIA

Tel: (+264) 61 290 2911 • Fax: (+264) 61 290 3212 • www.cityofwindhoek.org.na



ENQ: Mr AM Nikanor

PHONE: 061 -290 2630

DATE: 24 July 2020

RE: AN EXPLORATION FOR A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO UPGRADING INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO SETTLEMENT ELIMINATION: A CASE STUDY ON OKAPALE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT, WINDHOEK – MR M. UUSHONA (STUDENT NO: USHMAX001)

This letter serves as confirmation that Mr M. Uushona a student pursuing a Master's Degree in City and Regional Planning at the University of Cape Town, Cape Town – South Africa has been granted permission to conduct his research on the above subject.

Respondents to the study are therefore requested to render Mr M. Uushona their cooperation and assistance.

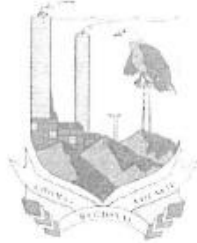
Should there be any queries, please feel free to contact the Organisational & Human Resources Development Division on the above contact details

Yours Sincerely,


Mr. AM Nikanor
Manager: Organizational & Human Resources Development

All official correspondence must be addressed to the Chief Executive Officer

APPENDIX 5: Samora Machel Constituency Consent Letter



KHOMAS REGIONAL COUNCIL

Tel no (061) 264836
Fax no (061) 257327
E-mail: amupex@gmail.com
Potomac Street
Our ref: KCR 14/1/8
Your ref: _____
Enquiries: Hon. F.S. Shivute

Khomas Regional Council
PO Box 337
Windhoek

15 July 2020

SAMORA MACHEL CONSTITUENCY TO WHOM IT MY CONCERN


I honorable Fanuel San Shivute, Councilor of Samora Machel Constituency in Khomas Region, I do hereby confirming that **Mr. Max Uushona Student Number USHMAX001**, residents of the Samora Machel Constituency.

Mr. Max Uushona, He is a student at the University of Cape Town. He respectfully request permission to do a research in Samora Machel Constituency. **The topic for this research Exploring holistic and well integrated approaches to upgrading informality in settlement, and its background is drawn from the 2019 presidential declaration to eradicate informal settlement by 2024 at Samora Machel Constituency Khomas Region.** All information collected will be solely applied for purpose, and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. No personal detail are required as to protect the respondent identities and to enhance confidentiality.

For further information do not hesitate to contact my office and render him our usual assistant into this regard.

I have no hesitation in recommending this young man to any future success and feel assured that he has the necessary determination to make a success into this chosen plan. My best wishes accompany him.

Yours Faithfully



Hon. Fanuel San Shivute
Councilor of Samora Machel Constituency



ETHICS APPLICATION FORM

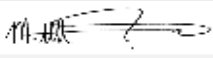


Please Note:

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form **before** collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application **prior** to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the EBE Ethics in Research Handbook (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: <http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/ebe/research/ethics/>

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant	Max Uushona	
Department	School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics	
Preferred email address of applicant:	maxuushona@gmail.com	
If Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.	Master's in City and Regional Planning
	Credit Value of Research: e.g., 60/120/180/360 etc.	The course code is APG5051z 120 Credits
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Vanessa Watson
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship	This is not a research contract.	
Project Title	An Exploration for a Holistic approach to Upgrading Informal Settlements as an Alternative to Settlement Elimination: A Case Study on Okapale Informal Settlement, Windhoek.	

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

APPLICATION BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	Max Uushona		03 June 2020
SUPPORTED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	Prof Vanessa Watson		4 th June 2020
APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Chair: Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the questions in Section 1.	R Behrens		23 Jun 2020