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WRITING WINDHOEK – MULTIPLE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CITY

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfillment of the requirements of degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Sociology)

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Abstract

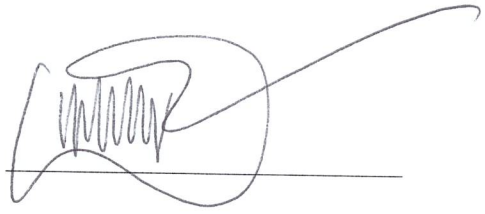
Resurrecting Windhoek from obscurity, I draw on a legion of evidence to conjure up what I call 'an unusual city'. From a multiplicity of materials that form the basis on which I put together an image of an 'unusual city', what comes to the fore is an urban milieu least understood, just like the country whose capital city it is. As an object of study and not least as an idea, Windhoek has eluded a sustained scholarly reflection so much so that its near-total absence from the register of urban studies on the African continent is noticeable. In treating Windhoek as a historical object, I sieved through archival materials to reconstruct the genealogy of a city that has, for a long time, escaped continual research interest. Rendering Windhoek as an idea worthy of deconstruction and reflection, this thesis sought to access its particularities – and similarities with other cities – as encapsulated in multiple representations of the city. These representations find expression in history, cultural memory, municipal bureaucratic practices and legal regimes that continue to dictate what is permitted and what is proscribed. In terms of history, this thesis observes that the German colonial period (though underplayed in literature on urbanism in Namibia) laid a solid foundation for the comprehensive implementation of residential apartheid in most urban areas. To be sure, the principles of conquest and control of what was once a German garrison reverberate in contemporary Windhoek. From cultural economies of the city, evidence shows that Windhoek's origin is immortalised erroneously – yet deliberately – in a statue of a former German commander. On the other hand, what the poems and songs as a collective surrender, are old questions/issues of urban dwelling. These include such issues as residential segregation, penury amidst opulence, differentiated built environment and spatial policing. From urban governance vantage point, this thesis demonstrates how Windhoek exemplifies a resolve to condemn informality to perpetual insecurity through constant harassment of street vendors. This harassment is combined with a reluctant accommodation of informal trading defined by some kind of invisibility in the precinct of the CBD. The thesis further expounds on how Windhoek is obsessed with cleanliness as an instrument of displaying order. The recent expansive rollout of surveillance technologies added 'control' as a new dimension. This thesis also shows that legal codes and regulations possess an afterlife more invincible than we are prepared to admit as witnessed by the stubborn imprint of colonial urban planning laws in contemporary Windhoek.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my work and it has been written by me in its entirety. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. I have not submitted it for any degree or for examination at any other university. Parts of this thesis have been published as the below-captioned book chapter and a short reflective article:

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Ellison Tjirera

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Dedication

To Tjatieua, Uetuuanisa and Kamberiuo, for whom everything is due. And in memoriam of the following earthlings who departed in the 'year of desolation': Pempelani Mufune (1957 – 2015); William Lindeke (1946 – 2015); Rapatua Katjizeu (1984 – 2015) and Vetjiuaune Tjihoreko (1988 – 2015).

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Introduction: Unusual City?

> *"The city has no completeness, no centre, no fixed parts. Instead, it is an amalgam of often disjointed processes and social heterogeneity, a place of far and new connections, a concatenation of rhythms; always ending in new directions".*[1]

Long before I landed on the dusty streets of Katutura for the first time in early 2003, my mental cartography of Windhoek was that of an intriguing urban milieu. Intriguing mostly because of various stories told to me by those who were well versed in its goings-on. Little did I know that it would become an object of my academic rendition. As became apparent with the passage of time, a meaningful scholarly curiosity about Windhoek developed against a backdrop of what started off as a choice of field site driven by the dictates of ease of access. As time passed, various conscious practices have come to define my relationship with Windhoek. These practices include – but are not limited to – reflexive wanderings, sitting on the benches around the piazza of Post Street Mall observing moving bodies going about their everyday repetitive acts, sieving through dusty archival materials and talking to street vendors. Yet, these fragments from which I attempted to comb together a portrait of Windhoek could not produce any completeness nor a centre, and neither any "fixed parts". Yet through what at times appear as disjointed different parts, cities still have the allure of capturing imaginations because of their oft privileged positions in the countries in which they are located, and in the world at large.

That cities throughout the world constitute important nodal points defining nations and states is now commonly accepted. In other words, cities are increasingly becoming the 'real' mirrors of societies in which they are located. And "nothing about cities in the twenty-first century is

[1] Amin, A., & Thrift, N. (2002). *Cities: Reimagining the Urban.* Wiley, p.8.

insignificant; the stakes are always high".[2] It is in cities where the contradictions of everyday life become apparent – where waste mutates into value – and where human behaviour is acutely policed but simultaneously where authorities get challenged the most. Arguably, there are a growing number of societies in which cities have a different relationship to global processes than the visions and policies of their nation-states may admit or endorse.[3] This 'capture' of cities in a web of global circuits beyond the control and influence of nation-states enables them to be laboratories in which experimentations of all kinds find expression. For capital cities – such as Windhoek – there is invariably an element of 'standing out' and representing a pulse through which a grasp of what makes a nation or a state can be located. This 'standing out' is particularly acute in primate cities such as Windhoek. The concept of 'primate city' is attributed to the geographer Mark Jefferson who argued that "(...)once a city is larger than any other in its country, this mere fact gives it an impetus to grow that cannot affect any other city, it draws away from all of them in character as well as in size. It is the best market for all exceptional products".[4] Even though the conflation of capital city and nation-state can at times be analytically problematic insofar as important distinctions can be missed as a result, this does not seem to hold for the Windhoek-Namibia nexus. For a start, all major state institutions of Namibia are located in Windhoek, giving bravado if not pretence to the idea of a city-state.[5] From the Supreme Court to the Parliament; from the State House to the biggest tertiary institution in the country; from the Police headquarters to the main offices of all government ministries and embassies/consulates of countries with diplomatic presence in Namibia. Therefore, it is the pulse of Namibia in every

[2] Pieterse, E. A. (2008). *City futures: confronting the crisis of urban development*. Zed Books, p.1.

[3] Holston, J., Appandurai, A. (1999). Cities and Citizenship – Introduction, In Holston, J. *Cities and Citizenship*, Duke University Press: Durham, pp. 1-20. See also Marcuse, P., Van Kempen, R. (2000). Introduction, In Marcuse P., Van Kempen, R. (Eds.), *Globalizing Cities. A New Spatial Order*? Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, pp. 1-21.

[4] Jefferson, M. (1939). The Law of the Primate City. *Geographical Review*, *29*(2), 226–232.

[5] City-state is a political system consisting of an independent city having sovereignty over contiguous territory and serving as a centre and leader of political, economic, and cultural life (Encyclopædia Brittanica, 2015).

conceivable sense. A fitting contrasting example is perhaps South Africa, where you have Johannesburg as the economic capital, Cape Town as the legislative capital, Pretoria as the administrative/executive capital and Bloemfontein as the judicial capital. Not so in Namibia, for everything is in Windhoek. It is an embodiment of all that stands for urbanity in its different manifestations. As Bekker and Therborn observe, "the nation state projects its power through the urban landscape and spatial layout of the capital city. This power is manifested in the capital's architecture, in its public monuments and the names of its streets and public spaces"[6]. But in terms of spatial practices, power is particularly manifested in how municipal officials and the police prescribe how – as a case in point – the so-called informal traders should conduct their affairs if they are to fall within the script on which the fantasy of the 'modern city'[7] is based.

Namibia is known as a 'country of contrast'[8] largely because of its geomorphology. It is home to the oldest desert[9] in the world, which lies not far from its west coast. Its capital Windhoek is perhaps also a 'city of contrast'. The motto of the City of Windhoek reads 'city of many faces' and is embellished with a palpable advertising message –

> "Pulsing with life, opportunity and the promise of adventure, Windhoek is a multicultural city, characterised by tranquil co-existence and ample lebensraum[10] for its

[6] Bekker, S. B., & Therborn, G. (2012). *Capital Cities in Africa: Power and Powerlessness*. HSRC Press, p. 15.

[7] See Chapter 3 – *City Governance: Urban Fantasies, (In)visibility and Bureaucratic Practices*.

[8] *'Contrasting beautiful'*, goes a verse in Namibia's National Anthem.

[9] Ward, J. D., Seeley, M. K., & Lancaster, N. (1983). On the antiquity of the Namib Desert. *South African Journal of Science*, *79*, p. 175.

[10] The use of the word lebensraum in a marketing message for the city runs counter to the 'multicultural city' claim. To be sure, the word lebensraum re-enacts Windhoek's colonial heritage as a settler city for Germans. Even though lebensraum can simply mean 'living space' or adequate room for life and development, it also has a historical loaded meaning: "additional land in Eastern Europe that the Nazi government claimed was necessary for the continued political and economic development of Germany" (Microsoft Corporation. Encarta World English Dictionary 1998-2005 [Digital Version]).

people. Visitors and residents alike enjoy the best of both worlds from European-style culture and comforts to the vivid drumbeats of Africa".[11]

Treating this depiction for what it is, an advert, we can talk about Windhoek as a city of contrastingly many faces at other levels which go beyond catchy marketing phraseology deployed to attract tourists. It is a product of at least a century of settler colonialism and has assumed various appellations over time, some of which have given way with the passage of time while others held on. Windhoek's literal meaning in Afrikaans is 'windy corner' – and its likely origin is thought to be a contraction of *Winterhoek* – a mountain range in the Western Cape behind Jonker Afrikaner's home town.[12] The OvaHerero people call Windhoek *Otjomuise* (steaming place) while the Nama christened it *|Ae||gams* (hot springs).[13] Both names are a reference to many hot and warm springs surrounded by clouds of evaporating water which marked Windhoek and its edges until the 1950s.[14] History has it that in the mid-19th century, control over Windhoek was contested between Jonker Afrikaner's Orlam Nama and the OvaHerero under Samuel Maharero.[15] This contest over Windhoek proved to be a boon to the German colonial occupiers in that it allowed for a virtually effortless conquest in a manner that Quayson argues when reflecting on Accra.

[11] http://www.windhoekcc.org.na/citi.php Accessed September 22, 2013.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Pendleton, W. C. (1993). *Katutura: A Place where We Stay : Life in a Post-apartheid Township in Namibia*. Ohio University Center for International Studies, p. 24; Hartmann, W. (2004). *Hues between black and white: historical photography from colonial Namibia, 1860s to 1915*. Out of Africa Publishers, p. 27.

[14] Heywood, A., B., Lau. (1993), *Three views into the past of Windhoek*. John Meinert, p. 19.

[15]Simon, D. (1995). Windhoek. *Cities*, *12*(3), p. 139.

> "(…) contests over who owned the city were regularly defined along lines of autochthony, primogeniture, and first arrival, thus producing various hierarchical relations that were in turn exploited by the colonial administration", writes Quayson.[16]

Apart from the two abovementioned widely recognised names of Windhoek, von Schumann makes reference to no less than five other names that have been attached to the capital of Namibia. In the early 1800s, the place was arguably known as Queen Adelaide's Bath;[17] and by 1842 it was named Barmen by the missionaries Hugo Hahn and Heinrich Kleinschidt in memory of the mission headquarters at Barmen in Wuppertal, Germany.[18] Shortly thereafter, it was known as Elberfeld and then Elberfeld Esek.[19] After the missionaries left Windhoek for Okahandja in 1844, the Wesleyans (after the Christian preacher John Wesley) renamed the place Concordiaville.[20] In the early 1850s, Francis Galton[21] seems to have used a corrupted version of *|Ae||gams* as he mentioned Eikhams when referring to Windhoek.[22] Indeed, a perusal of readings on a number of African cities has not yielded as many different names for one place as is the case with Windhoek. These multiple names of the city have long intrigued me.

Thrillingly unfamiliar for a hitherto villager, the Windhoek I encountered for the first time in 2004 was preceded in part by the stories told to me by those who had been to the city before me. Cars everywhere, people from various parts of the country and the world, a repository of all the

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[16] Quayson, A. (2014). *Oxford Street, Accra: City Life and the Itineraries of Transnationalism*. Duke University Press, p. 8.

[17] von Schumann (1995: 22) argues that Captain James Edward Alexander was behind this name during his journey in the Windhoek district. The name was in honour of the Queen. von Schumann maintains that it is difficult to tell whether Alexander visited Windhoek himself or just named it by word of mouth from people he met during his expedition.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] See Galton, F. (1853). *The Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*. J. Murray, p. 157.

[22] von Schumann, G.E. (1995). Windhoek: A Place of Many Names in the Past. *The Quarterly Newsletter of Namibia Post*, *2*(1), 22–23

good things money can buy and higher chances of violent crime. The latter resonates with Zukin's observation regarding the depiction of a city as a dangerous place circulated by popular media and reinforced by such symbols as the presence of armed security guards employed to set aside 'safe' spaces.[23] All these images can be framed within the parameters of modes of authority, rule making and rule breaking. Over time, I have come to realise that Windhoek is no longer the city I first encountered more than sixteen years ago. It is now more securitised than before, as illustrated by the omnipresence of armed private security apparatuses, particularly within the city centre and in upmarket residential areas. This securitisation bespeaks the increasing fortification of Windhoek. Private security firms incessantly spring up around the city and by all indications Windhoek is by far the most securitised urban centre in Namibia, not only in terms of the sheer number of security guards, but also in terms of the variety of security firms. This is not surprising as Windhoek has been expanding exponentially as more people keep flocking to the Capital. This securitised and increasingly neo-liberal city is a theme I will return to later in this thesis.

Everything is in Windhoek as I intimated above. It is here where your gaze invariably gets arrested by black Mercedes with tinted glasses in which the political elites cruise. It is also in Windhoek where you find people scavenging in dustbins as parliamentarians are mooting plans to construct a new parliament with a price tag running into millions of dollars.[24] This suggests that Windhoek is a noticeably unequal city, notwithstanding that wealthy exuberance rubbing shoulders with abject poverty is not unique to Windhoek. But the history of Windhoek and the colonial era socio-economic structures that by all accounts have continued virtually uninterrupted

[23] As cited in Flanagan, W. G. (2010). *Urban Sociology: Images and Structure*. Rowman & Littlefield, p. 10. But see also Zukin, S. (1995). *The cultures of cities*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, pp. 38-47.

[24] Cf. Melber, H. (2014). *Understanding Namibia: The Trials of Independence*. C. Hurst, Publishers, Ltd., pp. 183-186; Ngurare, E. (June 24, 2016). The Politics of Building a New Parliament, *New Era*.

makes Windhoek a somewhat unusual place.[25] Unusual not only because dealing with Windhoek presents multiple histories. But also because it presents uncomfortable permutations of pre-independence power structures and relations that reek of a segregated city that refuses to change. Or to put it differently, a city that is refused and denied change.

In the post-independence era, the choice of North Korean designed monuments that came to bear on the cityscape is equally unusual and demands that we pause for reflection. This is in spite of the fact that North Korean designed monuments are to be found in a number of African cities such as Gaborone, Dakar and Harare.[26] Constructed by Mansudae Overseas Project, the Three Dikgosi Monument; African Renaissance Monument; and the National Heroes Acre were commissioned in Gaborone, Dakar and Harare respectively.[27] The question yearning for interrogation then is: what allows North Korean monuments to travel despite the world-wide condemnation of the Korean regime? Stitching together archival materials that speak to binding historical ties between SWAPO and Korean Workers Party, van der Hoog suggests some kind of reciprocity borne of solidarity during Namibia's colonial occupation. Sam Nujoma and a number of SWAPO officials visited Pyongyang regularly, in particular shortly before Namibia's

[25] To add to this 'unusualness', the very status of whether or not Windhoek is a city – legally speaking that is – came under scrutiny recently (see Immanuel, S. (September 16, 2013), Windhoek is Not a City – Namoloh, *The Namibian*). Capital cities are ordinarily understood as cities in every conceivable sense but the case of Windhoek flies in the face of this widely held 'fact'. It is also in Windhoek where residential apartheid was taken to another level, for the ethnic dimension was added to that of race such that neatly separate 'locations' came to bear on the urban fabric of this city in ways that transcended the retreat of Pretoria in 1990.

[26] Cf. Parsons, N. (2006). Unravelling History and Cultural Heritage in Botswana, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32*(4)*, 667-682, see in particular pp. 679-680; De Jong, F., Foucher, V. (2010). La tragédie du roi Abdoulaye? Néomodernisme et Renaissance Africaine dans le Sénégal Contemporain, *Politique Africaine* n°118; Fontein, J. (2009). The Politics of the Dead: Living Heritage, Bones and Commemoration in Zimbabwe. *Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth*, 1(2), 1-27.

[27] Ibid.

independence.[28] On her part, Kirkwood postulates that [t]he decision by Namibian leaders to award architectural tenders to the Mansudae Overseas Project – starting with the Heroes Acre in the early 2000s – is not based on economic concerns or preference for Mansudae designs, but is instead motivated by a desire to emulate authority, cohesiveness and the directed nature of a visual culture specific to Pyongyang. In Namibia, the construction of Mansudae-designed buildings and monuments asserts a decisive break with architecture and memorials associated with colonial regimes, and in doing so foreground the authority and modernity of the postcolonial government.[29] At an analytical level, the evacuation of contemporary urban forms from colonial iconographies suggests a deliberate juxtaposition of a hitherto dominant discourse on space *(representations of space)* – as conceived by erstwhile colonial powers – alongside the now valorised postcolonial symbols of lived space *(representational space).*[30]

Every time I read about and observe how 'ordinary' people try to fend for themselves in a place where inequality is starkly pronounced, I am always left searching for answers with regards to how we can account for what makes Windhoek. In other words, how can we talk about Windhoek in such a manner that we can identify some pointers that could explain why it functions in a way that makes it unique? Most of Windhoek's residents operate in the realm of the so-called informal economy, and a great deal of them reside on the fringes of the city in shacks devoid of proper ablution facilities and where access to water is a luxury. With a total population of about 342 000 inhabitants,[31] Windhoek is reasonably small. The issue of the so-called informal traders provides one of many important hooks around which we can think and

[28] van der Hoog, T. (2017). North Korean monuments in southern Africa: Legitimizing party rule through the National Heroes' Acres in Zimbabwe and Namibia [Master thesis]. African Studies Centre: Universiteit Leiden, pp. 45-50.

[29] Kirkwood, M.L.E. (2011). Postcolonial Architecture Through North Korean Modes: Namibia Commissions of the Mansudae Overseas Project, Unpublished MA Thesis: University of Kansas.

[30] See Lefebvre, H. (1974 [1991]). The Production of Space (Trans. Nicholson-Smith, D.), p. 33.

[31] Namibia Data Portal: http://namibia.opendataforafrica.org/ , Accessed September 08, 2016.

write about Windhoek. An instance in which a young man was arrested for selling biltong in the city centre[32] points to fragments that are microcosmic of how we can think about Windhoek. Another instance relates to a young man arrested for washing cars[33] to make a living not far from the city centre. A group of traders were recently relocated[34] to make way for the construction of First National Bank new headquarters. But as I will demonstrate in Chapter 1, historical antecedents going back at least 100 years illuminate a long established pattern of what appears to be the keeping at bay of activities falling under street vending and informal dwelling. This strand of urban politics is still at play and continues to find expression in contemporary Windhoek so much so that it is normal for prime land not far from the city centre to be sold below its market price to some politically well-connected individuals.[35] And what is more, the Municipality of Windhoek recently mooted plans to draft a policy that will give 'national leaders', read politicians, preferential treatment when purchasing land in Windhoek.[36] This followed a plot of land reportedly bought by the veteran affairs deputy minister Hilma Nicanor for N$ 340 000 instead of the initial price of N$ 1 million in Windhoek upmarket suburb of Kleine Kuppe in early 2014[37] and it confirms the classic Orwellian observation that 'some animals are more equal than others'. All these things call for a sustained inquiry that seeks to open up conversations that allows for an interrogation of the factors at play as far as urbanism in Windhoek is concerned.

[32] Shinana, K. (August 14, 2013), Jobless youth fined for selling biltong, *Informanté.*

[33]Menges, W. (September 20, 2010), City Sends Car Washer to Jail, *The Namibia.*

[34] Haidula, T. (February 11, 2013), Informal Traders Relocated, *The Namibian.*

[35] Immanuel, S. (April 29, 2013), Lords of the CBD in Land Controversy, *The Namibian.* See also Immanuel, S. (May 02, 2014), City Sells Prime Plots Despite Objection, *The Namibian.*

[36] Immanuel, S. (Feb 11, 2014), Minister Buys Prime Plot at Half Price, *The Namibian.*

[37] Ibid.

Making A Case for Writing Windhoek

Absence, omission and neglect are perhaps fitting descriptions that Windhoek can be associated with insofar as the register of urban studies on the African continent is concerned. From its political economy to its aesthetic representations, Windhoek remains largely understudied. Writing in the late 1980s, the Namibian historian Peter Katjavivi argues that "Namibia is one of Africa's least known countries".[38] Today, it could be safely argued that Windhoek is probably one of Africa's least known cities, for it is conspicuously absent from virtually all major urban studies in Africa. Robinson argues that a large number of cities around the globe do not register on intellectual maps that chart the rise and fall of world cities.[39] Her observation raises a pertinent question: if the absence from intellectual maps applies to a large number of cities, why should we care about Windhoek? For one, Windhoek has an unusual history of having been one of the few capitals in Africa to have been administered by two different colonial powers[40]. Apart from Namibia, other African countries that were under the German Colonial Empire from 1884 before changing hands in 1915 include Togo, Cameroon, Burundi, Rwanda and Tanzania.[41] Ruth First succinctly reminds us that:

> "Germany was the last European power to acquire colonies and the first to lose them. (...) most of the German colonial empire was the product of a single year [1884] (...) yet,

[38] Katjavivi, P. H. (1990). *A History of Resistance in Namibia*. Africa World Press, p. xiii.

[39] Robinson, J. (2002). Global and world cities: a view from off the map. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *26*(3), p. 531.

[40]Germany 1884 – 1914: See Dugard, J. (1973). *The South West Africa/Namibia Dispute: Documents and Scholarly Writings on the Controversy Between South Africa and the United Nations*. University of California Press, pp. 18-27; Du Pisani, A. (1985). *SWA/Namibia: The Politics of Continuity and Change*. Jonathan Ball, p. 21; Carol Aisha Blackshire-Belay. (1992). German Imperialism in Africa The Distorted Images of Cameroon, Namibia, Tanzania, and Togo. *Journal of Black Studies*, *23*(2), p. 235). South Africa 1915 – 1989: See Kössler, R. (2000). From Reserve to Homeland: Local Identities and South African Policy in Southern Namibia. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *26*(3), pp. 461-462).

[41]Blackshire-Belay 1992**,** p. 235).

> after another twenty years had passed, her ships lay at the bottom of the sea, her flags only over the home country, as she had lost her colonies to her competitors: won and lost them during half the expected span of a man".[42]

In spite of the above, Blackshire-Belay insists that Germany's influence on these colonies is strong despite the fact that its rule was short-lived compared to other European countries.[43] Mapping the trajectory of Windhoek as it changes hands from the German rule to South African dominion is a transition worth looking at to understand its contemporariness. And as illustrated by the kind of studies done about Windhoek, there has been an obsession with empiricist renderings of the city as opposed to reading it as a theoretical phenomenon. The result has been the material flattening of the city. In other words, Windhoek has been invisible as an idea. Following Mitchell's assertion that "cities everywhere stand out as distinct social phenomena in which the way of life of their inhabitants manifestly is in sharp contrast to that of their neighbouring country"[44], the rendering of Windhoek as an idea could allow us to access and appreciate its particularity. Equally, exploring Windhoek will go a long way in teasing out the provocation of 'thinking big about small cities', as Bell and Jayne write.[45] Studying Windhoek also has to do with urban Africa and its future. It is a widely accepted fact that Africa is urbanising very fast. According to the UN-Habitat, 'Africa's collective population will become 50 percent urban by 2030'.[46] "The majority of political constituencies will then live in cities, demanding

[42]First, R. (1963). *South West Africa*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith Pub Inc., p. 69.

[43]Op. cit., p. 235.

[44]Mitchell, J. Clyde (1966). *Theoretical Orientations in African Urban Studies,* In Banton, M. (Ed.). (2004). The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies. Psychology Press, p. 37.

[45] Bell, D., & Jayne, M. (2009). Small Cities? Towards a Research Agenda. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *33*(3), 683–699.

[46] UN-Habitat. (2010). *The State of African Cities 2010: Governance, Inequality and Urban Land Markets*. UN-HABITAT, p. 1.

subsistence, shelter and services".[47] Navigating urban Africa in the years to come is contingent upon constant theorising of cities to get a grasp of what is shaping the urban condition. A cursory look at scholarly works on African cities lands one in Abidjan, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Dakar and Lagos amongst others.[48] Attracting immense scholarly appetite, Johannesburg has been variously characterised as a *city of extremes*, *evasive city, elusive metropolis* and an *edgy city.*[49] What is rendered apparent through these characterisations is that cities are fundamentally objects of comparison and categorisation. Subjecting cities to comparison and categorisation allows for drawing on common characteristics while delineating unique aspects as a way of making sense of the urban social.

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[47]Ibid., p. 1.

[48] Cf. Freund, B. (2001). Contrasts in Urban Segregation: A Tale of Two African Cities, Durban (South Africa) and Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire). *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *27*(3), 527–546.; Simone, A. (1998). *Urban Processes and Change in Africa* (Working Paper No. 3/97) Dakar: CODESRIA; Simone, A. (2001). Straddling the Divides: Remaking Associational Life in the Informal African City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *25*(1), 102–117; Simone, A. (2004). *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities*. Duke University Press; Lemanski, C. L. (2006). Desegregation and Integration as Linked or Distinct? Evidence from a Previously 'White' Suburb in Post-apartheid Cape Town. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *30*(3), 564–586; Clarno, A., & Murray, M. (2013). Policing in Johannesburg after apartheid. *Social Dynamics*, *39*, 210–227; O'Brien, D. C. (2008). A city that keeps a country going: In praise of Dakar. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, *44*(1), 5–14.; Grabski, J. (2011). Market logics: how locality and mobility make artistic livelihoods in Dakar. *Social Dynamics*, *37*(3), 321–331. ;Immerwahr, D. (2007). The politics of architecture and urbanism in postcolonial Lagos, 1960–1986. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, *19*(2), 165–186; Elleh, N. (2011). Perspectives on the architecture of Africa's underprivileged urban dwellers. *Social Dynamics*, *37*(1), 43–77; Olukoju, A. (2014). The Port of Lagos, 1850–1929: The Rise of West Africa's Leading Seaport. In M. S. Bosa (Ed.), *Atlantic Ports and the First Globalisation, c. 1850–1930* (pp. 112–129). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[49]*My italics.* Cf. Murray, M. J. (2011). *City of Extremes: The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg*. Duke University Press; Bremner, L. (2010). *Writing the City Into Being: Essays on Johannesburg, 1998-2008*. Fourthwall Books; Nuttall, S., & Mbembe, A. (2008). *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*. Duke University Press; Kruger, L. (2013). *Imagining the Edgy City: Writing, Performing, and Building Johannesburg*. OUP USA.

Few studies done on and about Windhoek relate to how built environment constrains social activities -[50] as well as how the city is explained by rural-urban migration.[51] From Bravenboer we get a historical pictorial contribution that attempts to show the evolution of Windhoek drawing on inputs from government, municipality and the private sector.[52] By her own admission, what Bravernboer paints is a broad overview constituting a clarion call for individual studies on the development of life in Windhoek in all its facets.[53] For his part, Historian Jan-Bart Gewald offers a provocative case study of Windhoek with regards to how, in his language, "city planning – being the manipulation of urban landscape – can be used to obliterate history".[54] Physical colonial vestiges such as monuments and other artefacts provoke intensely emotive debate in Windhoek time and again. As the Namibian government seeks to rid itself of monuments that glorify the colonisers of yesteryear, fierce opposition ordinarily comes from German-Namibians in their attempt to reassert their place in Namibian history and of Windhoek in particular. Gewald maintains that "the current Namibian government and the municipality of Windhoek have sought to inscribe upon the landscape a specific understanding and interpretation of the historical past".[55] He hastens to recognise that the latter is indeed along the lines of varied administrations that preceded the current Namibian administration. From concerns relating to

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[50] See Müller-Friedman, F. (2005). "Just Build it Modern": Post-Apartheid Spaces on Namibia's Urban Frontier', in S. J. Salm, Falola, T. (Ed.), *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*, New York: University of Rochester Press, pp. 48-70.

[51]Cf. Frayne, B. (2007). Migration and the changing social economy of Windhoek, Namibia. *Development Southern Africa*, *24*(1), 91–108; Pendleton, W. (2006). *Migration and urban governance in Southern Africa: The case of Windhoek*. University of Namibia.

[52]Bravenboer, B. (2004). *Windhoek: Capital of Namibia*. Gamsberg Macmillan, p.vii.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Gewald, J-B. (2009). *From the Old Location to Bishops Hill: The Politics of Urban Planning and Landscape History in Windhoek, Namibia,* In Michael. B., Bubenzer, O. (Eds.), African Landscapes. Interdisciplinary Approaches. Springer, p. 256.

[55] Ibid.

urban citizenship in Africa to urban informal trading and dwelling,[56] from urban governance to spatial segregation and marginality,[57] Windhoek rarely invites academic interest in the manner that cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, Lagos, Dakar and Nairobi do. Differently put, Windhoek's presence in scholarly writings is negligible compared to, say, a corpus of materials belonging to the genre of tourist depictions. That some of these depictions sometimes get basic facts about the city wrong – and in the process contaminate Windhoek's memory landscape – is an understatement. Such is a video I found on the video-sharing website – YouTube – where a tourist was misrepresenting facts about what is colloquially known as the 'Witbooi Memorial' in the Zoo Garden along Independence Avenue. As the monument is being captured in a video, the narrator scandalously states:

> "I think this monument is to do with people who possibly died during independence movement… [sic], which was in 1994… [sic] according to the sign".[58]

The dominance of the internet suggests that this kind of misinformation has probably been fed to a sizeable number of unsuspecting audiences. Reference to this video is made at a risk of being tangential, for this study is not *about* monuments in Windhoek. The study nonetheless speaks *of* monuments[59] insofar as they represent Windhoek's material forms and cityspace. What this video tells us – judging from an absence of indignation amidst misrepresentation – is that not enough is known about Windhoek such that the little that is generated by tourists (for

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[56] Cf. Diouf, M., & Fredericks, R. (2014). The Arts of Citizenship in African Cities: Infrastructures and Spaces of Belonging. Palgrave Macmillan: NY; Hansen, K. T., & Vaa, M. (2004) (Eds.) Reconsidering Informality: Perspectives from Urban Africa. Nordic Africa Institute: Uppsala.

[57] Cf. Silva, C. N. (Ed.). (2016). *Governing Urban Africa*. Springer; Pieterse, E. A. (2008). *City futures: confronting the crisis of urban development*. Zed Books.

[58] "A Tourist's Guide to Windhoek, Namibia", YouTube Video, 11:11, posted by "Cessnagbdso", April 06, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7at7ZioItCM .

[59] See Chapter 2 – *Cultural Economies of the City*.

example) is not treated with scepticism.[60] But to be sure, we are not only dealing with misrepresentations. At times, there are naked absences. In this instance, consider a 2012 publication titled 'Capital Cities in Africa: Power and Powerlessness'. In Southern Africa, only five cities are covered – Maputo, Luanda, Pretoria, Cape Town and Bloemfontein. I shall not dwell on editorial prerogatives or preferences with regards to how cities that are included in this compendium were chosen. But the fact that three cities in one country warrant inclusion while countries in the immediate proximity do not register a single urban agglomeration is quite telling. The foregoing and other issues that I will explore later on make calls for the 'searching of Windhoek' even louder.

In an attempt to write Windhoek into being in terms of its city life and urban forms, an interrogation of features that characterise Windhoek from the colonial to the post-independence era will be undertaken. This approach befits the central purpose of the study – which is to lay Windhoek bare to get a grasp of its *cityness* in its different manifestations. In the thesis as a whole, I am not using political economy in its classical sense as it relates to the analysis of wealth production.[61] Instead I am following Mosco in thinking about political economy as the 'study of social relations organised around power or the ability to control other people and processes even in the face of resistance, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources'.[62] 'For the most part, urban space transformation has taken place in defiance of legal regulations and the efforts of municipal authorities to enforce them. Responses of municipal officials have been variegated, ranging from an insouciant hands-

[60] To allay scepticism on the 'Witbooi Memorial', see Kössler, R. (2015). Namibia and Germany: Negotiating the Past. UNAM Press, pp. 31-32.

[61] Cf. Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., & Turner, B. S. (2006). The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, Penguin: London, p. 293; Mosco, V. (2009). The Political Economy of Communication, SAGE Publications: London, pp. 37-40.

[62] Mosco, V. (2009: 24).

off approach to co-optation or outright suppression of the informalisation of urban life'.[63] I take up snippets of hands-off and co-option manoeuvres by municipal authorities in Chapter 3, conjuring up a picture of what drives various actions pertaining to governing Windhoek. I pursue this exercise of 'conjuring up' an image of Namibia's capital city through a focus on the link between the 'day-to-day activities of those at the top of local power structure whose priorities set the limits within which decisions affecting land use and how in this process urban social life come to be made'.[64] In terms of the political economy of Windhoek, I am interested in the intersection between those who make and enforce the rules as well as those who supposedly break the rules. In particular, the focus is on the so-called informal traders vis-à-vis the municipal officials and the police. As far as aesthetic representation of the city is concerned, concentrating on monuments and statues that shape the cityscape and analysing specific works of art (e.g. poems and music) will go a long way in allowing for a reading of Windhoek through the lenses of cultural economies. The two strands employed in an attempt to navigate Windhoek's cityness, i.e. political economy and aesthetic representation, have been chosen for their mutually reinforcing potential in depicting ways in which authority and the making and breaking of rules is rendered in art forms. Put differently, I argue here that the intersection between ordinary people and authorities in the city finds (re)enactment in artistic forms and for this reason engaging with works of art offers a window through which we can read Windhoek.

[63] Murray, M. J., & Myers, G. A. (Eds.). (2007). *Cities in Contemporary Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 119.

[64] Molotch, H. (2011 [1976]), The City as Growth Machine: Towards a Political Economy of Place, In Stout, F., LeGates, R.T. (Eds.), *The City Reader* (New York: Routledge), p. 251.

Peyroux maintains that Windhoek still clearly bears the mark of socio-economic and spatial distortions inherited from apartheid.[65] These distortions chiefly find provenance in apartheid era pieces of legislation – some of which are yet to be repealed –[66] that were aimed at such things as residential segregation, constricted mobility, unequal distribution of services and infrastructure, as well as racial policing of religious and social life amongst others. A closer inspection of Windhoek's current spatial layout shows that racial segregation remains an indelible feature of its cityscape.[67] For this reason, scholarly work on Windhoek has been crying out for a focused investigation about has become of urban segregation more than 20 years after independence.

There are also a number of other studies on Windhoek that relate to migration and urban survival[68] as well as a number of PhD dissertations with strong leanings towards tracing the history of the city in various aspects.[69] In as much the above areas of inquiry are important, the question of what makes Windhoek what it is or its *cityness*, as it were, is yet to receive scholarly

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[65] Peyroux, É. (2001). Urban Growth and Housing Policies in Windhoek: The Gradual Change of a Post-apartheid Town, In Diener, I., Graefe, O. (Eds.), *Contemporary Namibia. The first landmarks of a post-apartheid society,* Gamsberg Macmillan Publishers / IFRA: Windhoek, p. 287.

[66] See Groenewaldt, A. (2010). Discriminatory and Un-repealed Legislation in Namibia 20 Years after Independence, KAS: Windhoek.

[67] Friedman, F. (2000). *Deconstructing Windhoek: the urban morphology of a post-apartheid city*. University College, London, Development Planning Unit.

[68] Cf. Frayne, B. (2007). Migration and the changing social economy of Windhoek, Namibia. *Development Southern Africa*, *24*(1), 91–108; Frayne, B. (2004). Migration and urban survival strategies in Windhoek, Namibia. *Geoforum*, *35*(4), 489–505; Tvedten, I. (2004). "A Town is Just a Town": Poverty and Social Relations of Migration in Namibia. *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines*, *38*(2), 393–423.

[69] See for example Kotzè (1990). A Social History of Windhoek, 1915 – 1939; Wallace (1997). Health and Society in Windhoek, Namibia, 1915 – 1945, Hartmann (2002). Sexual Encounters and their Implications on an open and closing frontier: Central Namibia from the 1840s to 1905; Zollman (2007) *'Koloniale Herrschaft und ihre Grenzen : die Kolonialpolizei in Deutsch-Südwestafrika, 1894-1915.*

attention. One place to begin, *inter alia*, is how Windhoek looks in spatial terms. A passage from Pendleton, Nickanor and Pomuti deserves quotation in full:

> "There is a modern and thriving central business district (CBD) with light industrial areas to the north and south. In the centre of the CBD are government offices, courts, banks, the main post office, business centres, hotels, and new modern shopping malls and supermarkets; a blend of high and low-rise modern buildings. To the east, south and west of the CBD are various suburbs housing people from primarily middle and upper socio-economic households".[70]

There is another face of Windhoek apart from the one captured above. North and north-western parts of the city epitomise the diminishing presence of municipal services and infrastructure. The further you go, the less orderly Windhoek becomes – and the 'cleanest city in Africa' classification is rendered meaningless beyond the CBD. North-western parts of the city are where you find more than half of Windhoek's population crowded into a mixture of formal and informal settlements. As you move to the northernmost part of the city, coming across concrete wall housing structures become an exception to the rule of improvised housing units. In other words, "to say that someone lives in Soweto, Khayelitsha, or Katutura [former black townships in Johannessburg, Cape Town and Windhoek respectively], has been and still is nearly synonymous with saying that the person has a dark skin and is economically impoverished".[71]

Adding to the enigma of being a city of contrast and having been a contested territory in terms of naming and not least physical control, Windhoek is an unusual city in that it was governed from Pretoria for over seventy years, after being under German imperial rule for at least thirty

[70] Pendleton, W., Nickanor, N., Pomuti, A. (2012). *The State of Food Insecurity in Windhoek, Namibia*, AFSUN, p. 1.

[71] Müller-Friedman, F. (2006). *Beyond the Post-Apartheid City: De/Segregation and Suburbanization in Windhoek*, Namibia, p. 35.

years. History has it that South Africa wanted to make Namibia its fifth province.[72] It appears that what is at the core of this 'unusual' planning – of concentrating all symbols of state power in one locale – is the reasoning that dispersing major 'provincial' functions throughout the 'province' did not make economic sense given the desolate expanse and low population density of Namibia.

This historical oddity [concentrating everything in one place] has embossed Windhoek with a character that imbricates the very pulse that embodies reverberations inviting social complexities from all over the country. It also made it easier for Pretoria to contain it, militarily. The analogy that when Windhoek sneezes, Namibia catches a cold is invariably apt. Indeed, it is not an overstatement that a disruption of any of the major functions of Windhoek insofar as it is an embodiment of state power, will literally render Namibia non-functional. Apart from 'unusual' spatial planning, South Africa arguably used *Suid Wes Afrika* as a social laboratory for testing the implications of changes to cornerstones of apartheid.[73] And even though it was – for a long time – an outpost of colonial imperialism relatively less known to the outer world, Windhoek was imbricated in relations of global economy. The Great Depression of the 1930s did affect this colonial town and an order was issued by Pretoria in 1931 to suspend the issuance of pass laws to Windhoek. A missive dated 17 February 1931 from the Office of the Administrator General was dispatched to all Native Commissioners and their assistants as well as Reserve Superintendents with the following clarion call:

[72]Cf. Dubow, S. (2014). *Apartheid 1948-1994*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, p. 175; !Owoses-/Goagoses, F. (2013), 'Planning Law in Namibia', Juta: Cape Town, pp. 22-23.

[73] Simon, D. (1986). Desegregation in Namibia: the demise of urban apartheid? *Geoforum*, *17*(2), p. 290. See also Melber (2003: 276) who makes a similar argument of Namibia being used as a testing laboratory, but within the context of an appeasement strategy and controlled change for South Africa.

> "For the present I shall be glad if you will be good enough to discontinue the issuance of passes to natives to proceed to Windhoek in search of employment. There are a considerable number of unemployed here".[74]

This moratorium was nonetheless not confined to Windhoek, as constrictions of natives' mobility were issued for the coastal towns of Lüderitz, Walvis Bay and Swakopmund.[75] But this does not detract from the fact that Windhoek has been the nerve centre – and it remains as such – of Namibia where the contradictions of urbanity find acute expression.

For a long time because of the colonial historical connection with Pretoria, Windhoek has been theorised as an apartheid city and it has assumed the problematic category of 'post-apartheid' after 1990.[76] The latter is problematic in the sense that it does not adequately account for contemporary Windhoek; it is analytically insufficient. To be sure, the apartheid city has been reanimated and repurposed in the neo-liberal age. If anything, the state of segregation on which the idea of apartheid is anchored has remained relatively undisturbed if not worsened. In this view, post-apartheid is for all intents and purposes a temporal category and it is not, I will argue, a helpful concept to work with in understanding the spatiality of present-day Windhoek. However, we can partially talk about 'post-apartheid' Windhoek in the realm of legislation, for a raft of laws governing urban areas have been removed from statute books. If we are to make sense of Windhoek today, delving into legal debris as well as other aspects of city-making from the past, then 'post-apartheid' becomes a heuristic device in apprehending the essence of what is at stake. As Pieterse insists, "the contemporary urban condition cannot be understood or re-

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[74] LWI – Magistrate District of Windhoek, 3/1/57, 2/6/3 – 'Urban Areas Regulations'.

[75] Ibid., *Urban Areas Regulations*.

[76] Cf. Simon (1986; 1996); Pickard-Cambridge, C. (1988). *Sharing the Cities: Residential Desegregation in Harare, Windhoek and Mafikeng*. South African Institute of Race Relations; Rogerson, C. M. (1990). Aspects of urban management in Windhoek, Namibia. *Urban Forum*, *1*(1), 29–47; Friedman (2000); Peyroux (2001).

imagined without a spatially informed obsession with historical antecedents".[77] This obsession with history is what I pursue in *Chapter 1*. But before a complete chapter outline is offered, it will be remiss if I do not offer an overview – at least in broad strokes – of the bourgeoning field of urban studies in Africa.

Writings on Cities in Africa

A lot has changed since Anthony O'Connor availed to us *'The African City'* in 1983. At that time, Africa was one of the least urbanized regions in the world with less than a quarter of its population living in cities or towns.[78] Africa is now urbanising faster than elsewhere in the world and as such offers a broader canvas on which to paint the contemporary urban question. It is also Africa, it seems, that will allow us to imagine the city of the future. The city of the future is, in at least one iteration, that which is freed from the 'prison' of theoretical proclivities whose provenance is located in the Global North.

Radical Urbanism

There are a number of names that recur whenever the African city is dealt with as a unit of analysis. One of the authors who have put together a case that invites us 'outside of the prison' is Rem Koolhaas through his *Harvard Project on the City*.[79] Koolhaas proposes new ways of examining the modern city. Using Lagos as a case, he points to how this populous African mega city continues to exist and be productive in spite of a near complete absence of infrastructures

[77] Pieterse, E. A. (Ed.). (2013). *Rogue Urbanism: Emergent African Cities*. Jacana Media, p. 13.

[78] O'Connor, A. (2007). *The African City*. Routledge, p. 15.

[79] Koolhaas, R., Boeri, S., Kwinter, S., Tazi, N., Obrist, H. U., Harvard Project on the City, & Arc en rêve centre d'architecture. (2000). *Mutations: Rem Koolhaas, Harvard Project on the City, Stefano Boeri, Multiplicity, Sanford Kwinter, Nadia Tazi, Hans Ulrich Obrist.* Barcelona; Bordeaux, France: ACTAR ; Arc en rêve centre d'architecture, pp. 651-719.

that define the word "city" in terms of Western planning models.[80] In inverting essential characteristics of the so-called modern city, Lagos defines its very essence through dealing with shortcomings in ways that challenge traditional understandings of the city. When concepts such as the 'modern city' or 'global city' are invoked, images of sophisticated transport networks and communication technologies, high rise buildings and conspicuous consumption of various goods and services accompany them. Consider an official from the City of Johannesburg who had this say after being probed on what the 'world-class African city' means:

> "[I]t [world-class African city] infers that you are benchmarking against a European or western city, and you assume – well, they have got transport [infrastructure] and world-class there means-world class here. It is not the same. But then you end up debating and you cannot really get consensus. (…) if you say world-class you are comparing yourself to the best, the question then becomes who is the best, and in what context, and who is world class? In India, world-class would mean one thing; in Europe, it would mean something else".[81]

In inverting elements of the modern city, the above is precisely what Koolhaas cautioned against a little more than a decade earlier, in a decentring move in which we are asked what can be learnt from Lagos:

> "We are resisting the notion that Lagos represents an African city en-route to become modern. Rather, we think it is possible to argue that Lagos represents a developed, extreme, paradigmatic case-study of a city at the forefront of globalising modernity".[82]

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[80] *'Harvard Project on the City'*.

[81] Gurney, K. (2012). A Visionary Statement, Cityscapes Issue No. 2. See also Mbembe (2004). *'Aesthetics of Superfluity'*, wherein he avers that 'like every colonial city, Johannesburg found it hard to resist the temptation of mimicry, viz. imagining itself as an English town and becoming a pale reflection of forms born elsewhere', pp. 37-67.

[82] *'Harvard Project on the City'*, p. 652.

In a manner that contrasts sharply with the argument made by an official from the City of Johannesburg cited above, Koolhaas reminds us that "[t]he fact that many of the trends of modern, Western cities can be seen in hyperbolic guise in Lagos suggests that to write about the African city is to write about the terminal condition of Chicago, London, or Los Angeles".[83] It has become clear in recent times – as Koolhaas foresaw – that the obsession with urban planning models from the Global North is unsustainable an approach as it invariably elicit resistance borne of various claims made to the city. In the case of Oshodi marketplace, Koolhaas presents a space whose very functionality is mediated by claims made by the multiple interests of traders, councils and hawkers.[84] Moreover, marginal spaces such as Alaba International Electronics Market 'constitutes a locus through which disparities, power conflicts and procedures can be ignored, mediated or circumvented'.[85] From the foregoing rendition of Lagos, three conclusions can be arrived at. Firstly, reading Koolhaas eighteen years later remains relevant in making sense of the variegated conflicts and concerns that confront much of urban Africa. In the second instance, one cannot help but conclude that Koolhaas went to great lengths in writing a 'love letter' to Lagos. Notwithstanding that he succeeds in his reconceptualization of the city and in charting a different path of imagining cities, the 'love letter' that Koolhaas bequeathed upon us smells of romanticism.[86] The hyperbole with which he narrates the story of Lagos relegates challenges that require urgent fixing to non-issues. In the third instance, what becomes apparent

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., p. 715.

[86] For accounts that to go beyond and take on Koolhaas' romanticism, see Enwezor, O. (2003). Terminal modernity: Rem Koolhaas' discourse on entropy, in V. Patteeuw (Ed.) *What is OMA: Considering Rem Koolhaas and the Office for Metropolitan Architecture*. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers; Gandy, M. (2005). Learning from Lagos. *New Left Review*, (33), 37–52; Myers, G. A. (2011). *African Cities: Alternative Visions of Urban Theory and Practice*. Zed Books; Fourchard, L. (2012) 'Lagos', In Bekker, S. B., & Therborn, G. *Capital Cities in Africa: Power and Powerlessness*. HSRC Press, pp. 66-82.

is that Koolhaas embraced a materialist reading and analysis of the city. In turn, a need arises to consider alternative readings of the city that are necessarily non-materialist.

Semiotics of an African City

Departing from 'the global city' paradigm without necessarily espousing all aspects of alternative analytical models, Nuttall and Mbembe call for a 'more complex anthropology of things, forms and signs to account for the life of the city in Africa'.[87] In introducing the 'Elusive Metropolis', the authors position Johannesburg as one of the "critical nodes of Southern Hemispheric capitalism and globalisation".[88] By 'elusiveness', we are reminded that cities invariably outpace the capacity of analysts to categorise them, for they are subjects *en fuite*.[89] And because cities are always 'on the run' and in flux, they demand to be written on their own terms. Nuttall and Mbembe endeavour to write Johannesburg on its own terms by critically interrogating the paradigm of 'the global city'. An indictment mobilised against the latter paradigm is that it is a highly functionalist reading of the city that fails to account for the flow of ideas, people, images and imaginaries.[90] Furthermore, Nuttall and Mbembe reflect on, and problematize, the unhelpful binary of the "formal" and "informal". They insist that the two processes work together to produce specific city forms and urban economies.[91] Insightfully, they argue that the "informal itself expresses a form".[92] Nuttall and Mbembe then move on to draw on a litany of literature to

[87] Ibid., p. 8.

[88] Nuttall & Mbembe (2008: 1).

[89] Ibid., p. 25.

[90] Ibid., p. 3.

[91] Ibid., p. 9.

[92] Ibid., p. 9.

conjure up an image of how Johannesburg has been read and interpreted.[93] By and large, Johannesburg has been read as an embodiment of unequal economic relations and coercive segregationist policies, conclude the authors. In their attempt at rehabilitating the concept of the metropolis, Nuttall and Mbembe take aim at the privileging of surfaces and visuality by engaging with the underground, the underneath. Though not necessarily new – as evinced by earlier contributions from Abdoumaliq Simone –[94] Nuttall and Mbembe's intervention reanimate the debate on decentring scholarly offerings from the Global North. The latter offerings have portrayed the African city "as an emblem of irresolvable crisis",[95] mainly because of privileging the surface while simultaneously rendering invisible a multitude of urban experiences peculiar to African cities. But it is precisely the underneath that exposes and brings to the fore the richness of African urbanity. One of the registers through which accessing the underneath can be pursued is 'drawing on the literary infrastructures giving the city a shape'.[96] In *'Literary City'*,[97] Nuttall points to literatures about the city as an avenue through which a city can be rendered in various ways beyond materiality. Though extremely rich and reflective, creative works such as poems and songs are hardly taken seriously by urban studies' scholars as windows through which we can imagine urban spaces. Through fictional work, hard facts about the city come to the fore. And it is for this reason that we should take works of art seriously to reach for urban tales and experiences that are barely accessible through other registers. In her rendition of various novels whose setting is Johannesburg, Nuttall conjures up the *stranger* in the street; the *aging white man* in the café; and the *hustler* on campus as disparate locations through which the city is rendered

[93] Ibid., pp. 10-15.

[94] Cf. Simone, A. (2001). On the Worlding of African Cities. *African Studies Review*, *44*(2), 15–41; Simone, A. (1998). Urban Social Fields in Africa. *Social Text*, (56), 71–89.

[95] Nuttall & Mbembe (2008: 5).

[96] Ibid., p. 29.

[97] Ibid., pp. 195-218.

differently.[98] For his part, Xavier Livermon whistles at us to consider the extent to which the feel of the city is reflected and reanimated in its sound.[99] Among incessant sounds that stimulate the senses, "music is a form of urban social memory", argues Livermon.[100] And as I will show in *Chapter 2*, music is an important artistic repertoire through which we can 'listen' to cities in general and Windhoek in particular. That the city is an object that refuses categorisation and that materialist conception constitutes one of the many ways through which a city can be studied are theoretical insights offered by Nuttall and Mbembe, as well as Livermon.

What does the notion of the "city" then entail? The state of flux that defines the essence of the city suggests that it [the city] is 'nothing, but at the same time everything'. Put differently, the city is not reducible to any kind of category, for its essence is captured by multiple representations. Therefore, we can arrive at some representation of the city by taking seriously signs and symbols (visual and linguistic) as constituents through which meaning is (re)formed and communicated. Another prevalent representation through which African cities have been written about is that of governance, or 'governing the city'.

Governing an African City

More concerned with how the city ought to work, the concept of urban governance is largely linked to the delivery of urban services such as sanitation, water, electricity, solid waste, land management and the like.[101] Following Myers, I am using urban governance as it is understood in urban studies, i.e. "shifting power dynamics of decision-making in an era when the roles of

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[98] Nuttall (2008: 215).

[99] Livermon, X. (2008) Sounds in the City, In Nuttall, S. & Mbembe, A. (Eds.), *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*, pp. 271-284.

[100] Ibid., p. 271.

[101] Cf. Kihato, C. (2013). *Migrant Women of Johannesburg: Everyday Life in an In-Between City*. Palgrave Macmillan US; Myers, G. A. (2011). *African Cities: Alternative Visions of Urban Theory and Practice*. Zed.

states are in flux",[102] diminishing and being eroded by private interests. The latter notwithstanding, various reports on the 'State of African Cities' by the UN-Habitat have reiterated the need for African governments to strengthen their governance capacities in order to keep up with rapid increases in new and additional demands triggered by urbanisation.[103] One of the sticking points explaining why the African city has been viewed through the lens of irresolvable crisis relate to governance challenges. Local authorities have been found wanting in their capacities to deliver a range of urban services. As a result, African cities have witnessed an increase in the significance of private sector and other non-state actors in service delivery over the last two decades or so.[104] The running of cities and towns on crude market principles has not been without problems. For example, South African cities have been key flashpoints of service delivery protests over the last decade or so.[105] And the blame has invariably been placed at the doorstep of what is referred to as the 'neoliberal city' and its foremost incarnation, speculative urbanism.[106] The neoliberal governance approach espouses urban service provision governed by market forces.[107] As Peck, Theodore and Brenner observe, "cities have become strategically central sites in the uneven, crisis-laden advance of neoliberal restructuring

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[102] '*African Cities',* p. 106.

[103] UN-Habitat (2014; 2012; 2010; 2008), *'State of African Cities Report'.*

[104] '*African Cities',* pp. 107-108.

[105] Cf. Alexander, P. (2010). Rebellion of the poor: South Africa's service delivery protests – a preliminary analysis. *Review of African Political Economy*, *37*(123), 25–40; Miraftab, F. (2004.). Neoliberalism and casualization of public sector services: the case of waste collection services in Cape Town, South Africa. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *28*(4), 874–892; Batley, R. (2004). The Politics of Service Delivery Reform. *Development and Change*, *35*(1), 31–56.

[106] With 'speculative urbanism', Goldman refers to city governance regimes that endeavour to generate increased cash flows through increased risk-taking in urban planning and development while suspending the needs of the majority urban poor (see Goldman, M. (2011). Speculative Urbanism and the Making of the Next World City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *35*(3), p. 576).

[107] '*African Cities',* pp. 106-107.

projects".[108] Precisely because cities have long been the epicentre for capitalist growth and intense reproduction of inequalities, the neoliberal city passes for the harbinger of poverty, homelessness, segregation and state absence.[109] It is in this light that urban studies witnessed a surge of interest in the concept of the neoliberal city.[110] Titled *'Cities and Inequalities in a Global and Neoliberal World'*, a 2015 edited volume by Miraftab, Wilson and Salo took seriously the issue of deepening inequalities in cities around the world within the context of capitalist accumulation.[111] What can be gleaned from various chapters in '*Cities and Inequalities in a Global and Neoliberal World*' is that the neoliberal city has become prevalent in an unfettered manner thanks to an absence of local capacity to deliver much needed urban services. In other words, the neoliberal city is simply filling a void produced by an incapable local state and to change the odds would require a more pronounced state intervention.

But it is increasingly becoming apparent that enhancing governance capacities is not a panacea in addressing a multitude of urban challenges. As Kihato maintains, there exist multiple governance and regulatory processes that at times compete and at other times collaborate to define urban territory.[112] This suggests a need to harness synergies of various urban actors whose interests would most of the time appear diametrically opposed. In fact, governance is by its very nature a contradictory process wrought by competing interests. As such, embracing a univocal top-bottom governance approach to urban challenges is unsustainable. Constant bickering between

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[108] Peck, J., Theodore, N., & Brenner, N. (2009). Neoliberal Urbanism: Models, Moments, Mutations. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, *29*(1), 49–66.

[109] Miraftab, F., Wilson, D., & Salo, K. (2015). (Eds.). Cities and Inequalities in a Global and Neoliberal World. Taylor & Francis, p. 2. But see also Davis, M. (2006). *Planet of Slums*. Verso, pp. 141-146.

[110] See for example Brenner, N., Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2010). Variegated neoliberalization: geographies, modalities, pathways. *Global Networks*, *10*(2), 182–222; Brenner, N. (2004). *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*. OUP Oxford (in particular, see pp. 114-171); Peck, J., & Tickell, A. (2002). Neoliberalizing Space. *Antipode*, *34*(3), 380–404.

[111] Op. cit.

[112] '*Migrant Women of Johannesburg',* p. 27.

local authorities and urban denizens that invariably arise in a number of African cities of which Windhoek is no exception, is an indication that the silencing of the urban majority is bound to elicit resistance. In other words, urban governance should *ipso facto* be about a meaningful process of 'give and take'. It should be defined by compromise. The latter is something that Windhoek and indeed a host of other African cities seem to militate against.[113]

For their part, Parnell and Simon sought to explain African urban malaise by pointing to little attention paid to, and sometimes total absence of, national urbanisation strategies.[114] Nonetheless, African cities have for a very long time suffered the deficiency of being unable to implement what at times appear as well-crafted urban policies and strategies for a number of reasons. According to the UN-Habitat, implementing new laws, policies and strategies is invariably hampered by limited technical, financial and institutional capacities.[115] Another concern that suffocates the ability of African cities to implement policies and strategies is resistance by some urban actors. This resistance is mainly a result of borrowed strategies as well as policies that fail to account for local conditions and experiences while robbing residents of a meaningful sense of urban citizenship. Indeed, "development as a specific modality of temporality is not simply about meeting the basic needs of citizens. It is also about capturing residents to a life aesthetic defined by the state so that they can be citizens"[116] by buying into what is being offered. How do we then escape from the African urban governance malady and conceive of development that

[113] Cf. Peyroux (2001) Urban Growth and Housing Policies in Windhoek: The Gradual Change of a Post-apartheid Town, pp. 301-302; Weber, B., & Mendelsohn, J. (2017). *Informal settlements in Namibia: their nature and growth*, p. 82. But see also Myers, G. A. (2011). *African Cities: Alternative Visions of Urban Theory and Practice*, pp. 106-110; Pieterse, E. A. (2008). *City futures: confronting the crisis of urban development*, pp. 74-78; Pieterse, E., & Parnell, S. (2014). *Africa's Urban Revolution*, pp. 9-10.

[114] Parnell, S. & Simon, D. (2014) National urbanisation and urban strategies: necessary but absent policy instruments in Africa, In Parnell, S. & Pieterse, E. *Africa's Urban Revolution*, UCT Press, pp. 237-256.

[115] UN-Habitat (2008) The State of African Cities 2008: A Framework for Addressing Urban Challenges in Africa, UN-Habitat: Nairobi, p. 16.

[116] Simone, A. (2004). *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities*. Duke University Press, p. 7.

the majority of urban residents will buy into? It appears that there is an urgent need to revisit what 'good governance' denotes within an African urban context. For models drawn from the Global North have failed to improve the lives of majority African urban dwellers who live in indigence.

Clearly, the urban governance literature raises a number of key issues that would require rethinking to turn around the African urban condition for the better. We could start by taking seriously the experiences and views of those at the margins, for whom policies and strategies are crafted. Development and empowerment of African urban dwellers should be defined by themselves, not by some consultant flown in from London. Not having an informal marketplace in the precinct of the CBD should not pass for urbanity or good governance. As a response to the prevalent urban governance discourse that draws heavily from models and practices of cities in the Global North, another school – for want of a better word – has been gaining credence. This school could be referred to as 'ordinary urbanism' and it seems to represent an emergent African city.

'Ordinary' Urbanism – the emergent African City?

One of the key interlocutors within the discourse of ordinary urbanism is perhaps the foremost urbanist, AbdouMaliq Simone. In *'For the City Yet to Come'*, Simone renews our appreciation of urban everyday life by pointing to the banal, to the ordinary. As he puts it:

> "In city after city, one can witness an incessant throbbing produced by intense proximity of hundreds of activities: cooking, reciting, selling, loading and unloading, fighting, praying, relaxing, pounding, and buying, all side by side on stages too cramped, too

> deteriorated, too clogged with waste, history, and disparate energy, and sweat to sustain them all. And yet they persist".[117]

The last sentence of the foregoing quotation is an invitation to recognise some things or at the very least, something. It is suggested that African cities do work, persist and function despite descriptions to the contrary. Within the context of self-responsibility for urban survival, African urban residents pursue different ways of organising activities that allow them to attend to their various needs.[118] These social collaborations that allow African cities' dwellers to flourish in distinctive ways – in spite of lack – are concerns that Simone allocates a lot of attention to. With this sustained interest in ordinary collaborations and networks of city life, Simone developed his argument of 'people as infrastructure' or 'social infrastructure'.[119] Going beyond infrastructure in their physical sense as signified by highways, pipes and wires, Simone speaks of 'people as infrastructure' to denote "flexible, mobile and provisional intersections of residents that operate without clearly delineated notions of how the city is to be inhabited and used".[120] The ability of residents to engage complex combinations of objects, spaces, practices and people produce a platform providing for and reproducing life in the city.[121] What Simone offers in terms of how we should theorise African cities – and this is a thread that runs through a number of his writings – is the deliberate privileging of the everyday. As he avers:

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[117] *For the City Yet to Come'*. p. 1.

[118] *'For the City Yet to Come'*.

[119] Cf. Simone, A. (2004) People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg, In Nuttall, S. & Mbembe, A. Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis, pp. 68-90; Simone, A. (2006). Pirate towns: Reworking social and symbolic infrastructures in Johannesburg and Douala. *Urban Studies*, *43*(2), 357–370; Simone, A. (2012). *The Social Infrastructure of City Life in Contemporary Africa*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

[120] *'People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg'*, pp. 68-69.

[121] Ibid.

> "African cities have a lot to offer us in terms of enhancing our understanding about large swaths of social life. And it is particularly those dimensions of everyday life "in-between" the categories and designations that have the most incisive opportunity to do this".[122]

By paying attention to the mundane and giving importance to the ordinary, Simone is able to deftly conjure up a thick description of the urban condition in African cities. Alas, Simone's characterization of urban life is more likely to invite the same critique that was launched against Koolhaas' rendition on Lagos. That is, presenting a romanticised view of cities in Africa. Nonetheless, Simone can still be lauded for engaging with African urbanism in a way that allows for the teasing out of issues that for some time failed to invite scholarly attention from those who have written about African cities.

Another writer within the 'school of ordinary urbanism', I would argue, is Jennifer Robinson. In *'Ordinary Cities – Between Modernity and Development'*, Robinson pull no punches by stating her case in the very first sentence of her introductory chapter: "[i]t is the argument of this book that all cities are best understood as 'ordinary'".[123] Similar to Simone, Robinson points to inventiveness of people in cities everywhere as the very essence of being urban and making new kinds of urban futures possible.[124] In shunning the practice of categorising cities, Robinson opens up new opportunities for creatively imagining the distinctive futures of all cities.[125] Robinson's line of argument begs the question: what is at stake when cities are categorised? The answer to this question is contained in an earlier incarnation of the 'ordinary cities' argument. Back then, Robinson argued that there are a large number of cities around the globe that do not feature on

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[122] *For the City Yet to Come',* p. 16.

[123] Robinson, J. (2006). *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development*. Psychology Press, p. 1.

[124] '*Ordinary Cities'.*

[125] *Ordinary Cities'.*

intellectual maps because they cannot be plotted on either of the available categories.[126] As an analytical tool, however, the initial usage of the ordinary city is attributed to Amin and Graham.[127] In making a case for an ordinary city, Amin and Graham took issue with paradigmatic approaches that are alleged to conveniently encompass all urban trends everywhere.[128] In their wake, these paradigmatic perspectives leave out and sacrifice the very essence of the city, i.e. the multiplicity of diverse economic, social, cultural and institutional practices which may not all readily come together in the city.[129] Building on Amin and Graham, Robinson refined and developed a broader argument organised around a post-colonial framework for thinking about cities. Her framework necessarily 'cuts across the long-standing divide in urban scholarship between accounts of 'Western' and other kinds of cities, such as those that have been labelled as 'Third World'.[130] What Robinson then calls for, is an obliteration of hierarchies in how we go about thinking about cities. Even though important, markers such as the sheer number of people and heterogeneity should not pass for what the city is all about. Moreover, there is more to the city than highways, pipes, wires, communications networks and high rise buildings. This is precisely why – in developing her argument – Robinson questions the concept of modernity and what it represents. She finds this concept deeply problematic as it allies the emergence of certain historically specific social formations with the idea of progress and aligns this sense of progress with certain places.[131] By calling for the dislocation of modernity and its evacuation from urban studies as it produces hierarchies between cities, Robinson intimates that modernity is an

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[126] Robinson, J. (2002). Global and world cities: a view from off the map. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *26*(3), 531–554.

[127] Amin, A., & Graham, S. (1997). The Ordinary City. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *22*(4), 411–429.

[128] *'The Ordinary City'.*

[129] *The Ordinary City',* p. 412.

[130] Robinson, J. (2006). *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development*. Psychology Press, p. 1.

[131] *Ordinary Cities',* p. 14.

antithesis for the 'project of forging a post-colonial urban studies'.[132] As an attempt at liberating us from the quagmire that modernity has bequeathed unto urban studies, Robinson turns to comparative urbanism anchored on difference as diversity while shunning hierarchical ordering.[133] A close reading of what Robinson offers after making her case for ordinary cities is a call to replace vertical comparison with horizontal comparison. In terms of horizontal comparative urbanism, which Robinson seems to offer, cities are taken to be on the same level and worthy of contributing to the expansion of the body of knowledge that will enrich urban studies. It is about availing space for and giving a voice to cities that have been left 'off the map' for a very long time.[134]

Even though laud worthy and filled with energy to open up new possibilities for thinking about cities that have for a long time eluded the attention of most analysts, Robinson's injunction is not without limits. Disposing with hierarchies by elevating all cities to the same level is one thing, but repositioning the matrix of knowledge production is a different story altogether. What gets to be published and not least taken seriously within the context of the failure to discipline capital spells pessimism for the actualisation of Robinson's submission. In other words, rich and well-resourced cities (mostly concentrated in the Global North) will continue to shape how we think about the urban question. Of late, this state of affairs has been compounded by the increasing dominance of neoliberal urbanism which has largely driven circuits of global capitalism whose defining nodes, until not long ago, resided in Western major cities. Nonetheless, tales and experiences of cities from the Global South are gradually gaining traction[135] and possibilities are

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[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid., 41.

[134] See Robinson, J. (2002). Global and world cities: a view from off the map. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *26*(3), 531–554.

[135] See for example Parnell, S., & Oldfield, S. (2014) The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South, Routledge; Miraftab, F., & Kudva, N. (2014) Cities of the Global South Reader, Taylor & Francis.

ripe for the embracing of neglected realities of cities beyond the West. Robinson's intervention and theoretical contribution lend support to the recognition that cities are constitutively a multiplicity of things, all of which are uniquely important. Therefore, her submission is anchored on 'diverse trajectories of people; distinctive assemblages of many different kinds of activities; resources and ideas'.[136] Neglecting particular urban realities becomes theoretically negligent.

Such neglected realities could well be those of cities like Kinshasa, and it is at this point that I summon Filip De Boeck to join the conversation of ordinary cities that have a lot to offer in enriching urban theorisation. Like in his first book on Kinshasa,[137] De Boeck combines ethnography and photography to produce a powerful depiction of a city in its various representations. With *'Suturing the City: Living Together in Congo's Urban Worlds'*, De Boeck is particularly generous in surrendering to the reader an urban world defined by ruination and neglect. Through topographical figures of the 'sinking ground' and 'the hole', foregrounded is a portrait of dismal quality of urban life, physical depressions of urban surfaces as well as shady deals that residents have to rely on in order to survive.[138] De Boeck vividly captures the figure of 'the hole' by arguing that:

> "Postcolonial urban living in Congo *literally* means living with the constant danger of potholes as generic urban infrastructures. It also means living with the constant danger of soil erosion after heavy rainstorms, which create giant holes and ravines that swallow houses, streets and people".[139]

[136] *'Ordinary Cities'*, p. 170.

[137] De Boeck, F., Plissart, M.-F. (2006). *Kinshasa: Tales of the Invisible City*. D A P.

[138] De Boeck, F. (2016). *Suturing the City: Living Together in Congo's Urban Worlds.* Autograph ABP, p. 13.

[139] '*Suturing the City',* p. 13.

Through urban Congo, our attention is drawn to urban malady of a special kind. For this state of lack – these holes – give impetus to a new kind of urban reality that defies the odds. As De Boeck puts it:

> " (…) even if the living experience of the hole considerably complicates life and often degrades its quality, the hole itself offers an aperture, an opening, a possibility, at least to those who know how to read an alternative meaning into its blackness".[140]

Having opened up Congo's urban world through a meticulous incision that exposes an inflicted urban milieu, De Boeck then turns to mending the wounds. Deploying *suture* as an analytical tool, an attempt is made to re-stitch Congo's urban world by capturing how residents turn holes that are brought to bear on the urban landscape into possibilities and rework something new, something else.[141] By *suturing*, we should understand new kinds of creativity emanating from a state of lack, and necessarily turning zero into a one within the broader context of dealing the city's madness.[142] It is about turning uncertainty into a resource within a context of institutions that are largely incapable of specifying normative practices of planning and transaction.[143]

In some respects, De Boeck's *suturing* bears the marks of Koolhaas' rendition of Lagos in the sense of enormous ingenuity of urban residents that allows for a 'continued existence and productivity in spite of a near-complete absence of infrastructures, systems, organisations and amenities'.[144] De Boeck's proposition is, however, devoid of romanticism and instead mobilizes a network of social relations in reassembling a neglected urban environ. This

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[140] '*Suturing the City',* p. 16.

[141] Ibid., p. 17.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Simone, A. (2013). Deals with Imaginaries and Perspectives: Reworking Urban Economies in Kinshasa. In E. Pieterse & A. Simone (Eds.), *Rogue Urbanism: Emergent African Cities*. Jacana Media, pp. 250-251.

[144] *Harvard Project on the City'*, p. 652.

network of social relations is encapsulated in the notion of *living together* in the city. The notion of *living together* is deployed – following Derrida – to denote a situation made possible by an absence of a complete whole, i.e. "a *living together* that can only exist where the whole, the assemblage, is not fully formed and is not closed".[145]

Although a city like Kinshasa has a semblance of an open assemblage, De Boeck suggests that the latter does not allow a *living together* in any meaningful sense. He postulates that the many clashes, frictions, suspicions, accusations and contradictions make it difficult for a *living together* to be realised.[146] What then is the way out of this 'impossibility' of *living together* as a trope of understanding a city such as Kinshasa? We should puncture the city's surface – in order to understand some its underlying dynamics – and then stitch it together into what could be Kinshasa's meaningful sites and suturing points, argues De Boeck.[147] Indicative of a spatially inclined analytical approach, it is posited that different sites from which the city could be *sutured* could include certain buildings, a marketplace, graveyard, pothole or a new city extension.[148]

The eclecticism that De Boeck embraces in putting a portrait of urban Congo is a worthwhile analytical resource that urban studies in Africa and elsewhere in the world could learn from. Indeed, his approach – insofar as various *suturing* points are concerned – is instructive in structuring my argument of a city from variegated registers of representation. What becomes apparent is that 'a straightforward linear narrative of the city seems impossible because the

[145] Derrida (2013) as cited in De Boeck (2016: 18).

[146] '*Suturing the City',* p. 19.

[147] Ibid., p. 20.

[148] Ibid.

city – in and of itself – refuses to be captured in one single master narrative',[149] trope or representational register.

My various chapters as captured in the outline below demonstrate eclecticism in that the different registers have been chosen deliberately to foreground the point that the city is many things at once. The appreciation of the 'many things at once' can be made possible through 'opening up Windhoek through various incisions and *suturing* these openings', *a la* De Boeck. But once the city is re-stitched after incisions, the stitched surfaces are bound to be unique and particular to the city that underwent surgery. My different entry points through which I sought to understand Windhoek render it an 'unusual city'. For example, my first incision that opened up the history of Windhoek brought to the fore a city that was quintessentially pregnant with all the signs enabling apartheid to be effortlessly implemented. Similarly, the cultural economies' entry point produces an unusually daring lie embedded in a statue[150] positioned right in front of Windhoek's municipal offices. As if this is not enough, the governance and bureaucratic practices incision points to a city that deals with issues such as cleanliness in very unusual if not unique ways. For cleanliness is jealously guarded, particularly within the precinct of the CBD, to impress mostly tourist visitors. On the other hand, cleanliness is used as an instrument of maintaining order.[151]

[149] '*Suturing the City',* p. 23.

[150] See discussion on Curt von François' statue in *Chapter 2*.

[151] For a discussion on the 'obsession with order and cleanliness', see *Chapter 3*.

A Note on Methodology

Given the complexity of contemporary cities and their place in different sorts of circuits, serious attention is required in how one goes about researching the city.[152] Different aspects of city life demand different methods of generating data to answer questions set out. That using a range of methods when interrogating the city becomes particularly important is not a moot point. Considering that the central purpose of this thesis was to understand Windhoek's cityness in its various dimensions and meanings, the study largely employed a qualitative research methodology. For Sarantakos, qualitative methodology assumes that the social world is a human creation and as such it endeavours to capture reality as it is, i.e. as seen and experienced by respondents.[153] It is necessarily a naturalistic inquiry as it studies real world situations as they unfold.

Tracing the history of Windhoek while appreciating its contemporariness demands that one assumes eclecticism as far as instruments of data collection are concerned. For example, revisiting the history of Windhoek requires delving into the archives. On the other hand, an understanding of Windhoek through its cultural economies invites discourse analysis. It was in recognition of the complexity of my object of study, the city, that I deployed a number of research instruments. In terms of specific research methods /data collection techniques, this study relied on:

- Archival Research;
- Discourse Analysis
- Content analysis;

[152] Ward (2014) Researching the city, p. 7.

[153] Sarantakos, S. (1998). *Social Research (2nd edition)*. Basingstoke, Hamps.: MacMillan Press Ltd, p. 46.

- Interviews and observation

Archival Research: An enormous amount of source material for research about cities exists in archives.[154] To make sense of Windhoek requires a great deal of colonial historical excavation of its inception. In as much as this study is not necessarily about the history of Windhoek, its methodological approach had leanings towards Windhoek's history as a window of reading this city in the 21st century. The Windhoek based National Archives of Namibia (NAN) host materials of German and South African colonial rule. I analysed these materials to illuminate the formative phase of what is today called Windhoek. Amongst others, these materials include city planning documentation, maps, engineers' reports and photos. My other cache was the *Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft* (Namibia Scientific Society) which was established in 1925. It houses information about Windhoek, especially for the formative period and the first half of the 20th Century. Information available in this resource centre includes publications on the historical development of central Windhoek; town planning, memorials and monuments as well as writings on architecture and buildings.

Discourse Analysis: Also referred to as the 'analysis of language beyond the sentence', discourse analysis is one of the most widely used methods in qualitative studies. For researchers who use discourse analysis, language matters as it is by no means a neutral medium for describing the social world.[155] In other words, what matters is not only what is said – but how and perhaps when it is said, as well as what is not said at all.

Content Analysis: Getting a grasp of the extent to which Windhoek parted ways with colonial legislation in law and in practice is important in getting an essence of the character of

[154] Ward, S.V. (2014) Archival Research, p. 24.

[155] Hastings, A. (2014) Discourse and Linguistic Analysis, p. 85.

post-independence Windhoek. To reflect on the legal aspects of city making, I undertook an inventory of pieces of legislation pertaining to Windhoek in particular and governance of urban areas in general. This was accompanied by an analysis of the thinking that went into legislation, shaping specific city encounters and urban forms.

Interviews and Observation: In-depth open-ended interviews were conducted with officials from the City of Windhoek, especially those in the Planning Division to get a grasp of what informs/informed (then) city planning. The study also employed participant observation into Windhoek's city life and economic activities. Among others, observation was done along Independence Avenue which is the main thoroughfare in Windhoek and in all respects the pulse of social and economic life in the city centre. Trading places across the city, particularly the so-called informal markets as well as hawkers were similarly observed. With the aid of a notebook, I recorded taken-for-granted interactions between authorities and 'informal' traders. Interviews were conducted with some traders to get their stories on how they negotiate city life. Selection of participants followed a non-random sampling. As participants were recruited on their suitability to provide avenues through which to make sense of Windhoek in its various dimensions, purposive sampling technique was chosen. According to Babbie, purposive sampling is "a type of non-probability sampling in which the units to be observed or studied are selected on the basis of the researcher's judgement about which ones will be the most useful".[156]

Ethical Considerations

Notwithstanding that this study did not involve any vulnerable groups, ethical dilemmas are at times hard to elude. A particular instance that is worth flagging is a street vendor who I endeavoured to interview and in the process of our conversation started complaining to me

[156] Babbie, E. (2009). *The Practice of Social Research*. Cengage Learning, p. 193.

about her struggles with getting a trading licence from the Municipality of Windhoek. Her narration of difficulties in obtaining a licence appeared to me as if she was asking for my assistance before I could interview her. I foresaw nothing ethically wanting in taking it upon myself to find out as to what was holding up her licence application process. I tried to intervene in facilitating the process of her getting a licence by getting in touch with a person who was handling her application. The person who was handling her application informed me that she was working on the matter but was displeased that I tried to intervene. As I found out the day I returned to my prospective interviewee, the person who I got in touch with concerning the licence application called the street vendor in question to register her displeasure. In the process, I became an object of the street vendor's wrath: "who asked you to intervene", she asked in an agitated voice. I tried to explain that I had the best of intentions and apologised to her but she was upset with me and the planned interview could not take place.

Similarly, one of my interviewees was initially reluctant to participate because she was once shown on the national television, something that she did not like. I had to give her assurances that I was not going to reveal her identity in one way or the other. This was despite the fact that I furnished her with a Participant Information Sheet and explained to her the safeguards contained in the Consent Form. I emphasised to her that my study is guided by strict rules of conducting research and that I had an obligation to protect her identity while seeing to it that confidentiality is observed. The question that arises is 'how does one ensure that participation is voluntary within the context of an implicit reluctance to participate because of not having enough information about the objectives of the research project'? I dealt with this dilemma by coming back a number of times to the same spot where my prospective interviewee was and striking informal conversations until some kind of rapport was achieved. The foregoing two scenarios demonstrate the complexities of navigating fieldwork and upholding ethical considerations of conducting research.

I nonetheless followed through with the most important aspects of keeping my participants information confidential[157] and anonymous. Participants were simply numbered as *Interviewee 1*; *Interviewee 2; Interviewee 3* etc., in the order of dates on which interviews were conducted. Maintaining anonymity nonetheless has limits as was the case for participants who hold publicly known offices within the Municipality of Windhoek. As Loue maintains, "complete anonymity is difficult to achieve, and informed consent should be obtained if there is any doubt".[158] In this view and cognizant of the fact that anonymity was impossible in this particular instance, an express consent was sought from officials for their names to be used solely for the purpose of the study.

Outline of the Thesis

Chapter 1 travels back in time, recalling the history of Windhoek, starting with the pre-colonial period. Emphasis is particularly placed on the combined 106 years straddling colonial Windhoek under Berlin and then Pretoria. With this kind of historical excavation, the importance of a spatial-temporal axis is foregrounded as imperative in making sense of the urban social. To a great extent, this Chapter sets the tone for the thesis in the sense that spatial segregation and its historical antecedents is the thread that runs through all the other chapters.

In ***Chapter 2***, I draw on diverse artistic registers to illuminate some of the cultural economies of Windhoek. At first sight, seemingly a different genre altogether, cultural economies of the city are precisely drawn upon to make a point that an attempt at making sense of a city requires a multiplicity of genres and repertoires. From art forms such as monuments, poems and songs, I

[157] All audio files of interviews conducted are stored in a password protected folder.

[158] Loue, S. (2000). *Textbook of Research Ethics: Theory and Practice*. Springer, p. 152.

decode various themes and bring to life taken-for-granted meanings that allow for reading Windhoek as a text. That Windhoek has captured the imagination of those whose vocation is creative reflection suggest that it will be negligent to write any account of Windhoek without taking seriously artistic pieces of work.

Chapter 3 examines municipal bureaucratic practices insofar as they proscribe and prescribe urban modes of existence. What is allowed and prohibited in urban settings by authorities is analysed against the backdrop of incessant resistance mounted by those at the margins. In essence, this Chapter considers the kind of city that those in charge of Windhoek imagine and from where they draw inspiration. By critiquing mimicry and the privileging of city forms from elsewhere, I argue that paying attention to small cities like Windhoek enriches debates on cities around the world and invites us to 'a view from off the map'.[159]

Recognising that space has a predilection of 'refusing to forget', ***Chapter 4*** gives credence to instantiation of law into space. I make the point that even though a raft of apartheid era legislation no longer occupies Namibia's statute books, spatial practices and habitation continue to draw inspiration from laws liquidated with the end of formal apartheid. Spatial residential patterns continue to display racial segregation. In instances where some residential areas have transformed their racial profile, new enclaves have appeared. The latter has rendered efforts aimed at bringing about an integrated city almost meaningless. In other words, residential desegregation in Windhoek has been accompanied by enclaving and re-segregation.

By drawing on life stories of select street vendors, ***Chapter 5*** teases out how embodied experiences of migrants play a role in shaping Windhoek in a number of ways. In particular, every day experiences of street vendors as they navigate their positions in the city through trading is considered as part of their specific life-worlds. As people of various kinds flock to the city,

[159] Robinson, "Global and World Cities."

they bring with them their life-worlds. As these life-worlds come to bear on the urban landscape, the city is rendered in variegated ways that would not have been otherwise possible. The making of the urban, therefore, implicates migration. To be sure, 'what gets to count as urban is shaped by an engagement with the diversity of ways of living in cities'.[160] These diverse ways of inhabiting cities is made more pronounced by various tales of migrants. The bureaucratic practices[161] that come to bear on urban dwellers insofar as what is proscribed by municipal officials is concerned, largely implicates migrants and various activities that they are involved in.

As part of broader overarching argument, ***Chapter 6*** concludes by synthesising arguments raised in preceding chapters. What comes out clearly is that the city can best be understood by considering different fragments. These fragments necessarily present various ways through which a city can be read, and caution must be taken to guard against reducing the city to any particular fragment. Moving beyond dominant scholarly approaches that pigeon-hole cities in such categories as "World Class City"; "African City"; "Smart City" and the like, the line of thought that this thesis propagates is that the city is 'everything, yet nothing'. The 'unusual' city then, is different in the sense that its constitutive elements are peculiar yet at the same time 'ordinary'[162]. For it is shaped by assemblages of many different kinds of practices, activities, trajectories and life-worlds. In other words, any attempt at deconstructing a city stands to benefit from being promiscuous in terms of registers drawn upon. For the city refuses simple typologies, and yet is derisive of grand narratives.

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[160] *'Ordinary cities'*, p. 171.

[161] See Chapter 3.

[162] In the sense of Robinson's (2006) 'Ordinary Cities'.

Chapter 1 – (Re)tracing Spatial Segregation

Cities are haunted by their own histories. They not only stretch across time, but also extend through space.[163]

An account of contemporary urban spatiality demands attention to its historical antecedents. This is precisely because urban spaces are endlessly (re)shaped through and by successive dominant practices and legal systems. Spinks rightly posits that "all phenomena occur over time, and thus have history, but they also happen in space, at particular places and so also have geography".[164] It follows that excavating the history of Windhoek – a history that spans over at least three-quarters of a century – allows for an understanding of contemporary spatial layout based on segregation.

There are spatial changes over time that bequeathed unto Windhoek some sense of identity. The Windhoek of today with all its spatial determinants and social ordering exhibits an immense indictment of history. In an attempt to historicise Windhoek's spatiality, this chapter briefly revisits precolonial Windhoek before turning to the arrival of missionaries as a prelude to the founding of Windhoek as a colonial outpost of German imperial rule. As German colonial rule was short-lived, though spatially stubborn to efface, the changing of colonial hands and the attendant making of an apartheid city is worth reflecting on. The apartheid city was predated by a Windhoek that was ready for separation. Retracing the heightening of residential apartheid when Windhoek came under the influence of Pretoria remains extremely important. The amplification of segregation during South Africa's rule led to "cartographies of balkanisation"[165] that came to

[163] Patke (2000: 4), *'Benjamin's Arcades Project and the Postcolonial City'.*

[164] Spinks, C. (2001), *'A New Apartheid? Urban Spatiality, (Fear of) Crime, and Segregation in Cape Town, South Africa',* LSE: London, p. 3.

[165] See Hanlon, J. (2011). Unsightly Urban Menaces and the Rescaling of Residential Segregation in the United States. *Journal of Urban History*, *37*(5), p. 749.

define how denizens converse about different residential areas of Windhoek. Suggestive of deep-seated contamination of 'conversational Windhoek', 'normalcy' is associated with phrases such as "Herero Location" and "Damara Location". It stands to reason that segregation that is spatially instantiated and professed at a conversational level allows Windhoek to be read with and against South Africa cities. I deal with the latter concern in the last section of this chapter.

1.1. Looking Back: Pre-colonial Windhoek

Modern Windhoek is commonly agreed to have been marked by the arrival of the German *Schutztruppe* and the construction of a fort in 1890,[166] but there are recorded indications of human activity prior to this intrusion. Archaeological findings in a form of prehistoric elephant relics during the reconstruction of the Zoo Park in 1962 point to hunters some 5 000 years ago.[167] In spite of this indication of earlier activity, Kotzé maintains that "as no records exist of what the settlement around the hot springs looked like before the arrival of Jonker Afrikaner (*in 1840*),[168] this is where the known history of the town inevitably begins".[169] Characterising Windhoek's hydrogeology, some authors point to hot springs in the centre of the city, and the Zoo Park at which the elephant relics were found is situated in city centre.[170] Therefore, this is perhaps where the history of Windhoek could *inevitably* start. Nonetheless, when the first Europeans arrived in what is now Windhoek, it was inhabited chiefly by OvaHerero.[171] Simon on the other hand maintains that the arrival of European settlers in the 19th century was preceded by Windhoek's

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[166]Cf. Gewald (2009: 259); Dierks (2002: 73); Mossolow (1965: 68-69); Hartmann (2004: 28).
[167] Sydow (1961), cited in Vogt (2004: 29).
[168] Simon (1983: 101). Wagner (1951) on the other hand argues that Jonker Afrikaner invaded Windhoek in about 1830.
[169] Kotzè (1990: 2).
[170] Cf. Tredoux, G., B. Van Der Merwe, and I. Peters. (2009): 269: 270); Brook, George A., A. Cherkinsky, E. Marais, and Nancy Todd (2014:1).
[171] Cf. Wagner (1951); Katjavivi (1990).

inhabitation by at least five distinct groups, Damara, Ovambo and Kavango, OvaHerero and Nama.[172] Contestation over Windhoek was chiefly between the OvaHerero and the Orlam. The Orlam under Jonker Afrikaner had a predilection of coming from the south to raid the OvaHerero cattle in the central part.[173] This raiding of cattle and conflict over land and water rights eventually led to a full blown war between the two groups in the latter part of the 19th century.[174] Because of this war, Windhoek seems to have degenerated into a 'no man's land' by the time the Germans arrived and turned it into a colonial headquarters. Writing on the period 1884 – 1887, the Swiss explorer Hans Schinz avers that their [Germans] arrival in Windhoek was only acknowledged by some barking jackals that ran off when they came closer.[175] There were some guinea fowls squeaking but there was no sign of humans.[176] According to Wallace, this account is consistent with the dominant missionary narrative of the time which nonetheless seems to have ignored the Damara settlement in Windhoek circa 1891.[177]

1.2. Rumours of Colonialism: Missionaries Come to Windhoek

The first intimations leading to the inception of what will become colonial Windhoek can be traced to the arrival of missionaries of the Rhenish Mission Society. German missionaries and Cape Traders were the two major categories of Europeans in pre-colonial South West Africa.[178] This does not precede the Portuguese sailor and explorer Diego Cão landing at Cape Cross in

[172] Simon (1983: 55).
[173] See Wagner (1951).
[174] Ibid. See also Katjavivi (1990: 4).
[175] Schinz (1891), '*Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Forschungsreisen durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete Gross –Nama – und Hereroland, nach dem Kunene, dem Ngami-See und der Kalahari 1884-1887',* p. 129.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Wallace (1997) *'Health and Society in Windhoek, Namibia, 1915 – 1945'.*
[178] Kienetz (1976).

1485, marking the first recorded arrival of Europeans in Namibia.[179] I am however interested in activities of missionaries around and in Windhoek as this was the prelude to the colonial city in the making.

Missionaries played a role in offering translation services between the locals and the colonisers and their diaries entries informed historical writings about Windhoek and Namibia. Some population figures before 1915 use missionaries' diaries as sources and this raises doubts about the accuracy of data during this period. It is difficult to establish how many people lived in Windhoek before 1926 as no census was conducted before then. There exist various figures that are confusingly contradictory and as such difficult to collate. It is nonetheless worth relying on census data as this is based on an assumption of a systematic approach to the art of counting as opposed to missionaries jotting down entries in their diaries for purposes unbeknownst.

Kotzè maintains that Heinrich Kleinschmidt and Carl Hugo Hahn arrived in Windhoek by 1842 and arguably found about 2000 people there.[180] Bravenboer on the other hand cites 1852 as the year in which the missionary Hahn paid a visit to Windhoek and estimated the number of Jonker's followers to be about 1200 Afrikaners, 2000 Damaras and 2000 Hereros, bringing the total population of Windhoek to 5200.[181] The first census of colonial South West Africa in 1926 puts the total population of Windhoek at 4532.[182] In the midst of these disparate statistics, Simon provides by far the most comprehensive data on Windhoek's population from 1921 – 1975.[183]

[179] Katjavivi (1988: 5).
[180] Kotzè (1990: 2).
[181] Bravenboer (2004: 8).
[182] Pretoria Archives Depot, SAB/STK/517, Census 1926 District File – Windhoek South West Africa.
[183] Simon (1983: 121), see Table 1.

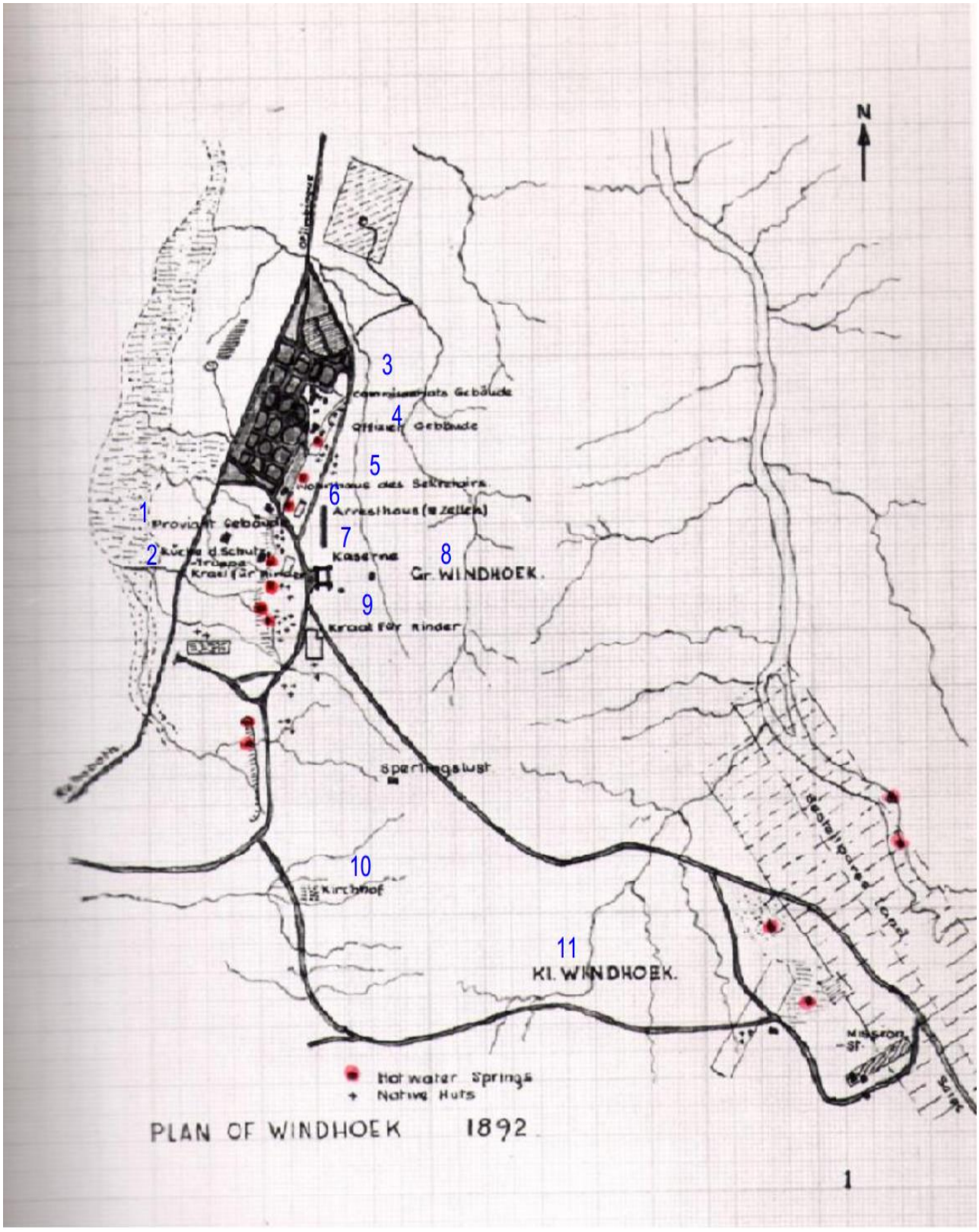
1.3. Genesis of Modern Windhoek – The Arrival of German *Schutztruppe*

In December 1891, Windhoek became the seat of the German administration whose previous headquarters had been at Otjimbingue.[184] Map 1 below shows structures that existed in Windhoek two years after the arrival of imperial German forces. The inscription 'Plan of Windhoek' could easily confuse unsuspecting readers and thus necessitates an explanatory note. A mixture of German and English was used in labelling the map – *plan* (*n.* der plan) is a German equivalent of *map* – and the map below will read *Map of Windhoek* in English. What can also be deduced is that this map is necessarily not a duplicate of the original as the use of name 'Windhoek' as opposed to 'Windhuk' (German version) suggests. It is probable that one F.C. Meyer from whose publication the map below was sourced, tampered with it for his own purposes.

The legend of the map which appears on top of the map's title is fuzzily legible, but gets clearer when magnified beyond the margins of the sheet on which the map appears. A circular sign highlighted in red shows one of the main attractions of the settlement which played a role in two vernacular names that Windhoek assumed, the hot springs. The other symbol is a plus (+) representing what is labelled 'native huts'. Other notable structures without any corresponding legend on the map are *Kirchhof* (graveyard), *Arresthaus* / *Zellen* (prison / holding cells) and *Kaserne* (army base).

[184] Wagner (1951).

Map 1: Windhoek 1892



Source: NSS, I7220, 'Meyer, F.C. 1953/4 – Windhoek Town Planning

Virtually all – if not most of – the structures on this map are hardly legible within the confines of what the image resolution allows. Therefore, a translated reproduction of these structures is apt to allow for a reading of the formative years – in the sense of colonial occupation of Windhoek.

Key

1. Food storeroom for soldiers (*Proviant Gebäude*)
2. Kitchen for Occupying Force (*Küche der Schutztruppe*)
3. Commissioner Building (*Commisariats Gebäude*)
4. Building for Officers (*Offiziers Gebäude*)
5. House of the Secretary (*Wohnhaus des Sekretärs*)
6. Prison / Holding Cells (*Arresthaus / Zellen*)
7. Army Base (*Kaserne*)
8. Great Windhoek (*Groß Windhoek*)
9. Cattle Kraal (*Kraal für Rinder*)
10. Cemetery (*Kirchhof*)
11. Small Windhoek (*Klein Windhoek*)

The notable structures on the map suggest a very fortified outpost of the German colonial empire. Moreover, what is rendered apparent in these structures is a quintessential colonial capital premised on control of the local population and assertion of military power. Colonial historians maintain that the original core structures of the colonial state are the military station, the fortress, the barracks and the prison.[185] With regards to Windhoek, the installation of these structures marked a transition from protection presence to occupation of the territory. Before setting up headquarters in Windhoek, the presence of German forces was in part related to dubious protection treaties signed with various native groups who were intermittently at war with

[185] Cf. King, A. (1990), 'Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World Economy'; von Trotha, T. (1990), *'Stationen: Ein Beitrag zur Theorie der Staatsentstenhung auf der Grunglage der Deutschen Kolonialherrschaft über Togo in Westafrika'*.

each other.[186] The establishment of a garrison in Windhoek and all the concomitant military structures from 1890 onwards signposted a change in colonial policy. It was only three years later that the second map of Windhoek, which is slightly more elaborate, appeared. Annotated by Günter von Schumann of Namibia Scientific Society, the map of 1895 shows a number of new structures that emphasise the expansion of control over the territory through technologies of discipline represented by a police bureau, for example.

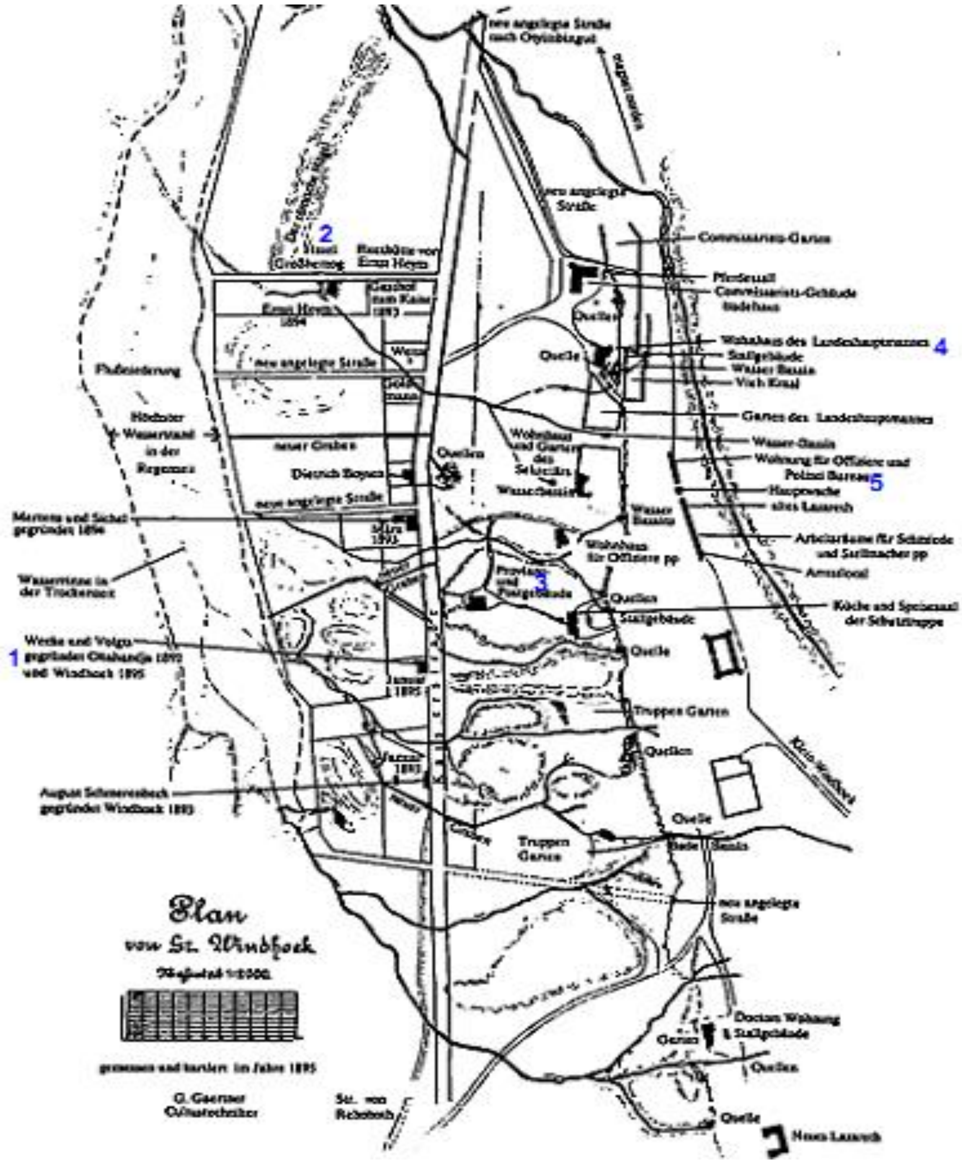
The map also points to the gradual expansion of the city and the introduction of civilian communication services. In a modern and expanded incarnation, the national postal operator – Namibia Post Ltd. (NamPost) – remains at the same spot where it was founded in 1895. Similarly, Wecke and Voigts, the oldest department store in Windhoek which was established in Okahandja in 1892[187] remains at the same spot and is marked No. 1 on the map. The relocation of this private family business to Windhoek in 1895 could well be as a result of a growing market in the colonial capital. It could also speak to the change in colonial policy, for Wecke and Voigts opened their store initially on a piece of land given to them by Samuel Maharero in Okahandja at the time when the Germans had a protection treaty with Ovaharero. Cracks in this protection treaty became visible when Curt von François – to the chagrin of Samuel Maharero[188] – established control over Windhoek.

As Windhoek's population was expanding due to new shops that were aiming to cash in on the German troops stationed there – and not least hotels to cater for the new found importance of a colonial capital – it was inevitable that a police force to maintain colonial order was soon going

[186] Cf. Katjavivi (1990); Dierks (2002); Bravenboer (2004).
[187] http://www.weckevoigts.com/ Accessed July 24, 2018.
[188] Maharero considered Windhoek his property that he lent to Jonker Afrikaaner who died shortly before the Germans assumed colonial occupancy. See Sarkin, J. (2009), *'Colonial Genocide and Reparation Claims in 21st Century: The Socio-Legal Context of Claims under International Law by the Herero against Germany for Genocide in Namibia, 1904-1908'*, Praeger: California, p. 38.

to assume the role of discharging the legitimate use of violence. It was in 1894 that some German troopers as well as a few Africans would be seconded as policemen to the colonial capital.[189]

Map 2: Windhoek 1895



Key:

1. Wecke and Voigts
2. Hotel Grossherzog
3. Post Office (*Postgebaüd*)

189 Zollman, J. (2011), 'Communicating Colonial Order: The Police of German South West Africa (c.1894-1915)', *Crime, History & Societies*, 15(1), 33-57.

4. Provincial Governor (*Landeshauptmannes*)
5. Apartment for Officers and Police Bureau (*Wohnung für Offizeire und Polizei Bureau*)

1.4. Changing of colonial hands

After being under siege from virtually all directions, Windhoek fell to the South Africa Union Forces on 9th July 1915.[190] General Louis Botha was the Commander of the Union Forces and the Prime Minister of South Africa at the time. The war was in essence between the German imperial forces and the British Empire, and South Africa as a dominion under the Empire simply executing an imperial service, was automatically drawn into the conflict.[191] After conquering Windhoek, the Union of South Africa wasted no time in asserting its dominion over the territory. A Proclamation was issued by General Louis Botha on 13th July 1915 asserting South Africa's authority and instituting Martial Law in the territory:

> "The forces of the Union of South Africa (herein after termed the Union) under my command have conquered and now occupy the whole of the territory known as German South West Africa (herein after termed the Protectorate) (…). I hereby proclaim and make known that Martial Law as such law is understood and administered in British territory shall be established throughout the Protectorate from the 9th July 1915, being the date of the formal surrender of the protectorate troops".[192]

With regards to exerting influence over urban space by demarcating who could settle where and who could not, the South African Administration acted quickly in making its intentions known

[190] Pretoria Depot: GG, 603, 9/59/95.

[191] Cruise, A. (2015). *Louis Botha's War: The Campaign in German South-West Africa, 1914-1915*. Zebra Press, pp. 1-5.

[192] SAB, GG 603, 9159/86 - *Proc. 741 of 16th July 1915*. See also Proc. 483 of 28th April 1915 – *'Martial Law Proclamation'*.

as official records reveal. As early as 1916, contestation over space had already begun with regards to the presence of native *pontoks*[193] around the construction site of a railway line.[194] The Burgomaster wrote to the Military Magistrate, one Major Gadd, suggesting that the natives be moved away from the railway on account of "the insanitary environ" that their presence invited.[195]

In his classic essay on sanitation, Swanson maintains that medical and other public authorities in South Africa at the turn of the 20th century were imbued with the imagery of infectious disease as a social metaphor that interacted powerfully with racial attitudes that influenced policies and shaped institutions of segregation.[196] When South Africa took over the then South West Africa, 'sanitation syndrome' was variously mobilised to effect racial urban segregation and politics in the colonial capital, Windhoek. Even though the 1916 attempt to move the natives' *pontoks* on account of hygiene was not carried through,[197] it nonetheless suggests that the 'obsession with cleanliness'[198] has a long colonial history and provenance.

[193] Informal housing units / shacks

[194] NAN, LWI – Magistrate District of Windhoek, 1/2/5 Vol. 2: Windhoek Municipality, 3/1/21, 63/4/40 – Native Locations 1916- 1917.

[195] *Native Locations.*

[196] Swanson, M.W. (1977), 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', Journal of African History, XVIII (3), 387-410.

[197] The natives were not moved as the Assistant Director of Railways maintained that it was desirable to have them in close proximity of their work, for it was otherwise going to be difficult to get 'the boys' to come on shift punctually (NAN, LWI – Magistrate District of Windhoek, 1/2/5 Vol. 2: Windhoek Municipality, 3/1/21, 63/4/40 – Native Locations 1916- 1917).

[198] At length, I discuss the 'obsession with cleanliness' in contemporary Windhoek in Chapter 3 – *City Governance, Urban Fantasies and Bureaucratic Practices*. Indeed, an understanding of this 'obsession' demands another obsession, that is, an obsession with historical antecedents.

1.5. The Making of an Apartheid City – Windhoek under Pretoria

Despite the fact that segregation was part of Windhoek's residential layout during Germany's rule, it was under Pretoria that an expressive policy of engineering an apartheid city was put in motion. The year 1964 marked the formal imposition of the apartheid policy of "Bantustans". This heinous project was an outcome of the infamous Odendaal Commission Report of 1962-1963. Under the chairmanship of F. H. Odendaal, the then Administrator of the Province of the Transvaal, the first meeting of the 'Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs' (henceforth "Odendaal Plan") was held in Pretoria on 17th September 1962.[199] Published in 1964, this report "recommended, amongst others, the formation of 10 'homelands' for SWA's black population, i.e. they should live apart from the 'coloureds' as well as the 'whites', in accordance with South Africa's revised apartheid policy".[200]

At the level of Windhoek, the Odendaal Plan balkanised the city into antagonistic groupings that could easily be quelled in the event of an uprising. Residents of Windhoek were to live apart and patronise segregated spaces of entertainment, recreation and eateries. But cracks started to appear, questioning the sustainability of legally sanctioned segregation from the 1970s.

Examples of living 'together' in separation abound, such as when Mr. Gabriel Petros had lunch at the Continental Hotel in March of 1973, patronising a hitherto whites-only eatery made front page news in the *Windhoek Advertiser*. Mr. Petros was interviewed by the *Windhoek Advertiser's* reporter and their exchange unfolded as follow:

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[199] Republic of South Africa (RSA) (1964), 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs 1962 -1963', Report No. 12/1964, Government Printers: Pretoria, p. 519.

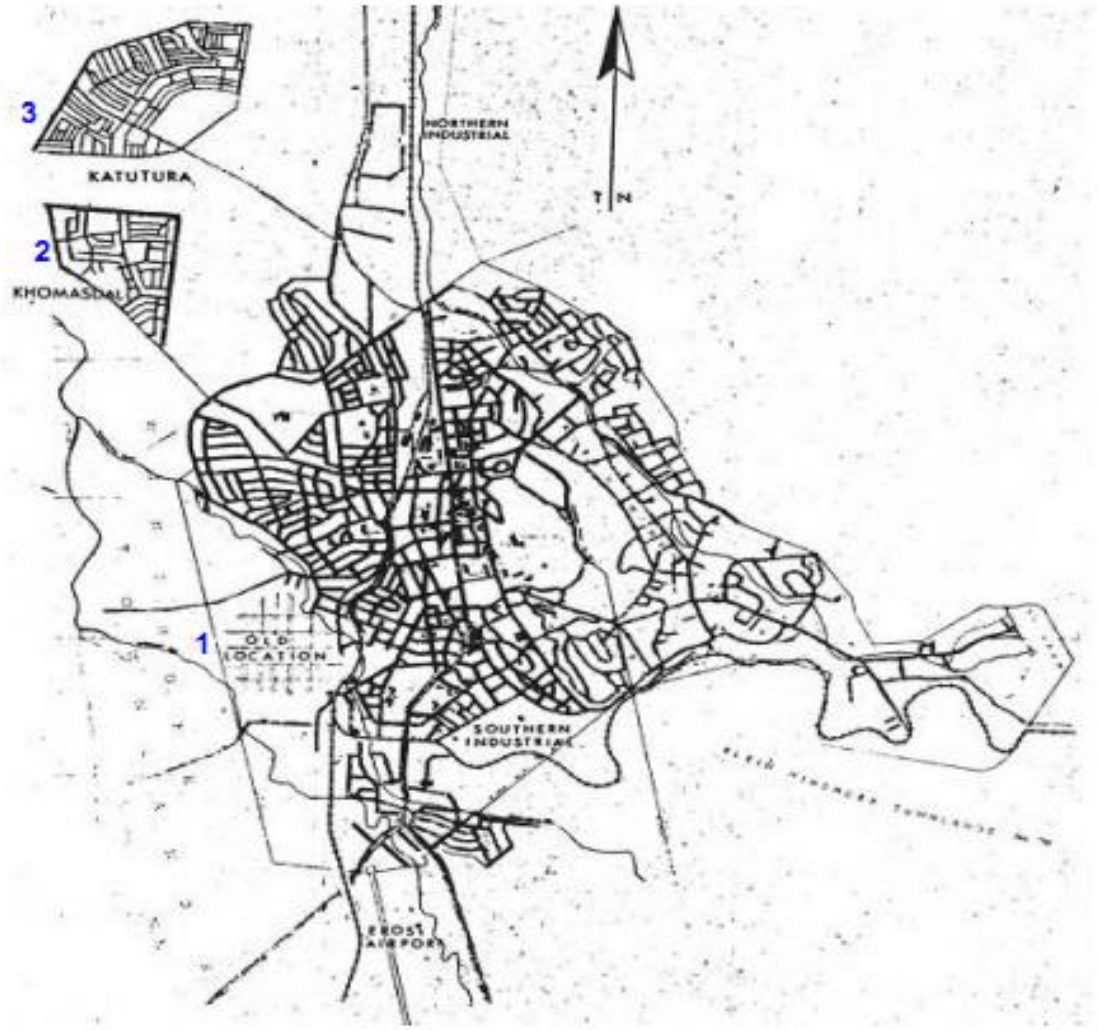
[200] Dierks (1999: 129); Williams, G., Hackland, B. (1988), 'The Dictionary of Contemporary Politics of Southern Africa, Routledge: London; *Odendaal Plan (1964).*

> "Mr. Petros, did you read the recent article in the [Windhoek] *Advertiser* when the Prime Minister [John Vorster] said non-Whites could patronise White hotels?"
>
> *"No".*
>
> "Where do you come from?"
>
> *"I come from Owambo [northern Namibia]".*
>
> "Where do you work?"
>
> *"I am a waiter at the Grand Hotel".*
>
> "Is this the first time you are patronising a White hotel?"
>
> *"Yes".*
>
> "Do you prefer White hotels to non-White hotels?"
>
> *"Yes".*
>
> "Why do you say that?"
>
> *"I don't know".*
>
> "Is it because the service is better?"
>
> *"Yes", He smiled.*[201]

At the time, a seemingly banal incident of a black man lunching at a hotel patronised by whites was seen as an urban spectacle as it went against the prevalent segregation of the time. It was an anomaly that shook the spatial-temporal axis of colonial Windhoek in the aftermath of the Odendaal Plan's expansive rollout.

[201] *Windhoek Advertiser* (March 20, 1973), 'Ovambo Waiter has Lunch at Windhoek Hotel', *Windhoek Advertiser*, p. 1.

Map 3: Windhoek in 1961[202]



Key:

1. Old Location
2. Khomasdal
3. Katutura

Scrutinized carefully, Map 3 above lays bare a Windhoek that was prepared for pronounced spatial segregation shortly before the implementation of Odendaal Plan. Number 1 on the Map is 'Old Location', the site that a little more than two years earlier witnessed the most brutal forced

[202] Courtesy of Municipality of Windhoek as cited in Simon (1983: 133).

removal of inhabitants in the recorded history of colonial Windhoek. In the northerly direction, the Coloureds-only suburb of Khomasdal – marked Number 2 – was to play the role of a buffer zone between the White and Black areas of Windhoek. Number 3 is Katutura to which Black inhabitants were moved in the aftermath of 1959 'Old Location' unrest. A cursory reading of Windhoek today confirms that the Odendaal Plan was very successful at dividing this city beyond imagination. The 'township' of Katutura is still to a great extent divided according to different ethnic groups and Khomasdal is predominantly still a suburb of Coloureds. Nonetheless, what is important to note is that Windhoek was ripe for segregation (if not already segregated) well before the Odendaal Plan was crafted. To be sure, the Odendaal Plan simply consummated an already separated city.

1.6. Heightened Residential Apartheid

Shack demolitions or forced removals are by all accounts reminiscent of the 'Old Location'[203] in the late 1950s. This is not to say that Windhoek was an integrated city before the forced removals of the 1950s, but thereafter, as I argue above, residential segregation became codified and implemented to the letter. In colonial Windhoek, the inception of expansive residential segregation dates back to 1956 after a visit by a delegation from the Windhoek Town Council to the Native Affairs Department in Pretoria.[204] Under the chairmanship of one Mr. F.H.C. Dixon, the delegation visited the native townships of Atteridgeville and Saulsville in Pretoria as well as Meadowlands and Daveyton in Benoni.[205] The stated aim of the visit was "to make the Council

[203] On 10 December 1959, protests mounted in Windhoek as blacks were forced to leave 'Old Location' and move to Katutura, a new apartheid township. Thirteen were killed and 54 injured (see Tonchi, Lindeke & Grotpeter 2012: XXV).

[204] Pretoria Depot: SAB, NTS, 4566, 1115/313, *'Windhoek Municipality, South West Africa'*.

[205] *'Windhoek Municipality, South West Africa'*.

and its officials more familiar with the many aspects of the housing of Africans".[206] But a closer scrutiny – considering the spatial politics of apartheid South Africa – suggest that this visit was aimed at learning about effective strategies of how best to segregate and keep blacks as far away as possible from whites. Even though the language of the report compiled after the Windhoek Municipal Council visit to Pretoria and Johannesburg was couched in the narrative of drawing on enviable 'model township' for blacks, there were clearly other forces at play. One such force could be gleaned from allegations that the moving of blacks to Windhoek's new location was being delayed by the Union Native Affairs Department, exposing European residents of Windhoek to tuberculosis.[207] Therefore, the black body was classified as a carrier of diseases whose proximity to European residents presented a danger best to be avoided through residential segregation.

By November 1959 it became apparent that the removal of Blacks from Windhoek Location in the western part of the city to a newly constructed apartheid township of Katutura was imminent as a defiantly worded letter by Hosea Kutako to the Administrator Viljoen suggests.[208] On 23 November 1959, Chief Hosea Kutako of the OvaHerero wrote to the Administrator of South West Africa citing a number of reasons as to why they were opposed to relocation. One of the reasons was that Old Location was a suitable place because of its nearness to workplaces of most of the residents.[209] A rebuttal in which Administrator Viljoen rubbished virtually everything raised by Hosea Kutako was only written on 18 December 1959, a little more than a week after what is today known as the 'Windhoek Massacre of 10 December 1959' had taken place.[210] Writing a decade after the 'Old Location' forced removals, White observed that the new black

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206 Ibid.

207 Windhoek Advertiser (July 5, 1957) 'Great Danger Lurking in the Doorway', *Windhoek Advertiser*.

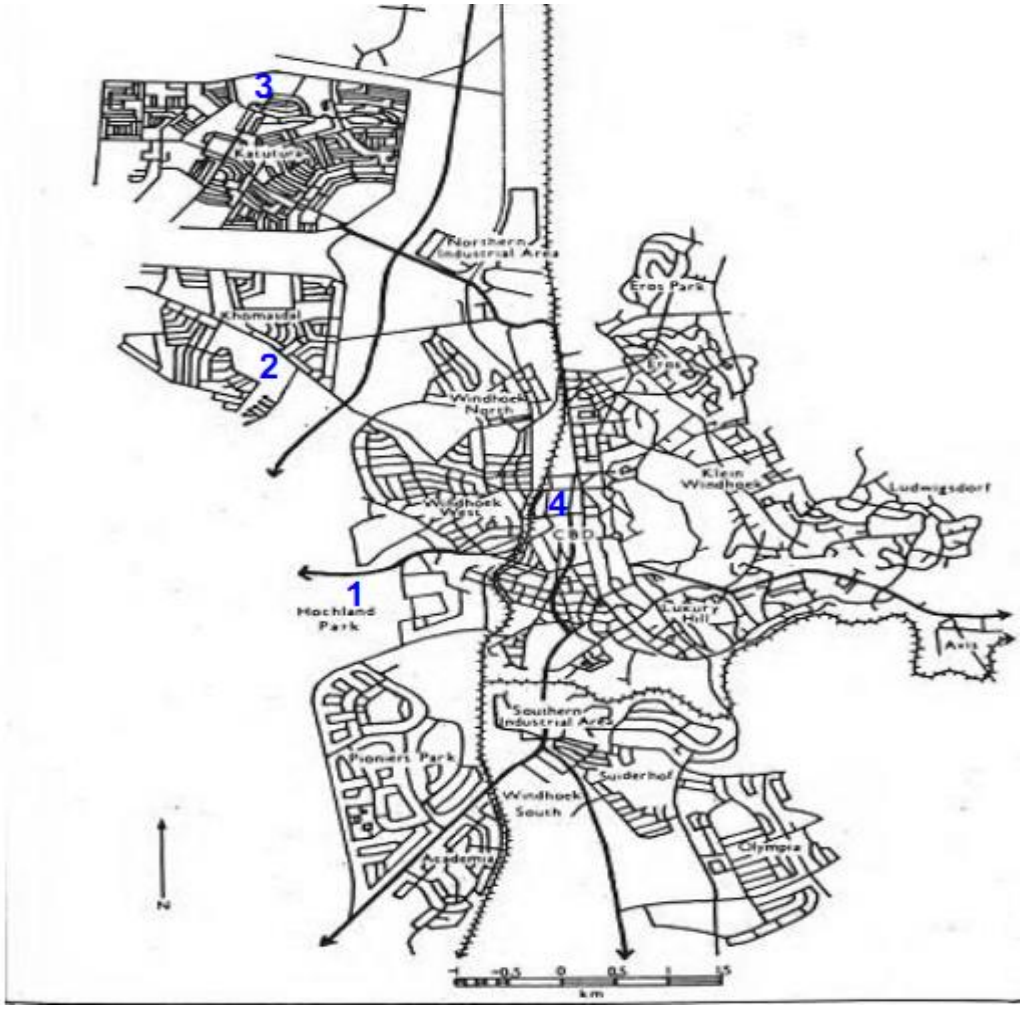
208 Pretoria Depot: SAB, NTS, 4590, 1115/313(1), *'Windhoek Native Unrest'*.

209 *'Windhoek Native Unrest'*.

210 Ibid.

township of Katutura is methodically planned, well-constructed and a thousand times superior to the conditions in which its inhabitants existed when they used to live in their old shanty-towns.[211] White's observation notwithstanding, residents of 'Old Location' raised a number of issues regarding their objections to being moved. The proximity of 'Old Location' to workplaces of most of the residents was one of the main reasons for their reluctance to move.[212]

Map 4: Windhoek in 1981[213]



Key:

1. Hochland Park

[211] White, J.M. (1969), 'The Land God Made in Anger: Reflections on a Journey Through South West Africa', George Allen & Unwin Ltd.: London, p. 209.
[212] *'Windhoek Native Unrest'.*
[213] Simon, D. (1983: 138).

2. Khomasdal

3. Katutura

4. CBD

On the ruins of 'Old Location', the Whites-only suburb of Hochland Park – marked Number 1 on the Map – was erected. The distance between Hochland Park (erstwhile 'Old Location') and the CBD (marked Number 4) is starkly shorter than the distance to Katutura (marked Number 3). Unsurprisingly, transport costs which the forced relocation from 'Old Location' to Katutura dictated were amongst other reasons, the centre of contention. From the foregoing, 1956 to 1959 form a crucial historical moment without which it would be difficult to account for contemporary Windhoek in its various facets. Therefore, what is happening in Windhoek today is perhaps a reincarnation of residential apartheid and its brutality. 'Old location' has returned, as it were.[214]

The drastic rearrangement of residential Windhoek from 1956 and the eventual culmination of a forced relocation of the black population in 1959 form a historical watershed that defines contemporary city forms as well as physical and cognitive maps of the city. This event was taking place within an atmosphere of increasingly insistent calls for separate homelands spearheaded by Pretoria. As I will show later, the removal of blacks from 'Old Location' was to be followed by separate locations in the new 'township' of Katutura. In a substantial way, this has everything to do with the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act in the Union of South Africa. As Dubow demonstrates, this Act signalled a decisive change as it dispensed with the assumption that 'bantu' were a single "homogenous people, and instead envisaged the creation of self-governing African territories, supposedly based on historically determined ethnic grounds".[215] From the vantage point of the colonial government in Windhoek, the events of 1959 were

[214] I am grateful to Phanuel Kaapama for our impromptu and brief discussion on this point – November 15, 2013.

[215] Dubow (2014: 105), *'Apartheid 1948 – 1994'*.

threateningly unsettling so much so that a commission of inquiry was instituted to provide a detailed report on the direct causes that gave rise to the 'unrest' and presumably ascertain what should be done to prevent this happening in the future. What gave rise to the 'unrest' was nonetheless common knowledge, for the letter written in November 1959 by Hosea Kutako to Administrator Viljoen clearly states the reasons why the black inhabitants of the then 'Old Location' did not want to be relocated. It follows that the 'unrest' was, needless to emphasize, over forced relocation or removal. Still, the commission of inquiry was set up and carried out. Solely constituted by the then Judge President of the High Court of South West Africa, Cyril Godfrey Hall, the report of this commission was part of a dossier sent to the Council of the League of Nations in 1960.[216] Unsurprisingly, the report exonerated the police force and concluded that the use of firearms was justified, for municipal officials would have lost their lives.[217] In other words, some lives were more important than others, so the colonial regime decided.

To Namibians and *Windhoekers* in particular, 10 December 1959 was a turning point in race relations as it marked the most direct confrontation aimed at balkanising the city administratively and residentially. Despite its importance in enduringly shaping the residential urban landscape of Windhoek, the 'Old Location' Massacre has – until recently – been condemned to historical oblivion in the politics of memory. On 10 December 2011, exactly 52 years after the 'Old Location' massacre or 'native unrest' – depending from which angle you are looking at it – a memorial grave with a shrine was erected at the 'Old Location' Cemetery in memory of those who died at the hands of the South African colonial police (see photo No. 1). This indicates that this massacre finally received recognition – perhaps belatedly – at the highest level of Namibia's leadership. It took the Namibian government and the Municipality of Windhoek 21 years to

[216] AMPT PUBS, 6/532, UG 23 – 1960, *'Commission of Enquiry – Old Location 1959'*.

[217] *'Commission of Enquiry – Old Location 1959'*

accord this massacre some noteworthy recognition. But this belated recognition seems to have a context. Forced removals akin to those of 1959 are a rule rather than an exception in contemporary Windhoek. Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that the City of Windhoek took more than two decades to put a shrine at the 'Old Location' Cemetery, for the recognition of this massacre is akin to condemning what you practice. The 'Old Location' massacre was precisely about forced removals and the City of Windhoek has been discharging forced removals as recent as 2015.

This very fraught history of Namibia is cogently captured by William Kentridge's *Black Box/Chambre Noire* as he reflects on the history of the German colonial presence in Africa, particularly the German massacre of the OvaHerero in 1904.[218] As Katjavivi posits, one of the key elements of German colonial rule in Namibia relates to the confiscation of land from the Namibian people and availing it to German settlers.[219] It follows that despite intermittent hiatuses, the monster of forced removals in Namibia and more so in Windhoek was conceived during the German colonial rule, consolidated during South Africa's apartheid regime and continues to rear its ugly head in post-independence era, as I show below. For this reason, history seems to be repeating itself as some old uncomfortable ghosts continue coming back to life.

[218] http://www.guggenheim.org/new-york/collections/collection-online/artwork/22065 Accessed November 24, 2015.

[219] Katjavivi (1990: 11).

Photo 1: Entrance to the 1959 Heroes and Heroines Memorial Grave



The conjoined photo below shows demolition of a housing structure during the forceful removal of black inhabitants of the 'Old Location' in 1959 (left) and demolition of shacks in Okahandja Park, an informal settlement in Windhoek, 2012 (right).[220] Even though this is not unique to Windhoek, the degree to which the clamping down on 'informal' housing stretches is ruthlessly aggressive. Invoking Proclamation AG 21 of 1985[221], the City of Windhoek has synonymised 'informal' dwelling with insecurity and rendered everything it deems 'informal' a blemish that could be tolerated in certain locales but should not be accommodated so as to avoid contaminating the fantasy of the cleanest city in Africa.

[220] LaRRI & FES (2012), 'Citizens of Windhoek'.

[221] The Squatters Proclamation, AG 21 of 1985 provides for the removal of persons unlawfully present on land or on buildings, and for the demolition of structures which are unlawfully erected. See http://www.lac.org.na/namlex/Housing.pdf Accessed September 14, 2014.

Photo 2: Old Location Returns to Windhoek[222]



As I show in the next section, it appears that the reincarnation of apartheid in Windhoek does not only reside in the enclave of residential patterning. It also operates at a 'conversational' level.

1.6.1. The Indelibility of Apartheid in Conversational Windhoek

Even though official apartheid was condemned to the dustbin of history when Namibia parted ways with the albatross of colonial rule, structures created by apartheid endured. Indeed, there are still enduring walls of apartheid ingrained in the psyches of Namibians and Windhoek provides the quintessential manifestation of this pathology. It is in Windhoek where I find it unsettling that residents still talk of Damara *Lokasie* (Afrikaans word for location), Herero *Lokasie* or Owambo *Lokasie*. I invariably take an issue with these 'misnomers' in my interactions with mainly two groups of people, taxi drivers and my friends. With the latter, whenever they mention any of the locations prefixed with one or the other ethnic group, I would ask – often to their

[222] Source: NAN and Tanja Bause as cited in LaRRI & FES 2012, p. 4.

chagrin – where is that? With the former, when I board a taxi to Clemens Kapuuo Street, they would often ask if my destination along this street is towards the side of Damara Location or Herero Location. And I would irritatingly ask where that is. All these are apartheid nomenclatures that were deployed to divide in order to rule with ease over uncoordinatedly disparate groupings of resistance. This pathology as expressed in the dissonance between physical and cognitive maps of the city does have a history which Peyroux cogently recounts:

> "Until the end of the 1970s, Windhoek was a typical example of this tradition: a fragmented territory composed of white, black and coloured 'townships' separated by buffer zones; urban space characterised by the unequal distribution of services and infrastructure; a residential area segregated on the basis of ethnic groups in the black 'township' of Katutura, built in 1957, 6 km to the north of the city centre; and finally, a specific type of habitat for the black population – mirroring the colonial conception of the African in the apartheid system".[223]

As I have argued elsewhere, more than 23 years after independence, Peyroux's portrait of Windhoek does not cease to be correct and indeed "holds true more than ever".[224] Also in a description that could account for the historical roots of the pathology emanating from the hangover of apartheid in Windhoek, Diener reminds us that "in the black township of Katutura, the inhabitants' ethnic identification was displayed on each house door: D for *Damara*, N for *Nama*, H for *Herero*, OD for *Ovambanderu* (an Otjiherero-speaking group), O for *Owambo*, and G for *Gemeng* (an Afrikaans term and catch-all for the rest, e.g. some Tswana people and African people from other countries whose further classification would have been too troublesome)".[225] Often, the most obvious dimension of segmentation in many colonial cities was racial segregation, with separate business and residential areas justified rhetorically by concerns about

[223] Peyroux (2001: 228).

[224] Tjirera (2013: 3).

[225] Diener, I. (2001: 235).

health.[226] In the case of Windhoek, residential segregation which inscribed racial difference onto the urban landscape was an element of early German policy.[227] It follows that by the beginning of South African rule, racial segregation was firmly established in the capital and struggles during the inter-war years were centred on its maintenance as opposed to its inception.[228] However, South Africa took segregation to another level by inscribing upon Windhoek's urban landscape ethnic segregation that still haunts the capital and other major urban centres in the country. I draw on Windhoek's legal architecture and tease out issues of segregation in *Chapter 5* to concretely demonstrate how this city graduated into a quintessential apartheid spatial form. Windhoek could only invite this quintessence because of its 'privileged' position in being able to converse with South African cities because of a historical accident. To be sure, apartheid as a policy was exported from South African cities, and travelled to Windhoek where it fermented. For this reason, the layout of Windhoek's spatial segregation can be read in relation to a number of South African cities. In other words, Windhoek can be placed in meaningful conversation with Cape Town, Durban or Johannesburg because of its historical commonalities.

1.7. Windhoek in Analytical Exchange with South African Cities

As pointed out earlier, the forced removal of blacks in Windhoek from Old Location to the new 'township' of Katutura did not take place in a vacuum. It was driven from Pretoria for two main reasons. Firstly, similar developments were taking place in a number of South African cities as a matter of apartheid government policy. Secondly, Windhoek had to get approval from Pretoria

[226] Myers, A.G. (2010), 'Seven Themes in African Urban Dynamics', Discussion Paper No.50, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet: Uppsala.

[227] Wallace, M. E. (1995), 'Health and Society in Windhoek, Namibia, 1915-1945', PhD Thesis: University of London.

[228] Ibid., p. 66.

before proceeding with a drastic rearrangement of urban space. This is demonstrated by a number of official exchanges between the Chief Native Commissioner in Windhoek and the Secretary for Native Affairs in Pretoria with regards to the establishment of new native 'townships'.[229]

In fact, the removal of Sophiatown's residents in Johannesburg preceded the Old Location massacre. In 1955, Sophiatown was besieged in a military style and the outcome was a forced removal of Africans to the South Western Townships (SOWETO).[230] "An orderly white working-class suburb was built on the ruins of Sophiatown"[231] argues Dubow, and in the case of Windhoek, an upmarket white suburb called Hochland Park was built on the debris of Old Location. In Cape Town, the razing of the inner-city suburb of District Six comes to mind, and need I add, Cato Manor in Durban. Therefore, Windhoek shares a number of features that place it in analytical exchange with some South African cities. But these features are peculiarly instantiated in the case of Windhoek and perhaps allow for conceptualisation of a residential apartheid of unparalleled proportions. The instantiated spatial layout of segregation that defined Windhoek throughout most of its colonial history is very much related to the city's population distribution up to the 1970s. As Simon shows, it was only after 1970 that whites were in the minority of Windhoek's population.[232] In other words, Windhoek was chiefly a white colonial town and as such informality (trading and dwelling) was seen as an encroachment on the urban landscape by black Africans.

[229] SAB, NTS 6181, 1115/313N, *'Establishment of Locations'*.
[230] Dubow (2014).
[231] Ibid., p. 58.
[232] Simon (1984: 139). See Table 1.

Table 1. Population of Windhoek 1921-1975[233]

Race	3 May 1921	5 May 1936	7 May 1946	8 May 1951	6 Sept. 1960	May 1968	6 May 1970	May 1975
Whites	3 460	4 812	6 985	10 310	19 378	25 417	27 351	32 112
Coloureds	273	1 448	1 353	1 208	2 738	5 925	8 411	9 057
Blacks[1]	-	4 385	6 591	9 080	13 935	19 369	25 945	33 180
Total	3 733[1]	10 651	14 929	20 598	36 051	50 711	61 707	74 349

Conclusion

In making a case for taking Windhoek seriously by gleaning from its dual character of being an unusual city while at the same time imbricated in urban practices that permeate cities across the world, I invoked its relative absence from archive(s) of urban studies on the African continent. By locating Windhoek within its historical context, this chapter traced the development of the city back to shortly before the definite assertion of colonial authority and conquest by the German 'protection' troops. I showed that Windhoek was a contested territory – chiefly by the Nama and the OvaHerero – before the arrival of Germans. By gleaning core structures of the colonial state from Windhoek's ancient maps, I sought to show that Windhoek was founded – at least from 1890 as a German garrison – on the principles of control and conquest. The contestation that preceded the arrival of Germans made occupation somewhat effortless. In turn, the German colonial policy laid the groundwork for the comprehensive implementation of apartheid laws in most of Namibia and particularly in major urban centres. From the early 1950s, residential segregation as a policy was being prepared for thorough implementation. The

[233] Simon (1984).

Windhoek Town Council's 1956 visit to the Native Affairs Department in Pretoria became the cusp that would three years later offer 'guidance' in forced removal of black residents of 'Old Location' to new township of Katutura north-west of Windhoek. By taking seriously key events that are situated in Windhoek's past – from its origins as a colonial town to a quintessential apartheid urban form – I dealt with this urban agglomeration as a historical object. In other words, the representation of Windhoek as an object of history is one of the many registers through which we access its particularity and, not less, how it relates to other cities in southern Africa.

Chapter 2 – Cultural Economies of the City

Cities invariably occupy a privileged position as centres of cultural and economic activities. This owes to their enormous heterogeneity which invites the production of culture in the form of art, ideas, styles and attitudes while inducing high levels of economic innovation and growth.[234] But what is it that we are dealing with when we are talking about 'cultural economies'? The productive task is not to wallow in endless efforts at defining cultural economies, but to acknowledge the polyvalence which underpins this concept.[235] In other words, cultural economies may be taken to represent multiple sets of activities and diverse forms of production.[236] As a general principle, therefore, it seems sensible to take an inclusive view of the cultural economy of the city. Thus any human activity that embodies symbolic meaning, or is shaped by cultural factors, can be construed as contributing to cultural vitality in the city, although the potential for sale, trade or exchange can be justified as a condition for inclusion within the urban economy.[237]

In this chapter, I shall zoom in on monuments and statues as constitutive parts of Windhoek's cultural economy. In part, this is precisely because the character of the cityscape exudes power relations and makes visible aspects of the dominant historical account while silencing voices inimical to the meta-narrative. I shall also undertake the rendering of Windhoek through

[234]Scott, A.J. (2000), 'The Cultural Economy of Cities', SAGE Publications: London.

[235]Gibson, C., Kong, L. (2005), 'Cultural Economy: A Critical Review', *Progress in Human Geography,* 29(5), 541-561.

[236]Ibid., p. 557; Jayne, M., Gibson, C., Waitt, G., Bell, D. (2010), 'The Cultural Economies of Small Cities', *Geography Compass*, 4*(9)*, 1408-1417.

[237] Hutton, T.A. (2016), 'Cities and the Cultural Economy', Routledge: London, p. 2.

literature / poems as an alternative way of reading a city outside the strictures of legal framework(s).[238]

One way of reading Windhoek, or rather analysing how Windhoek has been read – is through poetry. There are a number of poets who have written and are writing about Windhoek. Some use it as a setting while others use it as a subject. Without fail, all established and upcoming poets have two poems or so that speak to Windhoek. In an almost ritualistic way, Windhoek has attracted enough poetic interest such that one will be forgiven for thinking that you are less of a poet in Namibia if you do not reflect on Windhoek in any of your poems. In part, this owes to the fact that Windhoek – as Tvedten would have it – functions as a primate city. That is to say, it is the political and economic epicentre of the country, and it is unparalleled in terms of socio-cultural organisation and perceptions.[239] As a social space, Windhoek therefore offers a broader canvass on which poets can act out their creative endeavours of conjuring up intangible representations of the city. But before reflecting on intangible representations, I shall dwell on a more material artistic form: the monument. Monuments that are scattered across the city centre hold important insights that are germane to how Windhoek's material presence can be discerned. In the next section, I shall draw on five important monuments that occupy prominent positions in Windhoek's cityscape. These are: *Tintenpalast*, *Die Reiterdenkmal*, the Curt von François statue, *Die Christuskirche* and the Independence Memorial Museum.

[238] I am here following Mbembe & Nuttall's exposition that "[t]he everyday human labour mobilised in building specific city forms is not only material. It is also artistic and aesthetic" (2008: 8).

[239]Tvedten, I. (2004), "'A Town is Just a Town": Poverty and Social Relations of Migration in Namibia', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 38*(2)*, 393-423.

2.1. Monuments as Material and Visual Paraphernalia of a Colonial City

"A monument in its oldest and most original sense is a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events (...) alive in the minds of future generations".[240]

Like many cities around the world whose provenance is imbricated in colonial history, Windhoek's material and visual cultures bear the trappings of colonialism. As Kössler posits, "in a tangible way, the view over Windhoek presents testimony to the current state of public memory in Namibia. Monuments and representative buildings from the colonial era not only dominate the scenery, but attest to the compromise surrounding the transition to independence".[241] Windhoek bears distinctive old buildings from the German era alongside modern high-rise edifices. Starting with the building housing the National Assembly (one of the two chambers of the legislature), the so-called *Tintenpalast* (palace of ink) to the imposingly positioned *Christuskirche* (Christ Church), German architecture left an enduring signature on Windhoek's cityscape. With plans drawn by the government architect of the time, Gottlieb Redecker, 'the palace of ink' was built as an administrative headquarters of the German colonial government in 1912-1913.[242] The hill on which it was built accords it an elevated position befitting a structure in whose walls the power over a conquered territory resided. Within the narrative of a conquered territory, it is perhaps unsurprising that the *Tintenpalast* was built with the sweat and labour of prisoners-of-war in the wake of what is today accepted as the first genocide of the 20th Century.[243] Gewald avers that while tourists consume aesthetically pleasing architectural remainders of the colonial past

[240] Riegl, A. (1982), 'The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin', *Oppositions*, 25(21).

[241] Kössler, R. (2015), *'Namibia and Germany: Negotiating the Past'*, UNAM Press: Windhoek, pp. 26-33.

[242] Tonchi, V., Lindeke, W. A., & Grotpeter, J. J. (2012). *Historical Dictionary of Namibia*. Scarecrow Press.

[243] Cf. Gewald, J-B. (1998) Mirror Images? Photographs of Herero Commemorations in the 1920s and 1930s, In Hartmann, W., Silvester, J., & Hayes, P. (Eds.). *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History*, Juta and Company Ltd, p. 119; Katjavivi, J. (2010). *Undisciplined Heart*. African Books Collective, p. 69.

such as the *Tintenpalast*, many are oblivious to the fact that a prisoner-of-war camp supplied the labour on which building the 'palace of ink' begun.[244] What this kind of 'incongruence' demonstrates is that urban dynamics and related issues, processes and changes – and I will add, *urban forms* – carry differing importance across time and space.[245]

Talking about the frontage of the *Tintenpalast* lands one in the Parliament gardens. These gardens warrant a brief historical revisiting as they are an important part of a building that straddled two colonial periods and remains an embodiment of state power. It was in 1932 – almost two decades after the construction of the 'palace of ink' – that the anterior was adorned with beautiful gardens and it has now become a popular stop for tourists, weddings and formal state occasions.[246] Speaking of formal state occasions, Parliament gardens hosted an emotionally filled event marking the repatriation of Herero-Nama skulls from Berlin in 2011.[247] Soberly, these are the very skulls of those who could not have the luxury of 'making it' into concentration camps that were located a stone's throw south of parliament gardens.

Memorial services of departed political heavyweights and heroes of Namibia's liberation struggle have been held, almost customarily, at Parliament gardens. The luminaries whose memorial services were held in these gardens include Mosé Tjitendero (first speaker of independent Namibia's National Assembly); Kuaima Riruako (opposition politician and former paramount chief of Ovaherero); Hidipo Hamutenya (former minister of foreign affairs and prominent member of SWAPO); and recently Andimba Toivo ya Toivo (Robben Island ex-prisoner and

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[244] Ibid., '*Mirror Images?*'.

[245] Simon, D. Leck, H. (2014) Urban Dynamics and the Challenges of Global Environmental Change in the South, In Parnell, S., Parnell, S., & Oldfield, S. (Eds.). *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*. Routledge.

[246] Tonchi, V., Lindeke, W. A., & Grotpeter, J. J. (2012). *Historical Dictionary of Namibia*. Scarecrow Press.

[247] For a historical rendition of the skulls' repatriation, see Biwa, M. (2017) Afterlives of Genocide: Return of Human Bodies from Berlin to Windhoek, 2011, In Moradi, F., Buchenhorst, R., & Six-Hohenbalken, M. (Eds.). *Memory and Genocide: On What Remains and the Possibility of Representation*. Taylor & Francis.

staunch critic of apartheid South Africa).[248] Parliament gardens not only play an important role in State sanctioned memorial events, but are also home to statues of three anti-colonial resistance and liberation struggle leaders. On the eastern edge of Parliament gardens, positioned in different postures on the stairs leading to the 'palace of ink' are life sized statues of Captain Hendrik Samuel Witbooi, Theophilus Hamutumbangela and Hosea Kutako. A strong opponent of the Bantu education system, Witbooi was a grandson of the prominent Nama figure in the war of national resistance during the 1800s – Hendrik Witbooi – whose portrait appears on Namibian bank notes.[249] Hamutumbangela was an Anglican priest and a staunch critic of the contract labour system in the 1960s; while Kutako participated in the 1904 war of national resistance and was one of the first to petition the United Nations against South African colonial occupation.[250]

Photo 3: *Tintenpalast*



Source: Wikimedia Commons

[248] Cf. Bento, I. (June 24, 2017), 'Hundreds show for Ya Toivo's State funeral', Namibia Press Agency (NAMPA); Shapwanale, N. (October 17, 2016), 'HH is at peace – Geingob', *The Namibian*; Thomas, M. (June 28, 2014), 'Chief Riruako was a bold and vocal leader: Pohamba', NAMPA; The Namibian (May 2, 2006), 'Tjitendero declared a national hero', *The Namibian*.

[249] Vogt, A. (October 2013), 'Heroes' statues in front of parliament building', *Flamingo*, Mynard Slabbert: Windhoek.

[250] Cf. Dierks (2002); Katjavivi (1990); Vogt (2013).

Most of the architectural edifices and monuments from the German era are not ordinary structures that have been passed on from the colonial period. Importantly, they are repositories of enormous symbolic power – for two main reasons. Firstly, the spaces they occupy are obviously not arbitrary. By all accounts, most if not all of these buildings and statues were mounted at particular positions to exude power over the territory and communicate particular meanings. These meanings – in broad strokes – speak to myths of origin and tales of a conquered territory within a context of colonial subjugation. Secondly, the purposes of these buildings serve to endow them with particular symbolic capital and value. I shall now deal with a number of monuments that came to define the face of Windhoek through their sheer physical prominence and privileged historical standing.

2.1.1. *Ongoro nOmundu* – 'Horse and Man'

Photo 4: The *Reiterdenkmal*



Source: *New Era* 2013.

The then imposingly mounted equestrian monument was situated on the slope that rises up on the right side behind the *Christuskirche* before it was moved in 2009.[251] Because of this monument, Windhoek is known as *Ongoro nOmundu* (horse and man) among the OvaHerero.[252] This rendition transmutes the colonial meaning as it infuses the monument with a new message that celebrates Windhoek. In the imagination of Ovaherero folklore, *Ongoro nOmundu* simply a reference to Windhoek that is emptied of colonial subjugation narrative. There is also an Otjiherero music group called *Ongoro nOmundu* which was started in Windhoek more than a decade ago. From the foregoing, it becomes clear that monuments are not just static objects that invite the optic nerve, but they also radiate meanings of toponymical value and interest. We should therefore take seriously Elago's caution that a shallow reading of monuments' significance fails to recognise the layers of meaning attached to them over the passage of time.[253] Things such as who the sculptor of the monument was, the purpose for which it was erected and its physical positioning become all important in making sense of cultural memory beyond material manifestation.

The *Reiterdemenkmal* was designed, sculpted and cast in bronze by Adolf Kürle in Berlin.[254] With regards to how the sculptor was chosen, Kürle won the first prize in a competition for the design of the monument.[255] The rider and the horse are double life-size and reach a height of 4 ½ meters, and on account of big size and the difficulties that this incurs, the monument was

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[251] Kössler (2015: 28).

[252] Ovaherero have an elaborate laudatory poetry or praises of places called *Omitandu*. *Ongoro nOmundu* is but just a part of a longer laudatory poem of Windhoek which I shall not reproduce here. But see Förster, L. (2005), 'Land and Landscape in Herero Oral Culture: Cultural and Social Aspects of the Land Question in Namibia', NID & KAS: Windhoek; Kavari, J.U. (2002), 'The Form and Meaning of Otjiherero Praises', Rüdiger Köppe Verlag: Köln.

[253] Elago, H.I. (2015), 'Colonial Monuments in a Post-Colonial Era: A Case Study of the Equestrian Monument', In Silvester, J. (Ed.), *Re-Viewing Resistance in Namibian History*, UNAM Press: Windhoek, pp. 276-291.

[254] Mossolow, N. (1972), 'Windhoek: Three Historical Landmarks', John Meinert: Windhoek.

[255] NAN, HMK, 10/1/1; RNG, 23 – 10/1/1.

brought to the then SWA in several parts and assembled in Windhoek.[256] By the end of 1911, Adolf Kürle arrived in Windhoek to direct the erection of the equestrian monument.[257] With regards to its material form, Mossolow observes that "the trooper mounted on his horse is larger than life and (…) represents no definite individual. It is the idealisation of a trooper of the imperial *schutztruppe* in full uniform".[258] As Mossolow further observes:

> "[t]he rider is sitting on his horse at attention, holding it on a tight bit, while it is turning its head to the right in an alert attitude. The rider himself is looking in the other [left] direction gazing into the distance".[259]

His rifle is pointing to the sky with its stock sitting effortlessly on his lap, exuding a demeanour of bravado, confidence and near total control over the territory. Positioning the rifle in such a way that its fullness is exposed seems to serve a show of force, probably towards the natives. The place on which the equestrian monument once stood was also the site of a concentration camp where prisoners of the 1904-1908 genocidal war were kept. The posture of the rider could for this reason symbolise subjugation of the "natives" who are [were] released from the concentration camp and being supervised by a colonial officer as they toil and sweat to build the colonial capital under the barrel of a gun.

Independence Memorial Museum – which I will discuss in a moment – now stands where the concentration camp (*Orumbo rwa Katjombondi*)[260] was. On the 14th of June 2011, a member of parliament in Namibia, Usutuaije Maamberua, moved a motion in the National Assembly (NA) to consider, discuss and debate the proposal to rename the Independence Memorial Museum to

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[256] Mossolow (1972).

[257] Ibid.

[258] Ibid., p. 70.

[259] Ibid.

[260] 'A Place of Horror' in OtjiHerero to denote the brutalities of the concentration camp as well as the unhygienic conditions to which the native prisoners-of-war were subjected.

Genocide Remembrance Centre.[261] On the 27th of September 2011, Maamberua withdrew the motion to rename the Independence Memorial Museum after being given assurances that the museum would showcase various periods of Namibian history with one floor dedicated to the genocide experience in all its ugly details.[262] Another assurance given – in exchange for Maamberua to withdraw his motion – was an undertaking to construct genocide remembrance centres at various sites where genocidal activities had been committed across Namibia.[263] Engert nonetheless argues, erroneously it appears, that "the petitions by the opposition [parties] to rename the museum a 'Genocide Remembrance Centre' have failed to secure the necessary parliamentary majority".[264]

Back to the *Reiterdenkmal*, Elago maintains that if the trooper on his horse was a constant reminder of the assumption of German colonial power and its consequences, it has been displaced by a monumental museum that seems to symbolically displace the past with a futuristic design that celebrates and asserts the power of the modern post-colonial state.[265] Monuments can also inspire poetry and this can in turn cement a signature bearing the trappings of the monument on the identity of the place.

But what happens when a monument is no longer part of the cityscape? Does the decommissioning of the equestrian monument suggest that Windhoek is no longer *Ongoro nOmundu*? Probably not so, for as Kundera reminds us: "the struggle of man against power is the

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[261] Hansard, NA (June 14, 2011), 'Debates of the National Assembly', Vol. 136, pp. 11-12.

[262] Hansard, NA (September 27, 2011), 'Debates of the National Assembly', Vol. 138, p. 64.

[263] Hansard, NA (September 27, 2011), 'Debates of the National Assembly', Vol. 138, p. 65. The assurance to construct genocide remembrance centres was not honoured because of 'lack of funds', see Duddy, J-M. (April 23, 2012), 'No Money for Genocide Memorials', *The Namibian.*

[264] Engert, S. (2016), 'Germany – Namibia: The Belated Apology to the Herero', In Daase, C., Engert, S., Horelt, M-A., Renner, J., Strassner, R. (Eds.), *Apology and Reconciliation in International Relations: The Importance of Being Sorry*, Routledge: Oxon, p. 141;

[265] Elago, H.I. (2015), 'Colonial Monuments in a Post-Colonial Era: A Case Study of the Equestrian Monument', p. 289.

struggle of memory against forgetting".[266] And the struggle continues as the city, through its political leadership, tries to reorganise its memory landscape. In her recent offering, Becker correctly maintains that new North-Korean built monuments altered Windhoek skyline by elevating memories of anti-colonial resistance.[267] Nonetheless, changing an urbanscape is no easy feat, for monuments have an afterlife difficult to efface. The monument can be put down, but the meaning(s) radiated will prove difficult to erase. Before the *Ongoro nOmundu* ceased to be part Windhoek's cityscape – at least in the physical sense – it was first resituated from the space it occupied for 97 years.

To make way for the construction of the Independence Memorial Museum in 2009, the Rider was moved some 150 m and re-installed in front of the entrance to the *Alte Feste* (Old Fort)[268]. In late 2013, the equestrian monument was moved yet again. Recalled from Windhoek's visual landscape in the cover of dark, the Rider ceased to be part of 'Windhoek's colonial city crown' according to Reinhart Kössler.[269] Deprived of prominent visibility on account of relocation, the Rider is now confined to the inner courtyard of the *Alte Feste*. Following the removal of the equestrian monument, debates raged concerning this act of 'effacing'. The move has been interpreted by some as an episode in a unilateral re-colonisation of Namibia's symbolic and heritage space.[270] As Kössler recounts from his reading of letters written to the *Allgemeine Zeitung (AZ)*[271] in the aftermath of the Rider's removal, a good number of German speakers in Namibia were outraged and felt violated.[272]

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[266] Kundera, M. (1996 [1979]), 'The Book of Laughter and Forgetting'. Faber & Faber: London, p. 2.

[267] Becker, H. (2018). Changing Urbanscapes: Colonial and Postcolonial Monuments in Windhoek. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, *27*(1), 1–21.

[268] With construction beginning in 1890, the *Alte Feste* marks the beginning of Windhoek as a colonial capital (See Gewald 2009; Dierks 2002).

[269] Kössler, R. (2015), 'Namibia and Germany: Negotiating the Past', UNAM Press: Windhoek, p. 147.

[270] Byerley, A. (2010), 'Monumental politics in Namibia', Nordic Africa Institute: Uppsala.

[271] Founded in 1916, AZ is the oldest daily newspaper in Namibia and the only German language daily in Africa (see Dierks 2002).

In the main, discussions on the removal of the Rider were couched in two diametrically opposed views of white colonial apologetics versus black anti-colonial history adherents. Notwithstanding that the Rider is no longer part of Windhoek's visual landscape, its signature is still visible in intangible repositories that refuse to disavow it. In other words, *Ongoro nOmundu's* physical absence from the face of the city has not effaced its immaterial presence, at least for now. *Ongoro nOmundu* is yet to be "deprived of its timelessness" and the "raising up of new statues" around the place it once occupied has not severed its importance to the history of Windhoek.[273]

2.1.2. The 'Founder of Windhoek' Statue: A Monumental Myth?

Photo 5: Curt von François Statue



[272] See Kössler (2015, pp. 160-168).

[273] Verdery, K. (1999). *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*. Columbia University Press, p. 5.

Another prominent statue is that of Curt von François, who arguably laid the foundations of what came to be known as the first European building (fortress) in Windhoek.[274] History has it that the Windhoek City Council decided to honour Curt von François as the town founder on the occasion of its 75th anniversary by erecting a larger than life bronze statue.[275] South African sculptor Hennie Potgieter was commissioned to do the modelling and casting of the statue.[276]

The statue of Curt von François is located right in front of the northern entrance to the Municipality of Windhoek head office (window frames of what is part of the head office can be seen in the background of the statue in Photo No. 5) not far from the City Hall. Unveiled in 1965 – to ostensibly mark the 75th birthday of Windhoek – the Curt von François statue propped up and then solidified the myth that this German commander was the founder of Windhoek.

Disagreements over who founded Windhoek abound, and there is a narrative of historiography insisting that Curt von François was the founder of Windhoek.[277] In particular, this narrative has been consistently peddled by one Nikolai Mossolow who was a Russian-born Namibian historian and archivist. Even though Mossolow acknowledged that Jonker Afrikaner settled in Windhoek towards the end of 1840, he only makes reference to the 'founding of Windhoek' as marked by von François' selection of a site for construction of a fort in 1890.[278] It seems that Mossolow's account is deliberately aimed at under-privileging a competing narrative. The competing narrative is that Jonker Afrikaaner – the Oorlam leader in the 1800s – founded Windhoek.[279]

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[274] White, J.M. (1969), 'The Land God Made in Anger: Reflections on a Journey Through South West Africa', p. 28.

[275] *Windhoek: Three Historical Landmarks*, p. 64.

[276] Ibid.

[277] Mossolow, N. (1955), *'This was old Windhoek'*, pp. 136-146; Davis, S. (1966), *'Windhoek gains city status on 75th birthday'*, In SWA Annual 1966, pp. 38-39; Mossolow, N. (1972), *'Windhoek three historical landmarks'*, pp. 57-64; Bravenboer, B. (2004), *'Windhoek: Capital of Namibia'*, pp. 13-15.

[278] Cf. Mossolow 1955; 1972.

[279] Kotzè, C. E. (1990), *'A Social History of Windhoek, 1915 – 1939',* p. 2; Kienetz, A. (1976), *'Nineteenth Century South West Africa as a German Settlement Colony'*, pp. 230 – 231.

Disparate historical narratives aside, the location of the von François statue suggests at least two things. In the first instance, the position of this statue betrays the instantiation of power spatially and at the same time gestures towards the extent to which German imperial power outlived its colonial administration. This is precisely because von François was a German commander immortalised (at least for now, as calls for the removal of this statue have started in earnest) by the South African colonial regime. Secondly, the position of the statue is an invitation (coercive it seems) to recognition and privileging of a particular historical account about the origin of Windhoek. It follows that the positioning of von François' statue right in front of the main entrance of municipal offices and not far from the Mayor's office (the political head of the municipal council) is by no means innocent. Nonetheless, drumming chorus calls for the removal of Curt von François' statue came to the fore recently, notably from a Member of Parliament in the National Assembly.[280] The call for the removal of this statue is not an isolated one, as the removal of the equestrian monument in 2013 suggests.[281] What we are witnessing then is perhaps a manifestation of "dissonant heritage"; that is to say, there is a growing lack of congruence in time or space between people and their heritage.[282] This seems to be the context in which Curt von François' ghost visited the National Assembly as the subject matter of a question posed by a member of the opposition to a member of the ruling party.

In his elaborate question addressed to the Minister of Education, Arts and Culture, Usutuaije Maamberua of South West Africa National Union (SWANU) phrased the first part of his seven-paragraphed question in the following manner:

> "Is the Minister aware that in Windhoek, in front of the Municipal Offices the statue of Curt von François was erected under the dubious distortion of history purporting him to be the founder of

[280]Immanuel, S. (April 10, 2015). 'MP Demands von François' Fall', *The Namibian*. See also Smit, E., Joseph, G. (December 23, 2014), 'Gone but not forgotten', *Namibian Sun*.

[281]See Smit, E. (December 26, 2013). 'Reiterdenkmal disappears overnight', *Namibian Sun*.

[282]Turnbridge, J. E., Ashworth, G. J. (1996). *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, p. 16.

> Windhoek? Could it be possible that the man who arrived in Windhoek mid-October 1890, could be regarded as the founder of Windhoek while Jonker Afrikaner had settled in Windhoek decades before that?"[283]

The last part of Maamberua's question spoke to the need for the removal – before the end of 2015 – of Curt von François' statue and other monuments representing colonial personalities of 'brutal and inhumane' character.[284] As the debate about the removal of the von François' statue gathers steam so much so that it becomes a subject of parliamentary deliberations, matters of decolonising space come to the fore. That an issue such as decolonising space is in and of itself political is not a moot point. Decolonisation of space foregrounds the politics of forgetting and remembering, for the MP's question hints at correcting what appears to be a misrepresentation of a historical fact. Windhoek has not seen violent confrontations over removal or relocation of statues. Some sort of commotion only erupted during the removal of the equestrian monument not far from the *Alte Feste*. This uproar was nevertheless limited to opinion pieces in major newspapers and threats of taking legal action against the government, chiefly because the monument was taken down under the cover of darkness.

In her reply to questions pertaining to the François' statue, the Minister of Education, Arts and Culture – Katrina Hanse Himarwa – agreed with Maamberua in debunking the assertion that Curt von François was the founder of Windhoek. She further asserted that the statue is not a national monument in terms of the National Heritage Council Act No. 27 of 2004 and as such she is not empowered legally to influence what is to be done about this statue.[285] After making reference to reconciliation as a new nation building process that includes descendants of settler communities, Hanse-Himarwa concluded that it is up to the City of Windhoek to consider evaluating the historical, economic and novelty value of the statue and weigh it against the

[283] Parliament of Namibia: National Assembly, Question No. 6 of 2015 (April 08, 2015).

[284] Ibid.

[285] Hanse-Himarwa, K. (n.d.) 'Response to Parliamentary Questions on the Statue of Curt von François'.

painful past that Namibians had suffered under people like Curt von François.[286] The Minister's suggestion that the City of Windhoek should among others evaluate the economic value of the statue to determine its future speaks to the neo-liberal urbanism gospel that is peddled from the top. The way the Municipality of Windhoek conducts its affairs in various spheres of managing the city suggests that economic considerations are bound to take precedence, and anything else will be secondary.

By all indications, discussing Curt von François' statue before the National Assembly opens up space for interrogating the spatial decolonisation of Windhoek. Or, rather, it broadens the conversation, for debates around decolonising space started well before discussions on Curt von François' statue surfaced. Nonetheless, questions around removing this statue remain misdirected – at least for now – as the Minister of Education, Arts and Culture runs the risk of acting *ultra vires* with regards to any action concerning this statue. The debate on von François' statue entered the parliament as a question posed by one MP and answered by another MP. For this reason, it did not elicit any discussion that could have revealed various viewpoints on decolonising space. Nonetheless, the Minister of Education, Arts and Culture – who responded to the question – prefaced her answer by asserting that Namibia's heritage should be balanced to be reflective of both positive and negative aspects.[287] A closer reading of her assertion suggests that she is not against the statue remaining in front of the City of Windhoek municipal offices. It remains to be seen how municipal officials at the City of Windhoek will deal with this issue considering that their website[288] throws weight behind the myth that Curt von François founded Windhoek.

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[286]Ibid.

[287] Hanse-Himarwa, K. (n.d.) 'Response to Parliamentary Questions on the Statue of Curt von François'.

[288] According to the City of Windhoek's website, "[t]he present Windhoek was founded on 18 October 1890 when von François laid the foundation stone of the fort, which is known as the Alte Feste (Old Fortress)", see http://www.windhoekcc.org.na/tour_history_heritage.php Accessed December 28, 2016.

From the Curt von François' statue, we shall take a walk in the northerly direction along Independence Avenue. In no time, we reach the corner of Independence Avenue and Sam Nujoma Drive.[289] The glittery and extravagant Hilton Hotel will be on your immediate right, but we shall proceed towards the CBD proper, still on Independence Avenue. As we carry on, the oldest department store in Windhoek christened Wecke & Voigts is to your left and on the right is FNB Namibia new headquarters. Soldiering on for less than 5 metres, we reach the intersection of Independence Avenue and Fidel Castro Street. The latter street, named after the late Cuban revolutionary and anti-colonialist, runs through the heart of the CBD from an easterly to a westerly direction. It is unsurprising that such a prominent street in the Capital of independent Namibia is named after Fidel Castro, for he occupies a special place in the history of Namibia's liberation struggle. Cuba's involvement was vital in providing essential reinforcements during the 1988-1989 Battle of Cuito Cuanavale in south-eastern Angola.[290] The Battle of Cuito Cuanavale was arguably decisive in securing the independence of Namibia and ending racist rule in South Africa.[291] With main streets named after important figures in Namibia's history such as Sam Nujoma and Fidel Castro, imaginary urban cartographies of liberation and international solidarity find spatial expression in the Capital. In as much as the Capital radiates and maps out imageries of the celebrated not so distant past, it also houses urban forms that belong to a historical narrative imbued with colonial apologia. A higher easterly gaze on Fidel Castro Street lays bare *Die Christuskirche*, a church whose bowels bear plaques paying homage to German soldiers who died during the 1904 war.

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[289] Sam Nujoma is by far the most decorated of Namibia's liberation struggle heroes and his name occupies main streets and arteries of virtually all major urban areas in Namibia. He is the first president of independent Namibia and has been immortalised with a statue in front of the new Independence Memorial Museum and in a number of other repositories of memory politics.

[290] See Saney, I. (2006). African Stalingrad: The Cuban Revolution, Internationalism, and the End of Apartheid. *Latin American Perspectives*, *33*(5), 81–117.

[291] Ibid., p. 81. See also Dierks (2002: 296); O'Linn (2010: 305).

2.1.3. *Die Christuskirche*

By far the most iconic structure overlooking the city centre and consecrated in 1910 –[292] exactly 20 years after the establishment of Windhoek as a colonial capital – is the *Christuskirche,* which is still used as a church today.

Photo 6: *Die Christuskirche* (Christus Church)



Source: Wikimedia Commons (Harald Süpfle)

Doubling as a monument, the Church was built at the behest of Emperor William II to document German protestant presence and ascendancy in the capitals of German colonies around the world.[293] Imposingly located on a hill overlooking the CBD, this church was until

[292] Cf. Kössler (2015), p. 26; Steinmetz & Hell (2006), p. 177; Buys & Nambala (2003), p. 118; Mossolow (1972), p. 66.

[293] Kössler (2015), p. 26; Steinmetz & Hell (2006), p. 177;Mossolow (1972), p. 66.

recently part of a triumvirate that exuded power and victory over a conquered territory.[294] Invoking Fanon, Kössler suggests that the *Christuskirche* may well epitomise – in the context of Namibia – a Manichean division between the 'city of the coloniser' and the 'city of the colonised'.[295] This church also seems to a represent "double temporality" as it *(re)*produces a consciousness of the history that preceded and informs the current conjecture, an awareness of living with the past in the present.[296] Again, this argument resonates with dissonant heritage alluded to earlier. Even though it still has a congregation of exclusively white German-speaking Namibians, the *Christuskirche* is no longer a church in the classical sense. Church services are usually conducted in German on Sundays from 10 a.m., but the *Christuskirche* is open to the public as a monument from Mondays to Fridays.[297] Apart from being used for special occasions such as weddings every now and then, this church now serves as a repressive object in the manner that Lefebvre argues *against* monuments. According to Lefebvre, "any space that is organised around a monument is colonised and oppressed".[298] Monuments have the predilection to colonise in the sense that their invariably grandiose nature tend to overwhelm the immediate surrounding. To the immediate left – in the south-easterly direction of the *Christuskirche* – was a concentration camp in which OvaHerero and Nama prisoners of the 1904-1908 genocidal war were kept under inhumane conditions.[299] But because there is no remembrance symbol of this concentration camp, and the new Independence Memorial Museum has fallen short of

[294] This triumvirate consisted of the *Alte Feste* (Old Fort), the *Christuskirche* and the equestrian monument. The removal of the latter in 2014 marked the end of this triumvirate, at least in the realm of public display.

[295]Kössler (2015, pp. 26-27).

[296]See Farred, G. (2004), 'The Not-Yet Counterpartisan: A New Politics of Oppositionality', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 103(4), 589-605. In particular, see p. 593.

[297] Church Council of the German Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation (n.d.) Christuskirche in Windhoek (Pamphlet).

[298] Lefebvre, H. (2003 [1970]). *The Urban Revolution*. University of Minnesota Press: Minnesota, p. 21.

[299] See Hull, I. V. (2013). *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca, pp. 73-82.

resurrecting this history, the iconic nature of the *Christuskirche* has in part repressed the historical brutality that was spatially committed a stone's throw away.

The importance and symbolism of *Christuskirche* is not only about what it effuses with its imposing position, but also about what it refuses to show behind its imposing walls. Bremner reminds us that buildings are material objects housing human activity and representations. Through spatial configurations and imagery, these representations could be grasped without necessarily entering buildings.[300] But as the *Christuskirche* intimates, sometimes one needs to enter buildings to get a sense of what they are and represent. The *Christuskirche* is not only meant to be a place of worship, for the interior is adorned with plaques paying homage to fallen German soldiers during the war of 1904 and armed confrontations during the colonial period.[301] In 1923, a large bronze plaque was installed on the southern wall of the church bearing names of the casualties of what Mossolow refer to as a 'native uprising'.[302] Apart from being a symbol of victory for the German Empire, the *Christuskirche* instantiated and embodied a divided city in a place of worship. As Hinz maintains, 'one of the motives for the erection of *Christuskirche* had been the demand for separation strongly articulated by the German protestant congregation at the time. It was considered unacceptable to share a church building with blacks and the *Christuskirche* was meant as the church for whites'.[303] It very much remains a church for whites today, Germans in particular.

What does the above say about Windhoek if we are to read this church with new eyes? Over and above that this church still serves as a signature of a divided city, has it been appropriated for other uses that speaks to the *zeitgeist*? As Kössler posits, the *Christuskirche* was "intended both as a

[300]Bremner, L. J. (2007), 'Memory, Nation Building and the Post-apartheid City', In N. Murray, N. Shepherd, & M. Hall (eds.), *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City*, Routledge: London, pp. 85-103.

[301]Kössler (2015); Zuern (2012); Mossolow (1972).

[302]Mossolow (1972: 68).

[303]Hinz (2012: 376) as cited in Kössler (2015: 27).

religious building and as a statement of imperial claims to world power status".[304] That it no longer only exists for a congregation as it has been declared a national monument –[305] and now serves purposes other than what it was intended for – speaks to different afterlives of this church with the passage of time. The newly married are invariably seduced to pose for their wedding photos in front of this church, oblivious to what is behind the walls. With its baroque style exterior aesthetics, carved marble of the Art nouveau and topped by a Gothic spire,[306] the *Christuskirche* has earned a privileged position in Windhoek's iconography such that it passes for a synonym of Windhoek in postcards in the same manner that the Eiffel Tower does for Paris, or what the Big Ben Clock Tower is for London.

To the immediate south of the *Christuskirche* now stands the Independence Memorial Museum. Apart from the removal of artefacts deemed undesirable in a particular era, reconfiguration of the cityscape involves the installation of new monuments. The question of what is added or created is as important as who is commissioned to undertake the project of creating it. In this endeavour, Namibia courted North Korea. Since its political independence in 1990, the Namibian Government has commissioned the Mansudae Overseas Project - a North Korean construction and design firm - to work on no less than three projects. The collaboration began with the Heroes Acre Memorial, located about 10 km south of the Windhoek city centre. Inaugurated in 2002, the Heroes Acre honours the liberation struggle and was completed by Mansudae Overseas Project over a short period of thirteen months[307]. Another project executed by the North Koreans followed in the form of the new Namibian State House in the posh suburb of Auasblick, south-east of Windhoek. The most recent installation to accentuate the presence of

[304] Kössler, R. (2015). *Namibia and Germany: Negotiating the Past*. University of Namibia Press: Windhoek, p. 150.

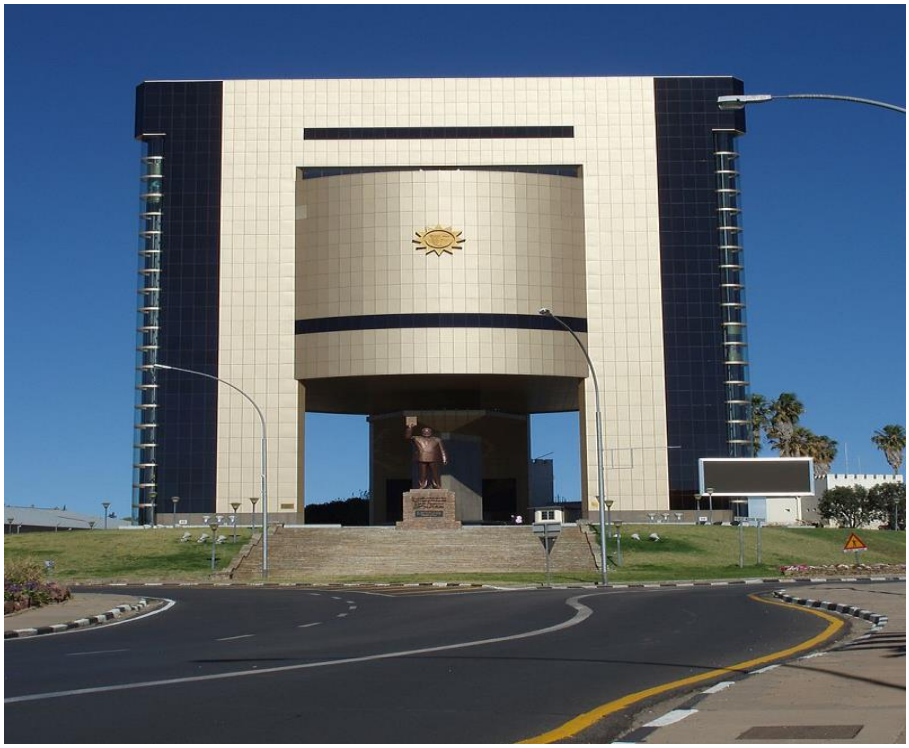
[305] Declared a national monument on 29 November 1974 by the then South African Minister of Education, J.P. van der Spuy (see Vogt, A. 1995. National Monuments in Namibia Vol. 1, p. 271).

[306] Church Council of the German Evangelical-Lutheran Congregation (n.d.) Christuskirche in Windhoek (Pamphlet).

[307] Kirkwood (2012).

North Korea's capital city in Windhoek is the Independence Memorial Museum along Robert Mugabe Avenue.

Photo 7: Independence Memorial Museum



This museum was inaugurated in 2014 on the eve of Namibia's 24th Independence anniversary.[308] On the preference for North Korean architectural projects in Windhoek, Kirkwood concludes that:

> [t]he decision by Namibian leaders to award architectural tenders to the Mansudae Overseas Project is not based on economic concerns or preference for Mansudae designs, but is instead motivated by a desire to emulate authority, cohesiveness and directed nature of a visual culture specific to Pyongyang. In Namibia, the construction of Mansudae-designed buildings and monuments asserts a decisive break with

[308] Inaugurated by the then President of Namibia – Hifikepunye Pohamba – on 20th March 2014.

> architecture and memorials associated with colonial regimes, and in doing so foreground the authority and modernity of the postcolonial government.[309]

In other words, through monumental architecture such as the one displayed by the Independence Memorial Museum, the emulation of authority and its invocation is meant to express dissociation with the colonial past. In a way, the Independence Memorial Museum was erected to disrupt the colonial composition of what may be called 'the city crown',[310] or what Vogt refers to as the 'historical core of Windhoek'.[311] The breaking up of an ensemble that was made up of three monuments – by removing one of them – on an elevated landscape disrupted the 'city crown' in its colonial form. To be sure, the Independence Memorial Museum's height suggests a deliberate effort to eclipse buildings in its immediate milieu. The *Alte Feste* (the oldest surviving building in Windhoek) located south of the Independence Memorial Museum is almost completely overshadowed, particularly from the northern direction.

As stated earlier within the context of *'Ongoro nOmundu* and its relocation, Maamberua withdrew the motion to rename the Independence Memorial Museum after having been given assurances that the museum will showcase various periods of Namibian history with one floor dedicated to the genocide experience in all its ugly details.[312] A visit to the Independence Memorial Museum lends credence to the fact that Maamberua was given a raw deal if not short-changed.[313] With only three floors dedicated to historical exhibits, this five-floored museum does not have a floor dedicated to the genocide experience. Nonetheless, the Genocide Statue is mounted far behind the Museum, closer to and in front of the *Alte Feste.* In fact, the Genocide Statue does not at all appear to be connected to the Independence Memorial Museum in one way or the other.

[309]Kirkwood (2012: iii).

[310]Kössler (2015).

[311] Vogt, A. (1995) National Monuments in Namibia Vol. 1, p. 187.

[312] Hansard, NA (September 27, 2011), 'Debates of the National Assembly', Vol. 138, p. 64.

[313] Field visit to the Independence Memorial Museum (21.11.2016).

Lurking far in the shadow, the Genocide Statue is colonised and oppressed by the Independence Memorial Museum.

Photo 8: Genocide Statue[314]

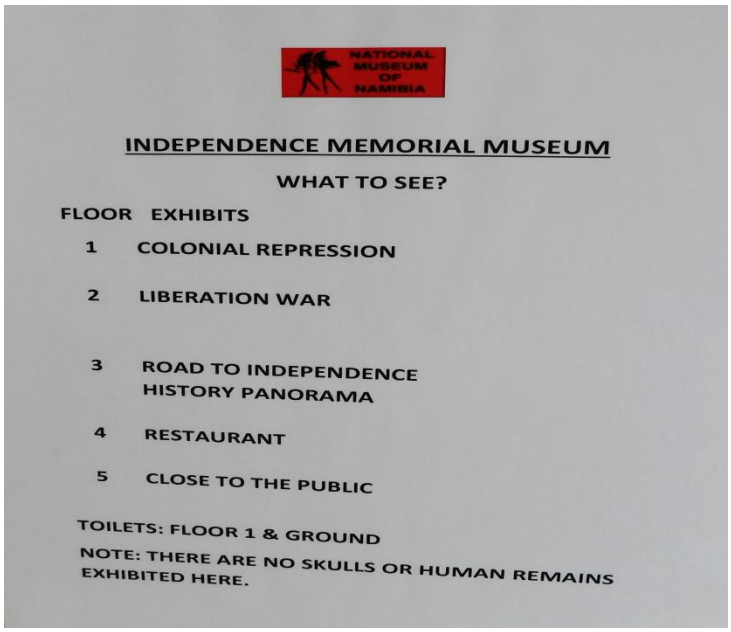


Inside the Museum, the first floor covers the early colonial resistance against colonialism at the turn of the 20th century. Execution of prisoners by hanging during the 1904-1908 war is displayed. Formation of SWAPO in the 1960s, political prisoners on Robben Island, youth resistance, racial discrimination and economic exploitation are some of the other prominent themes portrayed on the first floor. In some detail – although information at the main entrance declares that it is dedicated to the so-called war of liberation – the second floor accords prominence to the Cassinga Massacre of 1978. Images of Cassinga refugee camp being bombed by South African troops in southern Angola are on display. The period shortly before independence takes centre stage on the third floor of the museum. UN Resolution 435 that led to the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and the transfer of power to the people

[314] Photo courtesy of 'Facts About Africa' whose Twitter name is @OnlyAfricaFacts.

of Namibia is highlighted in an image that also bears the faces of political players who were important during the first democratic elections of 1989. Returnees from exile are also shown disembarking with their suitcases. On the fourth floor is a restaurant, while the fifth floor is 'close… [sic] to the public' as the information note affixed to the entrance of the first floor shows. Office space for staff members of the museum and a conference centre occupy most of fifth floor, hence its exclusion to visitors.

Photo No.9: Inside the Museum



The 'note' at the end of notice is perhaps worth discussing in brief. In 2011, about 20 skulls of OvaHerero and Nama were returned from Germany. The skulls were taken by German scientists shortly after the 1904-1908 war to perform experiments seeking to prove the racial superiority of white Europeans over black Africans.[315] These returned skulls are indeed the subject of the Independence Memorial Museum officials' note. Arguably, a number of visitors to the museum kept asking to see skulls and this led to museum's officials to put a note as a way of avoiding

[315] Sasman, C. (October 5, 2011), 'Namibian Skulls Return', *The Namibian*; BBC (September 30, 2011), 'Germany Returns Namibian Skulls Taken in Colonial Era', http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-15127992 Accessed January 4, 2017.

endless questions.[316] Even though the skulls are stored in a warehouse at the Independence Memorial Museum, they are hidden from public view.[317] Woven onto Windhoek's cityscape, the review of monuments reveals a contradictory character of both colonial and resistance movements. Having mulled over monuments that are important to the material universe of Windhoek, I shall now move onto the intangible and offer an analysis of how poetry can allow for an understanding of urban life.

2.2. Rendering the City through Poetry

What invites reading the city through poetry, or rather why the city effortlessly gives in to being an object of poetic reflection, is in part a recognition and appreciation – by poets – of the opposites that urban life acutely produces. Partly because of the rapid urbanisation that has come to define African cities, there is no gainsaying that the urban has an unparalleled capacity to mobilise relations of all kinds. Bauman reminds us that throughout their history, cities have been sites of incessant and most rapid change.[318] And it is within this brisk change that "urban life produces a great diversity of wealth and poverty, of politeness and vulgarity, of progress and atavism".[319]

Reading poems as intangible cultural monuments, multiple imaginative registers in which Windhoek operates emerge, and the sound of the city through language becomes audible. This is in spite of the fact that the literary scene in Namibia is either nascent or yet to acquire a measure

316 Memorial Museum of Namibia (12.3.2017, field visit).

317 Jonker, L. (2015). *"More than just an object": A material analysis of the return and retention of Namibian skulls from Germany* (Unpublished MA Thesis). Universiteit Utrecht: Utrecht, p. 26.

318 Bauman, Z. (2003), 'City of Fears, City of Hopes', University of London: London, p. 3.

319 Ellis, M. (2006), 'Poetry and the City', In Gerrard, C. (Ed.), A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry, Blackwell: Oxford, p. 544.

of importance and appreciation. From obscurity, I shall resurrect some key poetic musings on and about Windhoek. As all the poets that I draw on reside in Windhoek, their musings provide inside insights into the character of the city, offering intimate reflections through reading Windhoek like a text. From Axaro W. Thaniseb to Hughes Ellis, Kavevangua Kahengua to Joseph K. Molapong – Windhoek provides artistic fodder for socially meaningful reflections. It is by interrogating and deconstructing these reflections that we can access various fragments representative of Windhoek.

The poems whose analytical rendition I shall engage in – some accorded depth while others only afforded a cursory reading – bring to the fore disparate subtexts. On the one hand, there are subtexts defined by pessimism as they are organised around such tropes as dread, despair, conspicuous consumption and materialism as representative of everyday life in the city. There are also subtexts that celebrate, pay tribute and claim ownership of Windhoek, such as in the case of *//Ae//Gams* by Thaniseb and *Keine Stadt* (Not a City) by Schlettwein. At a broader level, these poems allow us to conjure up city imageries of the built environment; representations of everyday life in the city; and narratives that pay homage to Windhoek in the manner that monuments such as *Ongoro nOmundu* do. In turn, these three broader themes countenance multiple imaginative registers. In what follows, I shall tease out the above-mentioned broad themes by carefully reading a number of selected poems.

2.2.1. City Imageries of the Built Environment

The writer Sylvia Schlettwein tells us that Windhoek is *Keine Stadt* (No City), but rather a 'slut' that makes and breaks promises.[320] I shall dwell on the *Windhoekschlampe* (Windhoek Slut) under 'Representations of the Everyday Life', but first the assertion that 'Windhoek is not a city'

[320] Originally *'Windhoekschlampe'* (Schlettwein, 2013), translated from German by Sylvia Schlettwein at the request of the author (E-mail correspondence: March 9, 2014).

demands unpacking insofar as it speaks to particular urban imageries of the built environment. In her negation of Windhoek as a city, Schlettwein writes:

No City[321]

No tarmac
wears earthy rain perfume
like yours

No city lights
succumb to stars
like yours

No skyline
obeys the hills
like yours

No park
battles the bush
like yours

No wind
dresses in dust
like yours

No Sunday sidewalk
swept empty
like yours

No city
is no city
like you

I sat with Sylvia Schlettwein at the Craft Centre in Windhoek, overlooking Tal Street on a summery morning of late November 2013. Her response in the first instance invoked the issue of size to negate Windhoek's cityness:

> "I think it is too small to be a city; there are not enough people for that. It is not like a lot of other African capitals, it is very clean. You do not think Windhoek when you think city or city life, but this is obviously starting to change. In a lot of

[321] Originally *Keine Stadt* (Schlettwein, 2013), translated from German by Sylvia Schlettwein at the request of the author (E-mail correspondence: March 9, 2014).

> ways, it functions like a provincial larger town on social, political and economic level".[322]

There is an undue credence given to a sizeable number of inhabitants as characteristic of what a city is. That there is more to the city than population size and impressive glitz is not a moot point. It is dominant and generalised accounts of 'the city' that always imagine something big, but the conception of small and 'ordinary cities' has been gaining traction in the last decade or so.[323] Privileging size and material magnificence sacrifices the very essence of the city – the concentration of diverse relational intersections between and within a multitude of activities.[324] The issue of size is not dealt with nor implicitly hinted at throughout the poem, but only came to light through my probing with the writer of *Keine Stadt*. Venturing into what is written in the poem; *Keine Stadt* reveals a simplistic and materialist conception of a city that privileges the dominance of the built environment like skyscrapers, lights and a pronounced skyline that subjugates the natural environment as the very essence of what a city is or should be.[325] What comes through clearly – and forms part of its negation – is that Windhoek is not a resisting urban form that refuses to succumb to the stars and the hills. Instead, it surrenders unreservedly and gives in to domestication of its lights and skyline – its built environment – by the natural landscape. This is an invocation of lack, for the widely held view of a city is that of omnipresent lights and a skyline overwhelming the natural environment. At a superficial level, *No City* is raising a point that goes against *vox populi* and at variance with widely held views about

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[322] Interview with Sylvia Schlettwein (28.11.2013), Windhoek.

[323] Bell, D., Jayne, M. (2006), 'Conceptualising Small Cities', In Bell, D., Jayne, M. Small Cities: Urban Experience Beyond the Metropolis', pp. 1-18. See also Robinson, J. (2002), 'Global and World Cities: A View from off the Map', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26, 531-554.

[324] Amin, A., Graham, S. (1997), 'The Ordinary City', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22(4), 411-429.

[325] For a discussion on skyline and its relation to the urban iconography, see Damisch, H. (2001), 'Skyline: The Narcissistic City', (Trans. Goodman, J.), Stanford University Press: Stanford; Ford, L.R. (1976), 'The Skyline as a City Classification System', *Journal of Geography*, 75(3), 154-164.

Windhoek. In what appears like an interesting coincidence, Schlettwein's poem *No City* was published the same year that an article appeared in one of the dailies quoting a government's minister claiming that Windhoek is not a city in the legal sense.[326] Even though Schlettwein's poem carried the very same message as the Minister's assertion in *The Namibian*, remonstration was only fiercely directed at the newspaper article. The issue of accessibility clearly played a role here, as the poem was for a start written in German and contained in a book whose price is not comparable to the few dollars one pays for a copy of a newspaper. *No City* seems to be geared towards achieving two main purposes that are set up against each other in the manner of writing. Firstly, this poem is a negation of the city. But this negation is also aimed at paying tribute to Windhoek in a manner that suggests there is no city like it. And this takes us to the second purpose of the poem, which seems to serve as a 'love letter' to Windhoek.

Another poem through which we can access Windhoek's built environment iconography and its related social meaning is Hugh Ellis' *Babylon by Bicycle*. Ellis takes us through a trek from the posh eastern part of Windhoek all the way to the not well-to-do north-western part of the city:

The castles of Ludwigsdorf in all their glory
Reflect the brightness of the morning sun
Smoothly clicking sprockets take me down the hill
On manicured asphalt, to the real world[327]

With the 'castles of Ludwigsdorf', Ellis foregrounds a posh residential suburb in Windhoek. Known for its majestically gigantic houses where opulence resides, Ludwigsdorf is a predominantly white, elitist and bourgeois residential area in the eastern part of the city. As Ellis

[326] Immanuel, S. (September 16, 2013), 'Windhoek is Not a City – Namoloh', *The Namibian*.
[327] Ellis, H. (2012), 'Babylon by Bicycle', In Hakahana: A Poetry Collection, p. 11.

rides down the hill, he claims to be heading 'to the real world'. This suggests that what he leaves behind, Ludwigsdorf, is emblematic of a magnificent and extravagant built environment that is too good to be real. Before he reaches Babylon, Hugh Ellis voyages through –

Katutura, still a world to itself, still alone
Before the rush hour bustle I hit the roundabout
Its constant movements conceal a truth
We are still a people without a home[328]

With Katutura, Ellis takes us back in history to a township established in 1957 for blacks to the north of the city centre as part of residential apartheid planning.[329] Even though Katutura is home to more than half of Windhoek's population, Hugh Ellis avers – as a way of recollecting its past – that 'it is still a world to itself', a place that was meant to isolate and discriminate. This isolation and discrimination has continued into the present, suggests Ellis. For Katutura is 'still alone' and suffers neglect at the hands of post-apartheid municipal authorities. Hugh Ellis eventually arrives in Babylon where –

The settlements greet me with approaching fear
And copious amounts of legwork
I smell trouble in this rarefied air
Is this a new beginning, or is it the end?[330]

In this last part of the poem, the 'copious amount of legwork' is indicative of soldiering demanded by potholes that Ellis had to negotiate before arriving in Babylon. Indeed, it is a

[328] Ibid.

[329] Peyroux, É. (2001). Urban growth and housing policies in Windhoek: The Gradual Change of a Post-Apartheid Town, p. 228.

[330] Ellis, H. (2012), 'Babylon by Bicycle', In Hakahana: A Poetry Collection, p. 11.

reference to an unfriendly terrain that contrasts with the manicured asphalt found in the opulent Ludwigsdorf.

What runs through Ellis' poetic pondering is that, in relation to what is considered Windhoek 'proper', Katutura is a neglected urban spatiality. But this neglect is not surprising as it relates to a stubborn historical provenance. To be sure, "Katutura was never intended as a 'normal' residential area, but kept as a virtually facility-less and underdeveloped urban dormitory, since most blacks were seen legally as temporary urban residents".[331] Nonetheless, contemporary Katutura is now a very vibrant area of Windhoek and a dominant cultural milieu of the city. With the rise of 'township tourism', Katutura seems to be the pane on which the bodies of township inhabitants and their activities are put on display for tourist consumption,[332] or for the 'tourist gaze' and its accompanying accumulation of captured moments in superfluous photographs.[333] Oshetu Community Market, located at the corner of Shanghai and Genesis streets in Katutura, is one of those informal marketplaces that markedly invite 'township tourism'.

2.2.2. Representations of Everyday Life

"The shanty city is by and large the real African city".[334]

Within the rubric of despair and displacement, there is an intimation that ordinary folks are on a daily basis pushed to the margins of life by development projects the city embarks on. Using the

[331] Simon (1983: 100).

[332] For a discussion on township tourism in and of Katutura, see Connoy, L., & Ilcan, S. (2013). Township tourism and the political spaces of Katutura. *Journal of Namibian Studies*, *13*, 33–54; Malte, S., Michael, B., Martin, L., Berenike, S., & Tore, S. (2016). *Touring Katutura!: Poverty, Tourism, and Poverty Tourism in Windhoek, Namibia*. Universitätsverlag Potsdam.

[333] See Urry, J. (1995). *Consuming Places*. Taylor & Francis: London, pp. 173-179.

[334]Pieterse (2013: 21).

mantra of 'law and order', dwellings tumble down as bulldozers rid the cityscape of filth created by 'illegal' dwellers. The Poet Kavevangua Kahengua succinctly captures the slum on the fringes of Windhoek with his piece *When Developments*.[335] Kahengua uses development and its consequences as a trope through which to understand the indifference of authorities towards those living on the margins, those living in the slum. The slum cuts across a number of poems as expressed within the periphery versus centre nexus or binary. Just like Kahengua, what Thaniseb offers is a portrait of a slum in *On the Outskirts of the City of Windhoek*.[336] Using 7de Laan[337] as a setting, Thaniseb makes reference to a form of dwelling unclassified on the edge of the city where the search for answers in the flickering stars seems to go on endlessly. The representational register of a slum insofar as it relates to ways of seeing and reading contemporary African cities should be understood in the context of the meta-narrative of urbanisation, modernisation and crisis.[338] Pieterse's assertion that prefaces this section falls into the trap of this meta-narrative, for he characterise the shanty city as the 'real' African city. Another disciple of this school is Mike Davis who by all indications had African cities in mind when he penned *Planet of Slums*. About a decade ago, Davis postulated that 'Africa's slums are growing at twice the speed of the continent's exploding cities'...and therefore 'instead of cities of light soaring toward heaven, much of the twenty-first century urban world squats in squalor, surrounded by pollution, excrement and decay'.[339] Notwithstanding that there have been attempts to decentre the representational register of slums when seeing and reading African cities,[340] the concept of slums remains a powerful currency in conceiving of African cities and probably will be for a foreseeable future. This fixation on slums is probably not out of place, for

[335] Kahengua (2004).

[336]Thaniseb, A.W. (2011), 'On the Outskirts of the City of Windhoek'.

[337] An informal settlement in Windhoek, presumably named after the South African soapie.

[338]Mbembe & Nuttall (2008); Simone (2004).

[339]Davis (2006, pp. 18-19). See also Southall, A. (1998). *The City in Time and Space*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, p. 290.

[340]Cf. Mbembe & Nuttall 2008; Bridge & Watson 2000; Robinson 2002.

successive State of African Cities' reports by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) point to the persistence and expansion of slums in Africa.[341] This expansion of slums spurred policy pronouncements and initiatives aimed at bringing about 'cities without slums'. However, the concept of slums and its utility is not without controversy, let alone the global initiative to eliminate slums. As Roy provocatively questions, "[w]hat do we make of the fact that as the MDGs are calling for a 'cities without slums' target so many cities in the global South, for example those in India, are brutally evicting squatters and demolishing slums to make way for urban development?".[342] The crux of the preceding question by Roy resonates with *When Developments* by Kahengua. In *When Developments*, an impassioned plea for development that takes into account those who are geographically marginal and economically marginalised is implicitly made:

"When developments
create cities with no space
for the poor
It hurts
When developments issue
water bills
that flush out the poor
from their dwellings
It hurts
When developments uproot existence
and replace it with magnificent stories

[341] UN-Habitat (2014; 2012; 2010; 2008), *'State of African Cities Report'*. See also UN-Habitat (2003), *'The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlement'*.

[342] Roy, A. (2008) 'Global norms and planning forms: The Millennium Development Goals', *Planning Theory and Practice*, 9(2): 251-4, p. 252. See also Huchzermeyer, M. (2014) Troubling continuities: Use and Utility of the Term 'Slum', In Parnell, S., Oldfield, S. (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*, Routledge: London, pp. 86-97.

It hurts".[343]

In this poem, what is offered is a portrait of displacement, precarity and homelessness as direct consequences of developments of various kinds insofar as they are representative of neoliberal urbanism and its incessant predilection to give in to the demands of capital. Kahengua expresses hurt regarding the indifference meted out at the urban poor, put perhaps he needs to seriously listen to Schlettwein who observes that the city is a 'slut' whose allegiance lies with the moneyed. In *Windhoekschlampe* (Windhoek Slut),[344] Schlettwein maintains:

Under starred sky
Windhoek promise given
By new moon's black light

By sickle light
And melon moon
Windhoek promise renewed

Windhoek promise
Under full moon
Broken under thunderstorm

This making and breaking of promises is perhaps best exemplified by the so-called Freedom Plaza Development that resulted in the relocation of handcraft vendors at the corner of Fidel Castro Street and Independence Avenue to make way for First National Bank new building. Street vendors were told that their relocation was temporary as the new building had a provision for facilities to accommodate their activities. As of January 2019, there are still no facilities for

[343]Kahengua, K. (2005 [2004]), 'When Developments'.

[344] Translated from German by Sylvia Schlettwein at the request of the author (E-mail correspondence: March 9, 2014).

traders and the construction of the building appears to be complete. We can provisionally conclude that this was a 'promise made under full moon and broken under thunderstorm', as Schlettwein posits. Relatedly, when Kahengua speaks of 'developments that create cities with no space for the poor', what readily comes to mind is the displacement of handcraft traders in Windhoek's CBD that I just alluded to; as well as the eviction of about sixty vendors selling fruits and vegetables on a piece of land in Okuryangava (north-western Windhoek) after the erf was sold by the Windhoek City Council to a businessman.[345] When the latter scenario is read against Kahengua's *Everybody Needs You*, what becomes clear is that the city is a commodity to be enjoyed by the moneyed. As he puts it:

And the piece of land
You work and live on
Keeps diminishing
You will have to live
According to how Authority prescribes[346]

Mediated by the ability to pay taxes and rates, the value of whatever piece of land you 'own' depends on the vagaries of municipal authority.

The aforementioned piece of land sold to a businessman suggests that the urban poor are expendable. For his part, Masula Sibanga renders money and survival inseparable in his suggestively titled offering *Life in the City*.[347] This exposition of the intricate entanglement of money and survival re-enacts the issue of (in)visibility. As he ruminates:

Survival and money are inseparable

[345] For a discussion of the context in which these displacements took place, see Chapter 3 – *City Governance: Urban Fantasies, (In)visibility and Bureaucratic Practices.*

[346] Kahengua, K. (2012 [2001]) *'Everybody Needs You'.*

[347]Sibanga (2003).

You are nameless without money

They say, "I don't know him"

They ask, "What business does he run?"

They agree, "Then I know him. He's money"

That's why they don't know me[348]

With the invocation 'you are nameless without money' Sibanga draws our attention to the invisibility that lack of money seems to invite, particularly in urban areas where 'money is the cardinal device by which values are rationalised'.[349] As a quintessential theatre where glut is extravagantly paraded, the city reflects and delineates lack through invisibility. Indeed, as David Harvey writes, the "quality of urban life has become a commodity, as has the city itself, in a world where consumerism is a major aspect of the urban political economy".[350] But Sibanga does not only reflect on the moneyed iconography of the city, for his first stanza in the same poem is equally revealing of the city's elusive milieu and the attendant demands it exerts for its navigation:

My eyes are wide open

Like those of a spring hare in the torchlight

Yet I don't see anything in the city

Things move like bullets here

They move with the wind[351]

The wide opened eyes dramatized by an imagery of a spring hare is an invocation of agility that one has to summon in order to meaningfully navigate the city. It also speaks to the need for being streetwise, to be on the lookout and anticipate all manner of dangers. This imagery of the

[348] Sibanga, M. (2003) *'Life in the City'*.

[349] Park, R. E. (1915). The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment. *American Journal of Sociology*, *20*(5), 577–612, p. 588.

[350] Harvey, D. (2008), 'The Right to the City', *The New Left Review*, 53, 23-40.

[351] Sibanga, M. (2003) *'Life in the City'*.

city in fact reminds me of my first few weeks in Windhoek back in 2004 and perhaps narrating this personal experience will be apt:

> It is early 2004 in Windhoek and I had just arrived from Okondjatu (my home village) via Okahandja (a town about 70 km north of Windhoek) to commence with my undergraduate studies in few weeks. This is my first time in Windhoek and of course it is way too big for my liking, let alone my limited capacity to navigate the city. I was about to start with lectures as a first year at the University of Namibia (UNAM) in a few weeks' time. As such, I saw it fit to visit offices of the Ministry of Education and enquire about the status of my student loan before lectures start. Off I went with Jacky – my streetwise uncle's wife who went to school in Windhoek – to what is called Government Office Park where the Ministry of Education is situated alongside a host of other government ministries. I had been forewarned by my brothers and friends about how easy it is to involuntarily part ways with one's mobile phone at the behest of thieves and robbers in Windhoek. As Jacky and I were about to enter the building of the Ministry of Education, my mobile phone rang and I instantaneously went into panic mode. I could not answer my phone as the forewarning was very much vivid in my mind. In a split of a minute, I put the phone on vibration-mode and deposited it in my underwear. The phone continued vibrating, I eventually switched it off and that was the end of my troubles.

The foregoing narrative is to a great extent related to the agility that is demanded in urban settings, the need to keep eyes wide open. But this demand for agility at times breeds paranoia, particularly for those who are less familiar with the urban scene. By its very nature, the city is a congregation of strangers where a legion of stratagems and ruses are acutely pronounced, mobilised and put to use. Therefore, keeping your eyes wide open is never sufficient. In fact, Sibanga concedes not seeing anything with wide opened eyes. And this is because city life is fleetingly fast, akin to bullets that Sibanga invokes. He continues by opining that things in the city 'move with the wind'. This wind could well be the allure of the city and its capacity to hypnotise. Relatedly, it is fascinating to see how people's gait assumes a different rhythm by the mere immersion into a particular urban milieu. They are probably not conscious of this change in gait, for they simply 'move with the wind'.

In Axaro Thaniseb's enunciations, Windhoek is pictured as a contrasting city, definitely not in the manner propped up by the City of Windhoek's marketing operatives through their phraseology of 'city of many faces'. What Thaniseb shows is a dark city amidst the presence of illuminating light. The darkness in this instance could well stand as shorthand for dread, fear and the omnipresence of violence that invariably accompanies nightlife in cities. Reference is also made to a cold city to represent the indifference of municipal officials who dare to deracinate those deemed financially unable to afford city's rates and taxes. Furthermore, Windhoek is expressly cloaked in the aphorism of wet city to bespeak the slipperiness and unpredictability of urban life. The slippages are a result of living on the edge, being on the periphery with the attendant uncertainty of a tomorrow that is not guaranteed. With the wet city, the sweat of labour on which the city was built and continues to expand on is invoked. To be sure, reference is made to the sweat of forced black labour that permeated the colonial development of the city as well as the contemporary black cheap labour that fuels the expansion of Windhoek.

//Ae//Gams (Windhoek)[352]

Dark City

Cold City

Wet City

City, made from the sweat of my ancestors

The title of the poem, //Ae//Gams, is what the Nama people call Windhoek. Literally translated, it means 'hot springs', a reference to many hot and warm springs surrounded by clouds of evaporating water which were found around Windhoek until the 1950s.[353] In the second and by far the most elongated stanza of the poem whose first part deals with the materiality of the built environment, Thaniseb writes:

[352]Thaniseb, A. W. (2011), //Ae//Gams, In *'Searching for the Rain: An Anthology of Verse'*, pp. 73-75.

[353] Haartman (2004: 27).

The City. Made of steel, made of glass, made of concrete

Where darkness lurks in the shadows of the tall buildings

And light and darkness find opportunity to cheat

The place where the concrete walls are high and the windows are shut;

Through buildings and how they assume form, we are taken through a journey of images emblematic of neoliberal urbanism in its materiality. I am using neoliberal urbanism here to characterise cities as avenues through which economic space is mobilised for capitalist growth, commodification and the rule of the market.[354]

Steel, glass and concrete are invoked as the very essence through which the city assumes physical form. The materials through which the city assumes its physical configuration also speak to extractivism as a process on which the city was built, for these materials are most probably mined from the hinterland and put to use in the business of erecting high walls of buildings in the city. But this is perhaps just the material nature of cities as Harris and Ullman observed more than seventy years ago. As they put it, cities are the focal points in the occupation and utilisation of the earth by man.[355] Moreover, the service by which the city earns its livelihood depends on the nature of the economy and of the hinterland.[356]

The doors are bolted

The place where, behind prison walls of a home, a furtive glance

Unto the cold street dances in a frosty embrace

Of the landscape unknown

The place where people march in unison

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[354] See Theodore, N., Peck, J., Brenner, N. (2011), 'Neoliberal Urbanism: Cities and the Rule of Markets', In Bridge, G., & Watson, S. (2011). *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*. John Wiley & Sons: Sussex, p. 21.

[355] Harris, C.D., Ullman, E.L. (1945. The Nature of Cities, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 242: 7-17.

[356] Ibid.

On the concrete slabbed streets,

Like characters in a black-and-white silent movie

And the sound hides beyond the dark cloud

With 'characters in a black-and-white silent movie', we are invited to think about the city in two possible ways. On the one hand, we should think about a racialized city tormented by race relations frozen in time, that is to say, things have hardly changed. The silence then passes for 'nothing' – or at least not enough – happening to unequal race relations bequeathed unto the city by more than a century of colonial rule and racial segregation. At another level of rendition, we are made aware of a 'boring city' that Windhoek is thought of being a quintessential example. 'Characters in a black-and-white silent movie' in this instance refers to an absence of a pulsating city life, an absence of a colourful urban milieu insofar as it passes for cities 'proper'. The next stanza resurrects the issue of invisibility that seems to stubbornly occupy a great interest across a number of poets.

The air is filled with suffocating reality

You do not have a face

For you are the marching mass of the voiceless and the faceless

Caught in the endless march – forward, on a treadmill

And time waits for no man

And Ubuntu[357] has no place to call home

A man's heart turns to stone and his gaze plays hide and seek[358]

Reading beyond the obvious, we can access another face of extractivism that has come to define neoliberal urbanism. This other face is related to the city's obdurate desire to 'extort' as much as possible from its denizens in a form of taxes and rates and its resolve to dispose of or pay lip

[357] An African saying of 'the spirit of togetherness' or caring and neighbourliness (Thaniseb, 2011: 73).

[358] Thaniseb, A. W. (2011), //Ae//Gams, In *'Searching for the Rain: An Anthology of Verse'*, pp. 73-75

service to those who are unable to fill its coffers. It is nonetheless not always the case that this 'extortion' works as demonstrated by the refusal of Windhoek residents to pay a 'security levy' aimed at sustaining the financially demanding operations of the Windhoek City Police.[359] A perusal of the Auditor General's reports for the Municipality of Windhoek bear witness to how financially burdensome the operations of the City Police are. From 2006 to 2013, the expenditure of the City Police outstripped all other operations such as infrastructure, water & technical services; transport; and community services.[360] In the midst of consistently less financial resources spent on community services – as the lion's share goes to the operations of the City Police – Thaniseb is perhaps not out of place in maintaining that it is in the city where *Ubuntu* has no place to call home, every denizen left to his or her own devices. This is in spite of Kinyanjui's assertion that African urbanism is organised around the logic, norms and values of *Ubuntu*.[361] But the values and norms of *Ubuntu* that Kinyanjui writes about with reference to Nairobi are those that find expression through the interactions of street vendors among themselves and with residents within the proximity of their trading spots. As one approaches the CBD, conflict over space takes hold and *Ubuntu* recedes, Thaniseb seems to suggest. In this view – towards the end of the poem – Thaniseb invokes notions of a commoditised space:

The City where a man's soul is a commodity

'And nothing is for *mahala*'[362]

The City where you get lost chasing after a dream as elusive as love

You, the City that embodies stories of rags to riches

Yet, stories of fortunes won and lost overnight

The City where heroes lay buried on the hill

[359] Haidula, T. (August 3, 2015), 'Windhoek Shelves Security Levy', *The Namibian.*

[360] See GRN, Reports of the Auditor General on the Accounts of the Municipality of Windhoek for Financial Years 2006 – 2013, Office of the Auditor General: Windhoek.

[361] Kinyanjui, M. N. (2016). Ubuntu Nests and the Emergence of an African Metropolis. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, *37*(3), 418–431.

[362] A slang phrase loosely meaning that everything has a price.

The commoditisation of urban Windhoek that Thaniseb succinctly portrays echoes Kahengua's poem, *Chief Inspector*, written six years earlier:

Chief Inspector of cracks,
I hear rumours,
And these are not cheap rumours,
Some residents are plotting
To float their houses in the air,
Trying to escape our modest rates
That, too, would be a violation –
Of our air space laws[363]

Using humour, Kahengua accentuates and at the same time embellishes – quite deliberately – the denizens' inescapability from the city's insatiable desire to extract from them as much money as possible. His reflections draw on the trinity of rumours, plotting and violation. In their desperation to find ways to stay afloat and lead viable lives,[364] urban denizens draw on a number of strategies and plots to disrupt, circumvent and challenge rules that are aimed at 'keeping them in line'. But it is just a matter of time before authorities – using their surveillance technologies and harnessing the circulation of rumours – discover plots that are hatched to circumvent and violate regulations. Once denizens come to terms with the fact that their plots have been unearthed, they conjure up novel plots that give rise to new rumours and violations. The trinity of plotting, rumours and violation will then continue to reshape urban life while generating

[363] Kahengua, K. (2005), *'Chief Inspector'*.

[364] Simone, A. (2014), 'Too Many Things to Do: Social Dimensions of City-Making in Africa', In Diouf, M., Fredericks, R. (Eds.), The Arts of Citizenship in African Cities: Infrastructures and Spaces of Belonging, Palgrave Macmillan: NY, pp. 25-47.

ambivalence with messy twists interminably. To a great extent, these messy twists are organised around financialisation and securitization of urban life.

The thematic concern of control and policing in the city is cogently dealt with in Julia Amukoshi's *The City*. Enveloped in the binary of rule-making and rule-breaking, the scene is of a vagabond scavenging for food from a rubbish bin. This rubbish bin is of course in a well-to-do residential suburb where the omnipresence of police vans and private security operatives pass for seclusion and opulence. But the man feasting from the trash is required to transcend the terror of his yearning stomach and steer clear of recalcitrance. Through these kinds of relations, the spatiality and geographical layout of an apartheid city becomes apparent, with the encroachment being one-directional in the centre versus periphery nexus.[365] Rules of the city are what they are and not what they ought to be, following them to the letter is demanded. This obsession with enforcement of rules lurks in the shadow of a perception that every scavenger is a potential thief in a 'cold rustled city' that Windhoek is. The thief has a predilection of taking away the serenity of those who pay taxes and rates to the city with his 'roaring stomach'. The metaphor of a roaring stomach constituting noise to the affluent in the city resonates with Kahengua's depiction in *From Within*:

Down Nelson Mandela Avenue,
In Klein /Ae//Gams,
The affluent are privileged
To live in the privacy of hills,
Among the rocks,
Like rock rabbits
Amid the silence of a cemetery[366]

[365] Fanon, F. (1963 [1961]), 'The Wretched of the Earth', Grove Press: New York, pp. 37-38.

[366]Kahengua, K. (2012 [2002]), 'From Within'.

It is this deafening silence that the city trades as a highly priced commodity. Therefore, the roaring stomach of the vagabond becomes a liability insofar as it disturbs dwellers of posh suburbs and yet, it is here where "the rich discard tidbits amounting to full plates that tantalise the watering mouth of the poor".[367] As the vagabond 'invades' the territory of the affluent in search of tidbits in *The City*, Amukoshi writes:

The irritating roaring stomach
Of the man feasting from the trash
Is heard by none but the police
Charging him with disturbance and crime
For being reluctant to the city rules
Be as busy as ants day and night
In this sweet and sour city[368]

That the urban poor are invariably treated as a nuisance in their quest for survival in the city is what Amukoshi contends. This image of nuisance is almost always constructed around the realm of city laws that need to be adhered to, and if need be excessively enforced. An official from the Windhoek City Police who I spoke to places the blame of excessive control assertions on the denizens' ignorance of by-laws:

> "When people come from different places outside where there are no by-laws, they feel a little bit of pressure wondering why police officers are trying to control their behaviour. The smart ones will of course understand that there are regulations to be followed. Those who have never read a book before will be making reference to apartheid".[369]

[367]Ibid.

[368]Amukoshi, J. (2014), *'The City'*, pp. 44-45.

[369]FGD (27.7.15), Windhoek City Police.

The Windhoek City Police officials nonetheless concede that the by-laws they enforce are quite outdated and do originate from the apartheid era. This somewhat renders meaningless the category of 'post-apartheid'. What we are left with then is a post-apartheid that is devoid of substantive meaning. Indeed, some of the laws of the territory of the then South West Africa that remain on statute books today are laughable if not bizarre. Or how else does one characterise the Dried Peas Control Ordinance No. 35 of 1957? This ordinance states that: "dried peas shall not be sold, delivered, given or otherwise supplied to any native, and no such native shall receive or have in his possession any dried peas, save for *bona fide* therapeutic purposes upon a prescription of a duly qualified medical practitioner".[370] Even though this piece of legislation – which is still on Namibia's statute books – was/is applicable to the whole country, it is apparent that it was aimed at urban agglomerations[371] where behaviour has been and continues to be heavily policed.

In *City Friday,* Amukoshi gives us another glimpse of Windhoek and invites us to its night life, or rather the absence of a notable nigh life. Julia Amukoshi speaks of a:

Piercingly unpleasant laughter
Echoes endlessly from side to side
And music that shakes the ground
Accompanies the night life of bliss…
Typical city, Friday night[372]

[370]Dried Peas Control Ordinance No. 35 of 1957, Section 2.

[371] As I have argued elsewhere regarding colonial Windhoek, the control of dried peas was done within the context of illicit production of alcohol and the perceived lawlessness that inebriety seems to invite. Beer halls were set up and run by the Municipality of Windhoek during the 60s to control the consumption of alcohol (Tjirera, E. (December 2015 – January 2016) 'Dried Peas and the Politics of Inebriation', *Insight Namibia*, pp. 26-27). But see also Gewald, J-B. (2002) 'Diluting Drinks and Deepening Discontent: Colonial Liquor Controls and Public Resistance in Windhoek, Namibia', In Bryceson, E.-D. F. (ed.). *Alcohol in Africa: Mixing Business, Pleasure, and Politics*. Heinemann.

[372] Amukoshi, J. (2014), 'City Friday', In Tales of the Rainbow, p. 16.

Even though from the foregoing we get an image of boisterous entertainment urban scenery, in an interview I had with her in May 2015, Amukoshi argues that Windhoek does not offer much in terms of diverse entertainment platforms to cater for different tastes. It also becomes clear that Amukoshi is not talking about the city centre, for the unpleasant laughter and music that 'shake the ground' find expression in the 'township'. As she puts it:

> "Windhoek is not really a welcoming city in terms of entertainment places. There are no entertainment places that cater for people of various personalities. Mostly what I have picked up about Windhoek is that it is more dominated by bars and clubs and obviously in a country with people of various personalities, you cannot expect everybody to be a club-goer or a bar-goer". [373]

The CBD Urban Design Framework that has been touted by the City of Windhoek since late 2014 is partly aimed at responding to the virtually complete absence of 'nightlife' in Windhoek's city centre that Amukoshi hints at. But the Windhoek's CBD nightlife had never been electrifying to start off with, and Amukoshi's observation is not uniquely unfamiliar. In fact, what has been invariably a norm is that any semblance of activity ceases in and around the CBD around 19:00 or so. A Municipality of Windhoek official noted that:

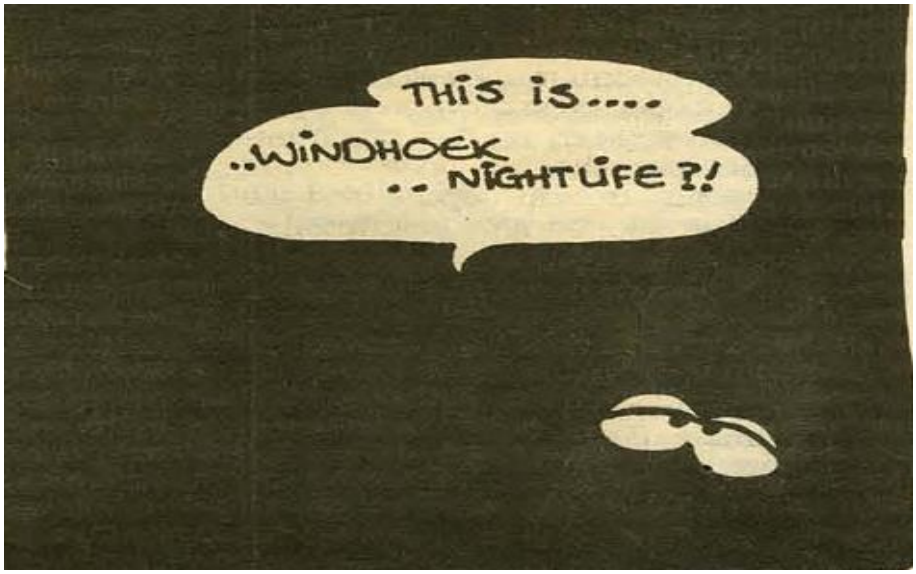
> '[w]hat led to the CBD Urban Design Framework study was just to try and revive the CBD because it was felt that the city is basically 'dead' after hours. There is very little movement, there is very little activity happening and there are very few people around. Some areas of the city even become sort of 'scary' to be in after hours. It was thought a study must be undertaken in order to try and enliven the CBD and also to try and

[373] Interview with Julia Amukoshi, (26.06.2015)

> redesign the CBD in such a way that it attracts people. This is because the origin of the City is an 'apartheid' city which was not designed for people to hang around'.[374]

From the above, it is apparent that the history of Windhoek can help us in making sense of the extant dearth of nightlife in and around the city centre. Perhaps it is also a peculiar character of 'settler cities'. As Cavanagh notes, racial spatial ideologies formed part of the bedrock on which settler colonialism was founded insofar as colonised people where kept at arm's length most of the time.[375] City centres were, and remain, areas where the expression of racial spatial politics came to bear on the urban landscape. What the cartoon below satirically captures is the hypostasis of Windhoek's nightlife more than thirty years ago, and what it shows very much strikes a chord with contemporary Windhoek.

Photo 10: Windhoek's Nightlife (*The Namibian* [September 06, 1985], p. 14.)



[374] Interview with Endjala, V., Section Planner: Spatial Development Frameworks and Statutory Planning, City of Windhoek (17.03.2015).

[375] Cavanagh, E. (2011), 'Review Essay: Discussing Settler Colonialism's Spatial Cultures', *Settler Colonial Studies*, *1*(1), 154–167. See also Liu, S. (2013). Settler urban legacies: A case study of Taipei City. *Cities*, *31*, 239-247; Edmonds, P. (2010). Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities. UBC Press.

All in all, what we can assemble from the foregoing poetic musings include themes such as the commoditisation of Windhoek, control and policing in the city, slums imagery and vacuity of worthy nightlife in the milieu of the city centre. Other registers coalesce around issues of residential segregation, suffering alongside opulence, and constrained mobility. Other meanings on and about the city can be generated by music. In other words, we can also 'listen' to Windhoek through musical productions. Songs of different genres reveal in new tones the various complexities of city life.

2.3. Listening to Windhoek through Songs

Music is another artistic repertoire through which Windhoek has been given form and interpreted. From within the genre of *Oviritje*[376] to the Afro pop of Elemotho (who nonetheless does not classify his music under any particular style), Windhoek is rendered as an urban centre very difficult to economically navigate while Katutura is often celebrated. In his 2011 album, Tjinaa Kauapirura – an *Oviritje* singer – laments the difficulties of living in Windhoek. The first verse of track 6 – *Otjambambi*[377] – goes:

Mukwetu wandje, otjirongo otjizeu, otjirongo otjikukutu: *My friend, the place is rough, the place is hard*

Otjambambi otjikukutu: *Windhoek is rough*

Tuzula omboroto, hapo ngarune?: *We toil for a loaf of bread, and until when?*

In the first verse above, the artist is observing a commonly shared perception of Windhoek as a city of gore, suffering and hunger. Of course it is in Windhoek where unemployment is acutely

[376] Invariably characterised by a high tempo piano paired with a singer and dancers, this type of music is performed by Ovaherero entertainers.

[377] One of the many OtjiHerero monikers of Windhoek.

pronounced, for people from all corners of Namibia flock to the capital in the hope of finding employment to improve their living standards. Once they get to Windhoek, some of the migrants' existence is frozen in the realm of nothing beyond the very hopes they came with to the capital. But in the midst of frozen hopes, there is celebration of a relatively secured residential spatial existence, at least for some of the migrants who reside in Katutura proper. Considering the history of forced removals which imbricates the inception of Katutura,[378] the sense of being able to settle at last is celebrated. The second verse of *Otjambambi* crystallises this spirit of celebration:

Mbatura mbahandura, mbiri mOkatutura: *I am firmly settled, I am in Katutura*

Mbatura mbiritanga, mbitja mbiri mOkatutura: *I am proudly settled, in Katutura I proclaim*

Mbituka ovindondooro, otjondana jokurooro: *Joyfully I jump, like a heifer during rainy season*

In *Taxi to Katutura* – drawn from his 2003 album titled 'The System is a Joke: All They Feed Us is Coke' – Elemotho adds his celebratory tone to Katutura as a place where most people will flock to after 17:00 when the city centre is deserted.

> " (...) the song was recorded around the time that Katutura had a lot of 'cool things' – if you wanted to get liquor or booze after hours, you had to go to Katutura – a lot of people live close to shebeens. The place had a 'vibe'...and now there has been a lot of decentralisation of Windhoek – there was the 'township' and 'uptown' and when you are in Katutura, you had a different kind of chill. Uptown, you can be very tired but you have to watch yourself – not too loud or too rackety. For me, Katutura is where you find the black majority – it was and is still like that and this brings about a whole different dimension to living. So, 'Taxi to Katutura' is a celebration of the township and essentially a celebration of taxis because of how crazy they are".[379]

[378] Katutura is an OtjiHerero word that translates into 'we cannot settle'.

[379] Interview with Elemotho (14.1.2015).

This celebration of taxis, their 'craziness' (read reckless driving) notwithstanding, is a recognition of their omnipresence that made them the transport mode of necessity for the majority black urban poor. The song enacts mobility as an integral element of what makes city life in facilitating interactions of various kinds, linking and at the same time distancing township to/from the city centre in a multitude of interesting ways.

Conclusion

Drawing on various artistic forms, this chapter sought to draw out a number of themes that can allow us to understand what kind of a city Windhoek is. I drew on statues and monuments as constitutive parts of Windhoek's cityscape and as repositories of historical accounts through which we can read the city. One important and equally controversial repository is the statue of Curt von François that commands a privileged position in front of the City of Windhoek municipal office on Independence Avenue. In celebrating the settlers' historiography, this statue dubiously accords the commander of German occupying forces the acclaim of having founded Windhoek in 1890. With regards to the Rider's monument and its removal from the cityscape, a postcolonial effort to write over a colonial history with a new iconography of visual culture in tune with contemporary Windhoek is made. I then moved on to interrogate a number of poems that use Windhoek either as a setting or as a subject. Indeed, a number of spatial practices that dominate Windhoek's urban life find (re)enactment in poetry. By examining a number of poems on and about Windhoek, we arrived at a legion of imaginative registers that aid the attempt to come to terms with the literary and cultural production of this city. But are there fault lines where these poems diverge? And what does this divergence mean? Or conversely, are there intersections where these poems converge? Does this convergence represent a clearer and refined cultural representation of Windhoek or we should equally give credence to contradictory

fragments that emerge through a close reading of different poems? In as much as different poems through which we can read the city as an object of reflection – and not least as an idea – provoke a multitude of questions, they also offer directions with regards to how we should think about a city like Windhoek whose history is immersed in a particular settler colonial history. These 'lines of flight'[380] manifest in a form of multiple imaginative registers that coalesce around issues of residential segregation, suffering and opulence, differentiated built environment, constrained mobility and spatial policing. The binary of centre versus periphery through which residential segregation is invariably understood – and poets are not the only ones attracted to this conception – needs to be problematized in the wake of evidence that a city like Windhoek seems to offer. With new developments of residential enclaves[381] on the 'fringe of fringes', it is becoming apparent that the centre versus periphery binary is no longer adequate – or perhaps not applicable – in explaining spatial residential segregation. What these new enclaves have produced is spatial de-territorialisation of 'the periphery' proper with an attendant formation of a different kind of 'periphery'. A different kind of periphery in that it is devoid of squalor and dystopia characteristic of dominant narratives associated with urban fringes. Edge, margin and periphery are associated concepts that invariably evoke vulnerability. The 'two Windhoeks' that Kahengua alludes to when I queried him[382] on his poem *From Within* have been spatially repositioned, and the binary seems to have been inverted, turning the whole 'centre-periphery' argument on its head. Another artistic repertoire through which I sought to 'listen' to Windhoek was music. Through songs from different genres, we are able to grasp the complexities of city life characterised by frozen hopes, toiling for the bare necessities of life while celebrating the right to

[380] In the sense of the 'Principle of Multiplicity' as expounded by Deleuze and Guattari. See Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987), 'A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia', University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, pp. 8-9.

[381] The residential enclaves of Finkenstein, Elisehnheim, Herborth's Blick and Omeya that I touch on in Chapter 4 are all spatially located on the outer boundaries of Windhoek beyond 'the periphery' proper.

[382] Interview with Kahengua, K. (16.3. 2015).

settle after more than 100 years of colonial displacement. The three main aesthetic sites (monuments, poems and songs) that I examined offer elaborations of all kinds on themes of history and belonging. Themes that come out clearly in poems and songs speak to the struggles of navigating city life in the absence of communal ties; the township – city relationship; as well as mobility as a medium of accessing the city.

Chapter 3 – City Governance: Urban Fantasies, (In)visibility and Bureaucratic Practices

Governing African cities continues to present dilemmas to bureaucrats and policy makers all over the continent.[383] Urban challenges are nonetheless dealt with differently. This difference in dealing with what at times appear as the same challenges allows for a grasp of the kind of cities town planners and other technocrats are shaping into being. The issue of mimicry becomes particularly important when dealing with governing African cities, for the obsession with drawing 'inspiration' from outside generally and Northern cities in particular seems to drive bureaucrats' practices.

Through variegated views and practices regarding what the city is or should be, bureaucrats by design delineate what is imagined to be outside the urban. In this Chapter, an attempt will be made to deconstruct the widely touted 2013 CBD Urban Design Framework whose main objective is to 'enliven the city and redesign the CBD in such a way that it disrupts the apartheid legacy and attracts people'.[384]

It was the bureaucrats in the City of Windhoek Planning Department who played a major role in developing the Terms of Reference (TOR) on which the CBD Urban Design Framework is anchored. Therefore, their viewpoints are infused in how everyday practices should play out in the city, and their plans can allow us to prognosticate the Windhoek that is yet to come. Their thinking becomes the very essence through which to make sense of the present and the future imagined city. I shall then move on to discuss surveillance, control and policing space as some of the defining characteristics of how municipal authorities' influence come to bear on Windhoek.

[383]Cf. Bekker, S., Fourchard, L. (2013); UN-Habitat (2010), 'The State of African Cities 2010', p. 2; UN-Habitat (2008), 'The State of African Cities 2008', p. ix.

[384]Interview with Endjala, V. (17.03.2015), Section Planner: Spatial and Statutory Planning (Department of community Service), City of Windhoek.

What is also worthy of reflection is the couplet of cleanliness and order as an avenue through which bureaucrats' views of the city find expression.

Another important path deserving of interrogation relates to the actual practices of governing Windhoek as they are expressed through fissures between bureaucratic actions and trading experiences of those falling under the category of informal trading.[385] I shall deal with how complexities that the above-mentioned fissures produce, are instantiated in governing Windhoek in a number of ways.

By illuminating how municipal officials deal with 'informality' in its broadest sense as a specific site through which their views and practices are expressed in urban space, I shall demonstrate concretely the kind of city which bureaucrats seek to mould. I argue here that the ways in which municipal officials interact, accommodate, restrain and regulate informal traders have got everything to do with their views about and/or approaches to what the city is about or should be.

The foregoing three-pronged approach allows for drawing out complexities of governing a city. Moreover, this approach speaks to one of the ways through which I would like to account for Windhoek's *cityness*, that is, through the intersection between municipal officials and informal traders as far as operational and regulatory regimes are concerned. The last section which emerges from the consistent patterns displayed by municipal officials in their dealings with 'informal' traders offers a conceptual frame of sorts. I refer to this frame as 'living-in-being-displaced'.

[385] Perhaps pointing to attempts aimed at making sense of an ever-changing socio-economic landscape of the city, informal trading regulations have undergone three iterations in the post-independence period. I shall discuss these iterations under the section on 'Taming Informality'.

3.1. Governing Windhoek – Dominant Viewpoints and Practices of Bureaucrats

Embracing the premise that bureaucrats are important actors in conceptualising Windhoek's *cityness*, drawing on dominant practices that bureaucrats engage in as they go about their everyday dealings of governing the city becomes imperative. To a large extent, an understanding of bureaucrats' practices invites a relational approach, for bureaucrats do not (re)create cities in isolation. In other words, their practices are in most cases in relation and as a response to various happenings in the city. By bureaucratic practices, we should not only focus on office bound municipal staff, but also draw on municipal police enforcement of by-laws. Indeed, the municipal city police functions as a transmitting belt through which bureaucratic views and practices find expression. There are three main practices that define the bureaucrats of the City of Windhoek and the kind of city they imagine. These are: the aggressiveness with which they deal with informal trading; obsession with cleanliness; and expansive rollout of surveillance technology. To ascertain how these practices are materialised and the kind of urban politics they engender, I shall deal with each practice individually. But let us first dive into the design that will see Windhoek re-stitched and re-arranged once implemented.

3.1.1. CBD Urban Design Framework – (Re)Configuring the City

When talking about urban governance, a number of concepts recur. These include but are not limited to competitive cities; sustainable development; and foreign investment. Almost entirely, these concepts' provenance points to neoliberal economic policies and resonate with the kind of language more likely to be peddled by the Bretton Woods institutions. In late 2013, the City of

Windhoek put out an advert calling for qualified individuals to bid for a tender aimed at developing the 'Windhoek CBD Urban Design Framework'. The CBD Urban Design Framework is by all indications a response to the failure of bringing about an integrated city after more than a quarter of a century into Namibia's independence. In some respects, it is a reaction to what Parnell and Crankshaw refer to as 'spatial impasse'. That is to say, 'there is still no clarity on how to fix the segregationist past, nor is there any idea of how to configure an alternative spatial reality'.[386] Even though Parnell and Crankshaw wrote specifically about a South African spatial impasse, Windhoek and indeed most of Namibia was and is inseparably linked to South Africa because of amply documented historical facts, some of which I alluded to in *Chapter One*. By this admission, I do not intend to write about Windhoek in the shadow of South African cities, but merely paying attention to historical antecedents informing spatial forms.

The stated goal of the framework is to 'encourage a vibrant spatial economic CBD development with an integrated and multifaceted land use'.[387] This will be achieved following a two-pronged approach. In the first instance, the objective will be achieved through 'a clear integration of zoning and development capacity and potential for business, office and residential'. Secondly, a number of aspects such as sidewalks, bicycle lanes, façade improvement, skylines and visual identity, urban green spaces and parks as well as recreational facilities will be incorporated.[388] In a way, these envisaged add-ons and/or permutations of the city centre gravitate towards *representations of space* – á la Henri Lefebvre – where signs and symbols are employed by experts as

[386] Parnell, S., Crankshaw, O. (2009), *'Urban Exclusion and the (false) Assumptions of Spatial Policy Reform in South Africa'*, In Koonings, K., Kruijt, D. (Eds.), 'Mega-cities: The Politics of Urban Exclusion and Violence in the Global South', Zed Books: London, pp. 153-169

[387] Field notes, 04.01.16 – information sourced from a billboard detailing the CBD Urban Design Framework located next to the clock tower on Independence Avenue as of January 2016.

[388] See Photo No. 11.

they endeavour to control and order space using planning as an apparatus of reconfiguration.[389] A related dimension of Lefebvre's conceptual triad that could be put to use is *representational space*. As a particular discourse of space, the non-verbal signs and symbols such as the imagined skyline and visual identity that taller buildings would enhance once the CBD Urban Design Framework is put in place become *representational space*.[390] Specifically, it is "space that the imagination seeks to change and appropriate".[391] The recognition of need for a Windhoek skyline and visual identity (*representational space* in Lefebvre's sense) as suggested by the CBD Urban Design Framework resonates with Schlettwein's *Keine Stadt*, wherein she laments the absence of a pronounced skyline as it is subjugated by the natural environment.[392] But the point at which *representations of space* and *representational space* coalesce to complete Lefebvre's conceptual triad is worth recalling. For the first two dimensions are produced and given meaning through a dialectical interaction with *spatial practice*. With *spatial practice*, Lefebvre makes reference to social interrelations that are unique to particular locations and as such characteristic of each social formation.[393] As an example, the proposed 'network of pedestrian lanes and arcades' in the CBD Urban Design Framework have the potential of bringing about new ways in which residents experience the CBD. When spaces are created for people rather than cars, residents will access the city in new ways and the network of pedestrian lanes will produce particular social interrelations as well as practices that could not otherwise take place.

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[389] See Lefebvre, H. (1974 [1991]). *The Production of Space* (Trans. Nicholson-Smith, D.), p. 33; Roy, A. (2011), 'Urbanism, Worlding Practices and the Theory of Planning', p. 9.

[390] Op. cit. By *representational space*, Lefebvre makes reference to "space as lived directly through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users', but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as few writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do more than describe (1974: 39).

[391] Ibid., p. 39.

[392] See Chapter 4 – *Cultural Economies of the City*.

[393] Lefebvre, *'The Production of Space'*, p. 33.

Nonetheless, what the envisaged design seems to incorporate bears the trappings of a neo-liberal city insofar as the issue of spatially augmenting the scale at which capital circulation is concerned. To be sure, the envisaged 'larger residential CBD community' gravitates towards what Roy describes as 'how the restructuring of space repositions the urban scale as an important site of capital accumulation and governance'.[394] At the same time, as Hustwit argues, the framework accentuates "the same thing that cities have been doing for at least three thousand years, i.e. acting as a confluence where the flows of people, money and goods coalesce".[395] By its very design, the envisaged CBD makeover is aimed at intensifying these flows and it could well pass for an avatar of neo-liberal urbanism once implemented.[396] Therefore, the CBD Urban Design Framework should be understood in terms of efforts by city officials to redirect the concentration and circulation of people and perhaps capital from the suburbs (mainly Katutura) to the city centre. This redirection assumes a neoliberal character when the concentration of people in the CBD is deployed as an enabling condition for the thriving of trade and commerce within a prime area of the city to invite 'prime taxes'. Indeed, the expeditiousness with which things such as potholes in suburbs not far from the CBD are attended to and the snail's pace at which those ones in Katutura receive attention is quite revealing. In other words, prime area + prime tax = prime service. Therefore, when municipal officials are aiming for 'a larger CBD residential community', it can safely be argued that they are interested in broadening the 'prime tax' base. In this instance, 'planning becomes the face of power and order, expressing the interests of economic and political regimes'[397] that seek to benefit from rearrangement of the

[394] Roy, A. (2011), 'Urbanism, Worlding Practices and the Theory of Planning'. *Planning Theory*, 10(*1*), 6-15.

[395]Hustwit, G. (2011), 'Urbanized' [Documentary]. See also Ward, K. (2014: 7)

[396] This is said bearing in mind that neoliberal urbanism is a broad concept that includes but not limited to public-private partnerships, property redevelopment schemes, new strategies of social control, policing and surveillance. All these are enacted to 'mobilize city space as an arena for market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices while at the same time securing order and control amongst marginalized populations' (Peck, Theodore & Brenner, 2009:58). See also Peck, Theodore & Brenner 2013; Hackworth 2007.

[397] Roy, A. (2011), *'Urbanism'.*

urban space. As the allure of nightlife disproportionately favours Katutura, the hype of activities as manifested in the flow of people, capital and commodities jettison the CBD time and again. The design is aimed at changing this character and the direction of flows. That through the flow goods and services the CBD remains the epicentre of economic activities is an undeniable fact. But intensifying the intersection of commodities, finance and people in the CBD will be in the interests of the economic barons of the city. Some of these economic barons are the main contributors to the city's coffers through rates and taxes, while others put their political clout to use in ensuring that city officials dance to their tunes in terms of policy formulation and the rewarding of unfettered access to economic opportunities available.

Photo No. 11: Key Aspects of the CBD Urban Design Framework



* The above billboard detailing the CBD Urban Design Framework is mounted next to the clock tower opposite the Telecommunication Company of Namibia (Telecom) on Independence Avenue within the CBD.

The design is guided by eight values[398] that seem to have three broad objectives. Firstly, these values seem to take an excursion back in time and space with the aim of correcting past spatial planning modes of deliberate exclusion. The 'open and inclusive city' as well as 'city for people – creating urban spaces for people rather than cars' objective in a way talk back to and against the apartheid city model that excluded the majority of urban poor who did not own cars. Contemporary Windhoek is still notoriously car-centric, particularly with regards to private vehicles. Taxis (invariably sedans with four passenger doors) that transport the majority of urban dwellers are deemed a nuisance by the authorities. There are barely enough taxi ranks around the CBD, forcing taxi drivers to load passengers at undesignated spots. Traffic fines that this violation attracts are quite high, and on one occasion taxi drivers brought the CBD to a standstill as a way of registering their displeasure with how they are treated by traffic cops.[399] It seems like the strike that brought the CBD to a halt in 2014 did not result in improved conditions for taxi drivers, for they recently threatened to strike again.[400] On the other hand, private cars are privileged and their right of way is jealously guarded.

Writing on Accra, Ato Quayson makes reference to zig-zagging as a style of walking on Oxford Street in Accra, for the sidewalk of this space has been democratised by pedestrians. As such, cars do not reign supreme. "Much of the length of the sidewalks on both sides of the street has been taken over by businesses and vendors, and cars have no monopoly over the roadway".[401] What Quayson narrates is the exact opposite of major streets in Windhoek and thoroughfares such as Independence Avenue with their car-centric design and mores. The unwritten but

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[398] Field notes, 04.01.16 – information sourced from a billboard detailing the CBD Urban Design Framework mounted next to the clock tower opposite the Telecommunication Company of Namibia (Telecom) on Independence Avenue as of January 2016.

[399] Coetzee, Y. (March 20, 2014), 'Taxi Mayhem Brings Windhoek CBD to a Standstill', *The Namibian*.

[400] Smit, E. (September 07, 2016), 'Taxi Drivers Threaten to Strike', *Namibian Sun*.

[401] Quayson, A. (2014), *'Oxford Street, Accra: City Life and the Itineraries of Transnationalism'*, Duke University Press: Durham, p. 16.

strictly enforced rules forbid testing the patience of private cars whose impatient drivers pollute the soundscape of the city with horns and hoots, exuding their intolerance while eliciting road rage. Another set encompass 'distinctiveness, sustainability and business friendly' values that will pass for enablers of a competitive city to galvanise neoliberal urbanism that seems to be a dominant organising framework governing cities in the 21st century. And thirdly, values of 'connectedness' (where people, goods and ideas move freely). Indeed, the issue of making the city mobile has not evaded the attention of the municipality of Windhoek and central government. Sustainable Urban Transport Master Plan (SUTMP) dubbed 'Move Windhoek' was launched in 2013 against the backdrop of high transportation costs and lack of non-motorised facilities. The implementation of 'Move Windhoek' has started with the introduction of new municipal bus routes and the expansion of bus fleets to cater for a demand that has been at variance with supply for a very long time. Moreover, the Windhoek CBD Urban Design Framework has identified 'enhancing arrival and movement through the city' as one of the themes under the CBD spatial design.[402] In turn, this is related to the CBD Urban Design Development Value of 'connectedness'.[403] Alongside 'connectedness', the value of 'quality' as expressed in a well-designed and managed urban environment is emphasised; and 'compactness' which will result from mixed use development – all speak to the future aspirations of Windhoek.

One of the officials I spoke to conceived of enlivening the CBD in terms of building shopping malls as he makes reference to The Grove Mall, a new shopping complex opened late 2014 in Kleine Kuppe,[404] a posh suburb in southern Windhoek known for some of the most expensive

[402] Field notes, 04.01.16 – information sourced from a billboard detailing the CBD Urban Design Framework located next to the clock tower on Independence Avenue as of January 2016. At some length, I dealt with the Windhoek CBD Urban Design Framework in Chapter 3 – *City Governance: Urban Fantasies, (In)visibility and Bureaucratic Practices.*

[403] Ibid., Field notes (04.01.16).

[404]Interview with Maanda, F. (17.3.15), City of Windhoek .

rental fares in the city. Equating shopping malls with 'development and progress' is not a view held only by bureaucrats, but also amongst politicians. Back in 2012 as a group of informal traders were pitted against municipal officials and the police as the future of an informal marketplace was hanging in the balance, the constituency councillor responsible for the area had this to say:

> "Why can't we set up a multi-million community mall? Like any other mall, with various sectors. Why do we want to think small? People ask me why I am not bringing toilets and a fence. To me, this is going back to square one. (...) We have enough people; we should just do a feasibility study and set up a proper mall. Build a cinema, where people can go and watch movies".[405]

The foregoing quote resonates with Bolay's enunciation of the gulf between planners, politicians and residents with regards to planning strategies adopted from Western cities without having been redesigned on a clear basis.[406]

By all indications, the Grove Mall is an incarnation of the decentralisation of shopping from the CBD to 'white' suburban residential areas, a phenomenon Bridget Kenny vividly captures as she writes on malls and consumption on the East Rand.[407] But importantly, Kenny cautions against the view that "the mall as a cultural phenomenon is but a manifestation of 'millennial capitalism' where neoliberal capital accumulation appears to be propelled by a fury of consumption".[408] Although Kenny invites us to think about the mall beyond consumption, the City of Windhoek official that I interviewed was clearly intimating at the expansion of spaces of consumption

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[405] Tjirera, E. (2013), 'Ethnography of 'Herero Mall' as a Post-Apartheid Social Space', Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Namibia, p. 70.

[406] Bolay, J-C. (2015), 'Urban Planning in Africa: Which Alternative for Poor Cities? The Case of Koudougou in Burkina Faso', *Current Urban Studies*

[407] Kenny, B. (2009), 'Consumption or Collectivity? Malls and Working Class Life on the East Rand', In Kesting, M., Weskott, A. (Eds.), *Sun Tropes: Sun City and (Post-) Apartheid Culture in South Africa,* pp. 249-262.

[408] Ibid., p. 250.

alongside the view that some jobs will be created in the process. But it remains difficult to see how the opening of new theatres of consumption along the lines of hypermarkets will enliven the CBD in a meaningful way when the majority's existence in the city is defined by a little more than 'bare life'. But this apparent contradiction is precisely how Lefebvre's conceptual tool should be understood. Malls are very much manifestations of neoliberal policy solutions *(representations of space)* and their function becomes antagonistic to 'ordinary' street life as lived *(representational space)* – say by street vendors – and mediated by social practice.

Statistics on poverty dynamics from Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA) reveal that Zambezi (formerly Caprivi) and Khomas (where Windhoek is located and accounts for 95%[409] of the region's population) are the regions where poverty increased between 2003/2004 and 2009/2010.[410] Despite this state of affairs, thinking about cities in terms of consumption and commodity exchange[411] – even though not new – has been accentuated by a myriad of contemporary urban forms such that it has come to pass for what the city is all about.

To be sure, what epitomises a contemporary city particularly from bureaucrats' point of view seems to be turning the urban experience almost in its entirety into a colossal shopping mall whose main function is circulation and exchange. Beyond exchange, big malls are of symbolic value in that they signal the 'development' of the city. The fixation is on extracting value (invariably exchange value) from as many activities as possible. Activities that lack the potential to yield the desired exchange value (for city authorities) are deemed a nuisance and condemned to spaces where chances of visibly 'hijacking' circulating capital are almost zero. The University of Namibia (UNAM) student who was displaced from the precinct of the Post Street Mall and

[409] See NSA (2011), 'Namibia 2011 Population & Housing Census Main Report', p. 6.

[410] NSA (2012), 'Poverty Dynamics in Namibia: A Comparative Study Using the 1993/94, 2003/04 and the 2009/10 NHIES Surveys', p. 15.

[411] Cf. Backes, N. (1997), 'Reading the Shopping Mall City', *Journal of Popular Culture*; Zukin, S. (1998), 'Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardisation in Spaces of Consumption', *Urban Studies*.

arrested for playing a guitar exemplifies the extent to which city officials are prepared to go to reign in on those who are diverting circulating capital away from municipal coffers.[412] Thinking about capital as expressed through money, the arrested UNAM's student action had the potential of diverting money from municipal coffers because 'complaints were coming from offices'[413] were the guitar was being played. But capital has a tendency of at times escaping the emboldened hands of authorities and the urban poor regularly update their tools of disrupting the capture of all available capital. Picture a 40-something year old man on crutches walking down the courtyard that leads to the busiest thoroughfare in Windhoek. He is holding a metallic cup-like container that is barely filled with coins singing 'happy birthday' unto himself while shaking the container to invite the attention of passers-by.[414] Whether or not it is his birthday is another question, but he was instrumentally using his supposed birthday to solicit monetary largesse from those sitting and walking along the courtyard. On what basis will the authorities move, displace or arrest this man whose only effort is to make his birthday a memorable one in whatever small way?

In terms of revitalising the CBD from the Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) angle, reference was made to Cape Town's Greenmarket Square as something that Windhoek could emulate.[415] The Greenmarket Square is by far the oldest public square in Cape Town whose long history goes back to 1696 and its fortunes have fluctuated over the years.[416] Since 2007, the square underwent a structural metamorphosis with a view to embracing informal trading in a meaningful way through pedestrianizing the square as well as providing ablution facilities.[417] A

[412]Methula, B. (September 30, 2013), 'Street soloist arrested; told to beg', *The Villager*.

[413] City Police FGD, 27.7.15, Officer No. 2.

[414]Field-notes, 04.22.15

[415]Interview with Joodt, L. (24.3.15), City of Windhoek.

[416]http://www.capetownpartnership.co.za/greenmarket-square/ Accessed September 20, 2015.

[417]Ibid. See also Pirie, G. (2007), 'Reanimating a Comatose Goddess: Reconfiguring Central Cape Town', *Urban Forum*, 18: 125-151; Steck, J-F., Didier, S., Morange, M., Rubin, M. (2013), 'Informality, Public Space and Urban

consultant from Cape Town was roped in to advise on the revitalisation strategy by the Municipality of Windhoek. This reverberates with what Ash Amin calls 'business consultancy urbanism' whose defining feature is numbness to the interests of the increasingly disenfranchised or majority urban poor. Instead, the interest is in a city that feeds international competitiveness and business growth.[418] In a way, this speaks to the inability of a colonial town to 'resist the temptation of mimicry'.[419] At another level, the obsession with competitiveness and business growth is an articulation of globalisation and an attribute of the logic of late capitalism.[420] To be sure, the proposed 'larger residential CBD community'[421] is about creating a sizeable consumer market and driving business growth. It follows that as complex geographies of globalising capitalism and neo-liberalisation are (*re*)creating hybrid cities in the post-colony, Northern theories and planning norms (still) circulate as best practices.[422] Put differently, discourse on urban space as conceived *(representations of space)* by the Global North continues to have purchase and shapes how space is lived *(representational space)* in the Global South. In the next section, I shall dwell on the *spatial practice* of surveillance which necessarily is a particular way of conceiving of space that originates from the Global North.

3.1.2. Surveillance, Control and Policing Space

The ferocity with which the Municipality of Windhoek deals with informality in its various facets as well as other aspects related to governing the city invite an exploration of this city through an

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Governance: An Approach Through Street Trading (Abidjan, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Lomé and Nairobi)', In Bekker, S., Fourchard, L., *Politics and Policies: Governing Cities in Africa*, HRSC Press: Cape Town, pp. 145-168.

[418]Amin (2013).

[419]Mbembe (2008),'Aesthetics of Superfluity'.

[420]Cf. Ward (2000); Philo & Kearns (1993); Swyngedouw (2004).

[421] Field notes, 04.01.16 / CBD Urban Design Framework.

[422]Sheppard (2014).

analogy of a 'panopticon', which it seems to have become over the years. This is in spite of the diversity in cities that somewhat makes it impossible to compare urban space simply and directly to the panopticon.[423] Nonetheless, there are variegated principles typical of the panopticon which are clearly present in the surveillance and social control of cities.[424] Conceiving of Windhoek using the analogy of a panopticon is not an exercise in caging the discussion into a particular preordained framework. To be sure, making reference to a panopticon is an attempt at making sense of surveillance technologies deployed by the city in its efforts to order and control space. At the institutional level, surveillance in Windhoek is part of a four pronged approach to combat crime, the other three being *Zonal Policing*, *Community Policing* and *Intelligence Gathering*.[425] A senior member of the municipal police recounted that "if you look throughout the city centre, we put CCTV everywhere to complement the guys [officers] on patrol and on the streets".[426] In this way, surveillance is touted as part of the normative infrastructure of policing to keep the city safe, for police officers I spoke to see 'maintaining safety for the residents of Windhoek' as their key role, and surveillance is seen as an important part of fulfilling this role.[427] It seems that keeping the city safe is increasingly being understood as having the capacity to monitor, watch and control. This is nothing new, but it becomes problematic when the city's operations become financially unsustainable largely on account of committing a large portion of financial resources to the municipal police.[428] The expansive rolling out of surveillance infrastructure and technologies – as part of the Integrated Electronic Monitoring Security (IEMS) – within the city in recent times is expressive of contemporary modes of urban governance.[429] Obsession with

[423]Koskela, H. (2003), 'Cam Era – The Contemporary Urban Panopticon', *Surveillance & Society*, 1(3), 292-313.

[424]Ibid.

[425] City Police FGD (27.7.2015), Supervisor No.3 [Male].

[426]Ibid.

[427]City Police FGD (27.7.2015).

[428]Immanuel, S. (March 14, 2016), 'Windhoek on Brink of Bankruptcy', *The Namibian*.

[429] Cf. Graham, S., Marvin, S. (2001), 'Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructure, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition', pp. 261-264; Lippert, R.K., Wood, D.M. (2012), 'The New Urban Surveillance:

monitoring in real time is taken as an assurance that the powers that be are in control, for the labour that the burden of proof invites in criminal cases is rendered less convoluted through real-time digital evidence availed by CCTV. Plans to install CCTV cameras across the city were first mooted in late 2006 shortly after the Chief of City Police – Abraham Kanime – visited Johannesburg and Pretoria to familiarise himself with CCTV systems.[430] The latter effectively betrays an instance where a former colony is drawing lessons from its former ruler. This summons to mind a visit to Johannesburg and Pretoria in the 1950s by a delegation from the Windhoek Town Council whose main aim was to 'make the council and its officials more familiar with aspects of housing Africans',[431] a euphemistic phrasing of residential apartheid. This kind of connection allows for an analytical exchange between Windhoek, Johannesburg and Pretoria, a subject I briefly touched on in *Chapter One*.

In 2010, about 200 wireless and live cameras were installed at various public places to 'fight crime'. [432] Another thirty surveillance cameras were reportedly earmarked for the notorious Eveline Street by the City of Windhoek in 2012.[433] Located in the north-western suburb of Goreangab, Eveline Street is one of the most notorious in Windhoek – with violent crime almost synonymous with this street. A stretch of no less than 700 metres presents a bewilderingly large number of *shebeens* (speakeasies) on either side of the road. The whole street is electrifyingly energetic, abuzz with disparate activities – open meat market, car washes cheek by jowl with *shebeens,* a boozing army of people, and cars – but also appears chaotic in the sense that disparate

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Technology, Mobility, and Diversity in 21st Century Cities', pp. 257-262. See also Graham, S. (2010), 'Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism'.

430Ngavirue, M. (December 8, 2006), 'CCTV Security Planned for Capital', *New Era*. See also Rhodes, F. (December 12, 2007), 'Surveillance Cameras Planned for City', *New Era*.

431 Pretoria Depot: SAB, NTS, 4566, 1115/313, *'Windhoek Municipality, South West Africa'*. This visit is discussed in some detail in *Chapter One*.

432Ikela, S. (November 24, 2010), 'Big Police Brother Watching the Botsotsos', *Namibian Sun*.

433*Windhoek Observer* (July 23, 2012), 'CCTV for Shebeen Street'.

activities have to perpetually find a *modus vivendi* for the sanity of the street. This mixture of activities and people seems to provide a fertile ground for violent crime, hence a pointed CCTV roll-out by the City Police in this part of Windhoek. Some of the CCTV cameras installed throughout the city were reported to be faulty and dysfunctional,[434] and in this process exposed the limits if not failures of surveillance technologies. The City Police nonetheless denied claims that part of its surveillance infrastructure was dysfunctional, and invited a journalist to their CCTV Control Room who reported back that all cameras were functional despite hazy footage they recorded.[435] Through this exercise, the City Police wanted to be seen to be in control, which is consistent with urban regimes of regulation and excessive control. "To date, no malfunctioning of CCTV systems were experienced and our team is capable of dealing with any situation", reads a rebuttal statement from the City of Windhoek.[436] Allegations of plans to 'tarnish the good name and reputation of the City of Windhoek' were meted out to journalists who reported on the alleged malfunctioning of CCTV systems.[437] Moreover, the journalists were castigated as being 'non-patriotic, insensitive and inconsiderate'.[438] Whether or not the allegations made by journalists were tainted with malice beforehand is a different question altogether, but the rebuttal by the City of Windhoek is in part a public relations exercise. As the rebuttal protested:

> "[t]he article which contains unconfirmed and inaccurate reports has also sent a wrong impression to the public and visitors that they are not safe in our beautiful City".[439]

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[434] Immanuel, S., Kahiurika, N. (February 10, 2015), 'N$25m City Cameras Out of Order', *The Namibian*.

[435]City of Windhoek (February 11, 2015), Media Briefing; Heita, H. (February 27, 2015), 'Scrapping City Police Impossible', *Windhoek Observer*.

[436]City of Windhoek Media Briefing (February 11, 2015), p. 5.

[437]Ibid.

[438]Ibid.

[439] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

Contrary to the public relations gimmick palpable in the rebuttal of the City of Windhoek, a member of the City Police I interviewed admitted that 'Windhoek is a high crime city from the local point of view, but peaceful when compared to other cities in the world'.[440] It follows that manifestations of crime are subject to parameters of scale, and indeed surveillance technologies are subject to limitations and failures. It is in this view that Graham & Marvin maintain that 'no matter how many armed response patrols roam the streets, and no matter how many video cameras keep watch over the plazas, there remain blind spots that await, and even invite, inhabitation by unforeseen and potent alternative practices'.[441] Indeed, surveillance technologies and their attendant legal-moral ordering practices are part of cities attempts to re-imagine and remarket themselves in the context of regional, national and international inter-urban competition for capital investment.[442] In this view, surveillance should be understood in terms of producing urban spaces of an entrepreneurial kind and bringing into sharp focus debates about continuing urban inequality and the meaning of spatial justice.[443]

That surveillance inherently is a practice underpinned by markedly pronounced unequal power relations makes it amenable to making sense of it using the concept of a panopticon. The idea of a panopticon was conceived in 1785 by philosopher Jeremy Bentham to account for technologies of control and power with a particular reference to a prison architectural design aimed at facilitating a one-directional observation of inmates by the watchman.[444] Foucault expanded the usage of panopticon in the 1970s to make reference to variegated institutional practices insofar as they are expressive of ever-increasing control, exercise of power and surveillance.[445] Using a

[440]City Police, FGD – Supervisor No. 4 [Female], (27.7.15).

[441] Graham, S. Marvin, S. (2001), 'Splintering Urbanism', pp. 395-396.

[442]Coleman, R. (2005), 'Surveillance in the City: Primary Definition and Urban Spatial Order', *Crime Media Culture*, 1(2), 131-148.

[443]*Surveillance in the City: Primary Definition and Urban Spatial Order*, p. 131.

[444]See Božovič, M. (1995) (ed.), *'Jeremy Bentham: The Panopticon Writings'*.

[445] Foucault, M. (1975), *'Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison'* (Trans. Sheridan, A.), pp. 195-228.

Foucauldian expanded version of a panopticon as an analytical frame, I argue here that in 2012 when the Municipality of Windhoek floated its intention(s) of requiring denizens to apply for permission each time they are planning to hold private parties on their properties,[446] the city was simply taking surveillance to its logical conclusion, namely, control. It appears that the CCTV cameras rolled out across the city have become part of the 'normal' urban infrastructure akin to electricity transmission poles whose presence is trivial or confined to the realm of oblivion. This unawareness is perhaps captured in the frequency at which those who commit crimes in Windhoek are invariably caught with the aid of CCTV,[447] pointing to surveillance technologies having become part of what is beyond consciousness. But the idea of 'applying for permission' to hold a party on private property by the City of Windhoek is very much part of the 'conscious' and was taken as an affront by denizens to rules governing privacy. Unsurprisingly, the idea of no holding of parties without permission was met with fervent resistance and remains an unenforced if not unenforceable regulation, but the fact that the City of Windhoek's bureaucrats dared to contemplate this idea is very telling insofar as control and surveillance define the kind of city being fashioned before the very eyes of the denizens. It was only after a brief expression of displeasure from Windhoek's residents concerning what they perceived as a draconian by-law, that the City of Windhoek was forced into providing some explanation. City officials retorted by arguing that the by-law only applies to events (parties) attended by more than 100 people.[448] Surprisingly, the cited by-law [449] on prohibition of noise nuisance makes no reference to +100 people alluded to by municipal officials in allaying remonstration from denizens. In fact, this particular by-law does not give the number of people whose potential noise level warrants permission or restraint. It appears that municipal authorities at times conjure up or draw on some

[446]Immanuel, S. (September 25, 2012), 'City acts as party-pooper', *The Namibian*.

[447] Cf. Ikela, S. (September 15, 2013), 'Police cameras foil car thieves', *Namibian Sun*; The Namibian (August 15, 2016), 'Twelve gang members arrested'.

[448] Immanuel, S. (September 27, 2012), 'City clarifies party law', *The Namibian*.

[449] Municipal Council of Windhoek: Noise Control Regulations, GN 77, GG 3612.

existing elusive municipal regulations to reduce the city to an asylum populated by anarchists incapable of going about their affairs without the restraining hand of bureaucrats. Equally, the restraining hand speaks to an obsession with control as a hallmark of bureaucrats at the Municipality of Windhoek and the kind of city they imagine. What is rendered apparent through a multitude of actions by the authorities is, therefore, a pervasive gulf in understanding between denizens and municipal officials regarding urban imaginaries. Subjected to the prism of Lefebvre's conceptual frame, this gulf betrays the antagonistic relationship between *representational space* and *representations of space*.

Writing on Koudougou – a city in Burkina Faso's Boulkiemdé Province west of Ouagadougou – Bolay attributes the gulf between planners and residents to fundamentals of planning that were manufactured in the North and then transferred to the South, without having been redesigned on a clear basis.[450] Drawing from the foregoing, it is unsurprising that an exploration of urban governance in Windhoek portrays a city which is at once attractive and draconian, fragile albeit highly regulated. While outsiders such as tourists and visitors are seduced and charmed by meticulous order, the obverse is that the majority of denizens are thrown onto the City's precarious paths. City officials' actions seem to be consistent with a desire to assert monopoly over moral and economic order in the city. Most of their actions seem to be informed by the dictum of the so-called 'orderly built environment'[451] which is one of the stated objectives of the Department of Planning and Property Management of the City of Windhoek.

Having reflected on three main practices that bureaucrats or municipal officials engage in, what comes to the fore are governance modalities that most of the times operate tenaciously in ensuring that the letter of the law – which may at times appear anachronistic – is brought to bear

[450]Bolay, J-C. (2015), 'Urban Planning in Africa: Which Alternative for Poor Cities? The Case of Koudougou in Burkina Faso', *Current Urban Studies*.

[451] http://www.windhoekcc.org.na/depa_urbanisation.php Accessed March 22, 2016.

on the urban landscape. Official bureaucratic roles partly shape how the figure of a bureaucrat interprets spatial relations and practices. Moreover, the figure of the bureaucrat generally and in ways shown above, exhibits an unflinching desire in projecting a sanitised image of the city to visitors and tourists. At times, this desire – which is expressed as official order – is disrupted by spatial practices of denizens that bureaucrats seek to manage and control. In this instance, the figure of the bureaucrat resolutely pursues all means necessary to hold onto the fantasy of a squeaky clean city.

3.1.3. Obsession with Order and Cleanliness

> "The cleanliness of Windhoek is one of the aspects tourists and visitors enjoy when visiting our city. When asked to comment on their first impression about Windhoek, the answer is mostly that 'it is really a clean city!".[452]

When Windhoek was selected to host the Africities 2000 Summit, the then Mayor of Windhoek – Immanuel Ngatjizeko – positioned the city in terms of 'cleanliness' as an attribute setting Windhoek apart and a reputational jewel to be jealously guarded.[453] Held in May 2000, the Africities Summit arguably placed Windhoek on the map as a global player in local authority governance in Africa.[454] Indeed, the preoccupation with 'cleanliness' straddles successive mayors of the City of Windhoek. The former Mayor of the City of Windhoek, Mathew Shikongo, proclaimed that Windhoek is determined to 'stay clean' while launching the Solid Waste-Free Environment Project in 2004.[455] Ten years later, the then Mayor of Windhoek Agnes Kafula noted at a commissioning of waste removal trucks that the 'cleanliness of Windhoek is

[452] City of Windhoek (2013), 'Mayoral Annual Report', p. 20.

[453] See Fischer, J. (August 1999), 'Windhoek: City of the African Millennium', *Flamingo*.

[454] Bravenboer (2004).

[455] Amadhila, L. (July 12, 2004), 'Windhoek Determined to Stay Clean', *New Era*.

renowned'.[456] And through symbolism and advertisement, cleanliness is consistently peddled by authorities. "The City prides itself as the cleanest City in Africa, if not in the world. This status did not come by chance, but was [is] a result of an entrenched culture of cleanliness of the Windhoek residents".[457] As recent as October 2015, the current Mayor of Windhoek – Muesee Kazapua – was reported to be leading a march of volunteers to ostensibly 'regain Windhoek's status as the cleanest city in Africa'.[458] The fact that successive mayors of Windhoek peddled cleanliness without fail suggests that it is an integral part of what Windhoek is as a city – from the perspective of municipal officials. Billboards compelling denizens to desist from littering are particularly concentrated in north-western parts of the city where cleanliness is markedly wanting compared to the squeaky clean CBD and its immediate surroundings.

Photo No. 12: Keep Windhoek Clean



[456]*The Villager* (August 27, 2014), 'City of Windhoek Commissions New Waste Removal Truck'.

[457]City of Windhoek (2013), 'Mayoral Annual Report 2013', p. 12.

[458]*The Namibian* (October 21, 2015), 'Kazapua wants back cleanest city status', [Story Courtesy of Namibia Press Agency (NAMPA)].

Under the theme of 'My Waste, My Responsibility' which was developed as part of the Mayoral Cleaning Campaign in January 2013, Windhoek dwellers are urged in these billboards to keep the city clean, because 'it is important', reads the text preceded by the injunction of 'let's keep our city clean'.

In peddling the idea of cleanliness further, the tourism portal of the City of Windhoek official page reads:

> "Windhoek is often described as one of the cleanest capitals in Africa and visitors are surprised that this city, considered to be part of deepest Africa, offers all modern amenities that conform to some of the world's highest standards".[459]

Three things are made clear in the aforesaid advert-like posturing. Firstly, there is the valorisation of cleanliness on the basis of external validation,[460] that is, appraisal from outsiders that then galvanises and encourages efforts to counter images of derelict and filthy African cities portrayed in the media. Secondly, an implicit supposition that 'deepest Africa' (read less sophisticated and defined by lack) should not be in a position to offer particular amenities and/or services that modern cities are associated with. But the portrayal of African cities as dysfunctional and dystopian in various respects has not gone unchallenged. It follows that when Bill Freund observes that 'there is no dearth of scholarly material that sees African cities as essentially dysfunctional and dangerous places',[461] he is essentially stating a widely held critique of a scholarship casting urban Africa through the rubric of chaos and disorder.[462] And thirdly, the

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[459] http://www.windhoekcc.org.na/tour.php Accessed March 22, 2016.

[460] As Windhoek municipal officials put it regarding waste management and cleanliness, "our experiences and knowledge in this field has attracted interest from the region and beyond, with visitors wanting to know '*what is the magic behind the cleanliness*' " (Mayoral Annual Report 2009/2010, p. 8, italics in original).

[461] Freund, B. (2007), 'The African City', p. 142.

[462] A quintessential piece of writing within the urban chaos and disorder scholarship is perhaps Mike Davis' (2006) Planet of Slums; see for example pp. 18 -19.

element of surprise alluded to in the marketing gimmick is less to do with availability of amenities and services, but with the implied superior quality of these amenities which is comparable to the 'world's highest standards'. As a municipal official I interviewed recounted, tourists and other visitors would say this about Windhoek: "it just looks like a small city in a European country".[463] The delight with which an official from the Municipality of Windhoek was narrating how outsiders – particularly from Europe – perceive Windhoek, demands that we dig below the veneer. The savouring of the European comparison reveals an aspiration and informs views of what is to be maintained at whatever cost if Windhoek is to hold onto the fantasy of what bureaucrats envisage and imagine.[464]

Comparison with Europe is chiefly argued in terms of the 'management of the City of Windhoek having been exemplary such that a high standard has been maintained in the provision of services, cleanliness and maintenance of infrastructure'.[465] This kind of positioning ostensibly makes Windhoek 'unique'[466], for this comparison cannot be made about a number of other African cities as they are perceived to be chaotic, dysfunctional and signifiers of the general failure of African states.[467] Projecting Windhoek in terms of uniqueness in Africa by writers and municipal officials in particular is nothing new.[468] The peddling of this uniqueness has been deployed by municipal officials – at least for the most part – to lure capital. Marketing brochures and other advertising means are replete with how unique the city is. Officials spare no energy in

[463]Interview with Endjala, V. (17.03.15).

[464] This fantasy is illustrated by the consistent peddling of cleanliness in successive Mayoral Annual Reports (see for example reports between 2007 and 2015). The Mayoral Annual Report of 2015 linked 'challenges' of keeping the city clean to the influx of many people coming to Windhoek, but maintained that the city is committed to ensure a clean and healthy environment for all. But the enveloping of influx of people coming to Windhoek into 'challenges of keeping the city clean' suggests the opposite, i.e. that the city is not prepared nor committed to ensure a 'clean and healthy environment for all'.

[465]Ibid.

[466]Ibid.

[467] Cf. Locatelli & Nugent (2009); Freund (2007).

[468]Cf. Fischer (1999); Bravenboer (2004).

demonstrating that the city is available and ready for investment. The theme of promoting Windhoek as a tourism and investment centre runs through all accessible Mayoral Annual Reports (2007-2015).

Two other related themes are broadening the revenue base of the city as well as marketing the City of Windhoek. All these activities signify the marketization of urban space, that is to say, Windhoek is for sale. "The City has modern road, rail and airport infrastructure and thus easily accessible …" reads an investment advert of February 2013. Windhoek seems ready and hungry to transact commercially for maximum gain. That "municipal services are rendered on cost recovery basis and not profit driven"[469] becomes a contestable and contested assertion. Windhoek functions like a typical neoliberal city in that activities that do not oil accumulation of capital are perceived as corruptions of the system on the basis of operating outside taxable official channels. Therefore, Markus' spatial positioning and existence – whose snippet I will discuss in a moment – is rendered irrelevant because his trade is untaxable. The latter assertion is necessarily a partial reading of a scenario involving competing claims over space.

Beyond extracting taxes in exchange for access to the city, municipal officials are also keen on controlling the symbolic power dimension *(representational of space)* which affect how the city "ought to be" lived *(representations of space)*. Nonetheless, the continued competing claims over urban space suggests that the apartheid city has been reanimated if not repurposed for the neoliberal age. Indeed, those who were spatially excluded from the city during the years gone by are today pushed aside by the economic configurations that valorise and promote activities that allow for maximum channelling of capital into municipal coffers.

[469] Mayoral Annual Report 2007/2008, City of Windhoek, p. 8.

Photo No. 13: City Centre (Investment Advert)



Embossed with the City of Windhoek emblem in a shape of *Aloe littoralis*[470] – and under-captioned by Windhoek's motto which reads 'City of many faces' – the photo above appeared in a February 2013 investment advert. Worth deconstructing is the text that accompanied this advert: "Africa's emerging natural jewel offering ample investment opportunities. Befittingly a 21st century modern city,[471] with cutting edge technology for ease of internet access and communication technologies". Within this modern city posturing, let us now try and think through the case of Markus as a vignette to foreground how far city officials are prepared to go with regards to erasing or obliterating activities that are untaxable while asserting symbolic power:

> In August 2010, a 31 year old Jan Markus was arrested for washing a car for payment in Windhoek's city centre. After being convicted, he was sent to prison

[470] For more on this plant, see Hoffmann, L. (May 19, 2016), 'The Windhoek or Mountain Aloe (Aloe littoralis)', *The Namibian*, pg. 9.

[471] The modern city kind of posturing has resonance with attempts at comparison and desire to mimic western cities in a fashion similar to a category such as global / world city that I discussed in the introductory remarks of this chapter.

> for three months as he could not afford to pay the alternative sentence of a N$300 fine. "The Windhoek City Police's Superintendent Johan Kellerman, who arrested Markus on August 6, told Magistrate Jermaine Muchali (…) that according to the City's by-laws people are not even allowed to dust a car standing in the road, never mind wash it. Kellerman told the magistrate he had picked up Markus for washing a car on the street on July 31 already, but because Markus had his small baby with him he was feeling sorry for him and let him off with a warning".[472]

At first glance, the foregoing snippet could point to overregulation. Overregulation in the sense that there seems to be a fixation on rule enforcement to reign in what are otherwise ordinary and petty economic activities that the urban poor eke out a living from. It is argued that regulatory systems such as licencing, zoning, code enforcement, health and safety inspections, open opportunities for some at the expense of others.[473] To be sure, various endeavours aimed at disciplining the unruly residents mostly take place within contradictory fields of force, for urban planners, municipal authorities and city officials operate different agendas.[474] In spite of these fields of force and regulatory configurations, mobile capital from a multitude of urban economic activities always has a way of fleeing aggressive efforts to regulate.[475] Therefore, efforts aimed at clamping down on 'informality' are destined to fail, for trying to tame informality is akin to aiming at a moving target – it is like a dog chasing its own tail – and the whole exercise is socially unsustainable. Markus' story reveals that for a large number of residents in cities, the challenge is how to demonstrate that where they live and what they do matters, particularly when visibility

[472] Cf. Menges, W. (September 20, 2010), 'City sends car washer to jail', *The Namibian*; Nakuta, J. (2011), 'The Justice Sector and the Rule of Law in Namibia: The Criminal Justice System, pp. 25-26.

[473] Murray, M., Myers, G. (2006), 'Cities in Contemporary Africa', p. 237.

[474] Ibid.

[475]Schragger, R.C. (2009), 'Mobile Capital, Local Economic Regulation, and the Democratic City', *Harvard Law Review*, 123, 482 – 540.

and value become more problematic.[476] Therefore, it is apparent that 'spaces ... are made with the visible in mind: the visibility of people and things ... and whatever is contained within them'.[477] At another level, this anecdote reveals that – following Amin and Thrift – "the city is as much a means of shutting down possibility as it is a means, through the openness of some (and only some) encounters, of opening it up".[478] In the main, this conundrum speaks to the volatility of urban life with its attendant proclivity to rupture and separate, for differentiated interests invariably define relationships and activities.[479]

What is rendered palpable in the above, then, is that "contemporary cities are devices for organising relationships between highly unequal groups who are nonetheless spatially proximate and strongly vested in specific locations".[480] Nonetheless, the sheer force of necessity of urban majorities across the African continent has produced a wide-ranging set of 'anarchic' and unruly practices that may not add up to a grand alternative, but certainly offer insights into other imaginaries and the potential for destabilisation and hybridisation.[481] More often than not, this potential for hybridisation does not find footing as the juxtaposition of majority urban dwellers living in deep poverty with minimum services and minority opulence is by all indications expressive of cities all over the world. In light of the above, Watson rightly asserts that "the most likely outcome of most fantasy plans is a steady worsening of the marginalisation and inequalities that already beset African cities".[482] The fixation on 'hygiene and cleanliness' is not a ritualistic exercise devoid of meaning. In *Purity and Danger*, Douglas shuns the simplistic Manichean reading of dirt as an opposite of cleanliness. Instead, she links dirt to the subversion of order: "dirt

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[476] Simone, A. (2014), 'The Missing People: Reflections on an Urban Majority in Cities of the Global South', In Parnell, S., Parnell, S., & Oldfield, S. (Eds.). *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*. Routledge.

[477] Lefebvre (1991: 75).

[478] Amin, A., Thrift, N. (2002), 'Cities: Reimagining the Urban', p. 105.

[479]Simmel, G. (1950 [1903]), 'The Metropolis and Mental Life'.

[480] Hall, S., Savage, M. (2015), 'Animating the Urban Vortex: New Sociological Urgencies', p. 7.

[481]Edjabe, N., Pieterse, E. (2015) (eds.), 'African Cities Reader III: Land Property and Value, p. 5.

[482] Watson, V. (2014), 'African Urban Fantasies: Dreams or Nightmares?' p. 215.

offends against order. Eliminating it is (...) an effort to organise the environment".[483] To deploy Douglas' frame of 'chasing dirt' in an attempt to make sense of what seems like a resolute addiction to cleanliness as a consequence of 'chasing dirt', Windhoek city officials are probably not governed by an anxiety to escape disease, but "by a desire to re-order an environment to make it conform to an idea".[484] But reconfiguring an environment to conform to an idea is not without challenges and contradictions. Challenges of order and cleanliness; urban poverty and economic opportunities play out in interesting ways at the Wernhil Market.

3.1.3.1. The Wernhil Market

The location of the informal marketplace in the precinct of Wernhil shopping mall in the city centre betrays the idea of what Windhoek should look like in the eyes of bureaucrats. 'Hidden' under a bridge, the physical position of this marketplace seems to subscribe to the duality of cleanliness and dirt as an expression of visibility and invisibility. Cleanliness at this marketplace is wanting in many respects but its design renders it invisible. The bridge under which this marketplace is located serves another purpose at night. Away from the suspecting eye of municipal authorities, homeless children and young adults sleep here, using the bridge as a shield against cold weather and rain.[485] On cold mornings, they make fires under the bridge to keep warm – but they also use the same environ to relieve themselves as well as bathing using a basin.[486] During the day, these vagabonds who have made the space under the bridge their

[483] Douglas (2003 [1966], p. 2).

[484] Ibid., p. 3.

[485]Interviewee No. 5 (5.8.2015); Field-notes (8.4.2015).

[486]Field-notes (8.4.2015).

home collect clothing hangers discarded by retailers such as *Edgars, Jet* and *Style*[487] for resale at a small fee. Their traversing around the city centre and in the proximity to the bridge – in search of customers – does not gel with the stench of urine that coalesces with a cesspool of food remains trapped by water used for cleaning dishes and saucepans. Delivering an ocular displeasing scene, food remains are disposed of in the middle of the road over a metallic drainage sieve which only allows the smallest of remains to pass through. But since this scenery is evacuated from the dominant and privileged cityscape, the marketplace is – perhaps reluctantly – allowed to function almost unhindered despite not meeting the required standard of cleanliness.

Photo No. 14: Marketplace under the Bridge (before an upgrade)



Municipal officials across departments portray this marketplace as emblematic of a city that is inclusive of the urban poor in economic activities generated by the movement of people and cars that characterise this milieu. Within the purview of *representations of space*, municipal officials conceive of this space as symbolic of a caring city that accommodates the urban poor. Its

[487]Edgars, Jet and Style are just few of the many South Africa's clothing retailers dominating the clothing market in Windhoek and other major towns in Namibia.

location is thought of as strategic: "(…) that area has been demarcated for them [informal traders] to operate mainly because you find taxis there and it is easy for them to load and offload their wares (…)".[488] Its location under the bridge passes for a shield with the power to insulate against the fantasy of the cleanest city in Africa. Kahengua lucidly expresses this fantasy using his humorous poetic licence:

"You must also inspect the streets.

No cigarette stompies[489]

The broom must sweep hard and kill the ants that might harm our esteemed tourists".[490]

Similarly, the focus on cleanliness is vividly captured by a conversation I had with a member of the Windhoek City Police Bicycle Squad. With what seemed like an intention to display pity in dealing with illegal traders, a police officer surrendered his crassness by asserting that:

> "At times, we tell illegal vendors to go and sell behind Shoprite [on Stubel Street] even though they are not allowed, just to clear them from Independence Avenue. They like to sell on Independence Avenue where tourists and visitors are passing and block the way. That is tarnishing the image of the city".[491]

What is apparent in the assertion above is that a particular image of the city seems to matter more than efforts of try to make a living by those at the margins of society. Making a living in an 'honest' manner is equated with 'tarnishing the image of the city' insofar as trading at particular spots within the city muddles the scenery that city officials are hell-bent on privileging. But when

[488] Interview with Joodt, L. (24.3.2015), City of Windhoek.

[489] Cigarette end, 'little stump' in Afrikaans

[490]Kahengua, K. (2004), 'Chief Inspector'.

[491] City Police Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Officer No. 3 [Male]: 27.07.15.

one visits informal markets in Katutura, dirt and the chaos that would constitute disorder in the city centre sit comfortably in this part of the city. This suggests that 'filth' and 'disorder' belong to particular spaces within the city. Or as Simone will insist, "particular spaces are linked to specific identities, functions, lifestyles, and properties so that the spaces of the city become legible for specific people at given places and times".[492] In a way, this state of affairs reveals that there are two cities in Windhoek; one of whose existence rests on a deliberate neglect of the other. On the one hand, you have the so-called locations where municipal services – save for basic water and electricity – seem to be reluctantly provided in a fashion suggesting that a favour is being provided.

By mere happenstance, I once had an informal conversation in mid-2015 with a person who turned out to be a town planner at the City of Windhoek. After I lamented the slow pace at which the City of Windhoek attends to things such as potholes and leaking water pipes in the 'locations' while acting promptly for similar complaints in the suburbs, the town planner unequivocally told me that they have to keep their most valued customers happy. He qualified his assertion by soberly stating that 'it is residents in the locations who are invariably in arrears, and payments by residents living in suburbs subsidise services in 'locations'. This crude reality momentarily left me speechless and made me provisionally accept that this was the nature of a post-apartheid city whose whirlwind is difficult to arrest. It appears that the city was designed to function that way as the constant reproduction of racialised urban poverty offset gains in the social mobility of black urban dwellers. This state of affairs confines the myth of the cleanest city to the city centre that merely serves the theatrics of 'showing off' to visitors and tourists the kind of city privileged by municipal officials. But this speaks to a broader functioning of urban regimes that are by and large fixated on "selling cities and trading spaces".[493] It follows that tourism does not only

[492] Simone, A. (2008), 'People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg', p. 70.

[493] "Selling Cities-Trading Places" is borrowed from a theme of a panel discussion organised by Critical Research in Consumer Culture (CRiCC) Network at the University of the Witwatersrand on October 8, 2015. See

comprise a major economic sector within cities, but also carries important symbolic weight.[494] The city depends on imagery for its appeals and tourists bring with them a set of perceptions that filter and refract the urban scene, write Amin and Thrift.[495] The desire for ostentatious opulence is increasingly pervasive, and influential groups in cities (such as municipal officials) of the post-colony feel that they are achieving this.[496] However, as Healy shows, it is increasingly becoming apparent that municipalities and their planners have little leverage over the flow of events through which the socio-spatial relations of cities are actively constructed.[497]

3.2. Taming 'Informality' – 'Aiming at a Moving Target'

> *"When police officers issue huge spot fines to unlicensed street traders and confiscate their wares, they effectively take away the livelihood of the most marginalized hawkers who occupy the lowest rungs of the informal economy".*[498]

In most instances, practices are materialised within a context of a particular discourse or a combination of discourses. Before getting into the materiality of practices that bureaucrats engage in when dealing with informal traders, reflecting a bit on how bureaucrats speak about informal traders will be apt. Officials from the planning department I interviewed couched their responses in the language of 'spatial accommodation' when talking about informal traders. Consider this:

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https://consumerculturenetwork.wordpress.com/2015/09/24/panel-discussion-selling-cities-trading-places-oct-8th/ Accessed March 14, 2019.

[494]Fainstein, S., Hoffman, L., Judd, D. (2003), 'Introduction', In Fainstein, S., Hoffman, L., Judd, D. (eds.) *Cities and Visitors: Regulating People, Markets, and City Space*, pp. 1-20.

[495] Amin, A., Thrift, N. (2002), 'Cities: Reimagining the Urban', p. 105, p. 9.

[496] Sheppard (2014), own emphasis added.

[497]Healy, P. (2003), 'Planning in Relational Space and Time: Responding to New Urban Realities', p. 517.

[498] Murray, M. J. (2008), 'Taming the Disorderly City', p. 227.

> "I do not think that many cities in the world will have their 'A Grade' shopping centre(s) accommodating informal traders. In that sense, we can say that we are a little bit ahead in accommodating our informal traders".[499]

The official was here making reference to a marketplace under the Frans Indongo Bridge in the precinct of Wernhil Park Shopping Mall. Another official responsible for spatial planning also invoked the admirable extent to which the city of Windhoek goes in accommodating as many informal traders as possible along the Post Street Mall piazza.[500] Located in front Wernhil Mall eastern entrance, the Post Street Mall piazza is mostly populated by craft traders targeting tourists first and foremost.[501] The piazza is imprisoned by clothing retailers, restaurants and office space. There are few benches for those who prefer to have their lunch outside. As one proceeds in the easterly direction, the most spectacular scenery in the form of Gibeon meteorites mounted on steel columns, appears on an elevated part of the piazza. This alluring scenery is where those visiting Windhoek will take pictures around the Post Street Mall. During the day – particularly around lunch time – the piazza bursts with energy, but gets worryingly empty and devoid of activity shortly before 19:00. Probably because of its central location within the CBD, the Post Street Mall piazza is frequently patrolled by the Windhoek City Police Bicycle Squad, raiding vendors trading without permits. In an interview, the section head of Micro Entrepreneurial Development alluded to obliviousness on the part of informal traders with regards to rules governing trading in the city.[502] Relatedly, the intimation by an official from the Planning Department of the Municipality of Windhoek that the city has performed an exceptional feat

[499]Interview with Endjala, V. (17.3.2015), City of Windhoek.

[500]Interview with Maanda, F. (17.3.2015), Section Planner: Spatial Planning, Information and Research (Department of Community Service), City of Windhoek.

[501] According to the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET), most tourists come from Europe (mainly Germany, France, UK and Switzerland) as well as North America. See MET (2016) Tourist Statistical Report 2016. MET: Windhoek.

[502]Interview with Kaverua, C. (24.3.2015), Section Head: Micro Entrepreneurial Development (Department of Economic Development), City of Windhoek.

through 'accommodating' a handful of informal traders in the CBD is suggestive of an unwritten rule dictating that the CBD is and has been off limits to street vendors.

To justify the status quo, history is at times mobilised. This drawing on the past is what Claudius Kaverua deployed by maintaining that:

> "One of the challenge that they [Windhoek] face as a city is that not enough provision was made for informal trading in the then City of Windhoek before independence in 1990, especially within the CBD".[503] He further observes that "our policies and regulations in place are quite accommodating, but it [informal trading] is something that is being considered now as an afterthought (…)".[504]

Indeed, the apartheid era's Hawker and Pedlar regulations of 1969 – forerunner of all post-independence informal trading regulations – prohibited the conducting of trading in no less than 15 streets[505] in and around the CBD.[506] This historical reality seems to explain the 'language of accommodation' that municipal officials from two different divisions embrace in talking about the spatial presence of informal traders within the CBD. At another level, the 'language of accommodation' seems to suggest an acknowledgement – if not recognition – of a present urban reality by municipal officials. In this view, that informal traders are an integral part of Windhoek's political economy is not a moot point. That there have been three iterations of regulations governing street trading speaks to the City of Windhoek efforts at grappling with the reality of informal trading and responding to urban realities that this entails. With the promulgation of

[503] Ibid.

[504] Ibid.

[505] Considering that the Windhoek CBD encompasses an area of 1.9km^2 (The Namibian, [February 28, 2017], p. 6), the prohibition of trading in no less 15 streets effectively meant that the CBD was a 'no trading zone' for street vendors.

[506] GG No. 2963, GN No. 17 (1969), 'Municipality of Windhoek – Hawker and Pedlar Regulations'. Prohibition of trading in various streets across the CBD was removed through the first post-independence iteration of regulations governing street trading (see GG No. 941, GN No. 210 (1994), 'Municipality of Windhoek – Hawker and Pedlar Regulations').

Street Trading Regulations of 1999 which repealed the Hawker and Pedlar Regulations of 1994 – for the first time – a distinction was made between itinerant and fixed informal traders, with hawker or pedlar as designations for the former and vendor for the latter.[507]

The third iteration was the Informal Trading Regulations of 2007 which dispensed with the designations of hawker, pedlar and vendor. These regulations introduced an all-inclusive category of an 'informal trader' to refer to a person who holds an 'informal trading permit' and conducts business and includes a 'market informal trader' [(a)], a 'fixed informal trader' [(b)], a 'roaming informal trader'[(c)] or a temporary informal trader [(d)].[508] Effectively, distinctions are still maintained, but under a single legal category.

Changes in regulations were chiefly driven by the sheer increase in number and types of street trading activities with the attendant need to clarify the finer details of trading where compliance have been found wanting. Within various traders' delineations of the 2007 Regulations, all informal traders are required to register with the municipality before engaging in any business activities within the city. In terms of Section 4(a), '[n]o person shall, within the municipal area, carry on or assist another person in carrying on the trade of hawker or pedlar, unless he or she has been registered in terms of regulation 4(c) (ii) as a vendor, hawker or trader or as an assistant to a vendor, hawker or pedlar, as the case may be'. [509] Traders are not even allowed to sell items of small value such as sweets without a permit.[510] Goods for which a permit is required are

[507] GG No. 2179, GN No. 252 (1999), 'Street Trading Regulations of the Municipality of Windhoek'.

[508] (a) An informal trader conducting business from a stall in a municipal market; (b) an informal trader conducting business from a stationary position, from a stand or from a marked site; (c) an informal trader who physically moves around with his or her goods within a stated general area; (d) a person who intends to conduct a business for a limited period, not exceeding 90 days (Municipality of Windhoek: Informal Trading Regulations of 2007, GG 3882, GN 200).

[509] *Municipality of Windhoek – Street Trading Regulations.*

[510]Interview with Joodt, L. (24.3.2015), Section Head: SME Development and Promotion (Department of Economic Development and Environment), City of Windhoek.

broadly defined as 'any movable merchandise displayed in a street by any person for the purpose of selling, which include any article, receptacle, vehicle or movable structure'.[511] In this definition, things such as sweets will fall under 'any article'. Knowing these finer details of laws and regulations can be a challenge as 'not all traders who are coming into the city are aware of the requirements, but there are arguably efforts at raising awareness undertaken by the municipality every now and then.[512]

On their part, law enforcement officers of the municipal police recounted their experiences with informal traders in a manner that gravitates towards the frame of illegality, nuisance and irritation. Hurling verbal threats at police officers while knowingly being on the wrong side of the regulations is one of the accusations levelled against informal traders.

> 'At times when traders who are in the wrong [not licensed] say 'fuck off', we are not going to stop trading and you leave them alone – they will do the same thing the next day. Others will be watching and they will see what is going on, and when you try and enforce regulations they will ask why you did not do anything to other traders who did not have the necessary documents [permits] as well. So we need to send a message that all those without the necessary documents, viz. permits, will be treated in the same way'.[513]

But the problem of unlicensed informal traders is necessarily not a matter of blatant illegality in conducting business activities. As evinced by a number of my interviewees, lack of an enabling environment for small traders to prosper in the midst of high unemployment creates a fertile ground for the breaking of rules out of scarce chances available for making a living. It is within this context of a lack of provision that over the years, it has become increasingly apparent that

[511] *Municipality of Windhoek – Street Trading Regulations.*

[512] Interview with Kaverua, C. (24.3.2015), City of Windhoek.

[513] Focus Group Discussion with City Police [Officer No. 3, Male], 27.7.2015.

the Municipality of Windhoek exhibits a considerable degree of heavy-handedness when it comes to informal trading and dwelling. It can thus be safely argued that Windhoek as a settler colonial city was not designed to accommodate informality such that clamping down on street vendors comes to seem natural.

Once the settlers were firmly established in the colonial capital by 1914, the Klein Windhoek valley around which settlers resided blossomed very quickly into an agricultural settlement of remarkable productivity, with establishments catering for the whole colony.[514] In other words, Windhoek had a designated area for production of various items and thus self-sustaining, making informal trading activities surplus to requirements. This is not to say that informal trading activities did not develop, but necessarily to emphasise that the history of the city has never been kind to street vending. The heavy-handedness meted out to itinerant informal traders in particular, speaks to disdain of historical origin.

In their 1992 study, Norval and Namoya observed that "only the informal sector operators in Windhoek city centre are aware of the Municipality's involvement in their affairs, but not those in Katutura and Khomasdal".[515] This reality does not cease to be true in contemporary Windhoek, the opening of more than eleven markets throughout the city notwithstanding. In part, the difference in awareness of the Municipality's involvement relates to the fact that informal sector operators mostly targeted are those trading their wares around the CBD.

Ethnographic evidence I mustered from informal traders in various parts of Windhoek's city centre as well as the former black township of Katutura points to the precarious nature that has come to epitomise informality. The precariousness of informal sector activities in urban Africa is well documented and as so is the importance of the informal sector in navigating urban life for

[514] Heywood, A., Lau, B. (1993), 'Three Views into the Past of Windhoek', John Meinert: Windhoek, p. 14.

[515] Norval, D., Namoya, R. (1992), 'The Informal Sector within Greater Windhoek', p. 89.

the majority of dwellers.[516] Evidence from Windhoek's CBD adds to these notes of precarity on account of police harassment amongst others, but also the tenacity with which informal traders persevere against odds to maintain their livelihoods on shaky grounds. In this view, urban space is perpetually rendered a theatre where laying claims and counter-claims to the city find expression. Police harassment is by no means a post-independence phenomenon. In his 1984 (six years before Namibia's independence) study, Simon makes reference to noticeable existence of police harassment against informal traders in Windhoek.[517] The imposition of heavy fines was singled out in particular as a pervasive form of harassment.[518] Now compounded by confiscation of wares and at times shaming in public, the subjecting of street vendors to fines that effectively 'close down' their businesses continues in contemporary Windhoek. According to a member of the Windhoek City Police Bicycle Squad:

> "First-time offenders are issued with a fine of N$ 500, but the fine can go up to N$ 2000 for repeating offenders. The kind of business an illegal trader is involved in does not determine the amount s/he will be fined. Even when you sell sweets, you will be fined like any other trader. It is similar to when you are driving a car and get fined; traffic officers do not look at the type of car you are driving to determine a fine".[519]

This type of precariousness and its trajectory can best be understood through the migratory patterns of informal traders and their subsequent mobility and displacement within the city. I shall deal with the latter in Chapter 6 –*Migration and the Making of the Urban.* Nonetheless, as I argued in the first section of this chapter, an understanding of practices that bureaucrats engage in demands a relational approach, and reverting to traders' experiences every now and then in an

[516]Cf. Kihato (2013); Murray (2008); Abdoul (2005); Brown et al. (2015).

[517] Simon, D. (1984), 'Urban Poverty, Informal Sector Activity and Inter-Sectoral Linkages: Evidence from Windhoek, Namibia', *Development and Change*, Vol. 15, 551-576. See also Rogerson, C.M. (1990), 'Aspects of Urban Change in Windhoek, Namibia', *Urban Forum*, 1(1), 29-47.

[518] Ibid.

[519] Focus Group Discussion, 27.7.15 [Officer No. 2, Male].

effort at getting to an essence of what city forms are being (re)created (or disrupted) is warranted. This relational approach in the (re)shaping of urban space speaks to Lefebvre's conceptual schema of how municipal officials conceive of space *(representations of space)* in juxtaposition to the lived experiences *(representational space)* of traders.

The story of a Zimbabwean street vendor – not unlike other similar stories – points to concatenations of rule-making and rule-breaking. As a case in point, this is evinced by a police officer who on more than one occasion warned a trader not to conduct business at a particular spot. The officer was 'left with no choice' but to temporarily detain the trader as a way of 'teaching him a lesson'. "The space within the city centre belongs to certain business areas. There are people selling belts, clothes and these funny[520] things. What happens next is that these people ['illegal vendors'] are told to move away or called in and issued with fines when they refuse to comply".[521] Repeated contravention of municipal police orders can at times lead to an escalation of punitive measures in a form of brief detention. As a police officer I interviewed recollect:

> "Sometimes we keep them [illegal vendors] at our office – delay [detain] them for a certain time – and then drop them at their houses".[522] At one point, "we handcuffed an illegal trader on the street lamp pole because he was being difficult. He was embarrassed because everyone was looking at him. We told him that he must behave properly and we will not do this kind of things. But it was a good example to others; we were just teaching him a lesson".[523]

The affixing to the lamp pole of a trader who was found wanting in terms of the law was clearly aimed at public shaming. By extension, this public ignominy was deployed to delineate what is to be allowed and therefore made visible as opposed to what is not permitted and therefore

[520] Labelling particular merchandise 'funny' is shorthand to counterfeit goods.

[521] Focus Group Discussion, 27.7.15 [Supervisor No.1, Male].

[522] Ibid., Supervisor No. 1.

[523] Focus Group Discussion, 27.7.15 [Officer No. 2, Male]

rendered invisible. But punitive measures meted out by the municipal police do not by any means go unchallenged. A member of the City Police Bicycle Squad maintains that what he considers a toughest part of his job relates to constant challenging of police authority by illegal vendors. As he narrates:

> "For a period of five years, I have been dealing with the same people every day. Sometimes they ['illegal vendors'] swear at me – 'fuck off man, go away. We also want to eat [earn a livelihood]'. I do not take these utterances seriously as verbal threats have become part of my job".[524]

Verbal threats at times draw from the world of the occult, with the police officer once told 'you will become stupid, you will become crazy'[525] – ostensibly through witchcraft machinations. What invites the couplet of rule-making and rule-breaking to bear on the urban landscape is the fact that cities are spaces of imagination and representation where urban designers and planners have ideas about how cities should look, function and be lived.[526] Particular spatial practices are generated as a result of what municipal officials think regarding how a city should function and activities that urban dwellers engage in because of their social positions. These spatial practices mediate – invariably in an antagonistic manner – *representations of space* and *representational space.*

As people from all walks of life flock to cities, they bring with them a multitude of meanings that partly influence their spatial practices. Their multitudes of meanings and views have to nonetheless compete for expression with bureaucratic practices and standpoints in an interminable negotiation over urban space. That the municipal police saw fit to handcuff one trader on the lamp post and briefly detain another speaks to a spatial politics of who can occupy what space within the city and under what conditions. "The whole aim is that you want to

[524] Ibid., Officer No. 2.

[525] Ibid., Officer No. 2.

[526] Bridge, G., Watson, S. (2000), 'City Imaginaries', p. 7.

maintain a certain image in the CBD because we get tourists and business people around", asserts an official from the City of Windhoek.[527]

What the above reveals is the existence of parallel worlds and understandings with regards to claims made over and about urban space. These parallel worlds become obvious through narratives of police officers' everyday experience as they execute their duties on the one hand and how their actions are perceived or responded to on the other hand. My interview with a street vendor was once abruptly interrupted as the interviewee quickly assembled her wares before fleeing from the approaching City Police Bicycle Squad. When I enquired about how she managed to spot the Bicycle Squad from far, she maintained that "when you have enemies, you always see them from far".[528] Because of interactions that occupy different cosmological worlds, a legitimate carrying out of duties becomes the basis on which a perceived 'enemy' is created. In a similar vein, when an official in the Municipality of Windhoek speaks of the need to keep street vendors off the CBD to protect an image of the city for tourists and business people,[529] those who ply their wares on streets become an irritation in need of control. That the 'protecting image' dictum uttered by a municipal official finds resonance in pronouncement(s) of a member of the City Police Bicycle Squad[530] suggests a unanimity of views with regards to the need of 'keeping vendors in line'. In describing a typical day of policing in Windhoek, a member of the City Police Bicycle Squad I interviewed asserted that they "patrol around the city centre and be on the lookout for strange or suspicious activities".[531] The latter activities are things such as a thief about to pickpocket an unsuspecting shopper or a person incessantly hovering over a parked car, but the former required further probing on account of being not quite obvious.

[527] Joodt, L. (24.3.16), City of Windhoek.

[528] Interview with Joyce, 2.7.2015, Part II.

[529] Joodt, L. (24.3.16), City of Windhoek.

[530] "They like to sell on Independence Avenue where tourists / visitors are passing and block the way. That is tarnishing the image of the city" (FGD, 27.7.15, Officer No. 3, Male).

[531] Focus Group Discussion, 27.7.15 [Officer No. 1, Male]

When I pressed for more information on what constitute 'strange activities', a senior member of the Windhoek City Police averred that:

> "A strange activity (…) is that there are people who are operating or selling in municipal areas without proper documents [permits]. The moment they [Bicycle Squad] come across those [illegal vendors] people, they have to ask them where are the papers [permits] that allow them to sell on the street – because this is the city centre, it is not like in an informal settlement where you can sell wherever you want".[532]

To illustrate how these parallel worlds find expression through collision and at times circumvention, let us for a moment delve into the story of Joyce.

> A mother of one, Joyce*[533] came to Windhoek in 2009 to look for employment opportunities, a commonly cited reason for coming to the city by street vendors. Without success, she has been trying to get a permit / licence to operate legally on Independence Avenue. "This is 100% illegal, Joyce says of her trading on Independence Avenue. That is why we are always running around". City Police Officials maintain that 'most illegal traders are to be found in front of Shoprite along Independence Avenue',[534] the very spot where Joyce plies her trade. "I have tried to register but they do not give places here [anymore], only at Wernhil Park Mall".[535]

Joyce maintains that Wernhil Park Mall is more suitable and profitable for selling food. The Frans Indongo Bridge marketplace is by far the largest assemblage of fixed informal traders dealing in food within the CBD precinct. There are benches for customers patronising various

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[532] Focus Group Discussion, 27.7.15 [Supervisor No. 1, Male]

[533] Name changed to protect identity (Interview with Joyce, 01.07.15). Even though protecting interviewees' identities was by design during my interviews, Joyce was the one of the first respondents who wanted assurances that her name was not going to be disclosed. She was incensed by a reporter who showed images of her in the national television after agreeing that no images of her were to be displayed.

[534] FGD, City Police (27.7.2015), Windhoek.

[535] Interview with Joyce, 01.07.15.

food establishments under the bridge. Almost all of those dealing in food are women, pointing to the reproduction of gender roles in the marketplace. This reproduction of gender roles points to coalescence of domestic and public spaces. Kihato aptly observes that domestic and public spaces are mutually constituted with unpredictable consequences for urban relationships.[536] Similarly, an African Development Bank's report of 2006 on Namibia's Gender Profile indicates that "in the informal sector, women carry out gender stereotyped activities such as brewing beer, cooking food, making baskets and other handcrafts".[537] An exception to otherwise solely food establishments' marketplace is a clothing outlet owned by a Zimbabwean man in his early 40s.

Located about 5 meters from the northern gate of Wernhil Mall, this marketplace is a stone-throw away from the railway line dividing the CBD from the suburb called Windhoek West.

Photo No. 15: Wernhil Market Upgrade Underway[538]



[536] Kihato, C. (2013). Migrant Women of Johannesburg: Everyday Life in an In-Between City. Palgrave Macmillan: NY, p. 72.

[537] African Development Bank (AFDB) (2006) Republic of Namibia – Country Gender Profile, AFDB: Abidjan, p. 15.

[538] Photo taken by Saara Niitenge at the request of the author, 6 June 2016.

The soundscape is dominated by hooting cars, crackly trolleys carrying various consumer goods and shouting taxi drivers scrambling for passengers as they exit the Wernhil Mall.[539] In late 2013, the City of Windhoek identified the need to upgrade the Wernhil Market to make provision for additional trading spaces, 'thus ensuring that informal trading activities are accommodated in a manageable and conducive manner'.[540] As can be seen in the photo above on upgrades, blue benches where customers would usually sit are visibly cheek by jowl with what was a temporarily erected fence as construction work continued. The upgrade was completed late 2017 and now Wernhil Market houses seven (7) lockable stalls with prepaid electricity and water basins; fifty (50)[541] open trading areas; and four (4) storage facilities.

Through my interviews before the upgrade, what came to the fore was that because of an absence of any formal platform through which vendors communicate with the Municipality, scant information was available about the upgrade. In fact, almost all vendors did not make any allusion to an impending upgrade when I queried them about what they want changed to improve their trading experience. It was only one vendor who recounted that the Municipality promised to construct storage facilities for their wares.[542] In spite of not much being known about the upgrade by traders, an official from the Municipality of Windhoek did make reference to upgrading of the Wernhil Market as one of the ideas of his division for the 'future' of Windhoek, but there was no indication from his side that the upgrade was imminent.[543] In this vein, it appears that processes around putting this upgrade in motion were driven top-down. The foregoing notwithstanding, this upgrade addressed concerns that were raised by some of the

[539] Field-notes (17.6.2015)

[540] E-mail correspondence with Claudius Kaverua from the City of Windhoek, 6 June 2016; Municipal Council Minutes – 2013-10-31, Resolution 303/10/2013.

[541] Composed of six (6) barbecue stands; twenty-four (24) food preparation area; and twenty (20) open trading areas. The market upgrade was implemented as per Resolution 303/10/2013 of the City of Windhoek Municipal Council.

[542] Interview with Tinashe 'The Tailor', 5.8.2015.

[543] Interview with C. Kaverua, 24.3.2015.

traders I spoke to in 2015. In particular, lack of storage facilities and adequate running water came out strongly as issues that traders wanted the municipality to attend to.

Photo No. 16: The New Wernhil Market (open trading area)[544]



Even though this marketplace does not occupy a prominent position in the CBD – as I will discuss in a moment within the rubric of (in)visibility – its expansion and upgrade as a 'joint development agreement between the City of Windhoek and Wernhil Park'[545] is indicative of what appears to be a gesture towards meaningful embrace of informal sector activities. As a way of illuminating spatial dualism of a kind, let us return to Joyce who sells items such as bed and seat covers, gloves, wallets, cell phone covers and beanies on Independence Avenue not far from the Wernhil Market. Indeed, we would err if we look at the upgrade of Wernhil Market in isolation from other spaces where informal trading takes place around the CBD.

An upgraded Wernhil Market could in the future affect the circulation of goods and people around thoroughfares like Independence Avenue, and reasons that Joyce mustered to justify her

[544] Photo courtesy of Namibia Press Agency (NAMPA), 17.9.2017.

[545] Interview with C. Kaverua, 24.3.2015

not operating at Wernhil Market might fall away. Unable to get a trading permit[546] at the place profitable for her kind of business, Joyce made the conscious (but reluctant) decision of joining the enterprising world of illegal trading. Enterprising in the sense that an organising logic in the world of illegal trading is the mastery of shrewdness to evade the City Police and municipal officials' inspections, for trading illegally seems to have resonance with what Danai Mupotsa calls 'living-in-being stopped'.[547] I shall return to the latter in a moment. The brevity of responses from police officials elicited by a question on processes of obtaining a trading permit suggests a number of things. With responses such as "this [getting a permit] is done at Community Development Office",[548] or "we refer them to the Department of Community Development (…) for permits"[549] – one is inclined to conclude that police officers see more of their duty to ensure that those trading within municipal boundaries have permits to do so, but are less concerned with how these permits are obtained. Or could it be that they actually do not know the processes involved in obtaining a permit?

In terms of law, the City Police officials point of contact with street vendors is – in the first instance – provided for by Section 7 of the Informal Trading Regulations dealing with inspections of trading sites and persons to ensure compliance with regulations by an 'authorised official' of the council. An 'authorised official' is defined as a staff member of the Municipality of Windhoek appointed as a peace officer to administer and enforce regulations[550]; in essence, a member of the Municipal City Police. Having been arrested twice, Joyce knows very well that

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[546] Even though I did not inquire from Joyce as to what she did to try and get a trading permit, her spatial trading positioning amidst licensed traders suggests that she is familiar with processes of acquiring a trading permit. Clearly, the issue was the inability of getting a trading permit to trade at a spot that is profitable for the kind of wares she sells. Sections 3(1-12) and 4(1-5) of the Municipality of Windhoek Informal Trading Regulations of 2007 deal with processes of applying for an informal trading permit (GG No. 3882, GN No. 200).

[547] See Mupotsa, D. (October 15, 2015), *The Daily Vox*.

[548] FGD with City Police (27.7.2015), Supervisor No. 2, Male.

[549] FGD with City Police (27.7.2015), Officer No. 2, Male.

[550] Informal Trading Regulations of 2007, Section 1.

shrewdness alone does not allow for a seamless illegal trading. "In one instance, I spent two to three days at Wanaheda Police Station".[551] Being arrested and locked up is not peculiar among street vendors. Ending up behind bars is particularly the endgame for repeating offenders such as Joyce, who by her own admission has been fined countless times.[552] But shrewd she is, and this shrewdness at times needs to conspire with luck and the sympathy of the City Police to facilitate a continuation of livelihood. On one occasion when Joyce was on the verge of 'being stopped', she hurryingly transferred her items from the floor into a black plastic bag. The black plastic bag was then placed unsuspectingly under the table of one of the licenced vendors in her immediate trading space.[553] This action facilitated Joyce's temporary shift from trading illegally to a mere bystander, and acted as a shield for items that would have been otherwise confiscated by the authorities. In essence, this shows that despite what at times seems like heavy-handedness of the municipal police in dealing with informal sector activities, modes and means of circumventing regulations by those whose livelihoods depend on the informal economy keep on changing in ways that expose the limits and at times banality of regulations. Indeed, various iterations of regulations have seen more elaborate and expanded scope of what constitute informal trading. The 2007 Regulations have a total of twenty sections compared to only eight contained in the now repealed Street Trading Regulations of 1999.

Coming into force of 2007 Regulations heralded things such as inspections for purposes of ensuring compliance; impounding of goods in the possession of those acting in contravention of regulations; storage and sale of impounded goods; and application by a foreign national for an informal trading permit. In some instances, regulations introduced legitimised official practices that were already underway while in others the aim is to respond to new realities. Effectively, new

[551]Interview with Joyce, 01.07.15, Part I. Containing holding cells for trail-awaiting prisoners, Wanaheda Police Station is located in north-western Windhoek.

[552] Interview with Joyce, 02.07.15, Part II.

[553]Field-notes (03.07.15).

provisions relate to the changing nature of informal trading and the attendant complexities that come to bear on the informal economy.

Drawing on an example where a trader was arrested for selling biltong,[554] I inquired during an interview with a municipal official if 'one is required to have a permit to sell sweets'. The response I got intimated towards some form of banality inherent in regulations: "you are not allowed to sell sweets without a permit. This contravenes stipulations contained in informal trading regulations". But the meaning of regulations governing the informal economy is incessantly contested and in some instances traders patently refuse to adhere to regulations.

It is in light of the above that Murray and Myers observe that "in African cities, the poor have responded to various disciplining efforts by adopting various strategies of enterprise, compromise, and resistance. These multiple practices, simultaneously social and spatial, have ensured that urban planners are never able to shape the urban landscape in accordance with their grand schemes".[555] In particular, actors within the informal economy seem to be adept in their ability to render regulations porous and reign in on their expanding reach, for much of everyday life in the city is essentially about mediating, melding and juggling street laws and regulations.[556] Therefore, the informal traders' condition of 'living-in-being stopped / displaced' is necessarily an interlude in a protracted precession of jostling for power and influence over urban space. To be sure, this jostling for power and influence is constitutive of urban space and as such cannot be reduced to *representations of space* by the authorities.

That the Bicycle Squad's typical day involves checking-out firearms at the City Police headquarters early in the morning before getting on their bicycles and heading to the city centre –

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[554] Shinana, K. (August 14, 2013), 'Jobless Youth Fined for Selling Biltong', *Informanté.*

[555] Murray, J.M., Myers, G.A. (2006), 'Urban Planning Administration, and Governance', In Murray, J.M., Myers, G.A. (Eds.), *Cities in Contemporary Africa*, Palgrave: NY, pp. 237-239.

[556]Kihato, C. W. (2014), 'Beat Down, But Not Defeated', *Cityscapes,* Issue No. 5.

where they are solely concentrated – until around 18:00,[557] says something about parts of the city that are valorised. Clearly, the CBD is valorised and therefore worthy of 'protection' and in need of regulation. In their quest to enforce rules and regulations – and at times to make way for retail and office developments – bureaucrats seem to constantly subject informal traders to what I will call 'living-in-being displaced', following Mupotsa. The latter – which I shall elaborate on in a moment – appears to be a corollary of the reality that the capacity and reach of regulations is incessantly tested and challenged.

3.2.1. Living-in-being Displaced

"This is the city centre; it is not like in informal settlements where you can sell wherever you want".[558]

By all indications, attempts at reigning in informal sector activities are akin to aiming at a moving target. But with the expansion of the Wernhil Mall Market,[559] what we are witnessing is a gesture towards containment – borne out an increasing realisation that informal traders are an integral part of the city's economy – as dealing with a moving target has proven difficult a task. Nonetheless, containment as a strategy employed by municipal officials does not negate the broader logic within which the moving target operates. The moving target is a street vendor who operates within the logic of 'living-in-being displaced or moved', an extension or adaptation of Mupotsa's 'living-in-being stopped'. Mupotsa employed this phraseology to capture everyday institutional practices and power in the academy that render black students 'living-in-being stopped' on account of such things as inability to access student records due to outstanding fees.

[557] Focus Group Discussion with City Police (27.7.2015), Officer No. 1, Male.

[558] Focus Group Discussion with City Police (27.7.2015), Supervisor No. 1, Male.

[559] E-mail correspondence with Claudius Kaverua from the City of Windhoek, 6 June 2016.

Indeed, traders on Windhoek's streets and elsewhere on the continent have become accustomed to 'living-in-being stopped' by authorities of various stripes in charge of 'governing' cities. The logic of 'living-in-being displaced' is not a happenstance in the life of an informal trader, but a corollary of 'living-in-being stopped'. I employ it here to refer to a variety of municipal officials' practices that reduce informal traders to perpetual wanderers whose existence in the city is condemned to an unceasing vulnerability of being conveniently tossed and turned. Through these practices, expendability – as in the condition of being dispensable – becomes a defining characteristic of being an informal trader, an organising logic as it were.

Windhoek's urban life is replete with examples that speak to the expendability of informal traders as an expression of bureaucratic imaginations of what the city should look like. The 'living-in-being displaced' kind of scenario was recently reported to have taken place behind Black Chain Shopping Centre (formerly Katutura Pick 'n Pay Shopping Complex) not far from Independence Avenue.[560]

Photo 17: Back of Black Chain Shopping Centre



[560] Nakashole, N. (November 26, 2015), 'City Sells Vendors' Trading Place', *The Namibian*.

In Photo No. 17, construction works are visible at an area where vendors used to ply different trades, ranging from selling perfumes and hair plaiting to trading in a variety of trinkets as well as roasted beef, fruits and vegetables. A trading place that accommodated about 100 disparate traders for over 15 years was sold by the Municipality of Windhoek to a local businessman.[561] This move displaced about 80 informal traders while roughly 20 of them moved their wares a few meters away from their now former trading space. One of the victims of this displacement – who I interviewed in early 2016 – is a 67 years old pensioner who has been involved in informal trading for more than 10 years. He maintained that they were never consulted before their removal.[562]

Photo 18: New Parking Lot



[561] *'City Sells Vendors' Trading Place'*

[562]Interviewee No. 17 (1.20.2016).

What used to be a profitable spot to a number of informal traders is now a parking lot for the expanded Pick 'n Pay Shopping Complex which now goes by the name 'Black Chain Shopping Centre'. A 46 years old mother of two who I interviewed at the place that soon turned into a construction site shown in Photo No. 17 was nowhere to be found when I sought a follow-up interview with those who were displaced. Trading mostly in perfumes that she sourced from Johannesburg, she has been trading from behind Pick 'n Pay shopping complex since 2009 after losing her job at a diamond polishing company on account of being involved in an illegal strike.[563] Clearly, she must have been among those who could not secure a spot in front of Pick 'n Pay shopping complex after the displacement. As a number of similar actions by municipal authorities suggest, the wanton tossing and turning of informal traders in Windhoek is not an isolated occurrence, but a *modus operandi* of the powers that be through which we can read views that inform practices in the realm of city making.

To be sure, the foregoing is not particularly unique to Windhoek, but police 'harassment' and the scale at which informal traders in Windhoek are displaced call for closer scrutiny as they open up broader questions of city making and (over)regulation. The following examples[564] amply speak to traders 'living-in-being displaced': Arts and crafts vendors along Fidel Castro Street in the CBD were instructed by the City of Windhoek to relocate to the OK Parking on Independence

[563] Interview with Trader No. 3 (20.4.2015).

[564]Even though these examples are primarily sourced from newspapers as opposed to observations in the field, they do give a sense of the everyday happenings that dominate accounts of the intersection between informal traders and municipal officials. Whereas it is apparent that micro-social life, the banal and the familiar are constitutive of wider complexities, structures and processes (Neal & Murji, 2015: 812) – what promises a deeper understanding precisely lies in those moments that are captured in the everyday, and these are the moments that end up in newspapers. But for scholarly work dealing with displacement of informal traders elsewhere, Cf. Mittullah, W.V. (2003), 'Street Vending in African Cities: A Synthesis of Empirical Findings from Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Uganda and South Africa (Background Paper for the 2005 World Development Report); Skinner, C. (2008), 'Street Trade in Africa: A Review' (Working Paper No. 51, School of Development Studies – UKZN); Omoegun, A.O. (2015), 'Street Traders Displacements and the Relevance of the Right to the City Concept in a Rapidly Urbanising African City: Lagos, Nigeria', Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Cardiff University.

Avenue to make way for the construction of First National Bank new headquarters.[565] Arguably, craft vendors were made aware of the so-called Freedom Plaza Development since 2006.[566] Upgraded stands, ablution and storage facilities were (to be) included in the development concept note for their trading convenience.[567]

Photo 19: FNB New Headquarters[568]



Even though there was no sign of any facilities for vendors when I inspected the precinct of the now operational new FNB Namibia headquarters at the Freedom Plaza on Independence Avenue, the basis on which craft vendors reluctantly agreed to move appears to be promise(s) of upgraded facilities. The absence of any construction activities at the site suggests that vendors were given a raw deal or duped. In fact, a group of six women trading in handcraft I interviewed recounted that there has been no update of what will happen to them since they were

[565] Rhodes, F. (February 13, 2013), 'City Relocates Reluctant Crafts Vendors', *New Era.*

[566]Ibid.

[567] Ibid. 'City Relocates Vendors'; Interview with Kaverua, C. (24.03.15), City of Windhoek.

[568] Photo taken by Kamberiuo Tjiroze at the request of the author, 12 April 2016.

relocated.[569] It is apparent that they had no idea that the development which led to their relocation was 'supposed' to make provision for facilities to enable profitable continuation of their trading. Upon inquiry, Claudius Kaverua – who deals with various matters pertaining to informal traders – maintained that "the agreement remains that the new development makes provision for facilities to accommodate the traders",[570] the absence of any such facilities notwithstanding as of March 2017.[571] Nonetheless, construction work is still under way around the new FNB building – and gleaning from Kaverua's response, we should permit time to reveal whether or not the provision of facilities for traders will see the light of day.

In 2014, two operations by the City Police saw almost 100 street vendors evicted or moved from or around Okuryangava's Stop 'n Shop shopping complex in north-western part of Windhoek. In one of the operations, about 33 vendors were evicted and an official from the City of Windhoek claimed that moving traders was for their own safety as conducting business next to the road is dangerous.[572] The issue of safety carries weight once mobilised, and it can prove easy to defend while the real reasons for displacement might well not be completely known to those who depend on a particular piece of land within a city for their livelihoods. As a number of authors have shown –[573] and indeed as a number of examples from Windhoek show – displacement of informal traders at times take place in the name of business or city improvements endeavours.

By mobilising the argument of safety, the City Police portrayed themselves as the caring guardians trying to safeguard traders from themselves, thereby legitimising the displacement of

[569] Interview with the 'Group of Six' (10.8.2015).

[570] E-mail correspondence with the author, 24 June 2016.

[571] Field-site visit, 3 March 2017.

[572] Tjihenuna, T. (June 17, 2014), 'City Police Evicts 33 Street Vendors', *The Namibian.*

[573] Cf. Miraftab, F. (2007), 'Governing Post-Apartheid Spatiality: Implementing City Improvement Districts in Cape Town', *Antipode*, 39(4), 602-626; Watson, V. (2006), 'Deep Difference: Diversity, Planning and Ethics', Planning Theory, 5(1), 31-50; Bénit-Gbaffou, C. et al. (2012), 'Unpacking Street Trading Management in the Retail Improvement District (RID), Johannesburg', Wits School Architecture and Planning.

traders and rendering 'living-in-being displaced' an ordinary facet of informal trading. Similarly, about 60 vendors selling fruits and vegetables on a piece of land outside Stop 'n Shop in Okuryangava were evicted after the erf was sold by the Windhoek City Council to one Giaocomo Bonadei, a Windhoek-based businessman.[574] Judging from the fact that a month can barely pass without news of displacement of this or that informal trader – in Windhoek and other parts of urban Namibia – other examples bearing characteristics of living-in-being displaced are possibly available but too many to recount[575] while what is cited above is in most likelihood part of countless undocumented many. A bit of background to the Freedom Plaza Development is nonetheless worth narrating as it exposes what Michael Goldman calls 'speculative urbanism'. The latter is a particular mode of urbanism on which neoliberal cities seem to thrive. At the centre of speculative urbanism are exceptional rules and practices of dispossession brought about by persistent interactions between vulnerable citizens and emboldened government actors primarily focused on land acquisition for maximum profit.[576] Harvey rightly insists that the escalating depletion of environmental commons (land, air, water) imbricates the wholesale commodification of nature in all its forms.[577] Facts surrounding the land deal that saw handcraft vendors 'displaced' to make way for urban redevelopment suggest that 'the inability to

[574]Tjihenuna, T. (April 8, 2014), 'Police Evicts Vendors from Plot',*The Namibian.* See also Miyanicwe, C. (July 3, 2013), 'Okuryangava Sellers Must Make Way', *The Namibian*.

[575]Cf.Kahiurika, N. (March 7, 2013), 'Vendors Claim City is Xenophobic', *The Namibian*; Haidula, T. (March 3, 2014), 'Demolition of Shacks to Continue', *The Namibian;* Smit, E. (January 28, 2014), 'City of Windhoek Will Not Tolerate Squatters', *Namibian Sun*; Kapitako, A. (January 21, 2014), 'City of Windhoek Demolishes Illegal Businesses', *New Era*; Tjihenuna, T. (June 18, 2014), 'Vendors Arrested', *The Namibian.*

[576] Goldman, M. (2011), 'Speculative Urbanism and the Making of Next World City', p. 557. See also Watson, V. (2014), 'African Urban Fantasies: Dreams or Nightmares?' p. 216.

[577]

Harvey, D. (2004). The "New" Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession. *Socialist Register*, 64–87.

accumulate through expanded reproduction *of capital* on a sustained basis leads to attempts to 'accumulate by dispossession' '.[578]

The piece of land on which FNB Namibia constructed its new headquarters was part of 2.4 hectares plot bought from the City of Windhoek by United Africa Group for N$ 10 million in 2008.[579] In 2013, United Africa Group reportedly sold a portion of the plot to FNB Namibia for a sum of about N$ 40 million.[580] This shows that, as Watson has argued, "[a]s the poor confront new alliances between capital, national and city politicians and emerging urban middle classes, – all hell-bent on the seizure and re-valorisation of land – systems of governance will also be reconfigured to facilitate speculative urbanism".[581]

Conclusion

This chapter sought to show, amongst other things, that what informs views that bureaucrats hold regarding informal traders or the discourse through which they make sense of informal traders is partly located in official roles that bureaucrats occupy. Officials from the planning department conceive of informal traders in terms of physical spaces that they [traders] occupy as they ply their various trading enterprises. References are made to designated marketplaces provided by the municipality as signifying spatial accommodation. And what is implicitly communicated is that appropriation of non-designated places for trading purposes seems to constitute ungrateful informal traders who are unable to appreciate that Windhoek is perhaps

[578] Ibid., p. 64, own emphasis added. See also Hall, S., Savage, M. (2015), 'Animating the Urban Vortex: New Sociological Urgencies', p. 7.

[579]Immanuel, S. (April 29, 2013), 'Lords of the CBD in Land Controversy', *The Namibian*.

[580]Ibid.

[581] Watson, V. (2014), *'African Urban Fantasies'*, p. 230.

among the few cities in the world 'accommodating informal traders at one of its 'A Grade' shopping mall'.[582] Bureaucrats' modes of operating are dominated by three main practices. These include a resolve to reign in on informal trading through the constant deracination of 'filth' (read informal trading at times) while condemning everything deemed informal to perpetual insecurity. Another dominant practice relates to an obsession with order and cleanliness. Moreover, expansive rollout of surveillance technologies has come to pass for a signature defining how bureaucrats at the City of Windhoek value a fixed gaze to facilitate control. The recent confirmation that the City of Windhoek is financially in the red – with blame being placed at the door the City Police's financially demanding operations – it is increasingly becoming apparent that securitisation of the city took precedence over investing in livelihoods as a way of reigning in the urban *lumpenproletariat*. All these foreground bureaucratic practices based on the quintessence of authority and tenacity in ensuring that the letter of the law is brought to bear on the urban landscape. Equally, what is peddled is an explicit and unwavering desire to project a sanitised image of the city to visitors and tourists. This desire, which is expressed as official order, is invariably disrupted and tested by spatial practices of denizens that bureaucrats seek to manage and control. In response, bureaucrats resolutely pursue all means necessary to hold onto the fantasy of a squeaky clean city to attract the moneyed and the politically connected, forming a coterie of those who ultimately call the shots. Notwithstanding what bureaucrats assert in their endeavour to (re)shape urban life, there exists another impersonal and somewhat remote avenue through which behaviour in the city is moulded. Largely bequeathed by colonial Windhoek, legal debris of days gone by continue to have purchase in contemporary Windhoek. Within the context of what appears to be the 'refusal of the law to forget', the next chapter deals with the nexus between colonial legal debris and spatial reproduction.

[582]Endjala, V. (17.3.2015).

Chapter 4 - Regimes of Legal and Spatial Reproduction

"Law is the regulator of spaces between places, connecting and severing urban beings, urban objects, urban desires and fears, amongst themselves and with whatever is imagined to be outside the urban".[583]

An understanding of city life in the absence of its legal architecture is an incomplete picture of the forces at play. A number of activities such as residential zoning, policing and trading are mostly done within the parameters of some legal provisions within urban settings. The extent to which colonial legal codes are spatially instantiated in territories that were conquered – particularly in colonial capitals – cannot be underestimated. In this view, Saho observes that 'colonial officials brought with them not only ideas about how Africans could be ruled, but also practices of how African spaces were to be planned and managed'.[584] Although some legal provisions have been repealed or amended, their signatures are not always completely evacuated from space while others remain intact for reasons that boggle the mind. In spite of this imbroglio, delving into disparate legal provisions governing city life becomes particularly important as city dwellers invariably find ways of rendering the city outside and parallel to the confines of legal provisions. In other words, it is virtually always inevitable that the porosity of legal provisions allows for a percolation of practices that challenge structures on which laws are made in the interminable shaping of relations in the city. This resonates with Simone's exposition that 'no form of regulation can keep the city 'in line",[585] for in a multitude of ways, city denizens find avenues through which they refuse to be tamed by legal provisions. Nonetheless, if what the City is about cannot be reduced to its materiality of concrete blocks, steel, glass and corrugated

[583]Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, A. (2007) 'Introduction: In the Lawscape', In Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, A. (Ed.), *Law and the City*, p. 9.

[584]Saho (2013), 'Making the City and Shaping Legal Landscapes'.

[585]Simone (2010: 3).

iron, tarmac and dusty pathways – but also include human bodies that traverse the cityscape – Simone's submission becomes inadequate insofar as particular forms of 'regulations keep the city in line'. To be sure, it is urban dwellers' actions that in the first instance give 'life' to regulations of all kinds, only to emasculate them thereafter and render them contestable. Once contested incessantly, regulations at times undergo amendments. These changes result in the 'City keeping regulations in line', to turn Simone's argument on its head. With perseverance, urbanites at times eviscerate regulations through flagrant violation, rendering them worthless and of no existence beyond papers they are written on.

In this chapter, I shall first interrogate the legal status of Windhoek in light of recent revelations that 'it is not a city', legally speaking. This will be followed by a brief discussion on African cities and the law in general terms. Revisiting the founding years of colonial Windhoek by combing together regimes of the legal defining the inception period of a colonial capital is another area of importance. This will be followed by a discussion of particular urban planning laws and their concomitant spatial materialisation. But before we delve into the details of various ways in which law has come to bear on Windhoek's landscape, it will be important to first reflect on the legal status of Windhoek. This is precisely because Windhoek's legal status has come under scrutiny in 2013.

4.1. Legal Status of the City – Does it Matter?

"Cities have something more than simply 'largeness'".[586]

Apart from giving cities their legal status, local government law dictates whether or not cities can conduct their own affairs without interference or only with express sanction from the state

[586]Pile, S. (1999), 'What is a City?' In Massey, D., Allen, J., Pile, S. (eds.), *City Worlds*, Routledge: London, pp. 5-49. See in particular p. 6.

legislature.[587] Indeed, local government law specifies which services will be provided locally and which will be provided by others.[588] However, as I will discuss later, a city status is by and large defined by the unwritten popular imagination of the city dwellers rather than by the law.

Windhoek gained municipal status in 1909 before being proclaimed a city in 1965.[589] The veracity of the latter is suspect, as supporting proclamation(s) and/or ordinance(s) proved elusive. Archival evidence in fact only shows that Windhoek was granted town status in 1965. Under the chairmanship of Wentzel C. du Plessis (Administrator of South-West Africa, 1963 – 1968),the Executive Committee Meeting of South West Africa Administration resolved on 14th October 1965 that Windhoek be classified as a town from 18th October 1965.[590] This decision was confirmed by W.C. du Plessis on 20th October 1965.[591] Yet Sam Davis, who was the Mayor of Windhoek from 1965 to 1966, went on to record in the Mayor's Minutes of 1966 that the most important event for 1965 was 'the award of city status to Windhoek by W.C. du Plessis acting on the decision of Executive Committee supported by the Prime Minister of South Africa and the Deputy Minister for South West Africa Affairs'.[592] Davis further professed pride in the feat of 'having been the last Mayor of the Town of Windhoek and the first Mayor of the City of Windhoek'.[593] To solidify this narrative, Sam Davis went on to publish an article in the SWA Annual[594] of 1966 under the heading 'Windhoek Gains City Status on 75th Birthday'. In light of

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587 Frug, G.E., Barron, D.J. (2008), 'City Bound: How States Stifle Urban Innovation', p. 3.

588 Ibid.

589 Bravenboer (2004).

590 NAN, LUK, 1/3/3, Minute 853. Minutes of the Executive Committee of South West Africa Administration – 14th October 1965.

591 Minutes of the Executive Committee of South West Africa Administration, 1965. See Appendix A for minutes of resolutions taken by the Executive Committee of South West Africa Administration in October 1965. In particular, see Minute 853 of the proceedings.

592 NAN, Windhoek Municipality Section, 1/3/3 – Mayor's Minutes for the Mayoral Year ended 10th March 1966, p. 2.

593 Ibid., p. 14.

594 Edited by Sam Davis, SWA Annual was a popular / propaganda magazine published annually since 1944.

the above, it appears that the legal myth concerning the status of Windhoek 'city' has provenance in Davis' machinations as an official in the municipality and in publishing circles of the time, for he was also a freelance journalist and director of SWA Publications (Pty) Ltd.[595] The plaque accompanying Curt von François statue – part of the settler historiography that erroneously credits von François as having established Windhoek[596] – bears the name S. Davis (see photo No. 20). Davis' manoeuvres suggest that he had a particular obsession if not fantasy of leaving an indelible mark on Windhoek's urban landscape using his position of power and privilege. His profile in the 48th edition *Who's Who of Southern Africa* states that he was a 'pioneer in planned townships in Windhoek, having opened up two in 1957'.[597] This time frame connects him in one way or the other with the forced removal of black inhabitants from close to the city centre to north-western parts of Windhoek.

Photo 20 – Plaque for Curt von François Statue



[595] Cf. Who's Who of Southern Africa (1964), 48th Ed., pp. 925-926.

[596]Chief among those who have been peddling what seems to be a historical inaccuracy include Davis (1966; 1965); Mossolow (1976; 1972); and recently Bravenboer (2004).

[597] Who's Who of Southern Africa (1964), 48th Ed., pp. 925-926

The question of Windhoek's legal status as a 'city' came to the fore recently when one of the Namibian dailies carried a story on 16th September 2013 quoting the then Minister of Regional and Local Government – Charles Namoloh – with a heading 'Windhoek is Not a City'.[598] The Minister was backed by a Windhoek based lawyer, Etuna Josua, who confirmed that the term "city" does not exist in Namibian laws. In early 2015, I caught up with Etuna Josua in Windhoek in a clarity-seeking conversation with regards to the issue of Windhoek's legal status, a subject that elicited a lot of remonstration among residents. Josua maintained that "at some stage, legal classification loses relevance and gets overtaken by events. Windhoek is a city and for a lot of people what is written in the law, the classifications and the technicalities are just not relevant".[599] What is needed then is simply amending the law to catch up with 'facts' on the ground. In terms of Local Authorities Act of 1992, Windhoek is simply classified as 'Part 1 Municipality' alongside the coastal urban centre of Swakopmund'.[600] Other classifications – in order of hierarchy – include Municipality Part 2; Towns; and Villages.[601]

The article 'Windhoek is Not a City' elicited some remonstration that in a way supports Josua's submission that what is written in the law is not always relevant nor meaningful. Below are some of the reactions as they appeared in an online version of *The Namibian* of September 16, 2013:[602]

> *"Old policies/acts need to be amended. This need to be corrected ASAP. City of Windhoek just sounds great".*

[598] Immanuel, S. (September 16, 2013), 'Windhoek is Not a City – Namoloh', *The Namibian.*
[599] Interview with Etuna Josua (19.01.15), Windhoek.
[600] See Local Authorities Act (Act No. 23 of 1992), Section 3, Schedule 1.
[601] Ibid., Schedules 1-3.
[602] https://www.namibian.com.na/3586/archive/archive_comments/title/article_id/3586/Comments Accessed October 10, 2013.

"Windhoek is acceptably known and recognized as a city and it will remain in the hearts of the people, although the law says otherwise".

"That is so confusing, if then Windhoek is not a city. But how to be called the cleanest city Africa, if it is not a city?"

"So the Windhoek city police is an illegal entity or what does this mean?"

"I don't know why you have got time to waste, who discovered this now after 23 year of Independence...now who is responsible for that mess?"

"Oh shame to hear this surprising news, Honourable Namoloh let's make it very fast and change where we can and call it a city officially cause Windhoek is our capital city."

"So we don't have a capital city, uf shame, let's turn Windhoek municipality or whatever is called into a city honourable minister.

"What is the fuss about? Windhoek is a City and no two-ways about it. The only City in Namibia for that matter and the cleanest City in Africa. Whatever people are saying about it, these are just polemics!"

What the above views reveal is that we can indeed analytically speak of and about Windhoek as a city, the strictures of legalistic definition notwithstanding. "The city is not merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction – it is a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of organised attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition", argues Park.[603] Even though Windhoek is not a city legally speaking, an unwritten

[603] Park, R.E. (1967 [1925]), 'The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment', p.1.

law which proclaimed Windhoek a city exists at the level of affective habitation housed in moving bodies of ordinary *Windhoekers* and Namibians. With the foregoing, the argument then is that the city is not solely a creature of law. In other words, a deconstruction of an urban milieu in terms of its legal architecture must look at the law and its obverse – those practices and signatures of a place falling outside what the law proclaims – to arrive at a holistic understanding of the city and its essence. This is in spite of the fact at times colonial debris constituting specific bodies such as municipal police units get legally animated in a postcolonial setting. Or, as the Windhoek Municipal Police instance suggests, a colonial practice and or body can be given a legal standing long after the colonizers have left. From the latter, a case can be made that the law at times lags behind as opposed to an absence of particular characteristics needed to, for example, give Windhoek a legal city status. Moreover, the very existence of entity called 'Windhoek City Police' accentuates an instance of the law that has failed to catch up. The Windhoek City Police is principally established in terms of the Police Act of 1990 and the Regulations for Municipal Police Services as provided for by Section 42(c) of the principal act.[604]

In 2004, the Windhoek Municipal Police Service Regulations was promulgated before the Municipal Police became functional in 2005. The Municipal Police has four main functions: crime prevention; law enforcement; traffic policing; and enforcement of by-laws in the City of Windhoek's area of jurisdiction[605]. It has full policing powers except the power to investigate and it is the only one of its kind in the country. Other municipalities (Swakopmund and Walvis Bay) comparable to Windhoek's in terms of legal classification are not served by a municipal police. The differences in legal instruments that have been bequeathed unto African cities notwithstanding, colonialism largely entailed binding Africans to rural zones and denying them

[604] Cf. Police Act (Act No. 19 of 1990); Regulations for Municipal Police Services GG 2833, GN 184.

[605]Crime prevention, law enforcement, traffic policing, and enforcement of by-laws in the City of Windhoek's area of jurisdiction. The City Police has full policing powers except the power to investigate.

rights to the city.[606] Therefore, before a legal revisit of Windhoek's founding years is offered, a brief discussion of African cities and the law suffice to provide the background in which legal architecture shapes urban materiality and everyday life.

4.2. African Cities and the Law

When discussing law and African cities, what is at stake is the sobering reality that ongoing efforts at reconfiguring our cities and making them liveable for the urban majority are unlikely to succeed without an adequate understanding of the objectives of colonial planning laws. It is only through a thorough understanding of the legal colonial spatial nitty-gritties will contemporary urban planners be able to disrupt particular representations of space inimical to, say an integrated city that accommodates and celebrates its diverse urban residents. But the manner in which urban planners at times play a pivotal role in perpetuating colonial spatial politics suggest that they wilfully participate in crafting a particular urban environment for a multitude of reasons.

From megacities such as Cairo, Lagos and Kinshasa to some of the fastest growing African cities like Nairobi, Luanda and Johannesburg, interminable rule-making and rule-breaking continues to shape the urban condition. Regulations and rule-making operate within a context of subversion where the elasticity of law is invariably tested. This is not to say that the law and the city only converge at a point that could be described as murky and undefined. There are instances where law has worked. Equally, there are cases where the law has been subverted. Take for example the issue of illegal, and invariably dangerous, electrical connections so pervasive in urban Africa.

606 Bissell, W. C. (2007). Casting a long shadow: colonial categories, cultural identities, and cosmopolitan spaces in globalizing Africa. *African Identities*, *5*(2), p. 181.

Those who are off the grid have taken it upon themselves to gain access to services that are otherwise out of their reach because of local government incapacity to provide services even when residents are prepared to pay. On the other hand, through bypassing, destroying or tinkering with the workings of neoliberal assemblages of infrastructure to gain illegal access to services such as water and electricity, the urban poor wage a micropolitics of innovation and subversion.[607]

Photo No. 21: Illegal Power Supply in Windhoek[608]



Electricity is diverted from power grids without the knowledge of municipal technicians and piped water is redirected illegally. A bus stop morphs into a marketplace during days or hours that the bus service is suspended and road signs barring taxis from picking up passengers at particular spots are deliberately ignored, for adherence to specific road rules negatively affects profit margins in the business of ferrying people around the city. To a large extent, the micropolitics waged by the urban poor belong to the realm of the invisible. In making a case for the contention that most of what happens in African cities in fairly invisible, Simone adduces as

[607] Fredericks, R., Diouf, M. (2014), 'Introduction', In Fredericks, R., Diouf, M. (Eds.), *The Arts of Citizenship in African Cities: Infrastructures and Spaces of Belonging*, Palgrave Macmillan: NY, p. 9.

[608] Photo courtesy of Volker Winterfeldt.

an example of how electricity is provided for ten times as many households beyond what official connections permit.[609] But in some instances these connections are fairly visible for all to see, including municipal officials. Turning a blind eye to practices such as the unsanctioned redirection of electricity suggests the complicity of municipal officials in allowing some 'illegal' activities to continue undisturbed. Moreover, municipal officials' complicity is indicative of them not being oblivious to the fact that lack of provision and capacity give impetus to some of these activities. This is not to say that illegal connections are entirely a result of inadequate provision, for at times poor urban communities are unable to afford modern energy services.[610] Lack of provision and urban poverty aside, it is still widely accepted that in the "absence of constraints provided by building codes and city bylaws, the built environment can become a heterodox assemblage or collection of disparate elements lacking coherent and overall design".[611] That some sense of order is always a desirable thing is not a moot point. But a shift from the technical-instrumental planning theory to relational conceptions of rationality is helpful, as Harrison argues, in understanding African urban environments that are defined by highly variegated rationalities.[612]

4.3. The Making of Windhoek – A Legal Revisit of the Founding Years

The laws that came to bear on Windhoek's urban landscape can be traced back to discriminatory practices of organising social life that developed in the 1890s based on the social hierarchy of a

[609] Simone, A-M. (2004), 'People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg', *Public Culture*, 16(3), 407-429.

[610] Singh, R., Wang, X., Mendoza, J. C., & Ackom, E. K. (2015). Electricity (in)accessibility to the urban poor in developing countries. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Energy and Environment*, *4*(4), 339–353.

See also Karekezi, S. (2002). Poverty and energy in Africa—A brief review. *Energy Policy*, *30*(11), 915–919.

[611] Murray, J. M., Myers, G.A. (2007), 'Cities in Contemporary Africa', p. 283.

[612] Harrison, P. (2006). On the Edge of Reason: Planning and Urban Futures in Africa. *Urban Studies*, *43*(2), 319–335.

German provincial town.[613] From its very inception, the district of Windhoek has been a conflict-ridden territory situated – with its surrounding farms – in an area cleared by frontier battles during the late 1800s.[614] Its history before 1890 is best known in relation to the community of Oorlam Afrikaners who abandoned it in the face of Ovaherero resurgence, only to re-emerge in the early 1890s with the advent of German colonialism proper.[615] This antagonism over Windhoek provided a fertile ground for Germans to assert their authority over warring groups and somewhat act as a buffer between the Ovaherero from the north and the Oorlam Afrikaners from the south.[616]

In many respects, laws that shaped Windhoek in its formative years as a colonial capital are informed by imperatives of a 'settler city'. The first steps in white settlement had been taken in the time of von François, when it was considered settlers would only be safe near to the Windhoek fort.[617] 'A settlement syndicate for South West Africa whose objective was to encourage and assist Germans who are willing to settle in the new colony emerged in early 1892 in Berlin. Later known as the Settlement Company, this syndicate facilitated the arrival of the first party of settlers from Germany who were dully settled in the upper part of Klein Windhoek, a mile or two south-east of the Windhoek fort'.[618] The settler community's continued and expanded occupation of Klein Windhoek was given backing by codified legal instruments that decisively marked actual German rule in German South West Africa (GSWA) – which were of

[613] Bley, H. (1971 [1968]), 'South West Africa under German Rule', p. 77.

[614] Ibid. But see also Schinz (1891: 129); Hartmann, W. (2002), 'Sexual Encounters and their Implications on an Open and Closing Frontier: Central Namibia from the 1840s to 1905', Unpublished DPhil Dissertation: Columbia University, p. 169; Heywood, A., Lau, B. (1993), 'Three Views into the Past of Windhoek', p. 8; Goldblatt, I. (1971), 'History of South West Africa from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century', pp. 111-112.

[615] Hartmann (2002: 169).

[616] Cf. Bravenboer (2004: 15); Bley (1971, pp. 99-119); Schinz (1891: 129).

[617] Wellington, J.H. (1967), 'SWA and its Human Issues'.

[618] Ibid., pp. 188-189.

course more pronounced in Windhoek, coming into force in 1907.[619] Preparations of Native Regulations were started in 1905 with the main purpose of expropriating tribal lands and their cattle.[620] This period was barely a year into the War of National Resistance (1904-1907), and therefore, preparation of regulations in a war period was a display of bravado with which occupying troops waged the war, suggesting the defeat of native resistance was to be a formality preceding a more expansive colonial settlers' regime. The most important of these regulations – and one which came to haunt Windhoek 106 years after the end of the colonial project – was the 'order of the Governor of SWA pertaining to measures for the control of natives'.[621] This decree created, for the first time, legal discrimination by asserting the distinction between 'whites' and 'natives' with regards to such issues as land-rights, native registration and carrying of identity cards.[622]

As most white colonisers – in settler colonies – had an intention of dwelling permanently upon lands forcibly taken from indigenous population, laws that came to have an effect of *enframing*[623] on a number of African cities, such as the native regulations in Windhoek, were enacted. Myers deploys *enframing* – drawing on David Simon and Robert Young respectively – to account for the lingering influence of colonialism is shaping space against the backdrop of violent ways in which colonial practices were inscribed physically on territories subjected to colonial control.[624] To account for lasting effects of colonialism, Young points to repressive practices inscribed physically and psychically on territories and people subject to colonial control.[625] Similarly, Simon makes reference to spatial dimensions as representative of and central to the perpetuity of

[619]Zollmann, J. (2011), 'Communicating Colonial Order'.

[620] Bley (1971).

[621] Ibid., p. 172.

[622] Ibid.

[623] Myers, G. A. (2003). *Verandas of Power: Colonialism and Space in Urban Africa*. Syracuse University Press, pp. 7- 11.

[624]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[625] Young, R. (1995). *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*. Routledge, p. 164.

colonial influence as cities and towns were built to "create, reflect and reinforce colonial order".[626]

The War of National Resistance was the context in which enforced segregation on the basis of race came about.[627] With the introduction of native regulations, the year 1907 marks the inception of what became the foundation on which the segregated colonial city was shaped. Even though this colonial segregated city did not in and of itself provide an impetus for the graduation of Windhoek into a quintessential apartheid city during the South African colonial dominion, it provided a fertile ground for taking segregation to a much deeper level with attendant enduring spatial reconfigurations, as Marion Wallace intimates in her study on Windhoek.[628] But other cities in former German colonies such as Tanzania and Cameroon were also subjected to the type of segregation inherited by Windhoek. Writing on Dar es Salaam, Smiley observes that "within four years of its arrival in the city, the German colonial government implemented a program of ordering based on racial segregation".[629] Enacted as early as 1891, the first German Building Ordinance divided Dar es Salaam into European and other areas,[630] laying the groundwork for a segregated city. Similarly, Douala in Cameroon was subjected to an elaborate plan of segregation by the German administration in 1910, resulting in separate European and African quarters.[631]

In light of the foregoing historical narrative that reverberates in a number of former German colonies, the existence of two disparate parts of Windhoek in the early 1900s that functioned

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[626] Simon, D. (1992). *Cities, capital and development: African cities in the world economy*. Belhaven Press, pp. 143-144.

[627] Gewald, J-B. (2009).

[628] Wallace, M. (2011). *History of Namibia: From the Beginning to 1990*. Oxford University Press.

[629] Smiley, S. L. (2007). *Patterns of Urban Life and Urban Segregation in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Kansas, p. 320.

[630] Ibid.

[631] Austen, R. A., Derrick, R., & Derrick, J. (1999). *Middlemen of the Cameroons Rivers: The Duala and Their Hinterland, C.1600-c.1960*. Cambridge University Press, p. 128. See also Hege, P.C. (2015), 'The German Variation: A Sketch of Colonial Städtebau in Africa, In Silva, C. N. (Ed.), *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Post-Colonial Planning Cultures*. Routledge: NY, pp. 167-168.

distinctly autonomous – or two *Windhoeks* as it were – is not peculiar and should be understood within the context of German colonial policies. Klein Windhoek was by and large a settler district which blossomed into an agricultural settlement of remarkable productivity, with establishments catering for the whole colony.[632]

Photo 22: Gustav Voigts Centre



Influential white residents of Windhoek, some of which became powerful traders such as Gustav Voigts[633] and other business and political notables, resided in Klein Windhoek. Either by design or default, the elite and upper class of the city found spatial existence behind the protective shield of the *Alte Feste* – east of Windhoek – literally and figuratively. As I will illustrate in a moment, contemporary's Windhoek elite and upper class is still concentrated in *Klein* (small) Windhoek. In fact, *Gross* (greater) Windhoek was established as a garrison settlement devoted to military and public functions, while Klein Windhoek housed the city's residential quarters.[634]

[632]Heywood & Lau (1993:14).

[633] Acting Mayor of Windhoek from 1910-1911 (Bravenboer 2004: 386). The Gustav Voigts Centre with a triangular roof design (see photo above) on Independence Avenue is named after this former acting Mayor of Windhoek. Alexander Forbes House is the greyish building protruding over the Gustav Voigts Centre in the northerly direction.

[634] von Schumann (1989: 156-157) as cited in Friedman (2000), 'Deconstructing Windhoek', p. 3.

Even though the formative years of colonial Windhoek are important, the most penetrative period in terms of law that decisively shaped the materiality of the city belongs to the South African colonial period. For seventy-five years of its rule over Namibia, the South African apartheid administration was enmeshed in hyperactive production of law. Concerning resolute control over almost endless aspects of life that defined apartheid as a system, the production of law through which control could be activated became a very hyperactive activity.[635] The sheer number of laws enacted during apartheid – some of which bordering on the laughable – bear testimony to this hyperactivity.

In a postcolonial dispensation where the wheels of legal reform turn frustratingly slowly such as in the case of Namibia – the ruins of hyperactively produced laws can at times present impediments to transformation in various spheres of life. In 2010, Groenewaldt identified no less than sixty-five apartheid related statutes that are yet to be repealed in Namibia.[636] By her own admission, Groenewaldt maintains that her review of the legal corpus is not exhaustive. In other words, hers is but just a part of the story. Laudably, the Namibian Parliament promulgated the Repeal of Obsolete Laws Act in late 2018.[637] Vagrancy Proclamation Amendment No. 27 of 1927 as well as Dried Peas Control Ordinance No. 35 of 1957 are among the pieces of legislation to be repealed.

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[635] Credit is due to Alan Mabin for driving this point home at the Wits Interdisciplinary Seminar in the Humanities (WISH) on April 25, 2016, where I presented the first incarnation of this chapter under the title '*City as a Creature of Law – Revisiting Windhoek's Legal Architecture'*.

[636] Groenewaldt, A. (2010) *Discriminatory and Un-repealed Legislation in Namibia 20 years after Independence*, Office of the Ombudsman & KAS: Windhoek.

[637] Republic of Namibia (December 31, 2018), Repeal of Obsolete Laws Act (Act No. 21 of 2018), GG 6812, GN 366.

4.4. Colonial Planning and Urban Materiality

Insofar as planning law is concerned with the regulation of land use, contemporary Windhoek is – like many other colonial cities in the world – a creature of colonial pieces of legislation that have shaped the materiality of the built environment. The built environment has in turn moulded a multitude of urban experiences. As far as the Capital of Namibia is concerned, the urban fabric was shaped by the social and racial segregation set up by the German colonial authorities as from the end of the 19th Century, and by the policy of apartheid institutionalised as from 1948 by the South African Government.[638] Similar to many South African cities, Windhoek is trapped in a quagmire where 'laws designed to implement urban plans of apartheid remain stubbornly in place'.[639] The notorious Group Areas Act of 1950 was neither implemented nor applicable to Namibia, but probably there was no need for it as Heinrich Vedder's utterances in 1957 seem to suggest:

> "Our Government in South West Africa has been the depository of a fine heritage. From the very beginning the German Government carried out that which has unfortunately not yet been attained in South Africa – namely, apartheid".[640]

With regards to urban planning, there are some laws that should have been repealed, but are still on statute books and continue to have purchase in contemporary Windhoek as well as other major urban centres in Namibia. Consider as an example the Townships and Division of Land

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[638] Peyroux, E. (2001), 'Urban Growth and Housing Policies in Windhoek: The Gradual Change of a Post-Apartheid Town', p. 288.

[639] Berrisford, S. (2011), 'Unravelling Apartheid Spatial Planning Legislation in South Africa', *Urban Forum*, 22:247–263. See also Peyroux (2001), pp. 287-291.

[640] Dierks, K. (2002), 'Chronology of Namibian History. From Pre-historical Times to Independent Namibia', p. 211. Heinrich Vedder was a prominent member of the Rhenish Missionary Society and he uttered these words when he accepted the position of senator in South Africa's Senate in charge of native affairs in SWA in August 1950.

Ordinance, No. 11 of 1963, a piece of legislation dealing with the regulation of land-use planning. Essentially, this ordinance provides for the division of urban landscape in zones. These zones are then regulated and controlled in terms of uses or combination of uses, the degree of permissible development, and the nature of development. Another one is the Town Planning Ordinance, No. 18 of 1954 which amongst others deals with the use of public spaces, erecting structures on municipal land and making alterations to buildings on municipal land. The abovementioned two pieces of legislation – which are essentially the most important ones in terms of urban planning – have been criticised as being outmoded and containing cumbersome procedures.[641] To be sure, Namibia's current planning system is a remnant of South African administration whose primary driver was race.[642] An overhaul of planning law in Namibia is indeed long overdue and talks of change gathered steam, leading to the Urban and Regional Planning Bill coming before parliament for the 2016/2017 session. In June 2018, the Urban and Regional Planning Act (Act No. 5 of 2018) was promulgated. Amongst others, the Act aims to "consolidate the laws relating to urban and regional planning; provide for a legal framework for spatial planning in Namibia; and provide for principles and standards of spatial planning".[643]

There is still a lot that needs changing on the scene of planning law in Namibia. And while one cannot be completely in the know with regards to the inner workings of the Planning Department at the City of Windhoek and other major urban centres in the country, an open letter which appeared in one of the dailies[644] demands that we pause and ponder a bit. Part of the open letter reads:

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641 *Planning Law in Namibia*, p. 3.

642 Ibid.

643 See Urban and Regional Planning Act (Act No. 5 of 2018), accessible at: http://www.lac.org.na/laws/2018/6631.pdf Accessed February 28, 2019.

644 *New Era* (January 11, 2016), 'Open Letter about the Status of our Urban Settlements and the way Forward', p. 16. The 2015 Urban Design Masterclass attendees who penned the 'Open Letter' included two officials from the City of

> "[S]ettlements reflect the indelible legacy of three historic ideologies: European colonialism from way back; international modernist settlement-making that emerged about 100 years ago in Europe and North America; and South African apartheid from the mid-1900s.

It is startlingly bizarre that officials from the City of Windhoek Planning Department are talking about apartheid spatial planning legacy in a manner that cast them as outsiders. The colonial legacy argumentation is something that should be well known to the municipal officials. What becomes important is what is it that those who are tasked with shaping a new urban reality are doing to rid African cities of imperial legacies. Certainly, "the physical imprints of colonialism are evident in the form of military garrisons, churches, hospitals, trading centres, prisons, schools, agricultural and mining barracks as well as urban centres".[645]

While taking seriously the observation made in the advertorial which at one level raises or reawakens the debate around what has been happening over the past two decades and a half, there is also a need to deconstruct some assumptions underpinning this advertorial. But what is clear is that a critique of colonial legacies is no longer adequate nor sustainable. Instead, hard questions aimed at fashioning urban configurations that respond to present challenges need to be asked. What forces are at play in perpetuating the apartheid spatial planning legacy? What must be done to disrupt the segregationist spatial planning debris that came to bear on Windhoek's urban cityscape? These must be questions that urban planners are better positioned to answer instead of implicitly posing them. Authors such Fatima Friedman observed almost two decades ago that:

> "Windhoek's urban planning legacy is most visible with regards to two particular aspects of its urban morphology. First, one notices the continued segregation of the

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Windhoek's Department of Urban Planning (one who I interviewed for this study and another one with whom I sought an interview without success).

[645] Demissie, F. (Ed.). (2008). *Postcolonial African Cities: Imperial Legacies and Postcolonial Predicament*. Routledge, p. 3.

> city's population along racial lines. Second, as evidenced by the physical separation of the former township areas from "the city", monofunctional suburban layouts continue to fragment Windhoek's urban fabric".[646]

It follows that issues raised by architects and town planners in the advertorial are not new. Lack of spatial transformation has been around for some time, with town planners and related professionals being complicit in what Crankshaw and Parnell call a 'spatial impasse'.[647] As a result of 'significant waves of urbanisation in recent decades, urban growth is accelerating and continues to be propelled in terms of these dominant urban constructs that maintain and increase the historic fragmentation and separation of communities due to lateral suburban growth planned at low densities'.[648] Suffice it to ask that: planned and maintained by who? The cardinal question then becomes 'how to unlearn the colonial cultures of planning'? Or put differently, 'how do we decolonise planning and unlearn privilege'? On what borders on the bizarre, there are discriminatory laws that are still applied such as the Squatter Proclamation, AG 21 of 1985. This Proclamation provides for the removal of persons unlawfully present on land or in buildings, and for the demolition of structures which are unlawfully erected. Over the last ten years or so, this proclamation has been used to efface a number of informal dwellers from the face of Windhoek. Another legal instrument which was until recently used against the so-called vagabonds in the Vagrancy Proclamation, No. 25 of 1920.[649] In its legal phraseology, this proclamation was aimed at suppressing trespassing, idleness and vagrancy.

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[646] Friedman, F. (2000). *Deconstructing Windhoek: the urban morphology of a post-apartheid city*. University College, London, Development Planning Unit, p. 1.

[647] Parnell, S., Crankshaw, O. (2009), *'Urban Exclusion and the (false) Assumptions of Spatial Policy Reform in South Africa'*, In Koonings, K., Kruijt, D. (Eds.), 'Mega-cities: The Politics of Urban Exclusion and Violence in the Global South', Zed Books: London, pp. 153-169.

[648] Ibid.

[649] Repealed in December 2018 through 'Repeal of Obsolete Laws Act No. 21 of 2018'.

Denizens of cities can appropriate the same laws in different ways. And not least, different cities can be governed by different laws and this can tell us a whole lot about the character of the city or its spatial identity, as it were. Some laws continue to hold sway long after they were repealed, suggesting that space has a predilection of refusing to forget. Seen in its plurality, the city appropriates the law in its genesis and embodiment.[650] 'Settler cities'[651] such as Windhoek also invited particular legal instruments that came to bear on the urban fabric and this too have an influence on how we can account for contemporary urban social forms. Put differently, 'a phenomenology of the contemporary city demands an understanding of its legal edifices, just as an understanding of law demands a thorough observation of its urban traces'.[652] This is because the urban condition or crisis in its different manifestations is variously interlaced with legal pre-existences, impositions, misapplications and inabilities.[653]

The law's obsession with naming, categorising and organising is revealed in the city's working order both socially and spatially.[654] It is in the city where law's presence is magnified to a penetrating extent through a multitude of legal moments such as planning restrictions, environmental regulations, zoning, social control, restricted access areas, banning of wearing hoods in shopping malls, power architecture and landscaping etc.[655] Rakodi observes that the deployment of planning as an instrument of social control was demonstrated most starkly in settler economies of countries such as Zimbabwe, South Africa and *Namibia*.[656] And we are

[650]Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, A. (2007) 'Introduction: In the Lawscape', In Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, A. (Ed.), *Law and the City*, pp. 1-20.

[651]See Belich, J. (2009), 'Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939', Oxford University Press: Oxford.

[652]*Law and the City*, p. 3.

[653]Ibid., p. 2.

[654]Ibid., p. 8.

[655]Ibid., p. 9.

[656]Rakodi, C. (2002), 'Order and Disorder in African Cities: Governance, Politics, and Urban Land Development Processes', p. 50 – own emphasis in italics.

talking about a history of more than 100 years of constant shaping and moulding in the case of Namibia in general, and particularly its colonial capital Windhoek.

With regards to colonial urban planning model's imposition on urban Africa, Coquery-Vidrovitch makes a case that Africans found themselves dispossessed of part of their universe and had to invent novel strategies for survival in the city by combining old and new.[657] Consequently, before the end of the colonial era, Africans, who accounted for the majority of urban population, reinvented their cities.[658] This submission does not enable us to account for the extent to which the city in turn reinvents urban population, for it overplays the agency of Africans in cities shortly before the end of colonial rule.

Post-colonial urban spatial (re)configurations reveal that space has an indomitable capacity in refusing to forget, such that spatial laws of years gone by continue to resurface in various ways on the urban landscape. Therefore, the argument that 'it is not the city that makes the African but *it is* the African who makes the city'[659] does not stand up to contemporary urban concatenations whose make-up is old and new, colonial and post-colonial, structure and agency. The foregoing invites a number of questions: what kind of laws did Windhoek appropriate in its genesis or which laws appropriated Windhoek? What do these laws say about Windhoek today? One of the laws that continue to reanimate the vortex of an apartheid city in contemporary Windhoek is the 'Squatters Proclamation' of 1985, a legal instrument used to remove illegally constructed buildings or structures.[660]

The Windhoek City Police (WCPS) – simply known as "City Police" – is the entity that invariably enforce this proclamation. Since its inception in 2005, the City Police has been presented as

[657]Coquery-Vidrovitch, C. (2005), 'The History of African Cities South of the Sahara: From the Origins to Colonization' (Tran. Baker, M.), Markus Wiener Publishers: NY, p. 325.

[658]Ibid.

[659]*The History of African Cities South of the Sahara*, p. 325 – own emphasis in italics.

[660] AG 21/1985, see http://www.lac.org.na/namlex/Housing.pdf Accessed April 4, 2016.

something of a novelty in the arsenal of law enforcement and the criminal justice system. City Police officials maintain that the force is uniquely one of its kind[661] while Nakuta in a recent publication on the criminal justice system in Namibia claims that 'municipal police agencies are relatively recent phenomenon in Namibia'.[662] Historical works debunk the latter assertion – at least in the case of Windhoek – as references to municipal police straddles the German and South Africa's colonial occupation of Namibia.[663] Nakuta further claims that municipal police agencies 'have been established in Windhoek and Walvis Bay'.[664] The former was indeed established in 2004, but available information suggests that no municipal police was established for the latter.[665] The celebrated Namibian musician, Jackson Kaujeua writes about joining the municipal police in Windhoek before Namibia's independence in his autobiography:

> "A week before the second extension of my permit I joined the municipal police at the insistence of my father. That is the easiest way to obtain residential permit and eventually to secure a house (…)".[666]

Similarly, John Ya Otto makes reference to municipal policemen in his eye-witness account of events that preceded the Old Location Massacre of 1959 in Windhoek.[667] For his part, Pendleton argues that African movements into and out of Windhoek and within Namibia were controlled by Windhoek Municipal Police as well as the South African Police.[668]

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[661] Focus Group Discussion with City Police Officials, 27.07.2015.

[662]Nakuta, J. [Assisted by Cloete, V.] (2011), *'The Criminal Justice System'*. The Justice Sector and Rule of Law in Namibia Series, NID & HRDC: Windhoek, p. 12.

[663] Cf. Bley 1971; Goldblatt; Kaujeua 1994; Ya Otto 1982. 1971

[664]Ibid., p. 12.

[665]Cf. Sibeene 2007; *The Namibian* (March 2, 2007); Telephonic query with the Municipality of Walvis Bay, September 7 2015).

[666]Kaujeua, J. (1994), 'Tears over the Deserts', p. 91.

[667]Ya Otto, J. (1982), 'Battlefront Namibia', Ch. 3 'Windhoek Massacre', pp. 34-54.

[668]Pendleton, W.C. (1974), *'Katutura: A Place Where We Do Not Stay'*, San Diego State University Press: California, p. 47.

The foregoing suggests that the Municipal City Police is not as novel as being projected. Instead, it is by all indications a reincarnation of the colonial municipal police, straddling the German and South Africa's colonial rule. This reproduction of a particular apparatus responsible for the legitimate use of force in an urban setting has implications for continuity of peculiar spatial relations supported by legal codes and regulations.

While a number of authors have pointed to the reinforcement of the colonial order in postcolonial urban milieus,[669] animation and heightening of colonial practices through legal codes in contemporary urban settings is another avenue through we should understand the intersection of the law and the city. Reminiscent of colonial Windhoek, the Squatters Proclamation has been used time and again to demolish housing structures deemed illegal by the City Police.[670] As the Proclamation reads under Section 2, it is aimed at the "[p]rohibition of unlawful presence of persons on or in any land, building or structure, and provision for the removal of such persons and building or structures erected by or for them". The deployment of this legal instrument reproduces the land-rights regime introduced through the natives' regulations in the early 1900s during German rule. Way after German colonialism had ceased and Namibia was five years away from gaining political independence, Weigend observed that 'patterns of settlement and economic activity formed during 1884-1915 are still clearly evident in Namibia'.[671] Similarly, and with reference to the transition from German to South African colonial occupation of Namibia, Emmet insists that "in spite of a perceived need for change, a number of constraints operated to

669 Cf. Young, R. (1995). 'Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race'; Simon, D. (1992). 'Cities, capital and development: African cities in the world economy'.

670 Cf. Kamwanyah, D. (November 14, 2014) "Murambatsvina' in Windhoek', *The Namibian*, p. 10; Haidula, T. (March 3, 2014) 'Demolition of shacks to continue', *The Namibian*; Haidula, T. (February 4, 2014) 'Windhoek deploys watchman to curb land grab', *The Namibian*; Kisting, D. (December 12, 2012) 'City Police Demolish shacks', *The Namibian*, p. 1; Isaacs, D. (July 21, 2009) 'Squatters hit back at Windhoek Municipality', *The Namibian*, p. 1; Isaacs, D. (May 26, 2009) 'City Police crack down on squatters', *The Namibian*, p. 1.

671 Weigend, G. G. (1985). German Settlement Patterns in Namibia. *Geographical Review*, *75*(2), p. 161.

produce a degree of continuity with the past".[672] Emmet cites as an example, the Hague Convention which required the occupying power of a conquered territory to limit changes to existing legal and governmental structures.[673]

Clearly, one legal instrument or the other had been used to rid urban centres of black bodies. And while based on the Squatters Proclamation of 1985,[674] the persistent uprooting of largely black populations from Windhoek (in particular) resonates with the Natives (Urban Areas) Proclamation of 1951. The latter preceded and gave impetus to the 10th December 1959 massacre and attendant forced removal in Old Location (present day Hochland Park, adjacent to Windhoek's city centre). Notwithstanding that a colonial era proclamation is still used to shape a particular urban environment, there are changes in residential make-up as a result of interracial property transfers that are worth examining. A comparison of three formerly whites-only suburbs – Hochland Park, Klein Windhoek and Pioneers Park – show various gradations of racial mixing. It also demonstrates how the abolition of colonial planning laws have worked in shaping a new urban reality in some instances.

4.4.1. Interracial Property Transfers in Hochland Park, Klein Windhoek and Pioneers Park

The inter-racial transfer[675] of properties constitutes perhaps one of the best yardsticks by which to ascertain the extent to which a residential area has desegregated, or remained segregated. This

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672 Emmett, T. (1984). *Popular Resistance in Namibia, 1920-1925*. University of the Witwatersrand, African Studies Institute, p. 5.

673 Ibid., p. 5.

674 The Squatters Proclamation AG 21 of 1985 has nonetheless not gone unchallenged. For as of 2013, certain provisions have been found by the Supreme Court to be "inconsistent with the Constitution, and invalid and of no force and effect". See *Shaanika and Others v Windhoek City Police and Others* (SA35/2010) [2013] (15 July 2010).

675 To ascertain inter-racial transfers from the Deeds Records, last names were used as proxies for race. Although this type of proxy should be treated with a caveat, names still generally can be read for race in spite of being crude a measure.

is because apartheid – the harbinger of segregation – was largely a geographical project whereby separation was spatially used to produce unequal social relations.[676] Using as a premise that social integration – in spatial terms – was not expected to occur rapidly after apartheid, the extent of residential segregation may be an indicator for measuring the success of urban restructuring after apartheid.[677]

Amongst many suburbs, Hochland Park is important in the annals of Windhoek's history of residential segregation for reasons I alluded to in *Chapter 1*. Worth recalling is that Hochland Park was built on the debris of Old Location. The forceful removal of black inhabitants from Old Location was a prelude to separate locations in the new 'township' of Katutura. These separate locations have remained a blight that defines the very essence of Windhoek as a segregated city. And as Gewald reminds us, "[i]n establishing Hochland Park, the outgoing South African regime (…) ensured that all physical traces of a crime committed against Windhoek's African inhabitants were obliterated from the city's urban landscape".[678]

But it appears that there has been what seems like a 'nostalgic return' as far as contemporary Hochland Park's racial composition is concerned. Pendleton makes reference to a returnee who commented that "she had lived in Main [Old] Location before going into exile, and how strange it was to return to an integrated Hochland Park home not far from where she once lived in the Main [Old] Location".[679] Relatedly, Müeller-Friedman cites Hochland Park as one of Windhoek's

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[676] Lemon, A., & Clifford, D. (2005). Post-apartheid Transition in a Small South African Town: Interracial Property Transfer in Margate, KwaZulu-Natal. *Urban Studies*, *42*(1), p. 7.

[677] Donaldson, R., & Kotze, N. (2006). Residential Desegregation Dynamics in the South African City of Polokwane (Pietersburg). *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, *97*(5), p. 567.

[678] Gewald, J-B. (2009) 'From the Old Location to Bishops Hill: The Politics of Urban Planning and Landscape History in Windhoek', In Bollig, M., Bubenzer, O. African Landscapes: Interdisciplinary Approaches, p. 257.

[679] Pendleton, W. C. (1993). *Katutura: A Place where We Stay : Life in a Post-apartheid Township in Namibia*. Ohio University Center for International Studies, p. 56.

neighbourhoods with the highest degree of racial mixing.[680] By 'nostalgic return', we should think mainly about returnees who today call Hochland Park their home. This is not to imply that all of the current black residents of Hochland Park were the same ones forcefully removed from the then 'Old Location' in 1959. But as Pendleton's study show, low-cost houses have been built in Hochland Park after independence and many of these houses have been occupied by Namibian returnees.[681]

As intimated above, apartheid was largely a geographical project with a stated philosophy of minimising social interaction between racial groups. Therefore, black in-movement to previously white areas is one way of ascertaining the extent to which cities have desegregated.[682] Deals and transfers in property are by no means mere economic transactions, but are shaped by political and social relations between parties involved.[683] The advent of racial mixing in residential areas after Namibia's political independence should therefore be understood within the context of efforts aimed at desegregating the city at a particular historical moment. Mapping interracial property transfers in formerly whites-only suburbs is one way of getting a sense of spatial change that has accompanied the end of official segregation.

Zooming in on the time shortly after independence, it becomes clear that interracial property transfers were higher in the first period but declined in the later period (see Figure 1). Of course factors such as cost of housing and other market fundamentals could explain this initial upsurge and its attendant decline. However, for the purpose of this study and in line with Rakodi's

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680 Müeller-Friedman, F. (2006). Beyond the Post-Apartheid City: De/Segregation and Suburbanization in Windhoek, Namibia. *African Geographical Review*, *25*(1), p. 43.

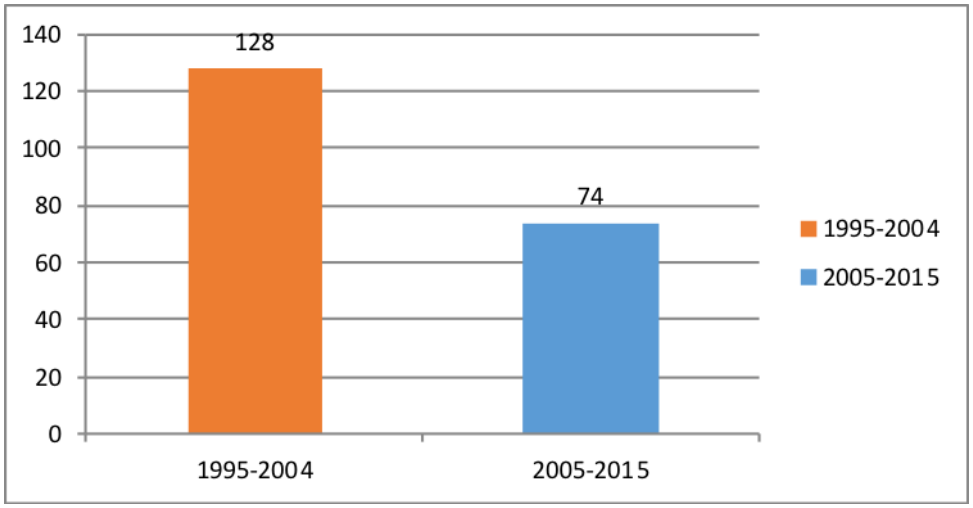
681 Pendleton, '*Katutura: A Place where We Stay'*, p. 56.

682 *Interracial Property Transfer in Margate, KwaZulu-Natal.* But see also Lemon, A. (Ed.). (1991). *Homes apart: South Africa's segregated cities*. P. Chapman.

683 Rakodi, C. (1997) 'Residential Property Markets in African Cities', In C. Rakodi (Ed.). *The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of Its Large Cities*. United Nations University Press, p. 372.

assertion that property deals are not solely economic,[684] I am more interested in broader issues of law and (de)segregation. In essence, this involves taking seriously the importance of primary legislative changes pertaining to the abolition of influx controls on rural-urban migration, urban segregation, and the ban on blacks owning freehold urban property.[685]

Figure 1: Inter-racial transfers of houses in Hochland Park



It can safely be argued that through inter-generational transfer of stories relating to 'Old Location' and indeed historical written records,[686] contemporary residents of Hochland Park are well aware that they have 'returned' to the dwelling place of their forbearers. In his study, Pendleton makes reference to a returnee who observed that her Hochland Park home was "much nicer than her previous Main Location home".[687]

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[684] Rakodi, *'Residential Property Markets in African Cities'*.

[685] Simon, D. (1985). Decolonisation and Local Government in Namibia: The Neo-Apartheid Plan, 1977-83. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *23*(3), p. 508. But see also Simon, D. (1986). Desegregation in Namibia: the demise of urban apartheid? *Geoforum*, *17*(2), pp. 293-294.

[686] Cf. Pendleton, *'Katutura: A Place where We Stay'*, pp. 26-38; Goldblatt, I. (2010). *Building Bridges. Namibian Nationalists Clemens Kapuuo, Hosea Kutako, Brendan Simbwaye, Samuel Witbooi.* (D. Henrichsen & N. Jacobson, Eds.). Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, pp. 115-118.

[687] *'Katutura: A Place where We Stay'*, p. 56.

In terms of house transfers from whites to blacks in Klein Windhoek[688] between 1995 and 2015, Figure 2 below shows that this residential area recorded an increase in inter-racial transfer of properties over time. To obtain data for Figure 2, seven (volumes 1; 3; 5; 7; 9; 11; 13) of the fourteen volumes containing house transfers information for Klein Windhoek were scrutinized.[689]

Figure 2: Inter-racial House Transfers in Klein Windhoek (1995-2015)



With the historical background of Klein Windhoek as the quintessential whites-only suburb behind the 'Old Fortress', the idea was to get some kind of pattern with regards to interracial transfers of property. Therefore, I chose every second book of deeds record starting with Book 1 as opposed to scrutinizing all the available records. The increase in transfers over time that the scrutiny of seven volumes show could be indicative of a different gradation and perhaps signals a 'delayed' racial mixing in Klein Windhoek when compared to Hochland Park. These differences

[688] Klein Windhoek is an affluent formerly whites-only suburb located in the eastern part of the city.

[689] Records of Deeds Registers are archived at the Deeds Office which is part of the Ministry of Land Reform headquarters in Windhoek.

relate to the history and nature of residential segregation that betray concerns around divided spaces that brought about a divided city in the first place.

As for Klein Windhoek, returning to 1920 as a way of providing an important background on which to expand the spatial segregation argument is warranted. It was only in 1920 that 'one Windhoek', at least in the realm of law, came into being. Roughly three years after South Africa took over from German imperial administration, discussions around amalgamation started in 1918, and they were not without problems. Residents of Klein Windhoek as well as its Municipal Council members wanted Klein Windhoek to continue being the colonial possession of the German Empire.[690] This request did not go down well with South African military rulers who were keen on consolidating their power over the newly conquered territory, and brief hostilities ensued between Klein Windhoek and Windhoek municipalities. The taxpayers of Klein Windhoek were opposed to amalgamating with Windhoek as they were mainly small agriculturalists sharing no common municipal interests with Windhoek.[691] Military rulers of Windhoek would not have any of this and on 27th December 1919, the acting military magistrate of Windhoek wrote to the Burgomaster of Klein Windhoek informing him of the impending dissolution of the Klein Windhoek Municipal Council.[692] Proclamation 22 of 1929 was ushered in and became an important start-off point with regards to the administrative merging of Klein Windhoek's municipality and Windhoek's municipality.[693] Under this Proclamation, the administrator appointed all councillors and municipalities of Windhoek and Klein Windhoek

[690] NAN, LWI, 3/1/23, 63/25/40 – Klein Windhuk Municipality 1918.

[691] NAN, LWI, 3/21/23, 63/26a/40 – Klein Windhuk Municipality 1918.

[692] Ibid.

[693] Official Gazette of the Protectorate of South-West Africa in Military Occupation of the Union Forces (July 1, 1920), Proclamation 22 of 1929, GN. 33 , repealed by Ordinance No. 24 of 1935. See also Wallace, M. (1997), 'Health and Society in Windhoek, Namibia, 1915 – 1945', p. 82

were now amalgamated.[694] "The Municipality of Windhoek and the Municipality of Klein Windhoek shall for all purposes be deemed to have been amalgamated under the name of "The Municipality of Windhoek" as from the first day of April, 1920", reads the proclamation.[695] In essence, this proclamation gave effect to amalgamation of the two municipalities which was approved by the Administrator of South West Africa at least nine years earlier.[696] Before this merger, there were two municipalities founded in 1911 that functioned autonomously. While the Windhoek council was heavily dominated by business interests, Klein Windhoek had much greater representation of farmers which reflected its semi-rural status.[697]

Heralding the establishment of racially segregated areas, Proclamation 24 of 1920 sought to divide Windhoek into distinct areas along racial lines. This predates the 'separate but equal' apartheid policy of Hendrik Verwoerd and the Odendaal Plan of 1962-1963. At the level of Windhoek, the Odendaal Plan sought to balkanise the city into social groupings that were separate and as such could easily be quelled in the event of an uprising. A close reading of Windhoek today confirms that the Odendaal Plan was very successful at dividing this city beyond imagination. The two *Windhoeks* of the 1900s have for all intents and purposes reproduced themselves in contemporary Windhoek[698] - the 1920 amalgamation notwithstanding – or perhaps they did not cease to be separate in the first place.

I shall now turn to Pioneers Park, another formerly whites only suburb in the southern part of Windhoek whose extreme southerly edge is the University of Namibia Main Campus. Along with

[694]Ibid.

[695]Proclamation 22 of 1929.

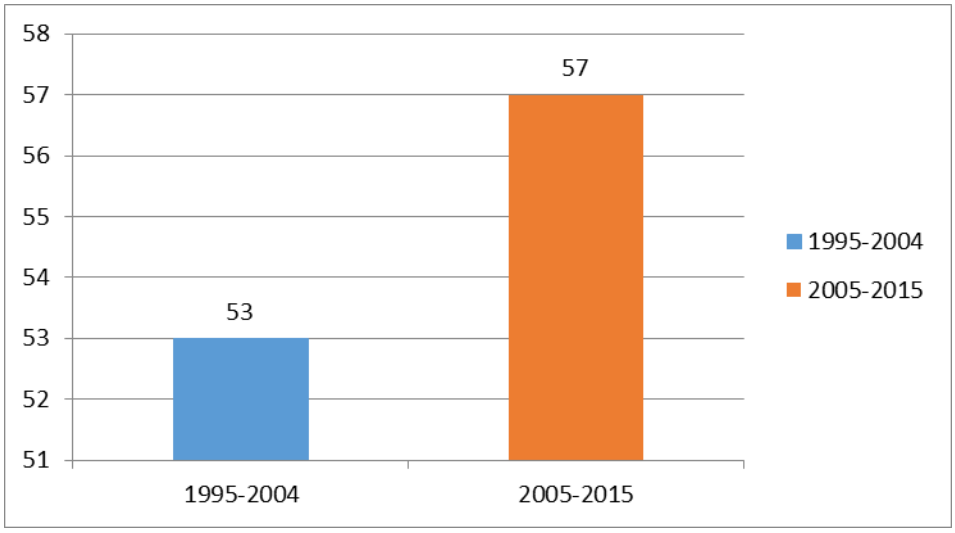
[696]The merger was approved on March 23, 1920. See Proclamation 22 of 1929.

[697]Ibid.

[698] Two *Windhoeks* is what Kahengua (2012 [2002]) poignantly alludes to in his poem 'From Within'; a) Small in German ('Small Windhoek'), b) Greater / big in German ('Greater Windhoek'), see Chapter 2 - *Cultural Economies of the City*.

southerly suburbs of Academia and Suiderhoof, Pioneers Park developed as a predominantly middle class residential area during the 1970s.[699]

Figure 3: Inter-racial House Transfers in Pioneers Park



As Figure 3 shows, the number of inter-racial property transfers in Pioneers Park virtually stayed the same over time. This pattern of transfers contrast sharply with Hochland Park, but is somewhat comparable to Klein Windhoek. For one reason or the other, Pioneers Park appears to the political elite's suburb of choice. Of those black residents who moved to Pioneers Park, a noticeable number of Members of Parliament names crop up in the deeds register.

4.5. (Re)segregation and Enclaving in Windhoek

At the same time that Hochland Park has seen a sizeable number of inter-racial transfer of houses, enclaving is taking hold as a number of highly securitised exclusive suburbs spring up

[699] Simon, D. (1986), 'Desegregation in Namibia: The Demise of Urban Apartheid?' *Geoforum*, 17(2), 289-307.

around Windhoek. In other words, in as much as there are always talks of forging an integrated city representative of its diverse residents, people are self-segregating for a myriad of reasons of which economics is but just one. High-end residential enclaves now surround Windhoek in virtually all directions. These include Elisenheim (north of Windhoek), Finkenstein Manor and Herborth's Blick Nature Estate (east of Windhoek) and Omeya (south of Windhoek). To make sense of these kinds of enclaves, I shall focus on Finkenstein Manor which I visited in January 2016 and whose records at the Deeds Office I examined. For a quintessential gated community like Finkenstein Manor, negotiating entrance can be nightmarish. Such was the case when a research assistant and I tried to gain entrance to this exclusive enclave. Events that unfolded are perhaps worth recollecting here. We only found out at the security gate that entrance into Finkenstein is strictly by invitation. In fact, an invitee – who should ordinarily be a resident – is the one who opens the gate from inside with some software installed on his or her mobile phone. My research assistant improvised and told the security officer that we are here to see David. Negotiating the entrance then unfolded as follows:

> "Call him, he must open for you from inside", demanded the security officer. My assistant started fiddling with his phone, pretending to call the mythical David. "Officer, his phone does not seem to be ringing", says my assistant…but while we were at it, the gate opens and he drove in. "Who opened for you?" The security officer demanded to know, in a commanding voice. "I think its David"[700], replied my assistant.

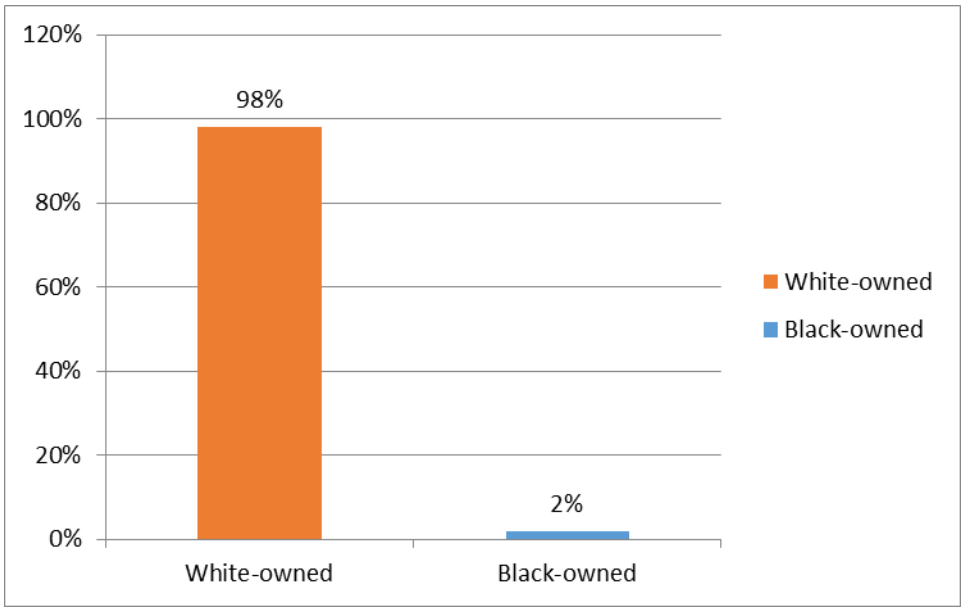
With a suspicious look, the security officer gave us the right of passing.[701] Driving inside Finkenstein Manor, we traversed a serene and lush environ whose various plots are named after wild animals. There are neatly tarred roads and generous spaces between plots. Extremely short

[700] Field-notes (23.1.2016).

[701] In terms of Section 8 of Finkenstein Security Procedures, "casual visitors will only be allowed entry when accepted via the intercom system by a resident".
http://finkenstein.org/pdfs/04SECURITY_PROCEDURESAmended.pdf Accessed January 5, 2019.

fences that reveal the exterior of the house almost entirely is the preferred yard design, suggesting that the work of keeping the unwelcomed and undesirables should have been completed by the main entrance. A number of houses are still under construction, and we come across one whose construction site information board bears the name of a high ranking government official. Descriptive narrative aside, the City of Windhoek set plans in motion no less than five years ago to extend its municipal boundaries (see Annexure A) to 'reign in' on developments such as the Finkenstein Manor. During council meeting deliberations, the City of Windhoek was urged to investigate the extension as there was a concern that the private residential developments outside the capital are perceived as enclaves of the rich and predominantly formerly advantaged racial groups in Namibia.[702] Evidence from the Deeds Office suggests that fears of the City of Windhoek with regards to a place like Finkenstein Manor were not misplaced.

Figure 4: Plots Ownership[703] in Finkenstein Manor



[702] Duddy, J-M. (April 12, 2011), 'City Clamps Down on 'Rich Private Townships', *The Namibian*.

[703] Information valid for August 2016. Percentage calculated by the author from records in the Deeds Office.

As Figure 4 above shows, about 98 percent of all the plots that are captured in records at the Deeds Office are owned by white Namibians as their last names suggest. Moreover, paying a visit to Finkenstein and observing who goes in and out every other hour or so confirm the above ownership patterns. This pattern of ownership could well hold for all the other enclaves that now occupy three edges of Windhoek. This then suggests that the city is re-segregating, rendering the idea of an integrated city unachievable, at least for now. *Inter alia*, the municipal boundaries were extended because there are currently no local governance structures (in terms of law) to deal with exclusive suburbs like Finkenstein.[704] What boundaries extension is aimed at achieving at the basic level is to bring these enclaves under municipal jurisdiction. The speed limit road sign below – though it appears to have been deliberately infused with a humorous message – points to privatisation of space and the attendant capacity of private spaces to venture into the unusual without suffering consequences.

Photo No. 23: Above 60 permissible at Finkenstein



[704] Ibid., '*City Clamps Down on 'Rich Private Townships'*.

The road sign above would not be erected anywhere else in Windhoek, save for exclusive suburbs such as Finkenstein. Of course road signs are in any way ignored throughout Windhoek, but having a road sign that 'permits' violation of the very rule for which adherence is sought borders on the unusual.

A meaningful control over these enclaves would require transfer of land to the Windhoek Municipality. The latter is a different kettle of fish fraught with intricacies that would not be easily resolved by enacting a piece of legislation. Governed by a variety of rules, policies, procedures and regulations, Finkenstein is virtually independent of the Windhoek Municipality. The Constitution of the Finkenstein Homeowners Association (FHA) is the juristic entity that runs the affairs of Finkenstein under a Board of Trustees elected every three (3) years.[705]

Conclusion

Taking as the premise that repealing or amending laws that govern various aspects of city life do not necessarily lead to the reordering and reconfiguration of urban space, this chapter sought to demonstrate how Windhoek has evolved in the realm of law. By paying attention to how legal debris from the German colonial occupation period continues to shape urban space, it can safely be argued that legal codes and regulations possess an afterlife more powerful than we are willing to concede. Drawing on records from the Deeds Office that traces the inter-racial transfer of properties, I showed that in Hochland Park, the inter-racial transfer of properties was noticeable shortly after 1990 but declined over time. On the other extreme, Klein Windhoek display residential patterns of a suburb that has recorded few inter-racial transfer of properties in the aftermath of Namibia's independence, but saw a slight increase of transfers over time. In general

[705] http://finkenstein.org/pdfs/2013AGM/ConstitutionFinkensteinHomeownersAssNov2013.pdf Accessed January 5, 2019.

terms, it appears that the 'two *Windhoeks*' have so far proven difficult to erase and that the yearning for an 'integrated city' will remain a mirage for years to come. The latter is compounded by the fact that new re-segregation, driven in part by economics, is taking shape in exclusive enclave developments around the city. Even though these exclusive suburbs make use of municipal infrastructures such as roads on which their dwellers are ferried to and from work, municipal by-laws and regulations do not apply to these enclaves. With regards to the legal status of Windhoek as a 'city', I traced the provenance of what I call the legal myth to Sam Davis – the Mayor of Windhoek for the period 1965-1966 – who appears to have twisted a resolution of the Executive Committee of South West Africa by flagrantly confusing the word 'town' for 'city'.

Chapter 5 - Migration and the Making of the Urban

Like many cities around the world, Windhoek is a city of migrants. For this reason, migration cannot be divorced from the urban condition. As a constitutive part of what makes Windhoek, migration is one of the most important windows through which we can get a sense of contemporary Windhoek, and through which we can grasp the 'city yet to come'. In this light, there is no gainsaying in that 'migration and mobility are central to the Africa urban majority's experiences of urbanism'.[706]

As a generic term, 'migration' can refer to various forms of movement. Whitehouse maintains that migration researchers make reference to several complementary forms of spatial mobility important to human livelihoods.[707] People move to find work (labour migration); to attend school (educational migration); to work in cities when rains cease and the harvests are in, only to return to work on their family farms when rains return (seasonal migration); and after getting married or divorced (family migration).[708] In this Chapter, I shall trace the migratory patterns of Windhoek with view to showing that these patterns are an important force responsible for the city's dwelling and trading landscape. I begin by offering a broad picture of those who constitute the majority of migrants and then dwell on life stories and trading experiences of select street vendors. The dwelling and trading landscape of street vendors is at the core of shaping social interactions that define city life from their vantage point. As this chapter draws on interviews conducted with street vendors in Windhoek's CBD as well as Katutura in the north-western part of the city for empirical evidence, labour migration will be the specific area of interest. With regards to the so-called 'informal economy', labour migration has been chiefly of an intra-

[706] Myers, G.A. (2003), 'Verandahs of Power: Colonialism and Space in Urban Africa', p. xiv.

[707] Whitehouse, B. (2012), 'Migrants and Strangers in an African City: Exile, Dignity, Belonging', Indiana University Press: Indiana.

[708] *Migrants and Strangers in an African City*, p. 3.

national migration type, but took on an international dimension from 2008 mainly because of economic meltdown in Zimbabwe and the ensuing exodus of Zimbabweans. Census data show that there were 1262 Zimbabweans in Namibia in 2001, and this figure jumped to 5448 by 2011, making it the largest increase of international migrants from a single country in a decade.[709] International migrants roaming the streets of Windhoek as vendors are mostly Zimbabwean. The involvement of international migrants in the 'informal economy' produces very complex urban politics around issues of scrambling for limited economic opportunities, circulation of pirated goods and at times xenophobia.[710] Moreover, the appearance of international migrants on the street vending scene also has implications for trading regulations. As pointed out in *Chapter 3*, the Informal Trading Regulations of 2007 introduced – for the first time – a section dealing with 'application by a foreign national for an informal trading permit'.[711] As Kihato opines, mobile populations highlight multiple governance and regulatory processes in cities, which at times compete or collaborate to define urban territory.[712] Like many other African cities, what defines Windhoek's cityness in various forms is a result of the multitudes of people who made it their home and/or their location for work. When migrants arrive in the city, they have to live under legal provisions – abide by or break them and at times in the process give impetus to fraught relations with law enforcement officials. The latter resonates with an assertion made by an officer in supervisory position of the Windhoek City Police:

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[709] Cf. National Planning Commission (NPC) (2001), 'Namibia Population and Housing Census', p. 27; Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA), 'Namibia Population and Housing Census', p. 34.

[710] Cf. Kihato (2013), 'Migrant women of Johannesburg. Life in an in-between city', Palgrave Macmillan: NY; Nyamnjoh, F.B. (2006), 'Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa', Zed Books: London; Ghosh, B. (2013), 'The Global Economic Crisis and the Future of Migration: Issues and Practices', Palgrave Macmillan: NY.

[711] See Section 10 of the Municipality of Windhoek Informal Trading Regulations of 2007.

[712] Kihato (2013), 'Migrant women of Johannesburg. Life in an in-between city'.

> "Windhoek attracts a lot of different type of people who do not even know Windhoek's behaviour or how one should behave in Windhoek. It then becomes very difficult to police this kind of people because they had never stayed in the Capital City; they are coming from rural areas where everybody is just a headman".[713]

With the "rural areas where everybody is a headman" statement, the City Police official is hinting at multiple sources of authority pervasive in rural areas where claims over things such as land are loosely defined and ownership is communal. And with "people who do not (…) know Windhoek's behavior", one is reminded of Georg Simmel's classical observation of the difference between the resident of the metropolis and the resident of small town or village. The former arguably exhibits heightened awareness and greater critical acumen while the latter is trapped in depressed awareness and greater naiveté.[714] In spite of the fact that what the police official brought to the fore with his statement resonates with classical observations of urban life that apply to many other cities, migration still allows for an exposition of Windhoek as an unusual city. In this view, "what is unusual is the fact that only since 1970 have whites been in the minority, and this certainly reflects the degree of control and influence they exercise(d) over the political economy".[715] By all indications, the unusualness that Simon foregrounds produce(d) a particular urban milieu as a result of the delayed or late impact of migration on the city. The influence of migration on Windhoek was 'suspended' for a long time due the intensity of control.

5.1. Windhoek's Migratory Patterns Since the 1970s

Coquery-Vidrovitch argues that except for the unusual case of Cape Town, African colonial cities were populated with an average of at least ten times more Africans than Europeans.[716] Another

[713] Focus Group Discussion with City Police (27.7.15), Supervisor No. 3 [Male].

[714] Karp, D. A. et al. (2015), 'Being Urban: A Sociology of City Life', p. 24.

[715] Simon (1984: 139).

[716] Coquery-Vidrovitch, C. (2009), 'Introduction: African Urban Spaces History and Culture', In Salm, S.J., Falola, T. (Eds.), *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*, University of Rochester Press: Rochester, p. xxx.

exception and unusual case is colonial Windhoek, for it has been a peculiar settler colonial city as urban population was predominantly comprised of white settlers for the most part of the colonial period. It was only in the 1970s that the white population of Windhoek became the minority.[717] For this reason, focusing on this period will give a sense of how migration is directly related to the changing nature of the Windhoek's socio-economic fabric and the attendant political contestations which this change invites. Given the political background and the constriction on the movement of black Namibians, it was to be expected that one of the most pressing problems which the Municipality of Windhoek had to contend with was the influx of people seeking better life chances in the Capital.[718] Migration to urban centres was largely temporary in both legal status and practicality, serving the labour needs of the colonial system.[719] The presence of many Owambo migrants in the urban central towns of Namibia, especially Windhoek, has provenance in early experience of rural-urban migration.[720] Findings from the City of Windhoek in 1995 showed that 85 percent of the inhabitants in informal settlements came from northern regions.[721] Chiefly because of this internal migration stream fed by northern regions of Namibia, which accounted for at least 35 percent of Windhoek's total population in 2001, a sizeable number of Windhoek's population reside in informal settlements,[722] and judging from the expansion of existing informal settlements and the establishment of new ones, numbers of improvised housing units will keep on rising. According to the UN Habitat, more than 60 percent of sub-Saharan

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[717] Simon, D. (1983), 'Aspects of Urban Change in Windhoek'; Pendleton, W., Crush, J. Nickanor, N (2014), 'Migrant Windhoek: Rural-Urban Migration and Food Security in Namibia', *Urban Forum*, 25: 191-205

[718] Bravernboer, B. (2004), 'Windhoek Capital of Namibia'.

[719] Frayne, B. (2007), 'Migration and the Changing Social Economy of Windhoek, Namibia', *Development Southern Africa*, 24(1), 91-108; Winterfeldt, V. (2002), 'Labour Migration in Namibia – Gender Aspects', In Winterfeldt, V., Fox, T., Mufune, P. (Eds.), Namibia Society Sociology, UNAM Press: Windhoek.

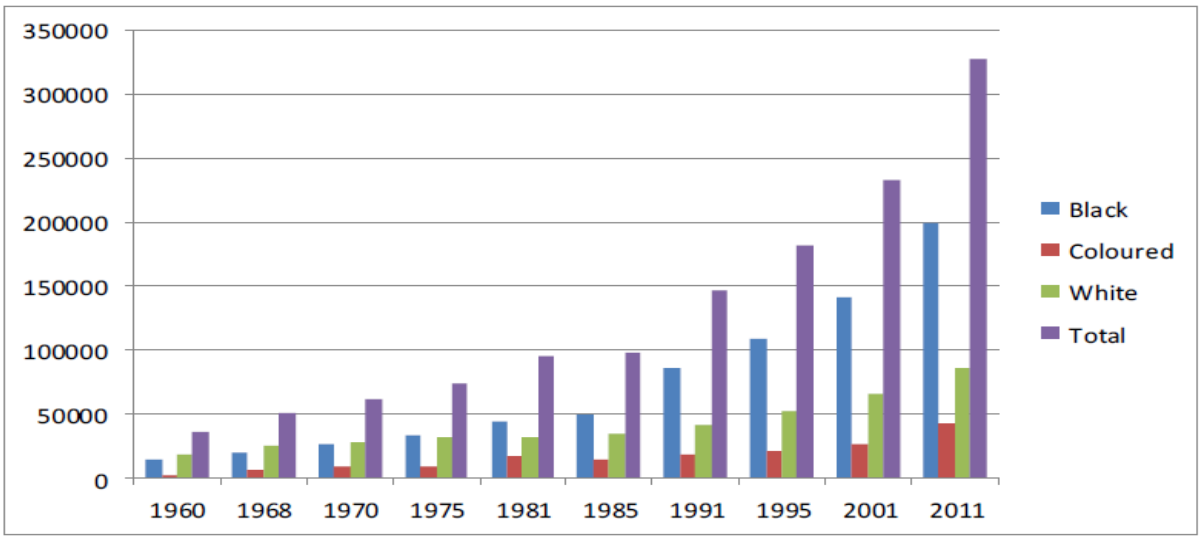
[720] Fryane, B., Pendleton, W. (2001), 'Migration in Namibia: Combining Macro and Micro Approaches to Research Design and Analysis', *IMR*, 35(4), 1054-1085.

[721] City of Windhoek (1995), 'Windhoek Residents Survey'.

[722] Pendleton, W., Crush, J. Nickanor, N (2014), 'Migrant Windhoek: Rural-Urban Migration and Food Security in Namibia', *Urban Forum*, 25: 191-205.

Africa's population is living in slum conditions.[723] Needless to add, the expansion of slums is largely driven by population growth as a result of migration.

Figure 5: Population growth of Windhoek 1960-2011[724]



By far the most populous urban centre in Namibia, Windhoek's population is almost 20 times that of the second highly populated urban locality.[725] Tvedten contends that there is no other country in Southern Africa with such a large proportion of its urban population living in the

[723] UN Habitat (2010), 'Water and Cities: Facts and Figures': http://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/swm_cities_zaragoza_2010/pdf/facts_and_figures_long_final_eng.pdf Accessed October 21, 2016.

[724] Adapted from Nickanor (2013: 55), 'Food Deserts and Household Food Insecurity in the Informal Settlements of Windhoek, Namibia', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town: Cape Town: Cape Town. But see Pendleton, Nickanor & Pomuti (2012: 2) where an almost identical figure appears. Importantly, a cautionary note on reading Figure 1 proffered is deserving of quotation in full: "Beginning in 1981 'racial' group designations were not used for Municipal areas and people were free to live anywhere in the city; however, because of the relatively homogeneous character of the areas (e.g. Khomasdal was primarily occupied by 'coloured' people) it is possible to designate areas as primarily occupied by particular 'racial' groups. After independence some areas previously occupied by whites have become more integrated. Figure 1 should thus be viewed as suggestive rather than definitive" (p. 29).

[725] According to recent figures of Namibia's Population and Housing Census – Rundu is the second populous urban centre after Windhoek with a population of 63 431. See NSA (2013: 7).

capital as Namibia.[726] The population of Windhoek increased by 40 percent between 2001 and 2011 which is 10 percent lower than the national total increase of urban population over the same period.

It has been amply demonstrated that urban migration in Windhoek in not unidirectional as it involves a complex relationship between rural and urban households through an interplay of food transfers and remittances.[727] This rural-urban interplay is nonetheless not unique to Windhoek, but observable in a number of cities in Southern Africa.[728]

Development policies and plans do not normally integrate the realities and complexities of internal and international population mobility in any substantive manner.[729] In the case of Namibia – save for recognition in passing that the gap in average income and living standards drive rural-urban migration – the National Poverty Reduction Action Programme[730], for example, hardly deals with the issue of migration. In a 2015 Migration Report – based on 2011 Census – Namibia Statistics Agency admitted that little is known about the effect; the influx of migration to urban areas has with regards to economic growth or the worsening of poverty.[731]

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[726] See Tvedten (2004: 402).

[727] Cf. Fryane, B., Pendleton, W. (2003), 'Migration in Namibia: Combining Macro and Micro Approaches to Research Design and Analysis', *International Migration Review*, 35(4), 1054-1085; Moorsom, R. (1997), 'Underdevelopment and Labour Migration: The Contract Labour System in Namibia', *Working Paper No. 10*, Chr. Michelson Institute: Bergen.

[728] Pendleton, W. et al. (2006), 'Migration, Remittances and Development in Southern Africa', Migration Policy Series No. 44.

[729] Crush, J., Fryane, B. (2010), 'Surviving on the Move', In Crush, J., Fryane, B. (Eds.), *Surviving on the Move: Migration, Poverty and Development in Southern Africa*, IDASA: Cape Town, pp. 1-24.

[730] National Planning Commission (NPC) (2002), 'National Poverty Reduction Programme 2001-2005', NPC: Windhoek.

[731] Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA) (2015), 'Migration Report

5.1.1. Beyond Numbers: Who are the migrants?

To depict the character of Windhoek's migratory patterns, making reference to *who* the migrants are and *where* they settle is important. Tvedten identified three major migration patterns in Namibia: 1) from rural and urban areas in former Owambo (northern part of Namibia) to the larger urban areas in the central part of the country (mainly Windhoek and Walvis Bay); 2) from rural areas in the northern provinces of Kavango and Caprivi [Zambezi][732] to their respective main regional urban centres of Rundu and Katima Mulilo; 3) from rural and urban areas in the south to the main urban areas in the central parts of the country.[733] As far as Windhoek is concerned, Tvedten's first and third patterns of migration are of interest. But it is particularly the first type which fundamentally shapes the character of Windhoek's migration.

Findings from the Windhoek residents' survey that was carried out a little over a decade ago still ring true insofar as the socio-economic landscape of most migrants in concerned. With most migrants coming from the northern regions of Namibia and settling in north western areas of Windhoek, it is not surprising that the majority of these people exhibit a socio-economic profile similar to that found in poorest areas of Windhoek.[734] In as much as migrants found some of these poorest areas of Windhoek in a state of lack, poverty and precarity do travel with migrants as well. Therefore, these areas are equally constituted by migrants. Invariably, these migrants have lower than average levels of education, high levels of unemployment and low incomes in the event that they find employment.[735] This further reproduces and reinforces informal settlement

[732] Renamed to Zambezi on August 08, 2013. See Immanuel, S. (August 9, 2013) 'Caprivi is no more', *The Namibian*.

[733] Tvedten (2004: 407).

[734] City of Windhoek (1996), '1995 Residents Survey', Vol. 1, City of Windhoek: Windhoek, p. 62.

[735] Ibid.

patterns.[736] That migrants mostly come from northern parts of Namibia has significant influence on Windhoek's spatiality. In fact, a number of studies have linked the growth of Windhoek's informal settlements with the northern stream of migration,[737] determining flows and types of food available at informal markets amongst other things. At the very basic level, the northern parts of Namibia's migration stream present the issue of numbers insofar as they are related to rapid urbanization. More than 50 % of Namibia's total population is concentrated in northern Namibia.[738] It follows that this migration stream from northern Namibia will continue to shape the landscape of informal dwelling and trading. Relatedly, challenges of service provision that incessant rapid urbanization invites will continue to encumber the capacity of the Municipality of Windhoek to meet the ever-increasing demands and/or needs. It is no surprise that a good number of shack demolitions take place in informal settlements in north-western parts of Windhoek.

As the capacity of the City of Windhoek to deliver services is stretched thin due to mushrooming of informal settlements, shack demolitions in the name of 'illegally erected' dwelling structures on municipal land seem to have become one of the strategies of lessening the burden of delivering services. The proliferation of informal settlements because of a migration stream from the most populous region of the country also have implications for the accentuation of economic disparities in an apartheid city where urban indigence remains the fate of majority black Africans. Urban food insecurity is another direct corollary of rapid urbanization, so much so that

[736] Ibid.

[737] Cf. Pendleton, W., Crush, J., & Nickanor, N. (2014). Migrant Windhoek: Rural–Urban Migration and Food Security in Namibia. *Urban Forum*, *25*; Mufune, P. (2008). *Youth Migration in Namibia: Baseline Report*. UNFPA; Frayne, B. (2007). Migration and the changing social economy of Windhoek, Namibia. *Development Southern Africa*, *24*(1), 91–108.

[738] NSA (2011), 'Population and Housing Census', NSA: Windhoek, p. 24.

Windhoek is the first urban centre in Namibia where the 'food bank' initiative is being piloted since mid-2016.[739]

5.2. Migrant Windhoek and Informal Markets

Without fail, successive mayoral annual reports of the City of Windhoek draw attention to the challenge of urbanisation and its attendant population influx to the capital. Excerpts capturing the graveness of this challenge are phrased in such tones as: "The rapid influx to the city has resulted in a situation where the incoming population settle on the outskirts of the city. (...) settlements have extended deep into the hilly areas of Windhoek";[740] "The influx of people into the city has led to the expansion of informal settlements against limited resources"[741]. In some instances, the challenge of many people coming to Windhoek is linked to the issue of keeping the city clean: "given the influx of many people to the city, the challenges of keeping the city clean are ever increasing".[742] That the City of Windhoek is at best obsessed with cleanliness is a subject I dealt with at length in *Chapter 3*.[743] Of course the Municipality of Windhoek has not just been raising matters related to migration without doing anything about it.

A number of Windhoek residents' surveys carried out shortly after Namibia's political independence were precisely aimed at devising strategies of dealing with migration. Whether or not the strategies devised were put to use is another question altogether. As early as 1995, it was found that the rate of in-migration is not likely to decrease in the foreseeable future; and rapid

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[739] *New Era* (July 1, 2016), 'Food Bank Launched', Retrieved from https://www.newera.com.na/2016/07/01/food-bank-launched/ On February 22, 2017.

[740] City of Windhoek (2012), 'Mayoral Annual Report 2012', p. 7.

[741] City of Windhoek (2010), Mayoral Annual Report 2009/2010', p. 4. See also Mayoral Annual Report 2013, p. 16.

[742] City of Windhoek (2015), 'Mayoral Annual Report 2015', p. 17.

[743] *City Governance, Urban Fantasies, (In)visibility and Bureaucratic Practices.* See in particular the section on 'Obsession with Order and Cleanliness'.

urbanisation outstripped the ability of the local authority to provide urban land and services to accommodate in-migrants.[744] Moreover, the urban labour supply expands faster than demand, limiting the growth of wages and incomes especially of unskilled workers whose majority are in-migrants.[745] A close reading of strategies that municipal officials employ promises to betray how migration comes to bear on the urban, charting unexpected myriad binding threads. With regards to employment creation, the 1995 Windhoek residents' survey recommended that more effort should be directed at fostering, enhancing and sustaining productive entrepreneurship among the petty commodity producers that dominate the burgeoning informal sector of the economy in Namibia.[746]

Migration to Windhoek is intricately linked to the growth of informal markets. As a case in terms of providing job opportunities, Oshetu Community Market caters for residents of north western parts of Windhoek who form the majority of in-migrants identified. The Municipality of Windhoek did invest and continues to invest in informal markets, notwithstanding that their development is predominantly confined to particular localities. To mention but a few, Windhoek boasts Soweto Market (located at the corner of Independence Avenue and Abraham Mashego Street, with the capacity to accommodate about 199 traders); Tukondjeni Market (along Ongava and Ondoto Streets, with the capacity of about 140 traders); and Post Street Mall Market (situated in the city centre and reserved for handmade crafts mainly for tourists with the capacity to accommodate at least 82 traders).[747] More famous is Oshetu Community Market at the corner of Shanghai and Genesis Street. It provides lockable kiosks, barbeque stands and fire wood area. With the capacity to accommodate at least 120 traders, [748] Oshetu Community Market is one of

[744] City of Windhoek (1996), '1995 Residents Survey', City of Windhoek: Windhoek, p. 90.

[745] Ibid.

[746] Ibid.

[747] City of Windhoek (n.d.), 'The Heartbeat of Windhoek', City of Windhoek: Windhoek, unpaginated.

[748] Ibid.

those places in Windhoek buzzing with energy almost every day – reaching climax during weekends. This open market's main attraction is roasted beef, but a host of other products and services are also offered.

Photo No. 24: A hardcore urbanite with a Mohican feasting



Delicacies such as Mopane worms and dried spinach are offered at the market. There are also places offering restaurant-like type of meals with two or three tables in front. Barbers and tailors occupy some square meters of the compound with electronic repairs' stalls not far. Uniformed security guards are always stationed close to the barbecue stands to maintain order. Every now and then, they will order those who enter the premises with alcohol to leave – for alcohol is prohibited inside the market. Over the past five years or so, Oshetu Community Market became popular with tourists. It has become a norm rather than an exception to see a bus full of tourists descending on the market with a tour guide. Seemingly, tourists had enough of the city centre which gets frustratingly boring during weekends. Some exchange students from continental Europe who I befriended during their stay in Windhoek 3 years ago would always tell me how the city centre is akin to European cities in terms of set-up and cleanliness. Every now and then they would inquire what I am up to during the weekend so that we can go for *Kapana*. The latter

provides a different atmosphere, a distinctive feel, and indeed it is a peculiar milieu my visiting friends would not find in European cities. A Namibian friend of mine hailing from the Zambezi region always refers to Katutura as the 'People's Republic'. When he enquires about my whereabouts, I will tell him that I am in the 'Liberated Zone' when I am in Katutura.

To some extent, the issue of accessibility explains the popularity of Oshetu Community Market; at least as far as the ability to move around by denizens residing in north western Windhoek is concerned. Mediated by walkable distance, some informal markets become bounded entities defined by particular spatial practices because of their accessibility to specific sections of the city. Nonetheless, informal trading is not solely conducted in established markets as there are also itinerant street vendors. The latter group is the one most subjected to police harassment. The next section will reflect on street vendors' life histories with the aim of reading Windhoek from their vantage point.

5.3. Life Histories and Trading Facts of Street Vendors

Undoubtedly, we cannot meaningfully account for street vendors' imprints or signatures on the urban landscape and their subsequent sense of city life without some reference to their *habitus*. The latter concept compliments the understanding of 'everyday life' in the city. To be sure, how street vendors navigate the city is in part determined by their life experiences that they travelled with, say from northern Namibia to Windhoek. With *habitus* in its sociological rendering, Pierre Bourdieu refers to an ensemble of acquired dispositions which regulate a range of actions and attitudes that are possible because of one's agency. While these actions and attitudes come about as a result of agency, they are also responsible for the reproduction of structure, e.g. class

difference.[749] As Bourdieu contends, "structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce (…) systems of durable and transposable dispositions".[750] These dispositions become habitual and embodied, and as a result the everyday world is taken for granted. A comprehensive appreciation of Bourdieu's *habitus* requires making reference to another related term, i.e. *field.* By *field*, Bourdieu is pointing us to the context in which social action finds expression. As he puts it, "each *field* of action has its own specific logic and principles. These logics of action structure the choices and preferences of individuals in these contexts".[751] To a greater extent, the differences amongst street vendors' spatial experiences are shaped by their life histories, for these histories bequeath unto them embodied dispositions and attitudes. Therefore, life histories account for such trading facts as what they sell; where they trade; and how they envisage their trading experiences in the future. To demonstrate the linkage between life histories and urban imageries, I shall first draw on biographical accounts of a number of respondents before moving on to explicate how their *habitus* shapes how they experience and imagine the city. For purposes of this section, I shall narrate five biographical accounts that are reasonably distinct to allow for a multiplicity of city imageries of an otherwise homogeneous group of urban denizens. These accounts will be of Bwana – 'The Hidden Trader'; Joyce – 'The CBD Toughie'; Esther – 'The Fragrances Lady'; Meme Leah –'The Cook Under the Bridge'; and Tinashe – 'The Tailor'. Most of the descriptors alongside traders' names relate to particular trades they are engaged in, save for one that describes a vendor in the heart of the CBD whose trading experience has been nothing but tough.

[749] Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., Turner, B.S. (2006), 'The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology', 5th Ed., Penguin Books: London, p. 35.

[750]Bourdieu, P. (2013 [1977]), 'Outline of a Theory of Practice', Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pg. 72.

[751] Ibid.

5.3.1. *Bwana – 'The Hidden Trader'*

Hailing from Oshakati in northern Namibia – where most internal migrants of Windhoek come from – the 24-year old Bwana came to Windhoek in 2011. A friend of his brought him to Windhoek to work as a street vendor. Bwana never went to school and stays with his relatives in Babilon, an informal settlement on the north-western outskirts of Windhoek. He does not own the business but is employed by a friend who brought him to Windhoek four years ago. Bwana has been trading at the same spot on Munjuku Nguvauva Street since he arrived in Windhoek, selling mostly small convenience goods such as sweets, fruits, vegetables, mobile phone airtime and spices. He sources his goods from Stop 'n Shop complex in Okuryangava, not far from his abode. His clientele include residents of streets in the immediate vicinity of his makeshift stall as well as school going children passing by. Bwana's stall is not licenced, which is the case with many street vendors whose trading activities are in residential areas and as such hardly inspected by municipal authorities, whose focus is on the CBD. Referring to Bwana as 'The Hidden Trader' is precisely meant to locate him within his opaque trading reality insofar as it is removed from the otherwise watchful eye of municipal authorities. It could well be the case that as far as municipal authorities are concerned, Bwana's stall does not exist or its existence is of no importance because of its spatial positioning in a residential area where a host of activities are tacitly permitted while not necessarily licenced.

5.3.2. *Joyce – 'The CBD Toughie'*

Joyce claimed that she was 28 years old, but my hunch suggested that she was hiding her real age. Sometimes one should be pay particular attention to how something is said as opposed to what is said. After she had told me that she was 28, I followed up with a question aimed at verification:

'when were you born'? She laughs out loud and gave an incorrect but brave attempt - "In 1988". It is 2015, and she should have been born in 1987 to be 28. I left it there and made peace with the fact that she was being untruthful about her age without telling her that I knew. As I would learn later, her being 'untruthful' seems to be related to an encounter she had previously with a journalist who promised not to show her footage on television, but did not hold up to the promise.

Joyce did not want to tell me her level of education, but judging from her eloquence it appeared that she had some university education[752] or completed high school at the bare minimum. In surmising, it can be argued that her real level of education invites dissonance with her work as a street vendor. Therefore, her unwillingness to surrender information pertaining to her level of education is a way of dealing with her potentially conflicted world of work. Joyce claims that she resides in Windhoek West with her sister who is also involved in street vending. Windhoek West is a middle to upper class suburb in Windhoek not far from the city centre. This raised another question with regards to how a street vendor who makes about N$300 per day can afford to live in Windhoek West. From the foregoing, it becomes clear that a number of 'facts' in Joyce's biographical account present some conflicts. These conflicts do not necessarily mean that Joyce is dishonest, but invite the challenge of reading beyond the veneer. As a migrant from another country, eking out a living in a sector that locals do not want encroached, Joyce spatial positioning is precarious. And clearly she has accepted this precarity which in fact is a phenomenon that a lot of migrants in the informal sector have to deal with.

Even though I managed to established rapport with her, Joyce's run-ins with the police could still be a factor with regards to being vigilant and mind what information to surrender. Moreover,

[752] This is perhaps best corroborated by the fact that Joyce did tell me later in the interview that apart from trading, she is a private teacher of English, Maths and Science – rendering tutorials mostly to Angolans. Moreover, she was an assistant teacher at a primary school in Windhoek, teaching Grade 6 and 7 (Interview with Joyce, 1.7.2015 [Part I]).

being a migrant from another country and trading illegally puts her in a precarious position with a host of problems that being 'exposed' will invite. I did tell Joyce that I was a Namibian student studying in Johannesburg and doing my fieldwork in Windhoek. It could well be the case that me not being her compatriot and belonging to a different *field* in the Bourdieusian sense, presented limits to how open she could be. But her account is nonetheless important and offers an opportunity in locating the 'truth' within the realm of conflicted accounts. In an atmosphere of vulnerability – such as that besetting street vendors – saying less of who one really is becomes a strategy of keeping at bay any surprises that could come from inadvertent exposure, particularly when one is trading unlicensed.

Items that she sells include bed covers, seat covers, gloves, wallets, mobile phone protective covers and beanies – all of which are sourced from Johannesburg.[753] The movement of goods that enter the informal economy from Johannesburg into Namibia account for the second highest inflow by border post, surpassing only Oshikango in northern Namibia.[754] Johannesburg is therefore an important nodal point in the circulation of goods on which informal trade is based, particularly through imports entering Namibia via Ariamsvlei border post in the southern part of the country.

Another item that Joyce sells – and which is in quite high demand – is a mixture of some chemicals and butter that is sold in a syringe filled with a matchstick in the tip to avoid contents from escaping. This mixture is used for killing cockroaches and is referred to as 'cockroach killer'. Because of her trade in goods just mentioned, Joyce has been detained once and fined a number of times. It can safely be argued that experiences of being detained and fined has made her circumspect such that she thinks carefully about potential consequences of what she says to

[753] Interview with Joyce, 1.7.2015 [Part I].

[754] NSA (2015), 'Informal Cross Border Trade Statistics', NSA: Windhoek, p. 16.

people she does not fully trust. Her reality has turned her into a 'CBD Toughie' who is astute at evading the City Police Bicycle Squad (CPBS) and saying just enough to strangers.

5.3.3. Esther – 'The Fragrances Lady'

Aged 46, Esther came to Windhoek in 1999 from a village by the name of Elim in northern Namibia. Elim is part of Omusati region (province) and as such a contributor to northern Namibia's migration stream to Windhoek. She resides in Wanaheda (north-western Windhoek) with her husband and five children. Her highest level of education is Standard 6, an equivalent of Grade 8 in post-independence education system of Namibia.

Esther first worked as a security guard at Namibia Airports Company (NAC) before joining a diamond polishing company. While at the diamond polishing company, she started selling perfumes on a part-time basis. She lost her job at the diamond polishing company in 2009 after getting involved in an illegal strike. It was after losing her job that she started trading in mostly in perfumes, body powder and body lotion on a full-time basis.

She sells her products on a small table covered with a piece of cloth behind Pick 'n Pay Shopping Complex in Katutura, now known as 'Black Chain'. Esther travels to Johannesburg by bus once or twice a month – depending on how soon her stock runs out – to procure the main items on which her business runs. Airtime for mobile phones and sweets are sold to cover for the taxi fare between home and her place of trading, which cost her about N$20 per day. Typical of most vendors who operate within the precinct of Pick 'n Pay Shopping Complex, Esther is not licenced and as such her business is illegal.

5.3.4. *Meme[755] Leah – 'The Cook under the Bridge'*

Meme Leah has been a resident of Windhoek since 1976, having moved from northern Namibia after getting married. As such, her stream of movement is what is referred to as 'family migration' in literature on migration.[756] In her own words, she stays in 'Wambo Lokasie'[757] with her three children. Meme Leah used to work at a bookshop for 15 years before being retrenched in 2000.

Immediately after retrenchment, she initially started off with selling alcohol from her abode in Okuryangava. However, selling alcohol did not sit well with her as she is a Christian and she soon stopped. From alcohol, she moved to selling food – mostly meat – along a street and sometimes at a primary school not far from where she lives. This business was not generating enough money and she decided to move to Wernhil Market under Frans Indongo Bridge in 2002. Business at Wernhil Market has been good because of the proximity to the busiest taxi rank around the CBD and her food stall is licenced.

That her stall is licenced chiefly relates to the place of trading. She trades at a designated informal marketplace with more attention placed on the stalls because they are fewer. Food prepared on a gas stove such as chicken, chips, fat cakes, fish, sausages, a variety of starch and *oshikundu*[758] are on offer. Food items are sourced from Pick 'n Pay supermarket in Wernhil Park Shopping Centre.

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[755] Respectful way of addressing women (usually old) in Oshiwambo, not to be confused with the English meaning of cultural characteristics passed down generations.

[756] *Migrants and Strangers in an African City*, p. 3.

[757] In some detail, I dwelled on what I phrased as 'indelibility of apartheid in conversational Windhoek' in Chapter 1 – *Prefacing an Unusual City*. 'Wambo Lokasie' is an apartheid era ethnic group prefixed name for a residential area that was meant to serve the cornerstone of the apartheid policy of separate development and dwelling. Clinging onto apartheid era nomenclatures reveals dissonance between physical and cognitive maps in a post-apartheid epoch.

[758] Traditional Namibian drink made from fermented millet.

5.3.5. *Tinashe – 'The Tailor'*

Tinashe is a 42 years old male from Zimbabwe. He came to Windhoek in 2000, having first been to a number of countries in southern Africa in search of a place to settle down and do business. He has been to South Africa, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique before 'settling down' in Namibia (Windhoek). In comparing Harare to Windhoek insofar as his trading experience is concerned, Tinashi had this to say:

> "In Harare, there is too much politics. Here [Windhoek] politics is 'quite' [there is political stability] compared to Zimbabwe. This thing of politics sometimes causes the money not to flow, it [money] is not rotating nicely [business not profitable in a climate of political instability]. Before 'politics' in Zimbabwe, business was far better and I was making more money than what I am making here".[759]

Apart from political instability that Windhoek and Namibia in general offer to allow Tinashe's business to operate smoothly, he has a Namibian girlfriend and this could be another reason he chose to 'settle' in Windhoek, at least for now. In terms of education, Tinashe holds an Ordinary Level (O-Level) certificate from his home country. Even though he started with his tailoring business in 2000, he only became a licenced vendor in 2003. Tinashe has been in the tailoring business for at least two decades, having started selling clothes in Zimbabwe back in 1996. Apart from selling clothes, Tinashe trades in other small items such as necklaces, flip-flops, belts, hats and handbags.

From time to time, he tours various towns in Namibia as an exhibitor at trading expos. He runs his business with his Namibian girlfriend, opening around 6 a.m. and closing around 7 p.m. His customers are men and women of various ages. Tinashe does not offer goods on credit:

[759]Interview with Tinashe, 5.8.2015.

> "My business is cash and discount. If you give stuff on credit, some people do not pay while others do not pay on time. Some people give you false numbers, later on when you call them it will be 'this number is not reachable or it does not exist' ". [760]

And while we are it, a customer arrived and started bargaining for the price of flip-flops. The exchange that went on makes for an interesting tale of 'deals' that are peculiar to trading settings where drawing on 'social infrastructure' can broker a give and take arrangement:

> **Customer**: "I have N$ 50". **Vendor**: "N$ 50 for black [colour of flip-flops]? Make other colour ['choose another colour']. Black we can't make N$ 50 because we don't have enough stock. Just make N$ 70, unless you want green colour. For green colour is fine, I give you for N$ 50". **Customer**: 'Shaking his head in disagreement'. **Vendor**: "Make N$ 60, and then you can take black". **Customer:** "I only have N$ 60 now". **Vendor:** "Yes, pay N$ 60". **Customer:** "I only have N$ 60 now in my pocket". **Vendor:** "Yah, pay that one". **Customer:** "Taxi?" **Vendor:** "You 'sula'[761] brother, because I already helped you. You are still a young boy; you can walk until home. It is still early. You walk brother. Make N$ 60 and I can understand, because I already gave you discount. The N $ 10 you go make a plan". **Customer:** "This is taxi!" ['for taking a taxi'] **Vendor:** "Yah, but I already gave you discount – you understand? **Customer:** "I understand you, but they ['taxi drivers'] won't help me". **Vendor:** "You make a plan brother". **Customer:** "I have small coins here. Then it's only N$ 58". **Vendor:** "Why are you like that brother?" **Customer:** "Okay, N$ 59?" **Vendor:** "Okay, pay N$ 59".[762]

The exchange between Tinashe and his customer above allows for saying something or some things about the city. For a start, there is familiarity and intimacy between the two of them in that – for example – Tinashe knows precisely what the customer means when he says only 'taxi'. Presumably, the customer has to keep in mind money to return to the distant residential areas. This exchange charts a map in terms of the customer walking from the trader's stand to where he stays. It is implied that the place where the customer stays is far, and by 'you are young', Tinashe

[760] Interview with Tinashe, 5.8.2015.

[761] Roughly translated 'to make a plan' (slang).

[762] Exchange between Tinashe and a customer, 5.8.2015.

is implicitly reminding the customer that walking is a common experience in the city for those who are unable to afford transport fare. Importantly, the conversation between Tinashe and his customer reveals but one of the interactions that are unique to the so-called informal economy and the internal logics on which its very existence is based. This kind of interaction finds expression partly because African cities house a swelling population of largely slum dwellers desperate to find ways of staying afloat and lead viable lives in an environ organised around greed and generosity, collaboration and individual parasitism.[763] Staying afloat becomes possible because ways of relating in the informal economy are not cast in stone but are pliable and open to negotiations. It is this pliability that invariably generates conflicts and contestations over urban space as rules are broken within the boundaries of formal or official regulations that afford negotiation such as the one by Tinashe and his customer little or no value. Gleaning from the five biographical accounts above, I shall now conjure up a sketch of city life and urban imageries from the vantage point of street vendors, in the context of migration.

5.4. City Life and Urban Imageries

Apart from being part of circulatory veins through which goods and services move within the city, street vendors are also an important constituent who shape images that circulate about the city. To get a sense of how street vendors are spatially located and experience the city, mapping which spaces they 'claim' and which ones they choose to stay away from becomes imperative. Street vendors' spatial location is what determine and influence their urban imageries insofar as

[763] Simone, A. (2014), 'Too Many Things to Do: Social Dimensions of City-Making in Africa', In Diouf, M., Fredericks, R. (Eds.), The Arts of Citizenship in African Cities: Infrastructures and Spaces of Belonging, Palgrave Macmillan: NY, pp. 25-47.

their activities produce *representational space* in the Lefebvrian sense. That is to say, space as directly lived and the extent to which physical space is overlaid alongside the symbolic use of its objects.[764] This *representational space* becomes the vantage point through which street vendors conjure up an image of the city as they see it. Moreover, their experiences and views about the city are determined by their *habitus*. The combination of *representational space* and *habitus*, therefore, allow street vendors to reinforce, project and re-enact particular urban imageries while resisting and challenging others. The life of Bwana*[765], a 24 years old male who resides in Babilon – an informal settlement on the northern outskirts of Windhoek – gives us a window through which we can read the city from the vantage point of a street vendor. Hailing from Oshakati in northern Namibia, Bwana never went to school[766] and came to Windhoek in 2011. If not selling his wares in Katutura Central, his urban spatial ontology is confined to Babilon where he lives with his relatives who 'are too many to count'.[767] Bwana had never been to the city centre, let alone the Grove Mall[768] in the posh suburb of Kleine Kuppe. In fact, he does not know where the Grove Mall is located. As he surrenders a wide smile across his face, Bwana describes Windhoek as a 'good place'. "Everything is here".[769] The 'everything is here-ness' speaks to Tvedten's rendering of Windhoek as a primate city.[770]

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[764] Lefebvre, H. (1974 [1991]), p. 39.

[765] *Not his real name.

[766] As with the readily assumed linkage between informal dwelling and informal trading, there is a supposition that people with low level of formal education are more likely to be involved in street vending (Cf. Devey, R., Skinner, C. & Valodia, I. 2003, 'The Informal Economy', In Kraak, A., Perold, H. (Eds.), Human Resources Development Review 2003: Education, Employment and Skills in South Africa, HSRC: Cape Town; Norval, D., Namoya, R. (1992), 'The Informal Sector within Greater Windhoek', FNDC:Windhoek

[767] Interview with Bwana, 20.4.2015.

[768] Opened in late 2014, the Grove Mall is by far the largest shopping complex in Namibia.

[769] Interview with Bwana, 20.4.2015.

[770] See Chapter 2.

5.4.1. Informality as Spatial Marginality

We can glean a number of pointers from Bwana's spatial experience and positioning, and by extension get a sense of why he sees the city the way he does. Firstly – and this is corroborated by evidence from other street vendors – there is a pronounced linkage between informal settlements and street vending, most likely because of higher concentration of unemployment in north western areas of the city where the majority of informal settlements are found.[771] At first glance, this will appear like an obvious linkage, but it is not always the case. Even though the linkage between urban poverty and informal economy is invariably assumed to be a given,[772] I argued elsewhere that there are instances where some well-to-do individuals with high-paying formal jobs in Windhoek are firmly present in the informal economy, presumably to diversify their streams of income.[773]

Another issue worth deconstructing is why Bwana has not been to the city centre. Even though my probing did not elicit enough in terms of explanation, there are various reasons that can be mustered, taking into account issues of mobility within the city. By his own admission, Bwana walks on foot between his workplace and abode, but takes a taxi when coming to his workplace in the morning. When done for the day, he keeps his wares at the owner of the house in front of

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[771] Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia (SDFN) (2009), 'Profile of Informal Settlements in Namibia', SDFN: Windhoek, pp. 82-102; City of Windhoek (1995), '1995 Residents Survey Report', City of Windhoek: Windhoek, p. 47.

[772] Cf. UN-Habitat (2014), 'The State of African Cities 2014 – Re-imagining Sustainable Urban Transitions', UN-Habitat: Nairobi; Rogerson, C.M. (1996), 'Urban Poverty and the Informal Economy in South Africa's Economic Heartland', *Environment & Urbanisation*, 8(1), 167-179; Simon, D. (1984), 'Urban Poverty, Informal Sector Activity and Inter-Sectoral Linkages: Evidence from Windhoek, Namibia', *Development and Change,* 15, 551-576; Potts, D. (1995), 'Shall We Go Home? Increasing Urban Poverty in African Cities and Migration Processes', *The Geographical Journal*, 161(3), 245-264.

[773] Tjirera, E. (2013), 'An Ethnography of 'Herero Mall' as a Post-Apartheid Social Space', Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Namibia: Windhoek, p.45.

which his makeshift trading place is located. This collaboration is indicative of the need for a constant supply of social capital for informal trading to function and thrive.

5.4.2. Social Capital and Informal Ties that Bind

The lady who owns the house where Bwana keeps his wares does not charge him for looking after his goods. However, she borrows money from him every now and then, and pays back. This kind of interaction and symbiosis – based on trust as collateral – form an important internal logic on which the informal economy continue to thrive and endure. Bwana's symbiotic work relationship with the lady who shelters his wares lessens difficulties and cost around mobility between his workplace and abode. For had he not struck the deal of leaving his wares overnight at the lady's house, he would have to incur transport cost to ferry his goods back home. This kind of interaction that facilitates some semblance of a functioning micro-market where one would not otherwise have existed is part of what Simone refers to as 'social infrastructures', a corollary of insufficient investment in a wide range of facilities to provide an environment where small-scale businesses can thrive. By 'social infrastructure', Simone is precisely making reference to variegated steps that the majority of – *in particular* – African urban residents engage in to maximise access to opportunities, incomes, networks, ideas and capacities on which to base a more sustained urban development.[774]

In as much as the deal that Bwana struck to have access to a trading opportunity and maximise his income constitutes tapping into the 'social infrastructure' at his disposal, it does not completely absolve him of mobility challenges. Therefore, the issue of cost still comes into the equation as a factor that constricts Bwana's mobility around the city. And this is perhaps where

[774] Simone, A. (2010), 'The Social Infrastructures of City Life in Contemporary Africa', Discussion Paper 51, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet: Uppsala. Own emphasis in italics.

we are to find the most convincing reason with regards to why Bwana has not been to the Grove Mall, as opposed to him shyly saying "I would not go to the Grove Mall; I am not afraid of anything, but I will not go there".[775] Indeed, in the informal assembly of the city, residents draw on diverse capacities to cope with incessant lack.[776] At times, 'withdrawing' from 'desirable' aspects of what the city has to offer becomes the very essence of coping with insufficiency that is produced by socio-spatial differentiation. Therefore, my purpose here is not to dismiss Bwana's assertion of not 'wanting' to visit the Grove Mall. Rather, it is to argue that a new development in a small city like Windhoek would invariably invite interest on a wider scale. It could well be that Bwana is 'comfortable' with his spatial positioning within the city and has made peace with his 'un-free mobility'. But it must be borne in mind that one has to part ways with N$20 to go to the Grove Mall from Katutura with a taxi. This is a prohibitive amount for a person who makes between N$ 1 500 and 2 400 per month.[777] In this light, the first hurdle one has to overcome before getting to the Grove Mall is transport cost which is double the fare of a single trip between most places around the city.

Even though Bwana grapples with issues of mobility, he is spared municipal police scrutiny and potential 'harassment' because of his spatial positioning away from the watchful municipal authorities' gaze that characterise urban reality of the Windhoek CBD. In fact, Bwana had never experienced any inspection visits by municipal officials and is yet to encounter the city police because of his street vending activities.[778] This suggests that migrants occupy differing and unequal spatial positions, and are therefore exposed to different risks and benefits.

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[775] Interview with Bwana, 20.4.2015

[776] McFarlen, C., Vasudevan, A. (2014), 'Informal Infrastructures', In Adey, P. et al. (Eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities*, Routledge: NY, pp. 256-264.

[777] Interview with Bwana, 20.4.2015. From this amount, Bwana puts aside money to restock and share what is left with owner of the 'shop' almost in half.

[778] Interview with Bwana, 20.4.2015

5.4.3. Differing Spatial Positions of Migrants

The story of Joyce – whose narrative I also drew on in *Chapter 3* – strongly brings to the fore trading under constant control and monitoring. To some extent, this trading experience produces particular imaginaries and ways of experiencing the city. But before we dwell on trading realities insofar as they shape her outlook on Windhoek, it will be worth noting that Joyce is an immigrant who came from Zimbabwe in 2009, hot on the heels of what came to be known as the 'Zimbabwean Crisis' characterised by hyperinflation, high unemployment and critical shortage of basic goods.[779] While Namibia in general does not host acutely pronounced 'mean streets' that intermittently characterise its southern neighbour[780] – and Windhoek in particular is yet to experience overtly xenophobic attacks or police harassments – there have been claims of police xenophobia in Windhoek in 2013.[781] Joyce experienced detention on one occasion and has been fined a number of times because of her trading activities along Independence Avenue. Her urban spatial experience is among other things defined by constantly running away from the City Police Bicycle Squad (CPBS), but she hastens to recognise that the CPBS is not rude in executing

[779] For a discussion on the 'Zimbabwean Crisis' and a legion of coping strategies employed by those exposed to the brunt of economic collapse, see Chiumbu, S., Musemwa, M. (2012) (Eds.), 'Crisis! What Crisis? The Multiple Dimensions of Zimbabwean Crisis', HSRC Press: Cape Town.

[780] See Crush, J., Chikanda, A., Skinner, C. (2015) (Eds.), 'Mean Streets: Migration, Xenophobia and Informality in South Africa', SAMP: Cape Town; Hassim, S., Kupe, T., Worby, E. (2008) (Eds.), 'Go Home or Die Home: Violence, Xenophobia and the Reinvention of Difference in South Africa', Wits University Press: Johannesburg.

[781] Kahiurika, N. (March 7, 2013), 'Vendors Claim City is Xenophobic', *The Namibian*. Similarly, in Oshakati – a major urban centre in northern Namibia – there was reportedly a planned xenophobic attack on Zimbabweans which was foiled by the police (*New Era* [April 17, 2015], 'Xenophobic Plan Foiled at Oshakati'). The planned attack was allegedly because of Zimbabweans involvement in selling pirated music produced by Namibian artistes.

its duties: "it is just that [sometimes] they have to do their job".[782] Indeed, her spatial reality is clearly captured by what I call 'living-in-being displaced'.[783]

Compared to Bwana's trading experience, Joyce's story betrays the fact that socio-spatial differentiation is not necessarily confined to the juxtaposition of formal versus informal economy, for there can be startling differences among street vendors. This is illustrated by Joyce's spatial imagination which is far less limited compared to Bwana's. When she is not selling her wares, Joyce visits shopping malls such as the Grove Mall and Maerua Mall, theatres of consumption that Bwana has not been to because of circumstances if not choice. During the course of my interview with Joyce, a number of factual inaccuracies kept on flickering and my probing triggered by these gaps elicited a hesitant face from her. I was not particularly taken aback by these minor inaccuracies, wilful as they seemed, for they provided another terrain through which we can explore urban reality. Accessing urban reality at times requires wallowing into the fictional. Why would Joyce misrepresent her age and why would she claim to have a car while owning none? Her age is probably not as important, but her narrative about owning a car is particularly important insofar as it explains her mobility throughout the city or shapes her imageries of what it means to live in a city. Joyce claims that she owns a car, which suggests her mobility within and around the city is not much of a challenge. However, her account of owning a car rendered itself to questions around plausibility. She claims to pay N$ 5 in parking fees which is too little for at least eight hours[784] that she spends at her trading spot while the car is supposedly in the parking lot within the city centre precinct. An old friend and I once had lunch at Café Schneider and parked along Independence Avenue around the CBD. Once we finished

[782] Interview with Joyce, 02.07.2015, Part II.

[783] For a discussion on 'living-in-being displaced' as a particular mode of governing informal trading, see Chapter 3 – *City Governance: Urban Fantasies, (In)visibility and Bureaucratic Practices.*

[784] In her own words, Joyce trades from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., Monday to Saturday (Interview with Joyce, 01.07.2015 Part I).

with our lunch and returned to the car, we paid no less than N$ 3 after being away for a little more than an hour. With this in mind, the question of whether or not she owns a car flickered. If she does not own a car, why would she tell untruths about owning one? Does her story of owning a car an exercise in subverting and disrupting dominant urban representations of street vendors? Perhaps her purported ownership of a car is not an exercise in delusion. But her claimed mobility has allowed her to develop a 'superior' imagination of the city, say, compared to Bwana. The spatial positioning of her trading activities also exposes her to urban politics grounded in regulation, contestation and control over urban space. For this reason, she is unable to proclaim that 'everything is good' like Bwana.

Joyce spatial experience rather fits in – but only partially – the perception that multitude of representations ascribed to street vendors are, but not limited to, chaos, congestion, pollution and precarious urban livelihoods.[785] In the midst of a precarious urban existence, Joyce is still able to observe that "Windhoek is a small city with good people who are not rude like in other countries".[786] Making reference to 'other countries' reiterates that cities are objects of comparison and that urban experience assumes a particular meaning in relation to multiple 'elsewheres'.

[785] Cf. Popke, E.J., Ballard, R. (2004), 'Dislocating Modernity: Identity, Space and Representations of Street Trade in Durban, South Africa', *Geoforum*, 35, 99-110; Bob-Milliar, G.M., Obeng-Odoom, F. (2011), 'The Informal Economy is an Employer, A Nuisance, And a Goldmine: Multiple Representations of and Responses to Informality in Accra, Ghana', *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 40(3/4), 263-284.

[786] Interview with Joyce (3.7.2015, Part II).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I sought to reflect on and conceive of Windhoek as an urban environ shaped by migration, just like any other city in the world. In terms of migration patterns from 1970, Windhoek is presented with complex urban politics in the wake black Africans population surpassing that of whites for the first time. That the Squatters Proclamation was enacted shortly after white residents became a minority in Windhoek is suspect. Was it meant to curb the expansion of informal dwelling places that the explosion of black Africans urban population accompanied? Or perhaps it was a mere coincidence? We will probably never know, but the Squatters Proclamation AG 21 of 1985 continues to have purchase in contemporary Windhoek insofar as the curtailment – at least partial – of informal settlements' expansion is concerned. This expansion of informal settlements is directly linked to migration in general and the northern migration stream in particular. As there is a relationship between informal dwelling and trading, street vendors' stories cannot be divorced from the precarity of living in informal settlements. Through five characters of selected street vendors / informal traders, urban experiences of invisibility, urban survival, risk-taking and rule-breaking emerge. These experiences are related to spatial positioning of various street vendors and by extension inform how the city is imagined and lived. What comes out clearly is that informality is invariably synonymous with spatial marginality, for most of the street vendors are dwellers of informal settlements on the fringes of the city. Moreover, informal trading thrives on the constant supply of social capital whereby trust and conviviality allow for meeting needs that would otherwise be out of reach.

Conclusion –Weaving Together Multiple Representations

Urban studies or theorising of cities to be particular are replete with various theoretical frameworks that are by and large organised around two main orientations. One of these orientations is the material reading of the city. The other is what could be termed the cultural lens which encompasses aspects that relate to ideas as opposed to economic relations in explaining social phenomena. In the material rendering of cities in Africa, this tradition is for instance exemplified by Frederick Cooper. Writing in 1983, Cooper conceives of cities in Africa as production machines made up of factories, railways and services reflecting and affecting the structure of space.[787] What shapes urban social order then has everything to do with processes directed by specific people and classes, and more importantly with the question of what kinds of classes and what kind of relations to the working class.[788] The main question in this kind of conception is how the imperatives of capitalist production shape social processes.[789] My intention was to offer a conceptual contribution that goes beyond this material conception of the city using Windhoek as a case. As I will discuss in a moment, the invitation is to embrace multiple trajectories (methodologically and thematically) in understanding cities. But let me return to other theoretical frames that continue to dominate urban studies. Bremner invokes a number of perspectives that occupy the landscape of theorising the contemporary city. These include the 'Postmodern City', 'Global City', Divided City' and 'Contested City'.[790] These theories began to circulate in the 1990s, mostly from modernist disciplines of urban space (sociology, geography and urban planning) in the West.[791]

[787] Cooper, F. (1983). *Struggle for the City: Migrant Labor, Capital, and the State in Urban Africa*. Sage Publications, p. 10

[788] Ibid.

[789] Ibid.

[790] Bremner, L. (2010). *Writing the City Into Being: Essays on Johannesburg, 1998-2008*. Fourthwall Books.

[791] Ibid., p. 63.

The *Global City* has been popularised by Saskia Sassen and it is anchored on the conceptualisation of cities as production sites for leading information industries of our time with an emphasis on the infrastructure of activities, firms, and jobs that are necessary to run the advanced corporate economy.[792] It is apparent that Sassen's conception is loaded with material portrayals of the city. With a negligible private sector and a bloated public service, Windhoek resembles nothing akin to a global city. There is no denying that urban centres and cities all over the world form nodal points where information industries are expressed more fully, compared to the rural hinterland, but thinking about cities beyond this conception promises a deeper understanding. Therefore, "a city (whether global or not) is not simply a string of infrastructures, technologies, and legal entities, however networked they are. It also comprises actual bodies, images, forms, footprints, and memories".[793] Perhaps using the material and cultural lens in a complementary fashion would enable a holistic reading of the city. In as much as theories and concepts help us frame our thinking about cities, questions around generality expose the inherent limits of what we can know and understand using specific frameworks. It appears that the Global City paradigm is based on the exceptionality of some cities in the world and Sassen focused on New York, London and Tokyo as leading examples functioning as highly concentrated command points in the organisation of the world economy.[794] In her 2002 piece, Robinson takes issue with the Global City framework particularly with claims regarding the success and power of these few cities vis-à-vis the implied broader structural irrelevance of all other cities.[795] These claims and categorising moves are both inaccurate and harmful to the fortunes of cities defined 'off the map', writes Robinson.[796] In his charge, Fourchard argues that the Global City – one of the recent and

[792] Sassen (2000: 81).

[793] Mbembe & Nuttall (2008: 8).

[794] Sassen (1991: 3 – 4).

[795] Robinson (2002: 537).

[796] Ibid.

innovative of urban theories in his words – has left the African continent aside.[797] But perhaps the Global City perspective did not in the first place intend to be applicable to Africa's cities.

With regards to the *Divided City*, Bremner points to a number of markers that underpin this theorisation which include fragmentation, surveillance, fortification, ghettoisation, racialisation, inequity and social exclusion.[798] Indeed, all these markers relate to Windhoek to some extent, but are nonetheless a partial picture of what makes this city. Cities are not only sites of economic development, vibrant centres of social and cultural creativity, but are also places of disadvantage and division.[799] This division can be along a range of axes such as class, race, ethnicity, gender, generation and length of urban residence.[800] As far as Windhoek is concerned, it seems that two markers exemplifying the Divided City have assumed prominence in recent times. Firstly, the omnipresence of armed private security apparatus particularly within the city centre and in upmarket residential areas bespeaks the increasing fortification of Windhoek. Private security firms incessantly spring up around the city and it would be safe to speculate that Windhoek is by far the most securitised urban centre in Namibia not only in terms of the sheer number of security guards, but also in terms of the variety of security firms.

The *Contested City* bespeaks "the city as a site of power, resistance and conflict, with Castell's work of 1983 on urban social movements as precursor".[801] According to Castells, 'the city is a social product resulting from conflicting interests and values. And because of the

[797] Fourchard, L. (2011). Between World History and State Formation: New Perspectives on Africa's Cities. *The Journal of African History*, *52*(2), p. 231.

[798] Bremner (2000: 64).

[799] Beall, J., Crankshaw, O., & Parnell, S. (2014). *Uniting a Divided City: Governance and Social Exclusion in Johannesburg*. Taylor & Francis, p.9.

[800] Op. cit.

[801] Bremner (2010: 65).

institutionalisation of dominant interests, major innovations in the city's role, meaning and structure tend to be the outcome of grassroots mobilisation and demands'.[802]

In making a case for taking Windhoek seriously, this study invoked the relative absence of the capital of Namibia from archive(s) of urban studies on the African continent. This absence is the basis on which an attempt is made to understand what kind of a city Windhoek is. How do we account for Windhoek's *cityness* when its very essence is informed by fragments of German and South African colonial molestation? And when these fragments carry traces of a segregated, divided and contested city, how do we grasp what the city is about in a maelstrom unleashed by a multiplicity of concatenations? As alluded to in the epigraph with which I introduced the 'unusual city', what characterises the city is the absence of completeness, centre and fixed points. Consequently, weaving together different representations of a city is perhaps one of the useful ways in which we can begin to grasp the complexity of urban forms. It appears that Windhoek presents us with a variety of fragments – it presents eclecticism *par excellence* – and this renders it fleetingly difficult to grasp with any individual theoretical exposition. What is needed, then, is a theoretical position informed by an eclectic approach. Windhoek perhaps resonates with some or all of the theories alluded to, but how do we account for a city that exhibits fragments of different things? In other words, how do we make sense of a city that is everything and at the same time not reducible to a particular theoretical trajectory? Bremner rightly argues that "while our language about cities generalises them, makes them comparable with other cities, able to circulate as part of urban (or sociological or cultural) discourse, cities are themselves unique. They are unparaphrasable. They produce their inhabitants as modern citizens in unique ways".[803] The ideas of the city are inseparable from its materiality. Therefore, "we must adopt a pluralistic

[802] Castells, M. (1983). *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. University of California Press, p. 291.

[803] Bremner (2010: 44).

ontology in order to understand the complex phenomenon of the modern city".[804] It will therefore be safe to postulate that Windhoek is everything but at the same time cannot be confined to singular theorisation. In other words, its whole is irreducible to its variegated individual parts that form the DNA of its character. What the case of Windhoek illustrates is that cities are by their very nature difficult to make sense of using singular theoretical frames. It is in recognition of this lack of capaciousness presented by singular frames that I opted for thematic promiscuity and a multiplicity of sources.

Drawing on archival sources and other historical materials, I showed in *Chapter 1* that Windhoek was a contested territory – chiefly by the Nama and the Ovaherero – before the arrival of Germans around 1890. Contestation that predated the arrival of Germans made the colonial occupation of Windhoek somewhat effortless. Departing from the dominant narrative that tends to overly place the blame on South Africa's apartheid regime for residential segregation, attention is also accorded to the German colonial policy. Solid groundwork for the comprehensive implementation of apartheid laws in most of Namibia and particularly in major urban centres was a result of German colonial policy of segregation. Treating Windhoek as a historical object allows for its tracing from a colonial town to a quintessential apartheid city. Scrutinizing a place as a historical object demands a reliance on materials that are not without faults or biases. We should therefore treat historical materials with suspicion and scepticism as they essentially bear the trappings of memory against forgetting. The historical representation of a city like Windhoek, or any other city for that matter, is largely that which was allowed space in the archive of remembrance for one reason or the other. Another danger in narrating urban change over time – as flagged by Bekker and Fourchard –[805] is dividing the history of urban Africa into discrete phases. The chronology of discrete phases invariably presents an 'often forgotten pre-colonial

[804] Qvortrup, M. (1997). The Phenomenology of the City: Chasing the Essence of Urban Life. *City*, *2*(7), p. 169.

[805] Bekker and Fourchard, *Governing Cities in Africa*.

past; a supposedly orderly and racially informed colonial period; and a postcolonial period, perceived as a more fluid era shaped by pervasive conflicts'.[806] The very same historical recollections and themes on urban Africa, with their biases and problematic discrete phases, also find expression in cultural economies of the city. A case in point, as I have shown in *Chapter 2*, is the erroneous (and deliberate?) historical recollection that Curt von François was the founder of Windhoek so much so that a statue was erected in front of Windhoek Municipal Offices to legitimise what is otherwise a historical distortion. This demonstrates how historical 'facts' can manifest in cultural economies of the city. Unlike other colonial monuments, the François statue has thus far remained unexplored and discussing it – as I have done – opens up analytical avenues on an item of the city's cultural economy that poignantly signifies connections between Namibia's different colonial epochs. Equally, a plethora of poems analysed effuse spatial practices that dominate Windhoek's urban life. Further emphasising the connection between historical recollections and cultural economies, the history of the city straddles a number of poetic musings. Overall, multiple imaginative registers coalesce around issues of residential segregation, suffering and affluence, unfree mobility and spatial policing. Issues of mobility and spatial policing are best explained within the context of bureaucratic practices that define the conduct of those who are in charge of city governance. In the case of Windhoek, bureaucrats' modes of operating are dominated by three main practices. Firstly, what is palpable is a resolve to reign in on informal trading through the constant deracination of 'filth' while condemning everything deemed informal to insecurity. Secondly, there is an obsession with order and cleanliness. For a very long time, the obsession with cleanliness in Windhoek has been treated as something benign and innocent. In problematizing spatial order, this thesis stretched the common understanding of cleanliness and revealed more than meets the eye. The third dominant practice is the expansive rollout of surveillance technologies aimed at dealing with disorder and

[806] Ibid., p. 6.

ensure virtual total control. Not surprisingly, the desire for order is invariably disrupted and tested by spatial practices of denizens that bureaucrats seek to manage and control.

Contestations over urban space between bureaucrats and residents are in part shaped by legal debris bequeathed unto the city by colonial administrations of the years gone by. This is precisely why I argue in *Chapter 4* that repealing or amending laws that govern various aspects of city life do not necessarily lead to the reordering and reconfiguration of urban space. Indeed, legal codes and regulations possess an afterlife more powerful than we are willing to concede. Re-segregation should therefore be understood as a phantom of the city that was meant to be separate, for space has a predilection of refusing to forget. On the other hand, an important issue that I flagged in the realm of law pertains to the absence of a legal status of Windhoek as a 'city'. This absence created a schism between the law and what constitutes Windhoek's denizens perception of their 'city'. Legally speaking, Windhoek is not a city. Nonetheless, an unwritten law which proclaimed Windhoek a city exists in the form of popular opinion encased in mobile bodies of ordinary *Windhoekers* and Namibians.

Like other cities with a historical baggage of apartheid, Windhoek remains a segregated city in the absence of legally sanctioned spatial segregation. In some instances, colonial planning laws have been left intact and continue to aid the authorities in their deliberate refusal to make a decisive break with spatial organisation of the past. What is more, the refusal of space to forget is in concrete terms represented by how migration and migrants continue to shape Windhoek. As I have shown on *Chapter 5*, migration patterns in contemporary Windhoek are largely informed by colonial practices of constrained mobility and residential segregation. What continues to find expression is that under the various colonial regimes in place in different African countries, planning was used as a tool to assert the interests of a small minority against those of the

majority.[807] In the case of Windhoek, a number of overtly discriminatory laws are either abolished or not followed in instances where they are still on statute books. Nonetheless, the limits of legislative residential desegregation have been exposed by the combination of market economy and racial structure of wages, inhibiting the process of genuine urban integration.[808]

The expansion of informal settlements is directly linked to specific streams of migration so much so that there is a clear relationship between where one settles depending on place of origin. Migrants bring with them a multitude of values, practices and ways of life that come to bear on the urban landscape. Through characters of select street vendors / informal traders, urban experiences of invisibility, urban survival, risk-taking and rule-breaking emerge. These experiences are related to spatial positioning of various street vendors and by extension inform how the city is imagined and lived. Insofar as its CBD is concerned, Windhoek is conceived by street vendors as a city that is less accommodating of economic activities referred to as informal.[809] This view contrasts with the stance of some municipal officials who are convinced that having an informal marketplace within the precinct of a shopping mall around the CBD area is no mean feat. What comes out of two completely different takes on the same city is that social realities are largely shaped by our social positions and differential power relations. Street vendors are necessarily not exaggerating when they are speaking of a dehumanising urban milieu ruled by capital. They are simply reading the city from the vantage point of their social position and expressing an unmet aspiration for better access to opportunities available. Equally, municipal

[807] Berrisford, S. (2014) The challenge of urban planning law reform in African cities, In Parnell, S., Pieterse, E. *Africa's Urban Revolution*, pp. 167-183.

[808] Peyroux, E. (2001) Urban growth and housing policies in Windhoek: a gradual change of a post-apartheid town, In Diener, I., Graefe, O. *Contemporary Namibia: the first landmarks of a post-apartheid society*, pp. 287-306.

[809] Commenting on poems written about Windhoek, Krishnamurthy (2018) maintains that the trope of a negative tone envelopes poetic reflections about the city: "…the city is not a place to be appreciated because it diminishes and dehumanises the people who live there" (p. 158). See Krishnamurthy, S. *'Call of the Witpenssuikerbekkie': Landscape as Symbol in Contemporary Namibian Poetry*, In Krishnamurthy, S., & Vale, H. (Eds.). (2018). Writing Namibia: Literature in Transition. University of Namibia Press, pp.144-163.

officials are not engaging in pomposity by making reference to having an informal marketplace close to the CBD as something out of the ordinary. The latter assertion should instead be understood within the context of a conception of urbanity that privileges the circulation of taxable capital while shunning the so-called informal economic activities.[810] Nonetheless, what has become apparent over the last two decades or so is that urban informality in its different facets is here to stay. Wishing away, or ignoring informality becomes perilous if not inane an approach to pursue. As Hansen and Vaa insist, the boundary between formal and informal is clearly arbitrary, for "workers in the formal economy are increasingly supplementing their income by engaging in informal activities (…) and sometimes, formal authorisation may be obtained or provided informally".[811] To be sure, the formal and the informal city meet at a series of interfaces – hence urban space is not so much a product of an overall regulatory system, but a dynamic field for economic, social, cultural and political contestations.[812] This dynamic field that the urban question effuses demands constant theorisation, for it is "a place of far and new connections, a concatenation of rhythms, always ending in new directions".[813] In the preceding pages, what I have offered – within the constraints of that [city] with 'no completeness, centre nor fixed parts'-[814] is an attempt at opening new and unexplored analytical pathways. More research needs to be done to interrogate new directions that my intervention invites. How for instance do the migrant informal traders make sense of and respond to Windhoek's peculiar obsession with cleanliness as its dominant regime of control and order? How do political and

[810] Cf. Baierle, S. (2009) Shoot the citizen, save the customer: participatory budgeting and bare citizenship in Porto Alegre, Brazil, In Koonings, K., Kruijt, D. (Eds.) *Megacities: The Politics of Urban Exclusion and Violence in the Global South*, pp. 120-140; Murray, M. J. (2011). *City of Extremes: The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg*, pp. 245-282; Rubin, M. (2014). Johannesburg's Bad Buildings Programme: the World Class City Hegemony at Work? In Haferburg, C., & Huchzermeyer, M. (Eds.). *Urban Governance in Post-apartheid Cities: Modes of Engagement in South Africa's Metropoles*, pp. 211-230.

[811] Hansen, K. T., & Vaa, M. (2004). *Reconsidering Informality: Perspectives from Urban Africa*, pp. 7-8.

[812] Ibid.

[813] *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*, p. 8.

[814] Ibid.

poetic musings of pushing for Africanisation in Namibia in general, and in Windhoek in particular, reflect upon the distinction of an 'unusual city'? What impact have the recent changes of the built environment had for Windhoek's cityness? The foregoing questions and a multitude of other disjointed processes – peculiar to cities – should keep us occupied with reimagining the urban.

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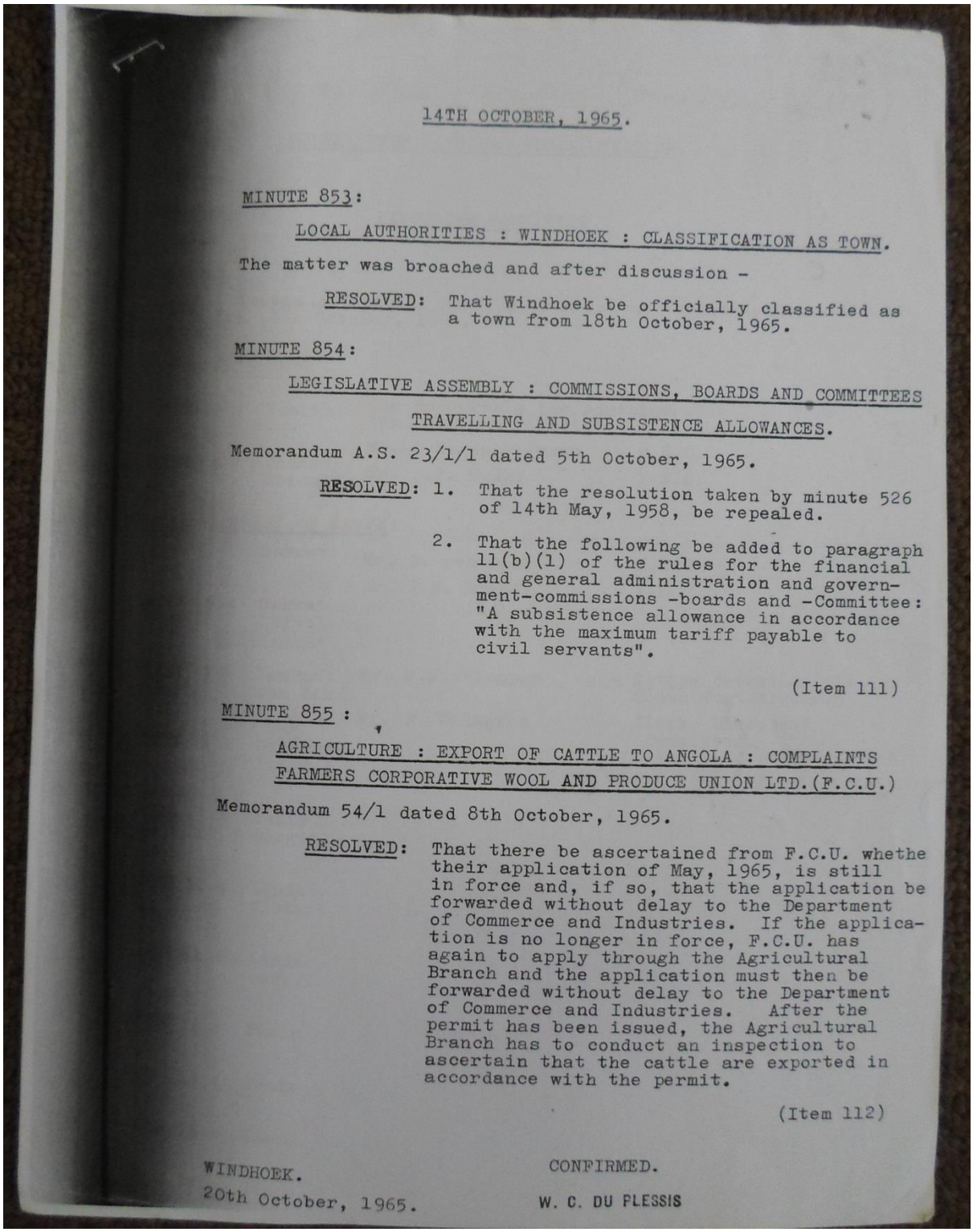
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Appendices / Annexures

Appendix A: Minutes of the Executive Committee 1965



14TH OCTOBER, 1965.

MINUTE 853:

LOCAL AUTHORITIES : WINDHOEK : CLASSIFICATION AS TOWN.

The matter was broached and after discussion -

RESOLVED: That Windhoek be officially classified as a town from 18th October, 1965.

MINUTE 854:

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY : COMMISSIONS, BOARDS AND COMMITTEES TRAVELLING AND SUBSISTENCE ALLOWANCES.

Memorandum A.S. 23/1/1 dated 5th October, 1965.

RESOLVED: 1. That the resolution taken by minute 526 of 14th May, 1958, be repealed.

2. That the following be added to paragraph 11(b)(1) of the rules for the financial and general administration and government-commissions -boards and -Committee: "A subsistence allowance in accordance with the maximum tariff payable to civil servants".

(Item 111)

MINUTE 855 :

AGRICULTURE : EXPORT OF CATTLE TO ANGOLA : COMPLAINTS FARMERS CORPORATIVE WOOL AND PRODUCE UNION LTD.(F.C.U.)

Memorandum 54/1 dated 8th October, 1965.

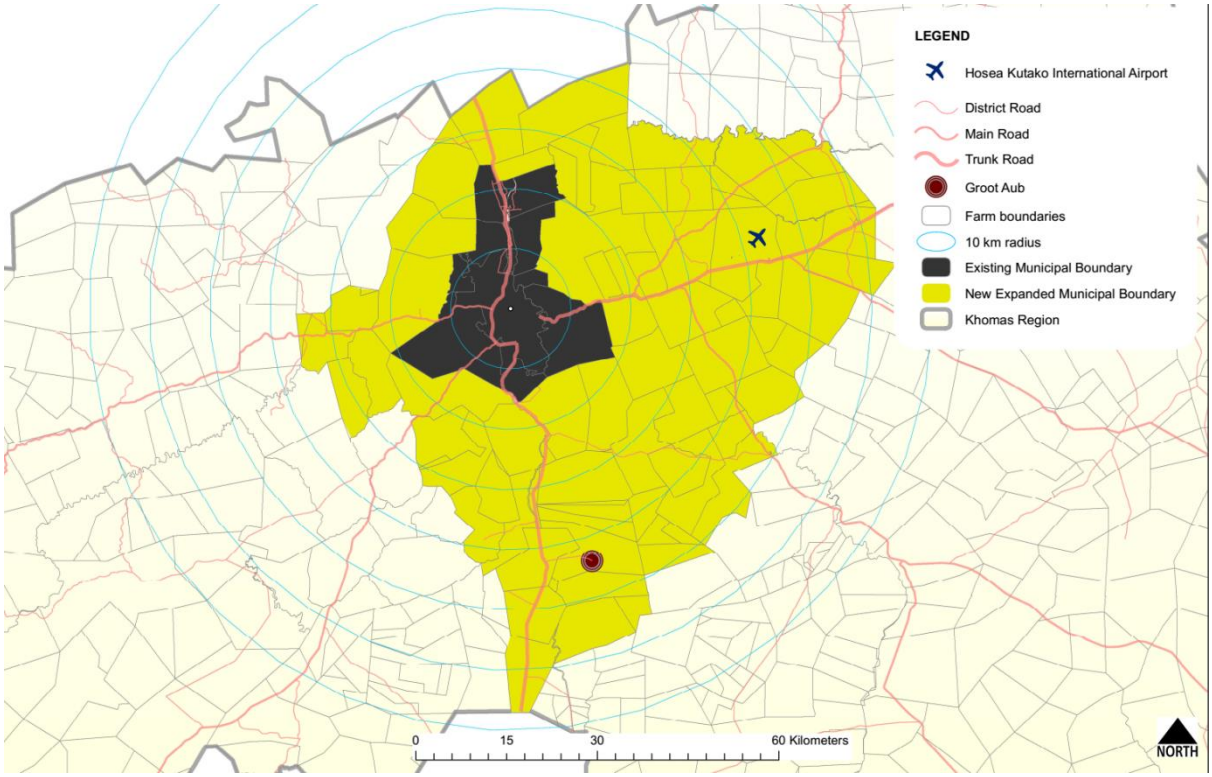
RESOLVED: That there be ascertained from F.C.U. whethe their application of May, 1965, is still in force and, if so, that the application be forwarded without delay to the Department of Commerce and Industries. If the application is no longer in force, F.C.U. has again to apply through the Agricultural Branch and the application must then be forwarded without delay to the Department of Commerce and Industries. After the permit has been issued, the Agricultural Branch has to conduct an inspection to ascertain that the cattle are exported in accordance with the permit.

(Item 112)

WINDHOEK.
20th October, 1965.

CONFIRMED.
W. C. DU PLESSIS

Annexure A: Extended Boundary Area with Farm Overlay



Courtesy of the City of Windhoek Spatial Development Frameworks and Statutory Planning Department