The Household Organizations in the Precarious Settlements of Windhoek

A Quantitative and Qualitative Study

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Abstract

Katutura, the principal township for non-white people in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, has known an important and non-controlled urban growth after the abolition of the apartheid and the independence of Namibia in 1990. A flow of migration came from the rural zone to the city, but the capital had not anticipated this new phenomenon so hastily. The city could not offer a sufficient amount of housing, so many new residents had to find solutions on their own and decided to install, legally or not, at Katutura (Pendleton, 1994; Peyroux, *et al.,* 1995). Even after 22 years of independence, the situation has not really improved. People do not have access to basic services and these informal settlement areas are still increasing with an average of 30 people per day (Smit, 2012:1). In the year of 2012, more than 40% of the population of Windhoek lived in the informal settlements (City of Windhoek, 2012b). People migrate to Windhoek for economical purposes such as getting a job, but also for the facilities that the city offers. In any case, they are in search of a better life (Nikondo, 2010).

It is in this context, that I conducted my fieldwork. My starting point for this study has been to update data from a previous investigation done by Elisabeth Peyroux and Olivier Graefe in 1995, named Precarious Settlements at Windhoek's Periphery, by using a quantitative method, and I completed it with a qualitative phase of research. I wanted to understand how the people in squatter areas cope with this unsecure condition.

My results show a general precarious situation with internal variations along the lines of class, and gender. Household composition had changed; marriages seem to be unusual, more women are head of the households with children to care for, and have generally a lower income. So I also wanted to explore Katutura from a gender perspective, by wondering whether Katutura's poverty has a female face. Therefore, I use an intersectional theoretical framework to analyse the strategies that households employ to survive in this precarious environment, to understand the complexity of the context of poverty, and the gender organisation within the households.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Katutura, the principal township for non-white people in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, has experienced an important and non-controlled urban growth since the abolition of the apartheid and independence of Namibia in 1990 (Pendleton, 1994:1). An unmitigated flow of migration moved from the rural zone to the city, but the capital was not prepared for such a hasty influx. The city could not offer sufficient housing, so many of new residents had to find their own solutions and decided to settle, legally or not, at Katutura. This area became heavily populated, and the inhabitants lived in precarious conditions (Peyroux, *et al.,* 1995). In addition to the growth of migration from the rural areas, the level of youth unemployment - estimated to be approximately 68% [1] in 2012 - contributed to the widespread poverty in this urban slum (Tvedten, 2011). At this time, the SWAPO Election Manifesto (2009) emphasised the fact "that housing is a basic need and crucial to the realisation of Vision 2030, National Development Plan III (NDP3) and the Millennium Development Goals"(Niikondon, 2010: 2). Niikondo (2010) reported that the SWAPO Election Manifesto (2009) promises to improve the living conditions of urban residents, "especially those in informal settlements, by improving housing, security of tenure and access to water and sanitation" (Ibid: 2).

Even after these new policies and 22 years of independence, the situation remains the same. People do not have access to basic services and these informal settlement areas are still expanding, with an average of 30 people arriving per day (Smit, 2012:1). There were 48 183 people living in this informal settlement in 2001, and in 2012 the population reached 130 359 (an annual growth rate of 9.47 %). In 2012, more than 40%[2] of the population of Windhoek lived in the informal settlement (City of Widhoek, 2012b). People migrate to Windhoek for economical purposes, such as getting a job, butalso for the facilities that the city offers. In any case, they

[1] Smith, A. (2013). Youth unemployment 68%. Namibian. 06/02/2013]

[2] Windhoek's population was 322 500 in 2012 (http://www.citypopulation.de/Namibia.html [consulted on 23 May 2013]

are in search of a better life (Pendleton, 1994; Nakanyete, 2009, Niikondo, 2010).

My starting point for this study has been to update data from a previous investigation done by Elisabeth Peyroux and Olivier Graefe in 1995, named *Precarious Settlements at Windhoek's Periphery*, by using a quantitative method, which I completed with a qualitative phase of research. This two phases process is called a "sequential mixed approach"(Creswell, 2011: 272). Since I wanted to understand how the people in squatter areas cope with the insecure conditions.

In Windhoek, known as the city of contrasts, we can easily understand the significant difference in levels of socio-economic status between the "white" neighbourhood, where villas and swimming pools merge into the slums of Katutura. This urbanisation is reflected perfectly in the bad Namibian Gini Coefficient rating, which measures the deviation of the distribution of income (UNDP, 2012). When it is close to '0', it means that there is equality and when it is closer to '1', the serious inequality is reflected. The overall value for Namibia was 0.70 in 2007, making it one of the most unequal and diverged societies in the world and certainly the most unequal society in Southern Africa (Tvedten, 2011; Pendleton, 2012).

Moreover, urban poverty relates to levels of income, consumption and material possession (Tvedten, 2011); looking at such conditions in the areas investigated has shown a situation of general poverty but also an important disparity in terms of access to income and material resources. In the squatter areas[3], the income is considerably low, 51% of the participants have a monthly income of less than N$ 1 000 (Table 6.5) , although this is still more than the average received in rural areas (Tvedten, 2011: 9). "It turns out that more than 30 000 people in the informal settlements are living under the absolute poverty level" (Ulendahl *et al.*, 2010: 13). The opportunity to get an income in Windhoek is certainly higher than in rural areas, but the cost of life is also higher (Niikondon, 2010: 1). With an average monthly income of N$ 1 000, they barely cover the cost of food and school fees which represent the two main expenditures of a household. At the end of the month, for the half of the people interviewed, very little was left for any other needs (telephone credits, electricity, taxis), and in the poorest household there is not enough food by the end of the month Table 6.8).

This deprivation is also visible when we walk in the squatter areas, which gives an immediate impression of poverty: shacks, garbage everywhere and dusty roads covering the land. This contrasts to the other part of Katutura, where the roads are tarred, the houses are made of brick, and there are shops, restaurants, a KFC[4], governments offices, schools, churches, hotels, points for tourist excursions, research institutions like "habitat research and development centre" and

[3]Squatter area refers to precarious settlements and living conditions without a dwellers legal status, definition given By Elisabeth Peyroux and Olivier Graefe (1995: 4)

[4]Kentucky Fried Chicken is an American fast food chain

where important projects of construction are underway. The focus of the current study is the four shanty areas -Gorengab, Havana, Havana North, Okuryangava- situated in the North of the periphery of Windhoek (Figure 1.1).

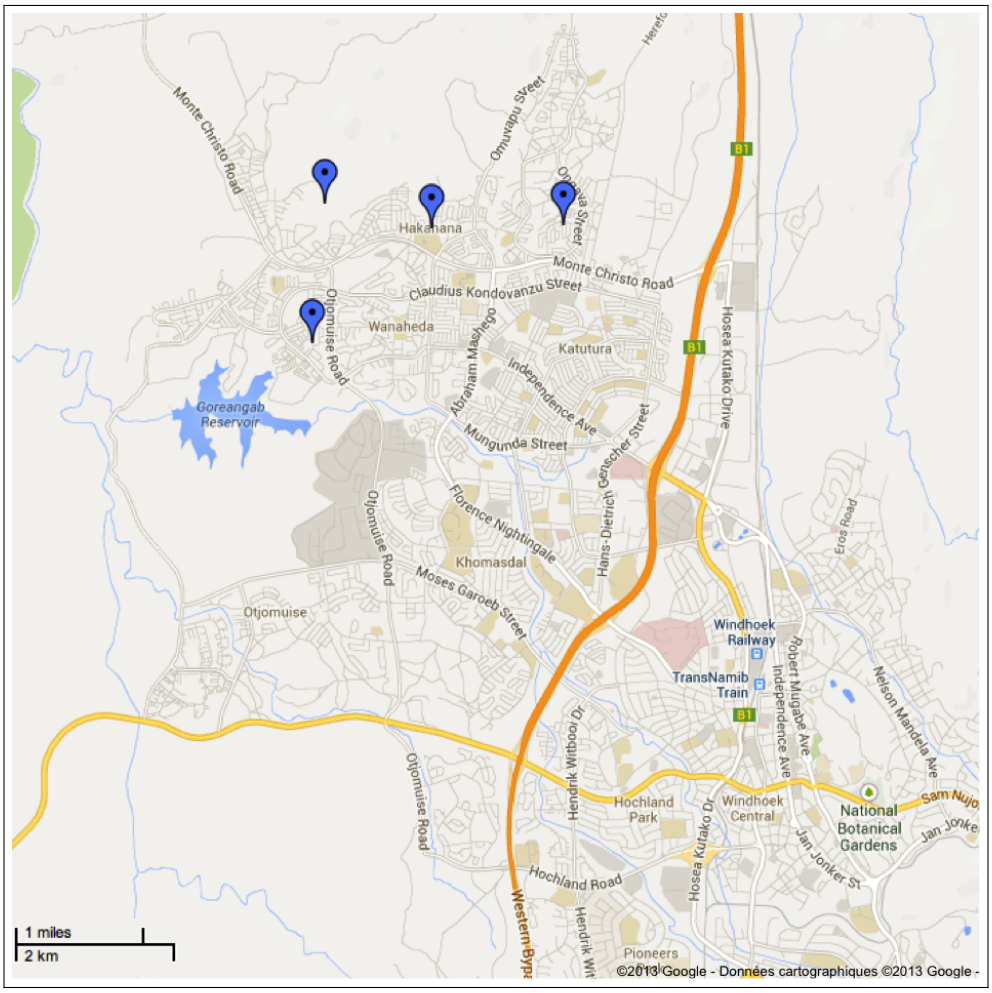


Figure 1.1: Windhoek and the investigated areas (blue dots).

My quantitative data show a general precarious situation, but there are important internal variations along the lines of class, gender, and the geographic distance. For example, there are differences in the rate of employment according to the geographic distance of the informal settlements areas from the city centre. Moreover, household composition has changed; marriages seem to be unusual, more women are head of the households with children to care for, and have generally a lower income. These facts made me question: Is it a sign of poverty or a sign of independence when these households are ruled by women? How can I interpret these findings? I decided to explore how the instability of material resources influences domestic roles, and which form of discrimination is more important, gender, class or ethnicity?

In order to answer these questions, I chose to apply an intersectional theoretical framework,

which is developed in the gender study. The objective of this paper is to analyse the strategies that households employ to survive in this precarious environment, to understand the complexity of the context of poverty, and the gender organisation within the households. Therefore this approach highlights the multidimensional relations between race, class and gender. Further, it considers the individual identities and habits that are connected with the social, economic and political structures (Bereswill, *et al.,* 2011).

Even after nine weeks spent visiting the shantytowns of Katutura - conducting surveys, sharing meals, tasting Tombo , going to church, talking with families about their household organisation, accompanying my interpreter to rural areas or simply being there - I am still perplexed and confused about the lives that people lead in these squatter areas. And only have a partial understanding of the people's life experiences.

Chapter Outline

In *Chapter 1*, I argue that the intersectionality framework is an adequate approach to grasp the context of the experience of the inhabitants of the shantytowns of Katutura; and how this concept is an improvement on traditional gender studies by highlighting the limits of the out-dated feministic approach. The discussion starts with the controversies about the term 'feminisation of poverty', and the different theoretical positions concerning the quantitative and qualitative methods, which are seen to be two different schools of thought.

In *Chapter 2*, I describe how to apply intersectionality in a praxeological perspective by using the multi-level analysis to understand intra-household relationships.

In *Chapter 3*, I explain my fieldwork, which was done in two phases, using a process also called sequential mixed approach, and I describe problems and limitations that I have faced during the nine weeks.

In *Chapters 4* and *5*, I present the findings, by analysing the material conditions and the demographic characteristics. Then I show that the instability of material resources has directed modifications to domestic roles and intra-household organizations along the lines of class, gender and colonialism.

Chapter 2

Useful New concept: Intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality is used "to theorize the relationship between different social categories: gender, race, sexuality, and so forth" (Valentine, 2007: 10). Intersectionality has evolved over time. Its origins can be traced to the beginning of the 20th century in the works of African American intellectuals such as Cooper and Du Bois who are considered to be the pioneers of intersectional analysis. They have identified the privilege of white middle-class feminists who fail to recognize different race/ethnicity among women (Valentine, 2007; Harper, 2012). Kimberly Crenshaw was the first author to use the term intersectionality by giving the following definition (Harper, 2012: 4):

> **"A conceptualization [...] that attempts to capture both the structural and dynamic consequences of the interaction between two or more axis of subordination. It specifically addresses the manner in which racism, patriarchy, class oppression and other discriminatory systems create background inequalities that structure the relative positions of women, ethnicities, classes and the like. Moreover, it addresses the way that specific acts and policies create burdens that flow along these axes constituting the dynamic or active aspects of disempowerment"(Crenshaw [2000] quoted by Harper, 2012: 5).**

In other words, intersectionality is "the way in which any particular individual stands at the crossroads of multiple groups" (Minow [1997], quoted by Valentine, 2007: 12). Intersectional analysis describes these multiple discriminations, and how they construct identities of the self. However in the field of feminist geography, this concept has received relatively little attention,

due to the difficulty to apply it in the research (Valentine, 2007).

First tentative attempts to think about this concept led to calculating different oppressions, like in mathematics (Valentine, 2007; Bilge, 2010; Harper, 2012). "Thus, someone at the intersection of three systems of oppression - a disabled black woman, for example - would be more oppressed than a black woman who was considered to be at the intersection of only two" (Valentine, 2007: 13). This way of thinking has been criticised and labelled as essentialist, because identities seem to be inserted in fixed and distinct categories. Thus some feminist scholars felt the need to rethink intersections of race, class and gender, by producing new models of analytic frameworks (Valentine, 2007; Bilge, 2010).

Academics argue that people are constantly in interaction, and through their life experiences, they can realise their identities (Valentine, 2007: 13), such as in the theory of Judith Butler that considers gender as performance, and she focuses not on being (essentialist way of thinking) but on becoming (Moore, 1994; Cornwall, 1997; Valentine, 2007). According to Valentine (2007), this way of theorizing surmounts some weaknesses of the arithmetic/geometric way of applying intersectionality, because it recognizes the flexible nature of intersections between categories. However, the constructionist approach suggests that people do not passively suffer from systems of domination, do not necessarily accept the imposed identities, and they do not belong to fixed and permanent groups (ethnicity, gender and class) (Harper, 2012: 10). "In fact, they are seen as actors in the construction of their own identity" (Ibid: 10). Valentine (2007) argues, that individuals are actively implicated in producing their lives, so it overcomes some limits of "determinism of previous ways of thinking about identities that often classified individuals into fixed categories as oppressed or oppressor" (Ibid: 14). These processes could be distinguished in the stories that people told, when they explained how they identified themselves with social movements (Harper, 2012: 13).

According to McCall (2005), this concept is "the most important theoretical contribution that women's studies, in conjunction with related fields, has made so far" (2005: 1771). This approach has highlighted the limits of the outdated feminist approach, by contesting the idea that women are unified in a homogenous solidarity group. Moreover it shows that in our society there is not only dominance between sexes but also other dissymmetric powers like racism, homophobia and colonialism (Corbeil, 2006; Harper, 2012). But why is it relevant to use the intersectional framework in my study?

In the 19th, century, Windhoek was ruled by the German colonial administration and later by the South African. The apartheid policies have shaped the capital by creating a segmented territory. The city constitutes different townships of white, coloured and African people. Even

after the abolition of the apartheid, Katutura is still the poor suburb of Windhoek (Pendleton, 1994; Peyroux, 1999). Moreover, according to my quantitative data, there are differences along the lines of class and gender. Thus African women living in Katutura are located in the crossroads of three kinds of discrimination: gender, class, and race. But what are the consequences? Is there a feminisation of poverty in Katutura? Does the existing body of knowledge, which proclaims the presence of feminisation of poverty, have acceptable proof and valid evidence? These questions will be discussed in the following sections.

2.1 Quantitative *versus* Qualitative

I will start the discussion about the methodology and the production of knowledge, which asserts the existence of a "feminisation of poverty". Chant (2007) points out with regard to the quantitative method: this 'objective' measure obscures the subjective concrete experience of poverty and represents poor people as 'passive victims' on the basis of western economic criteria. This debate to analyse poverty has been highly discussed during the past decade (Kanbur, 2001: 3). But before going deeper into the discussion between these two methods, I should give a brief definition of the 'Quantitative' and 'qualitative' approach as reported by Kanbur (2001: 4):

> **"The quantitative approach to poverty measurement and analysis is defined here as one that typically uses random sample surveys and structured interviews to collect data?mainly, quantifiable data?and analyses it using statistical techniques. By contrast, the qualitative approach is defined as one that typically uses purposive sampling and semi-structured or interactive interviews to collect data?mainly, data relating to people's judgments, attitudes, preferences, priorities, and/or perceptions about a subject?and analyses it through sociological or anthropological research techniques" (Carvalho *et al.* (1997), quoted by Kanbur, 2001: 4).**

For instance, in my questionnaire, income, expenditure, consumption and integration in official employment were used to capture the social economic status of the inhabitants. These are traditional and popular statistics, which measure poverty (Jackson, 1996; Chant, 2007; Parisi, 2009). These data may also have limitations, but what are the limits of the quantitative approach?

More money means the availability for common expenditure with positive effects on members nutritional consumption, health, care and education within the households headed by women (Jackson, 1996; Chant, 2007: 112). "This not only means greater well-being in the short term, but given in human capital, also encompasses potential for greater socio-economic society [...]

over a longer time frame" (Chant, 2007: 112). As Jackson (1996) points out, these arguments are used to justify gender and development (GAD) policy. "It may well be true that women prioritize children's needs, but there is a sense in which one might wish women to be a little less selfless and self-sacrificing" (Ibid: 497). In any case, women's expenditure is not as child welfare oriented as it seems to be (Ibid: 497), quantitative data do not indicate the distribution of resources within the households, and how household decision are taken, which could also affect the safety of the family (Chant, 2007; Parisi, 2009). Deeper observations indicate: "that the presence of two parents in the same residence gives no guarantee of either financial or emotional support"(Chant, 2007: 113) For example, during my fieldwork, I met Ndapewa (Interview 10), who lives in Greenwell, and is a mother of 10 children. She told me that the father of her children spent all the money drinking and gambling in the shebeen[1] after work. This example proves that quantitative data do not show the relational dynamics (Parisi, 2009: 414). "Financial contributions from men may be so irregular that this makes for excessive vulnerability on the part of women, who may be forced into borrowing and indebtedness in order to get by" (Chant, 2007: 113).

"Moreover it is impossible to generalize [...] female-headed households and their links with poverty across different contexts" (Chant, 2007: 111). Data should also include "interactions of the public and private spheres as well as gendered relations within those spheres" (Parisi, 2009: 415), rather than analysis of only one individual angle. Studies should focus on livelihood strategies and the activities of other household members, which could reveal how the shortfalls in the income of female-headed households can often be compensated in other ways (Chant, 2007; Parisi, 2009).

Quantitative models sometimes generate results that are inconsistent with the feminist approach, because it gives only one part of the reality. Then, as Laura Parisi adds "we need to be able to provide context for, and influence the discourse around, the interpretation of those findings. In this sense, the use of quantitative data and methodologies serve as an entry point rather than as an end point, thereby challenging positivist claims about what realities these models depict" (2009: 417). Quantitative and qualitative approaches are needed to have a better understanding of poverty, because both analyses are complementary (Kanbur, 2001; Parisi, 2009). Moreover these two approaches can be used to examine the micro level of lived experiences, the meso level of the household organisations, the global social structures and their connections (Winker *et al.,* 2011: 52). Thus both approaches are useful, even recommended, to understand the process of poverty.

[1] A place, where we can buy and drink alcohol

2.2 Feminisation of poverty

The concept of the "Feminisation of poverty" was initiated in the United States of America during the mid-1970s. In 1978, Diana Pearce published a paper and observed that poverty has a female's face. She noted that female-headed households represented a higher percentage of the poor; their economic status had declined since the 1950s and the quantity of female-headed households was continually increasing (McLanahan, *et al.*, 2006: 127). Pearce's statements were criticized because her analyses were based mainly on white single mothers and she ignored the fact that coloured women in the US have always been poor and this has always been overlooked (Seibes-Bock, 2004; McLanahan, al., 2006). In recent years, the "feminisation of poverty" has become a common concept in the development lexis, and received increasing attention in academic research and development policies (Chant, 2007: 1). The three most popularized characteristics of 'feminisation of poverty' are:

- Women represent the majority of the world's poor.
- Their disproportionate share of poverty is increasing in comparison to men's poverty
- The "feminisation of poverty" is linked to the female household headship as described in the widely cited epithet that female-headed households are the "poorest of the poor" (Chant 2007: 1).

In Katutura, the percentage of poor is larger among households headed by women than men (Frayne, 2004; Seibes-Bock, 2004; Pendleton *et al.*, 2012). According to my data, the proportion of female headship has increased by 10% (Table 6.1) compared to the survey of 1994 (Peyroux *et al.*, 1995). Women are participating more in the informal sector[2] (30%) than men (10%), and overall, men have a higher income. These numbers indicate that women are experiencing the burden of poverty. But can I really state that poverty in Katutura has a female face? How appropriate is it to use the term feminisation of poverty? What are the limits and consequences of this notion?

According to Sylvia Chant (2007), these questions lead to taking into account numerous points discussed in gender studies. For example the fixed terminology of the 'feminisation of poverty' links poverty to women and ignores male reality. And this notion may induce other risks. For example the big structures such as World Bank or UNRISD[3] claim that education for girls is an important strategy for reducing poverty (by decreasing child mortality, etc.). These

[2] t's small scale activities, which are unlicensed and not registered as a receiver of revenue, like street trading, construction work, informal shebeens, etc. (Pendleton, 1994: 50)

[3] United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

objectives are not questioned. But it is important to maintain boundaries between empowerment as an aim to diminish poverty, and empowerment as a goal for women *per se* (Chant, 2007: 121). "Otherwise, women may simply be being used as a means to other ends, as exemplified by the more general syndrome of women working for development, rather than *vice versa*" (Ibid: 121).

Besides that, this fixed concept "feminisation of poverty" refers to the image of a homogenous powerless group of 'third world women' (read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, [...] victimized (Mohanty, 1988: 65)), as opposed to a group of Western women who are free to make their own choices (Ibid: 65). "The distinction between western feminist re-presentation of women in the third world, and western feminist self-presentation is a distinction of the same order as that made by some Marxists between the 'maintenance' function of the housewife and the real 'productive' role of wage-labour, or the characterization by developmentalists of the third world as being engaged in the lesser production of 'raw materials' in contrast to the 'real' productive activity of the first world" (Ibid: 65). This refers to the sexual division of labour, where there are different assignations of tasks according to sex (Ibid: 76). "However, the concept of the 'sexual division of labour' is more than just a descriptive category. It indicates the differential value placed on 'men's work *versus* women's work" (Ibid: 76). Moreover, the sexual division of labour is considered to be evidence of the oppression of women in various societies. This results from the confusion between the descriptive and the potential explanation of the concept of the sexual division of labour. Similar confusion has been created with the explanations of the rise of female-headed households (Ibid: 76). This new trend is seen as an indicator of women's independence, and progress: Being the heads of the household means to have the main economic and social responsibility (Mohanty, 1988; Tvedten, 2011).

However, some feminists do not see the rise in numbers of female-headed households as a sign of independence. Elson ([1992: 41], quoted by Chant, 2007: 83) argues, "the growth of female-headed households is no sign of emancipation from male power". Especially in a society in which women as a gender are subordinate. The absence of men in the house leaves most women worse-off, because most women are unable to mobilise adequate resources (Elson ([1992: 41], quoted by Chant, 2007: 83). "For many, the price of that independence has been their pauperization and dependence on welfare" (Pearce [1978: 28] quoted by McLanahan, *et al.*, 2006: 127). This controversy concerning the poverty of women being understood as independence or as a burden will be developed further in the following chapter.

Feminisation of poverty or independence?

One of the main reasons why female-headed households, especially single mothers, are regarded as the poorest of the poor is because women have also the responsibility to care for the children (Chant, 2007: 83). Therefore, according to Sylvia Chant (2007), the term "feminisation of poverty" can be illustrated by a list of factors that contribute to the view of female-headed households being seen as the "poorest of the poor".

A few examples of factors influencing the construction of female-headed households as the 'poorest of the poor'

- Assumption that female-headed households are most likely to form situations of poverty
- Equation of female-headed households with lone mother and children households
- Assumption that female heads themselves are primary or sole breadwinners
- Limited financial support to children in female-headed households from absent fathers.
- Etc.

Source: (Chant, 2007: 99)

As Guionnet and Neveu (2009) reported, "more paid work does not mean less unpaid work for women, and does not necessarily improve their living conditions" (2009: 163). Some feminist scholars are suspicious about the idea that the women's access to labor market is developing and will promote gender equality (Mohanty, 2003; 2006; Guionnet *et al.* 2009). Firstly, the notion of financial equality is arising in a pro-capitalist vision, which has a very individual character (Mohanty, 2006: 6). Then history shows that at the time of the industrial revolution, modernization had reinforced the effect of restricting specifically women in the domestic sphere. The sphere of reproduction (feminine) and the sphere of production (masculine) became more separated (Guionnet *et al.* 2009: 163). Even nowadays, the access to paid work is not necessarily a source of empowerment; instead it can generate many unfavourable effects (Cornwall, 2002; Guionnet *et al.* 2009; Beauvoir, 1986).

On the other hand, work in companies and local factories created by multinationals represents a chance for women to leave the home, postponing marriage and motherhood, to increase their income and autonomy; although these opportunities have largely been marred by certain negative features of female labour (lower wages, less bargaining power, etc.). In this way women escape a destiny often worse than the labour market (Lim (1983) explained by Guionnet *et al.* 2009: 167). Then Kabeer (1999) claims that wages have generally favoured greater independence,

more decision-making power within the households, and valued their role in their family (less a burden and more an economic asset). In that way, households can increase their income, economic security, and give better education to their children, especially girls.

At the time of industrialization in Western countries, invisible work (undeclared, domestic work, brothels) carried out by women to feed their families and provide for various household needs, allowed the capitalist economic system to grow. Informal and precarious work was considered as one of the supports for economic development (Guionnet *et al.* 2009: 169). But the access to paid work, in a context of economic development, is not always favourable for symmetric gender relations. L. Benaria and G. Sen. ([2001] quoted by Guionnet *et al.* 2009: 170) argue that "Modernization is not a neutral process". The capitalist system creates and intensifies inequalities using gender hierarchies, (Ibid: 170) which "justifies women's non-waged domestic and child rearing work with reference to biologically rooted reproductive differences between the sexes, and justifies labour market inequities based on women's domestic obligations" (Chafetz, 2006: 10). Many inequalities persist: lower wage, unacknowledged skills, precariousness and double days' work (chores and work). Besides, contractors of outsourced industries take advantage of this disciplined and cheap workforce (Chafetz, 2006; Guionnet *et al.* 2009). "In the Third World, as in developed countries, women's access to the workforce has hardly led to significant changes in the family and domestic domain. The access of women to the labour market has generally not influenced a new division of labour within the couple (or only a little)" (Guionnet *et al.* 2009; 172, my translation).

Cornwall (2007) states also that there is dubious gain with financial autonomy. She underscores Kabeer's arguments ([1988] explained by Cornwall, 2007: 158) who suggests that money earned by women can bring love, keep relationships, and maintain peace and their respectability. But if the situation changes, and she loses her financial independence, friction could occur in the relationship. In fact financial autonomy plays a role in maintaining stable relationships.

Thus foreseeing women's liberation by access to employment is too simplistic. Analysing only the level of income is not enough to understand the situations of men and women. Traditional sex roles and gender identities start to be questioned, because there are various articulations possible between the private or public sphere, and the lucrative activities (Guionnet *et al.* 2009: 171). Moreover differences occur through their reasons to live without a man, "whether by choice or involuntarily, and/or through non-marriage, separation, divorce, widowhood, migration and so on" (Chant 2007: 108). Households headed by women may be different in the rural or urban areas, by the cultural or ethnic setting, by the structure and the composition of the family units, by what stage they are in their life, by their access to resources etc. (Chant, 2007:

108). These variables can intersect in multiple ways, and female heads are influenced by the particular social, cultural, political and economic contexts. Thus a similar or a homogenous group of female-headed households doesn't exist and can't be simplified by only one statement, the feminisation of poverty (Chant, 2007).

It is impossible to generalise poverty among female-headed households (Mohanty, 1988; Chant, 2007). Analyses need also to take into account the composition of the houses and extra-domestic relations (Chant, 2007). "Indeed, focusing on livelihood strategies and the activities of other households members reveals that potential shortfalls in income and assets of female-headed household are often compensated in other ways"(Ibid: 111). According to Mohanty (1988), every household is different and not all of them are poor and vulnerable. Feminisation of poverty or independence can't be represented as universal indicator, but it is important to portray the socio-historical context of the research field.

> **"The positive correlation between this and the level of poverty among women of color and white working-class women in the US has now even acquired a name: the feminisation of poverty. Thus, while it is possible to state that there is a rise in female-headed households in the US and in Latin America, this rise cannot be discussed as a universal indicator of women's independence, nor can it be discussed as a universal indicator of women's impoverishment. The meaning and explanation for the rise must obviously be specified according to the socio-historical context" (Mohanty, 1988: 76).**

Feminisation of poverty is wrong as a universal indicator or an incorrect category, because there are variations within the group of female-heads of households (Mohanty, 1988). This is why the intersectional approach is an important theoretical contribution to women's studies, because it acknowledges differences within the categories of women (McCall, 2005; David, 2011). Paradoxically, in gender studies the taken-for-granted social categories have a binary form, which is imprisoned in the language by using the term 'men', 'women', 'female', or 'masculinity' (Cornwall, 1996: 11). So how can we overcome these notions in an intersectional approach?

2.3 False universalism

In the 1980s, some scholars began to question the gender field, because it analyses only through categories, and states that male domination is a social institution. These critiques merged in two separate schools of thought. One school is the postmodernist, which criticises the Western

philosophy, history, and language. And the other school formed by coloured feminists, which criticises the use of the category 'women'as a unitary and homogeneous category representing the common essence of all women (Mccall, 2005:1771). The second critique will be discussed in this chapter.

"Since critics first alleged that feminism claimed to speak universally for all women, feminist researchers have been acutely aware of the limitations of gender as a single analytical category" (McCall, 2005: 1771). But why is it problematic to use the term 'women' or 'men' as a group? Using this term, it supposes that 'women' is a stable universal category, which is grounded on a general idea of their subordination (Mohanty; 1988: 72). However it is impossible to define a common category "women", because it disregards differences within the category, by neglecting social class and ethnic differences (Connell, 1985; Mohanty, 1988; Moore, 1994; Cornwall, 1997). This analytic category was created to combat the invisibility of women, but feminist scholars have rendered a category visible, which doesn't represent the reality of women. It sustains the artificial division between powerful and powerless (Butler, 1988; Mohanty, 1988): "People who have (read: men), and people who do not have (read: women). Men exploit, women are exploited. Such simplistic formulations are historically reductive. [...] All they do is reinforce binary divisions between men and women" (Mohanty, 1988: 73). Hegemonic feminine or masculine groups do not exist (Moore, 1994; Cornwall, 1997). However this failure to recognize cultural processes of specific gender oppression itself, is it not a form of epistemological imperialism (Butler, 2005: 78)?

Imperialism's gender

This binary structure in gender and development cannot be seen as only male/female, but it could also be seen or interpreted as North/South (Mohanty, 1988, 1991, 2003; Cornwall, 2007). Here, I briefly discuss the symptomatic characteristics of an imposing gender.

Mohanty (1988) highlights the gap between received 'Western' ideas and the understanding about the concrete situation of women in their cultural context. She based her argument on an incorrect interpretation of a gender study by Fran Hosken in 1981. This research describes the women's condition in the Middle-East; "Muslim women in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, India and Egypt all wear some sort of a veil. Hence, this indicates that the sexual control of women is a universal fact in those countries in which the women are veiled"(Ibid: 75). Mohanty (1988) questions this general assumption. According to her, there may be a material resemblance in the veils worn by women, but "the specific meaning attached to this practice varies according

to the cultural and ideological context"(Mohanty, 1988: 75). For example, in Iran during the 1979 revolution, middle-class women decided to veil themselves to protest against the Shah and occidental cultural colonization and to show their solidarity with veiled working-class women. Later, modern Iran Islamic laws ordered that all Iranian women are obliged to wear veils. In both cases, women are wearing a veil, but the values linked to this practice are distinct in the two historical contexts (Ibid: 75). So to assert that the wearing of a veil means the universal subordination of women is analytically reductive and inadequate (Mohanty, 1988; 1991).

This example leads to the statement that 'Western women' or 'Third world women' cannot be defined as a common group (Mohanty, 1988; 1991; 2003). Mohanty (2003) uses also the term 'Western feminism' for "middle-class, urban African or Asian scholars who write about their rural or working-class sisters and assume their own middle-class cultures as the norm and codify working class histories and cultures as other" (Ibid : 18). She criticizes the received 'Western' representation about 'Third-world woman' in opposition to 'Western women' as having the liberty to make their own choices and control over their own life, body, and sexuality (Mohanty, 1988; 2003). Moreover she (1988) disapproves of the statement made by traditional feminist scholars who argue that women could play an important role in the public sphere if development policies were changed. The idea that the presence of more women in the policy and labour world will encourage women's cooperation is too simplistic. This streamlined solution asserts that women have similar problems, needs, interests and goals. Once again women are considered as a unified group (Mohanty, 1988), although "beyond sisterhood there is still racism, colonialism and imperialism" (Ibid: 77)!

Finally, this chapter reveals the limits of the universal representation of women from the north or south. These beliefs are conducive to another myth, the myth of women's solidarity (Cornwall, 2007: 150). Feminist discourse has often a desire to build links of solidarity based on assumptions of a natural bond between women, which stipulates a false ontological theory of eventual political solidarity (Butler, 1988; Mohanty, 1991). This controversy is developed in more detail in the following section.

Myths of female solidarity

After exposing the limits of the myth of female financial autonomy (Chapter 2.2), there is another idea that the gender approach maintains. It is the "powerful social image of women's solidarity" (Cornwall, 2007: 150). Andrea Cornwall (2007) did ethnographic fieldworks in Nigeria and highlighted the maladaptation between Western thoughts about gender and the real complexity of relations among women in their context. In her article "Myths to live by Female solidarity

and female autonomy reconsidered"(2007), she criticizes gender and development interventions. She disapproves of gender studies which intend to increase women's participation in the public sphere, and aim to give the possibility to women to find enough confidence and support to speak out and to take action through focus group discussion (Cornwall, 2007: 150).

> **"Get women into groups, the development mantra goes, and they will be transformed into social, economic and political actors. Get women into parliament, and they will represent women's interests. Give women access to independent incomes, and they will be freed from dependency on men" (Cornwall, 2007: 150).**

According to Andrea Cornwall (2007), these representations are to be characterized as myths. She is using the term 'myth', because she is not arguing that solidarity among women doesn't exist. Myths as such are neither true nor false. "They are composed of a series of familiar images and devices, and work to produce an order-of-things that takes shape and has its effects through resonance with the affective dimensions of deeply held values and norms" (Cornwall, 2007: 151).

Feminist scholars have distinguished different sources of conflict within the household, and some have recognized different types of gender relations: husband-wife, brothers-sisters or sons-mother (Jackson, 2002; Cornwall, 2007). "But few have been able to acknowledge how difficult women can make the lives of other women" (Cornwall, 2007: 156). For example, in the suburb of Katutura women are sitting along the Monte Cristo road, side by side selling the same products, these sellers are in direct competition with each other. The market is a place where people are mixed, where different natures of relationships intersect (co-workers and enemies): People who might wish to bring the business of others down (Cornwall, 2007: 156). Another example, Maria 25 years old (interview 7), lives with her sons in a shack. She had to adapt to this rudimentary way of living, since her previous place was modern with access to all facilities. She moved to Havana not only because she wanted her independence but also because her aunt made her life unbearable, so she decided to move out. In this situation, the old-feminist framework that usually denounces the patriarchal system, doesn't give a complete explanation to the complexity of Maria's situation (Mohanty, 1988; Cornwall, 2007). "Narratives of gender in development often take little account of the complexity of women's relational subject positions, nor of the contingency of their identities and identifications"(Cornwall, 2007: 163). Their descriptions about gender relations or social constructions are often singular and static. Situations are interpreted through institutionalized glasses that focus only on one dimension of the differences between women and men (Butler, 1988; Cornwall, 2007).

This chapter shows that the old-feminist approach failed to recognize the existence of dissymmetric power relations among women that could be an obstacle to their well-being. This is why the intersectional framework is popular and seen as an important contribution to the feminist theory, because it acknowledges differences among women and the complexity of power relations (Davis, 2011). The gender approach needs to go beyond the assumption that women are intrinsically more compliant and that if women had influence they would exploit it in service for other women. This does not mean that the value of solidarity should be abandoned as an ideal to follow or to stimulate action (Cornwall, 2007: 165), but gender approach should be aware that solidarity is something which is "actively constructed through identification with a shared concern about issues of social and gender injustice, [...] which binds them together-rather than in a presumed commonality of interests" (Cornwall, 2007: 165).

2.4 Victim *versus* Resistance

Mohanty (2003), criticises the traditional gender approach that considers women as the victims of male control. Although she doesn't deny the existence of male violence (if it's the appropriate label), she argues that describing women as classic victims freezes them into 'objects-who-defend-themselves', men into 'subjects-who-perpetrate-violence', and "(every) society into a simple opposition between the powerless (read: women) and the powerful (read: men) groups of people" (Ibid: 24). Tension between men and women should be grasped within the specific societies, with its historical and political practice and not only understood on the basis of institutionalized glasses that focus on only one dimension (Mohanty, 2003; Cornwall, 2007).

According to Judith Butler (2005), this is the paradox of power. She takes and develops an approach by Michel Foucault: "Foucault's approach to power is strictly relational" (Cornwall, 1996: 23). Judith Butler explains (2005) his approach by saying that people are subjects who are founded through power. People can be aware that they are dominated, but it is another thing to discover that their existence results from this same domination. People can be opposed to the power but at the same time they are dependent on this dominance. The power does not only suppress but it generates a sense of existence. Power is paradoxical, because it produces as much as it forbids. The social structure of which we are part (Gender-race-class) influences our way and our ability to empower ourselves and to act (Butler, 2005: 15). Furthermore, Andrea Cornwall (1996: 24) supports the idea developed by Scott who follows Foucault's opinion that "all relations of power are characterized by dual transcripts". The 'official' transcript legitimizes the position of superior and reinforces the mechanisms (such as class identity or hierarchy in an office) by which subordinates are controlled. For example when

a superior meets his subordinate face-to-face, he will make this distinction. But all official transcripts have a 'hidden transcript', which are produced off-stage. And every situation of dominance is dynamic, changes and negotiations involved in any social interaction modify both the official and the hidden transcripts (Cornwall, 1996: 24). "Men and women can refer to the official transcripts of masculinity to legitimize their control of others, while subordinates respond by creating variant masculinities and other gendered identities" (Ibid: 24). For example, police officers, which represent a hegemonic masculinity, use the images and the professional means to empower themselves. "By comparison, the hidden transcripts of subordinates are poorly documented. Women accidentally-on-purpose burn toast to express their displeasure with their spouses; or they have headaches to resist sexual demand" (Ibid: 25)

I will illustrate this with an example from my fieldwork: I met Ndapewa (Interview 10), who is 40 years old and sells Kapana in an informal settlement, trying as best as possible to make her living. The father of the children is most of the time in the shebeen, spending his money gambling and drinking. Their relationship is not going well; she wants to leave him because he doesn't contribute financially to the basic household needs, such as food. In the framework of the traditional-old feminist approach, I could interpret the situation as poor woman, oppressed and trapped in a bad relationship because her situation seems not to be economically and humanly optimistic. However, doing this would be to fall voluntarily in the 'trap of Western eyes' (Mohanty, 2003), and to portray only a part of Ndapewa. Is Ndapewa a total victim? Ndapewa told us that the week before I came, she was so angry, that she made an appointment with her husband's boss and asked for a higher wage or if he could reason with her husband about his expenditure. She asked for external help from her partner's boss.

This leads to thoughts about the possibilities of emancipatory action on the basis of the reconceptualization of women and men as agents rather than oppressed (Mohanty, 2003: 143, Cornwall, 2007). In this case, she is counterattacking, and trying to change the situation by negotiating. So nothing is static. "If hidden transcripts validate integrity and reputation, this raises further important questions about how human worth and dignity are related to gendered identity. [...] How then do we account for unequal experiences of violence and the frequent association of violence with men" (Cornwall, 1996: 25). Thus the instersectionality approach "recognizes the ways by which individuals are actively involved in producing their own lives and so overcome some of the determinism of previous ways of thinking about identities that often classified individuals into fixed categories, such as oppressed or oppressor"(Valentine, 2007: 14). Although sometimes these women become true leaders in their community (Harper, 2012: 3).

2.5 Masculinity in the Gender Study

Why does the term masculinisation of poverty not exist? Besides "the costs ascribed to making women responsible for preserving their own poverty, little room has yet been made for men and gender relations"(Chant, 2007: 122). Men's experiences are rarely considered in gender and development studies, so feminist studies need new tools and new approaches in relation to men (Cornwall, 1997, Chant, 2007). In the context of a growing economy, men's identities as husbands are fragile, because they have to fulfil the demands of present times. Husbands are expected to take responsibility for the household, which is considerably more difficult to provide the essential needs for their families in a situation of scarcity of employment (Cornwall, 2002: 968). Then their identities as husbands are threatened because they fail to do what a husband should do, and this expectation or belief can be just as oppressive for those men who refuse to conform to the "Hegemonic masculinity" (Cornwall, 1997; 2002; 2003; Bielby, 2006). Andrea Cornwall (1997), highlights the fact that women in general are not always the 'oppressed'. The traditional feminist point of view could be too simple because they consider men as 'the problem', and sometimes ignore the complexity of male experiences.

Masculinity and femininity are general concepts and social constructions that are involved in every aspect of social organization (Epstein, 2006). And "gender in domestic settings is one of the most deep-seated of cultural expectations" (Biebly, 2006: 393). Furthermore Andrea Cornwall (1997) argues that being a man, even if some settings allow them to be dominant over others, is not enough, because they have to achieve their responsibilities and duties. Gender is not a stable identity; it grows over with and through their actions (Cornwall, 1997, 2003; Bielby, 2006). So "new theoretical tools have given social scientists the capacity to explore in greater detail the processes through which gender is locally constructed and the interactions in which gender makes a difference"(Cornwall, 1997: 10). For example by doing **discourse analysis**, **deconstructing** the class 'women' and 'man' or considering **Gender as a Performance** (Cornwall, 1997: 12). Moreover Andrea Cornwall (2003) recognizes how masculine and feminine identities may be enacted and identified differently. She points out that identities occur in interactions, and they are not fixed but multiple and changing through our everyday lives (Cornwall, 1997; 2003; Valentine, 2007).

To conclude, it is important for a gender approach to not regard men or masculinity as a problem or a series of negative images, but by starting to abandon those cultural attributes, and leave space for reflection about how men can be in a situation of disempowered and marginalization (Cornwall, 1997). This change requires also new adaptation of concepts and tools for gender and development study (Cornwall, 1997: 12). "The concept of intersectionality complements the

concept of hegemonic masculinities, in that it stresses the interaction between gender, class and other differentiating categories, and at the same time articulates different power structures and their reciprocating construction" ([Larsen *et al.*, 2008: 56] quoted by Hearn, 2011: 91). Using the framework of intersectionality makes sense to grasp the complexities of people's realities, because many men do not conform to the 'hegemonic masculinity', which can be seen at intersections of gender and other social divisions like racialization, class, and ethnicity (Cornwall, 1997: 11; Hearn, 2011: 91). So this study aims not only to focus on female conditions, but also on the processes of feminine and masculine identities.

2.6 Intersectionality as an adapted analytical framework

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods could give a better understanding about the processes of poverty. Further, it is adapted for an intersectional approach, because it created the link between the micro and meso level (Winker *et al.*, 2011), and the global aspect is grasped through a quantitative approach and the specific aspects, through case studies (Kanbur, 2001).

Thereafter, I show the consequences of using the term 'feminisation of poverty'. According to Sylvia Chant (2007) there is little evidence to sustain the dogma of 'feminisation of poverty'; this tenet is based on quantitative results, such as the source and rate of income, which is generally lower among women than men, and is conductive to the opinion that 'women-headed households are systematically the poorest of the poor'(Ibid: 123). But the reality is more complex than statistics, because it doesn't indicate the distribution of income, the processes of bargaining, the representations of men and women, and the existence of external relationships (Chant, 2007). So 'the feminisation of poverty' conveys little of the complexity of gendered experiences of poverty or diversity among women. [...] This means going beyond headship, and exploring in much greater detail which particular women are at greater risk of privation in comparison to other women, as well as to men, and how this varies and is changing, across space and time' (Ibid: 123).

'Exploring in greater detail' means to move beyond the old fixed ideas about gender roles and universal male domination. The intersectionality theory has upgraded the glasses of the feminist approach, which focused only in one dimension between women and men, and analyses multiple dimensions (McCall, 2005; Epstein, 2006). It highlights the fact that every subject is different from another, nobody stays in a fixed category. Even "each day of our lives and over the course of our lives, the identities we have as women or men are not fixed or absolute, but multiple and shifting" (Cornwall, 2007: 10). The intersectionality approach also breaks down

the representation of women seen as victims, and men as the oppressors. For example, one person could have simultaneous representations about themselves and others, can identify and disidentify with other groups (Valentine, 2007). The position of an individual can shift when he is at home, at work, or in the church, when he interacts with the same-sex or with the family (Cornwall, 1997). Then there are different variations of masculinities and femininities. Women can be career women, a loving mother, or a devoted wife and a man could be a loving father, a beer-drinking guy, or a dutiful son (Cornwall, 1997: 10). So this concept leads researchers to adapt new ways to study the field: "Such analysis means asking questions about what identities are being 'done', and when and by whom, evaluating how particular identities are weighted or given importance by individuals at particular moments and in specific contexts, and looking at when some categories such as gender might unsettle, undo, or cancel out other categories, such as sexuality" (Valentine, 2007: 15).

Finally, I showed the limitations of the myth of female solidarity and the myth of financial autonomy. I argued according to Mohanty's (1988), and Cornwall's (2007) view, that foreseeing women's liberation by access to employment is too simplistic, especially in a capitalist economic system, which is a fervent advocate of every man for himself. To conclude, intersectionality seems to be a suitable approach to grasp the contextual experience of the inhabitants of the shantytown of Katutura, because this urban setting is located in the crossroads of multiple social divisions such as class, ethnicity, racialization and gender. And it further recognises the complexity and disparities of the process of poverty.

Chapter 3

Research Design

Applying a specific theoretical point of view makes it easier to focus our observations on relevant indicators in the field. Analytic framework can be illustrated as if wearing a specific theoretical lens to look at a social setting (Creswell, 2011), but how can it be done wearing intersectionality theoretical glasses?

Despite the emergence of the paradigm of intersectionality as an important approach in gender studies and elsewhere, there are very few papers about how to use intersectionality as a method (McCall, 2005; Winker, *et al.*, 2011).

So in the first part of this chapter, I will clarify the research context and the general interest and questions that emerged within the research setting. Then I will explain the application of intersectionality, from a praxeological perspective by using multi-level analysis. And finally, I will argue the relevance of using this approach to understand the intra-household relationships.

3.1 Contextual research and research questions

At the beginning, my research questions were based on literature I consulted before starting the fieldwork. I chose water as an entry point. Swyngedouw (2007) argues that water facilitates understanding the structure and organization of power relations: "relations of domination and subordination, of access and exclusion, of emancipation and repression"(Ibid: 29). Moreover, Ben Crow and Sultana (2002) claim that water plays a pivotal role in economic activity (production, primarily irrigation) and in human well-being (drinking and domestic tasks such as washing and cooking). So during the preparation, I was interested in doing research about the organization of the family-life, and I made the assumption that the task of fetching water was usually a work for female members according to Crow and Sultana's work (2002). My starting questions were therefore: how do different modes of water access shape gender relations? And

how and why is the woman's status strengthened or weakened?

These questions were formulated within the Indian feminist political ecology framework in which gender relations are linked to gender division of labour, norms and rights that are related with different accesses of water (Crow and Sultana, 2002; O'Reilly, 2005; Sultana, 2009). But when I arrived in Windhoek, I realised that I had to change my research questions and adapt to the reality of the field. This problem could be seen as a lack of preparation, but it could also be explained by the fact that I fell in the trap of thinking from a western point of view regarding "Third-World-Women", according to Mohanty (2003: 18). She points out that Western feminists tend to consider "Third-World-Women" as a homogenous group. And I did it by using an approach based on India's empirical data to grasp the Namibian's context.

After visiting the field, I reformulated my general research questions. There, I noted that my previous assumption that water carrying was only done by women, was false. I met men fetching water and they explained: "I am doing it, because it's too heavy for my wife", "she doesn't have time because she is working"(Interview 13) or "I am taking my car, it's faster". The household chores were distributed in a way that I did not expect. After that I interviewed Ndeya (Case study 1), because in her house, they share the chores equally among the family members (men/women), and she is financially independent. During the discussion, I found out that she fell pregnant at the age of 19. An event that she did not plan, because her aim was to continue her studies and get a good job; instead she had to leave school and now she is selling fruit and vegetables on the road of Monte Cristo in Havana Proper.

Teenagers' pregnancy is considered to be an important social problem in Namibia, a large percentage of girls aged 14 to 18 years are expelled from school for this reason. It is one of the main obstacles for girls completing their education, and contributes to maternal mortality (Lebeau, 1999: 211; National Planning Commission, 2004). So I discovered that the distribution of the domestic tasks is not a relevant indicator to judge if women have empowerment or not. But how can I then assess this?

According to Kabeer (1999), the ability to make choices and the capacity to process a change are signs of power. So a logical association could be made between poverty and disempowerment because the lack of means to satisfy basic needs often impedes the ability to exercise a meaningful choice. But even if they have choices, not all have the same consequences in their lives, and not all choices are equally appropriate to the definition of power (Kabeer, 1999). Thus the distribution of domestic tasks within the household reveals the gender relationships, roles and organization in the house, but it is not a relevant indicator of empowerment. The latter is a process which is really difficult to measure. Problems occur with the notion of "choice", the

values behind the conceptualization of empowerment and the method to find the appropriate indicators in each context. There are real limits and dilemmas to capture these particular kinds of social change (Kabeer, 1999). So I chose to discontinue the empowerment issue, even though it is an interesting topic. I focused on the way that families live in the suburbs of Katutura, and accordingly changed the research questions into:

How the instability of material resources influences the domestic roles?

Does discrimination interfere and if so which form of discrimination is more important, gender, class or ethnicity?

Then many other questions arose during the fieldwork and when I returned to Switzerland: Which norms, symbolic representations or interpretive patterns affect them? What is their doxa[1] ? Gabriele Winker and Nina Degele (2011), who developed a method for analysing data in the intersectional framework, claim that identities, structures and norms can be understood through the social practices of individuals, and could reveal the interrelation between those categories.

3.2 Categories and Levels

Leslie McCall (2005) distinguishes and develops three approaches in the intersectionality paradigm: *anticategorial*, *intracategorial* and *intercategorial*. And I chose the *intracategorical* to analyse my data. "This approach is called intracategorical complexity because authors working in this vein tend to focus on particular social groups at neglected points of intersection [...] in order to reveal the complexity of lived experience within such groups" (MaCCall, 2005: 1773). This approach could be applied for my fieldwork, because I will show varieties and differences of organisation among families installed in the informal settlement of Katutura.

To approach the problem of gender arrangements under precarious conditions, I used the overarching framework of praxeological perspective (Bereswill, *et al.*, 2011: 74), developed and elucidated in chapter 3.3. Within this approach, I will apply the "intersectional multi-level analysis" developed by Gabriele Winker and Nina Degele (2011). According to them, Intersectionality is understood as "a system of interactions between inequality-creating social structures (i.e. of power relations), symbolic representations and identity constructions that are context-specific, topic-oriented and inextricably linked to social praxis" (Ibid: 54). This multi-level approach can analyse the interactions between categories in intra-categorical method (Winker,

[1] "Doxa is what is accepted as a natural and self-evident part of the social order, which goes without saying and is not open to questioning or contestation" (Agarwal, 1997: 15).

et al., 2011: 54). The following sections aim to expose these different levels of analysis, which are determinant to employ the praxeological structure.

3.2.1 Identity Construction: An on-going process

According to Candace West and Sarah Fenstermaker (1995), individuals have different identities and these may be accentuated or muted, depending on the context. Race, sex and class categories (e.g., clothing, skin color) generate differences and dominance in social life. They can't be separated, and should be understood through specific interactions (West *et al.*, 1995). Cornwall (1997) argues in the same way by suggesting that "Each day of our lives and over the course of our lives, the identities we have as women or men are not fixed or absolute, but multiple and shifting" (Ibid: 13). Study gender should examine how identities are accomplished, because it "could reveal the mechanisms by which power is exercised and inequality is produced" (West *et al.*, 1995: 9). They argue that rethinking intersectionality should be based on how individuals accomplish identities. Identities are made in demarcation from others and simultaneously produce a sense of belonging. "The doing difference [...] refers to the interrelation of categories at the construction of identity" (Winker, *et al.*, 2011: 54). So, gender is not perceived as an individual characteristic but "as an emergent property of the social situation" (West, *et al.*, 1955: 9).

Identities are also defined as a "situated accomplishment"(West, *et al.*, 1955: 23). "West and Fenstermaker's thinking has clear resonance with other theories that focus not on being, but on becoming, notably with Judith Butler's theory that gender is performative" (Valentine, 2007: 13). Judith Butler (1988) states that gender is not a stable identity, but it's an identity formed continually?"an identity instituted through a *stylized repetition of acts*"(Ibid: 519): The banal way in which all bodily gestures, movements and styles give the illusion of an abiding gendered self. Then *the appearance of substance* is a constructed identity, a performative act based on belief and which the mundane public, as well as the actors themselves, come to believe in and to perform. But gender is also a norm that we can never completely internalize (Butler, 1988; 2005). In this description, gender identity is much closer to the *habitus* according to Pierre Bourdieu (Butler, 2005: 14). Habitus is a durable characteristic acquired by the individual during the process of socialization, and also a product of history, which is in accordance with the schemes[2] generated in the past (Bourdieu, 1968; 1980).

Bourdieu, Chamboredon and Passeron (1968), explain that the family has an important influence on the primary habitus. The education we received is linked with the social class that we belong to; acquiring dispositions to reproduce spontaneously through thoughts, words, and

[2] "Schemes of perception and action internalized by individuals are also called schemes" (Bourdieu, 1968: 63; my translation).

actions. Individuals in different social conditions will acquire automatically different dispositions (Bourdieu *et al.*, 1968: 64). Thus from the primary habitus a second is formed from the experiences of the individual. For example, second generation children of migrant Maghreb parents in France, encounter a cultural conflict linked with the opposition of two habitus: on one side, parents maintain traditions, especially religious praxis, and on the other side, children experience a process of integration, which are visible through different acts and representations such as less religious involvement or the decline in the rate of fertility (Bonnewitz, 2007: 73). In fact habitus continues to adapt and adjust to new and unexpected situations; it's always in restructuration (Bourdieu *et al.*, 1968: 64). "This implies that our practices and representations are not fully determined (making choices) or completely free (these choices are guided by habitus)" (Ibid: 64; my translation). Besides, the notion of habitus is related to the history and the structural conditions in which the individuals live. Through individual's mental and corporial, schemata of perception and action, the history and structural relations can be grasped (Champagne, 2012: 236).

3.2.2 Symbolic Representations

According to Bourdieu, explained by Mounier (2003), the acquisition of habitus corresponds to the entry into the game, which is constructed through participation according to the canons of Illusio[3]. Bourdieu uses the analogy of the game to describe the field (Bourdieu *et al.*, 1992: 98). The doxa, which is the common opinion, can also be seen as a set of rules that ensures that all participants involved in the game, have the same interest and the same investment in the game (Bourdieu, 1992). In social games (Illusio) the investments, which make man truly a man (senses of honour, manhood, manliness), are the undisputed principle of all duties to oneself. This belief influences all that we might do, or we must accomplish, to be in good standing with oneself, to remain dignified according to a certain image of being a man (Bourdieu, 2002: 72). "The crucial point here is representation and interpretation by others of that representation. The perfect husband and the perfect friend do not exist, but their images and effects must be kept constantly in play" (Moore, 1994: 68). Such norms, ideologies and representations support structural power relations and simultaneously are produced through them (Winker, *et al.*, 2011: 54). "Creating a fiction of security, norms and values enable identity constructions. In turn, these individual subjectification processes stabilize symbolic representations through performative acts" (Ibid: 54). Systems of representation vary in different societies, eras and also between individuals and social groups. These representations constitute a distinctive conception

[3] "Investment in the game, illusio (from ludus, the game)" (Bourdieu *et al.*, 1992: 98).

of the world (Bonnewitz, 2007: 21), for example, specific representations about masculinity and femininity differ according to culture, country, tradition, or class (Chafetz, 2006). Thus the idea that men and women are fundamentally different is false (Chafetz, 2006: 16). Concerning my research field, I'll try to understand the ideology and norms expressed by the participants. What does it mean to be man or a woman in Namibia? What are their expectations from each other?

3.2.3 Social Structures

"The task, on a structural level, consists of identifying concrete relations of power and then analysing their interrelatedness and changes" (Winker, *et al.*, 2011: 54). Before analysing the social structures and the interactions that could produce social inequality, these mechanisms should be identified (Winker, *et al.*, 2011). Categories of class, gender, and race are distinguished on the structural level. Within these categories, power relations like classism, racism and sexism could arise (Collins, 1998; Winker, *et al.*, 2011).

Class comes from the social origin of a person: academic level, cultural, economic and social capital. Those resources could be accumulated, and reproduced. But they are not distributed equally, which can explain the existence of asymmetric power relations and inequalities in society (Bourdieu, 1986). Classism is not only related to economics, but affects "all areas of society including family, living conditions, [?] and housework" (Winker, *et al.*, 2011: 55).

Gender is closely linked with gender identity and reproduction (Collins, 1998: 64), "sexuality remains important in constructions of family, and families remain deeply implicated in reproducing heterosexism" (Ibid: 64). For example, in the traditional Oshivambo household, there is a gender hierarchy. Normally the man is the chief of the house (Lebeau, 1999: 197). "Gender designates the naturalized (and therefore unquestioned) binary male?female differentiation as well as a 'common-sensical' heterosexualization in gender relations which is called heteronormativity [...]. The decisive difference to classism lies in their basis of legitimization: here it is by recourse to a kind of naturalism, while classism legitimizes itself through performance" (Winker, *et al.*, 2011: 55). Gender relations are constituted by practices and beliefs that interact with other structures, such as class and race (Agarwal, 1997: 2).

Race signifies "human groups that, through symbolic classification, become Races" (Weiss [2001: 29] quoted Winker, *et al.*, 2011: 55). So there are asymmetrical relations of power among human groups, in a discriminating structure (Winker, *et al.*, 2011). "In this context, the

decisive idea of the system is a designation and definition practice creating specific knowledge about presupposed alleged natural differences between 'Us' and the 'Others'" (Ibid: 55). The construction of the otherness or the inappropriate can be revealed in ethnicities, religions or conceptions of the world that diverge from the majority within a given society (Staunæs, 2003; Winker, *et al.*, 2011). But in this paper, I don't look at the asymmetrical relations between White and Black, but more on the differences among the various ethnic groups in Katutura. So I will use the term ethnicity, which refers to the "cultural expressions of their peoplehood; their music, art, language, and customs" (Collins, 1998: 70).

According to the literature, these categories RGC -class, gender, race- are the elements that constitute the concept of the intersectionality. Intersectionality is used to theorize the relationships between these social groups (Collins, 1998; Valentine, 2007; Bilge, 2010; Winker, *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore, Winker and Degele (2011) suggest that interactions between these power relations may provoke historical changes. Otherwise, "the inclusions and exclusions alongside these categories maintain an iniquitous distribution of resources" (Ibid: 56). These power relations are ensured through norms and ideologies that could be ascertained by examining symbolic representations (Winker, *et al.*, 2011: 56).

3.3 Praxeological Intersectionality

The 'identity constructions', the 'symbolic representations' and the 'social structures' are linked through the social practices of individuals, like action and speech (Winker *et al.*, 2011: 56). "Social practices are intrinsically linked with each other through categories of difference [...]. For this reason it is social practices that serve as the methodological starting point of our intersectional multi-level analysis" (Ibid: 56).

A subject of analysis is social practices, which should be accessible through empirical research (Bourdieu, *et al.*, 1968; Winker *et al.*, 2011: 56). In regard to my method, I did not begin with theoretical concepts, but I began by analysing the daily organization of the household. More precisely, I used an indo-deductive approach (Kanbur, 2001: 10). According to Winker and Degele (2011), starting out from the every day's experience of a person, allows reconstructing their identities, as well as the structures and rules they are inspired by. Then it can reveal the diverse categories and power structures. This approach combines the inductive and deductive method (Winker *et al.*, 2011: 57), by doing a comparison between deductive structural categories such as women, disabled or black, and "inductive open categories on the levels of identity construction and representation, [...] since further categories of difference can arise on the levels of representation and identity which have to be considered for analysis" (Ibid: 57).

This praxeological approach considers multiple connections: between theory and empiricism, between social practice and social structures. So it's important to identify symbolic representations (norms and ideologies), which feature through publicity, laws, mass media (Winker *et al.*, 2011: 58) and Christian messages in the context of Namibia (McKittrick, 2003; Tvedten, 2011). In this way, individuals internalize gradually schemes of perception and actions (it becomes unconscious), and social distinctions turn out to be invisible (Bourdieu, *et al.*, 1968; Winker *et al.*, 2011). As Phoenix (2011) explains this approach with different words:

> **"This means that radicalised structures, for example, are partly expressed through everyday cultural practises, [...], reproduce, resist or transform expectations of what it is to belong to particular radicalised categories through their everyday practices. People can, and do, transform social structures through their practices" (Phoenix, 2011: 138).**

"Thus, the identity-constructs of actors and their representations are connected with each other through their performativity and, subsequently, generate structures. Structures generated in this way can only be activated in their execution. Identities and representations are therefore factors which create and maintain structures as well" (Winker *et al.*, 2011; 58). So any level, whether macro or micro, can be analysed, and it would help to contextualise other levels. The multilevel analytical tool is an approach that analyses and understands differences, which is the core of intersectionality (Phoenix, 2011: 138). In the context of my research field, I focused on the micro level (the family), so let's see how this framework is suitable to grasp the gender organisation within the household.

3.4 Intersectionality as a key to investigate the intra-household relationships

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that households constitute a rich site for intersectional analysis. Collins (1998) argues this point, by suggesting that the household's organization is an example of social hierarchy of gender, race and age. And according to Connell (1985), the family is a "structure of power, inequality and oppression" (Ibid: 260).

But before going further, I would like to distinguish the concept of 'family' and 'household'. According to Solien (1960), who elaborated definitions and concepts of the family system based on Afro-American communities; He noted that there are similitudes about the organisation of the household in many countries, for example he identified certain household groups as being matrifocal, headed by the mother. So in his explanation he separated distinctly the definition

of family and household. "Family is defined as a group of people bound together by that complex set of relationships known as kinship ties, between at least two of whom there exists a conjugal relationship" (Solien, 1960: 106). And on the other hand, the household "implies common residence, economic co-operation, and socialization of children. Although the members of the household may be bound by kinship relationships, no particular type of tie is necessarily characteristic"(Ibid: 106).

Then Bourdieu, Chamboredon and Passeron (1968), state that among all the pedagogic activities that individual experiences, the most decisive are the earliest, i.e., the primary habitus. This first habitus is instilled through childhood activities. Consequently the household unit plays an important role in this first step of socialization, because they transmit all their schemes of perception. So this habitus consists of deep-rooted dispositions, therefore, more sustainable (Bourdieu, *et al.*, 1968: 64). Scholars in the USA, who studied the division of household labour, have found that women remain responsible for the majority of chores. This approach highlights the fact that gender is something that is produced and reproduced in interaction with other family members, and household chores is a means through which women and men perform gender (Shelton *et al.*, 1996: 312). As Bielby (2006) explains in different words:

> **"The enactment of gender, both symbolically and practically, also defines the extent to which individuals are considered to be fulfilling their sex and gender-linked rights, responsibilities, duties, and obligations within the family" (Bielby, 2006: 393).**

Understanding intra-household relationships is relevant, and not only for gender policy, but for "development" in general. For example, this approach suggests that who in the household receives the income matters (Jackson, 2002: 499). Thus the micro-context of gender relations within households is intimately linked to large-scale patterns of demographic, economic and cultural change (Connell, 1985; Jackson, 2002).

Moreover Patricia Hill Collins (1988) underlines that the concept of home has multiple meanings: "home as family household, home as neighbourhood, home as native country-speak [...]. Surrounded by individuals who seemingly share similar objectives, these homes represent idealized, privatized spaces where members can feel at ease" (Ibid: 67). For example, in the capital of Windhoek, the urbanization was shaped by the social segregation established by the German and South African colonial authority (Peyroux, 1999: 294). Nowadays, even though it is not officially regulated by races, the city is still segmented into white, black and coloured townships (Windhoek, Katutura, Khomasdal). And in Katutura, most of the people are settled within their ethnic group, this is one part of the result of the apartheid urban planning (Pendleton,

1994; Diener, 1999, Peyroux, 2004). So in my fieldwork, micro-context of intra-household relationships is strongly arranged within the neighbourhood. "In the logic that everything has its place, maintaining borders of all sorts becomes vitally important. Preserving the logic of segregated home spaces requires strict rules that distinguish insiders from outsiders and, unfortunately, far too often, these boundaries continue to be drawn along the color line" (Collins, 1998: 69).

Furthermore, "families are expected to socialize their members into an appropriate set of 'family values' that simultaneously reinforce the hierarchy within the assumed unity of interests symbolized by the family, and lay the foundation for many social hierarchies" (Collins, 1998: 64). Persons learn, through transmitted 'family values', their allocated places in hierarchies of gender, age, race, ethnicity and social class. Then "hierarchy in this sense becomes naturalized because it is associated with seemingly natural processes of the family" (Collins, 1998: 64). According to McKittrick (1997) the nuclear family in Ovambo society, has been redefined by Christianity when intense changes began to crystallize. The existence of a family unit, organized around the male migrant as breadwinner and women as wives and mothers, was not the predominant familial organization until colonial times. So this new social structure reframed socioeconomic and racial inequalities in family organization and roles (McKittrick, 1997; Bielby, 2006). When the legitimate or the institutionalised scripts like the gendered domestic roles, are not adapted for unusual events, such as losing the job or death, family members have to find another way of living, thus some households could reject hierarchical thinking, which could provide an intriguing and fundamental source of resistance (Collins, 1998; Bielby, 2006). For example, during important institutional change, families operate new scripts because "practices and institutions are reciprocally related" (Bielby, 2006: 402). Bielby (2006), claims that families experiment or invent new strategies to handle daily challenges, although dominant institutions and ideologies restrict them. They open up a space for new discourse, because they have to justify their practices and adaptation. So in the context of Katutura, where people are living under precarious conditions, families have to find a new organisation and new gender arrangements, which is the subject of my research. I would like to reveal which discriminations between gender, class and race are the more important in these precarious situations.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Research Setting

This research project was aimed initially to update the data from a previous study done by Elisabeth Peyroux and Olivier Graefe in 1995, titled *Precarious Settlements at Windhoek's Periphery*. They did this research for the C.R.I.A.A.[1], and have investigated about new residents of Katutura who decided to live, legally or not, around the periphery area. They have reported their living conditions, and measured their socioeconomic status in a quantitative way. So I chose to take the same questionnaire that they created and complete it from a qualitative approach. My research was not formed by any NGO, or associations. So I was free to choose the general course of this investigation from start to finish.

As I wrote previously, I prepared my fieldwork according to literature of Indian feminist and political ecologists with papers from Ben Crow, Sultana Sultana or Ben Agarwal (1997), and my objective was to determine if different modes of water access shape gender relations. This preliminary question influenced my entry in the domain. First I started my research by acquiring a map of the actual informal settlement, made by the City of Windhoek (2010). This map indicates the distribution of low income residents and the different phases of development for each neighbourhood in Katutura Figure 4.1. These different phases of development refer to the installation of proper infrastructures such as sanitation, housing, light, roads, etc., and correspond also to different access points to water. Four possibilities of access to water are listed by the municipality of Windhoek (2012):

1. Direct connection by water pipe to the house (brick houses)

2. Private water tap in the garden

[1]Centre For Research Information Action For Development In Africa

3. Communal water tap (50 m. maximum, and requires a prepaid electronic key)

4. Free communal water tap

During the quantitative and qualitative phase of the research, I chose the appropriate sample to answer my initial research question in relation to these development stages of urbanisation. Water was my entry point to the field and to the household, because it has an important role in domestic tasks such as washing and cleaning (Crow *et al.*, 2002). In this chapter I will explain the methodological process applied during the fieldwork and how I have dealt with the empirical findings.

4.2 Field Research: A mixed Approach

I have done nine weeks of fieldwork, divided in two phases. During the first part, about 4 weeks, I collected quantitative data by means of the questionnaire. During the second part, I did a qualitative approach by doing semi-structured interviews. I also spent one week in the rural region of Ohangwena, invited by my gatekeeper's family, where I did participant observation. I travelled to the north to try and understand where and how people live there.

According to Creswell (2011: 272), this two phase process is called a 'sequential mixed approach'. Some state that "the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods is often proposed as it promises to cancel out the respective weaknesses of each method" ([Hammersley, 1996: 167] quoted by Teddlie *et al.*, 2011: 285). The combination of the two methods could provide "multiple ways of seeing", giving a deeper understanding because the two methods are complementary (Creswell, 2011: 271, Flick, 2009: 30). When the results are produced by means of the two different sources of data, this process is called the "data triangulation" (Flick, 2009: 101). And finally both methods can be used in an intersectional framework (Mcall, 2005; Winker, *et al.*, 2011).

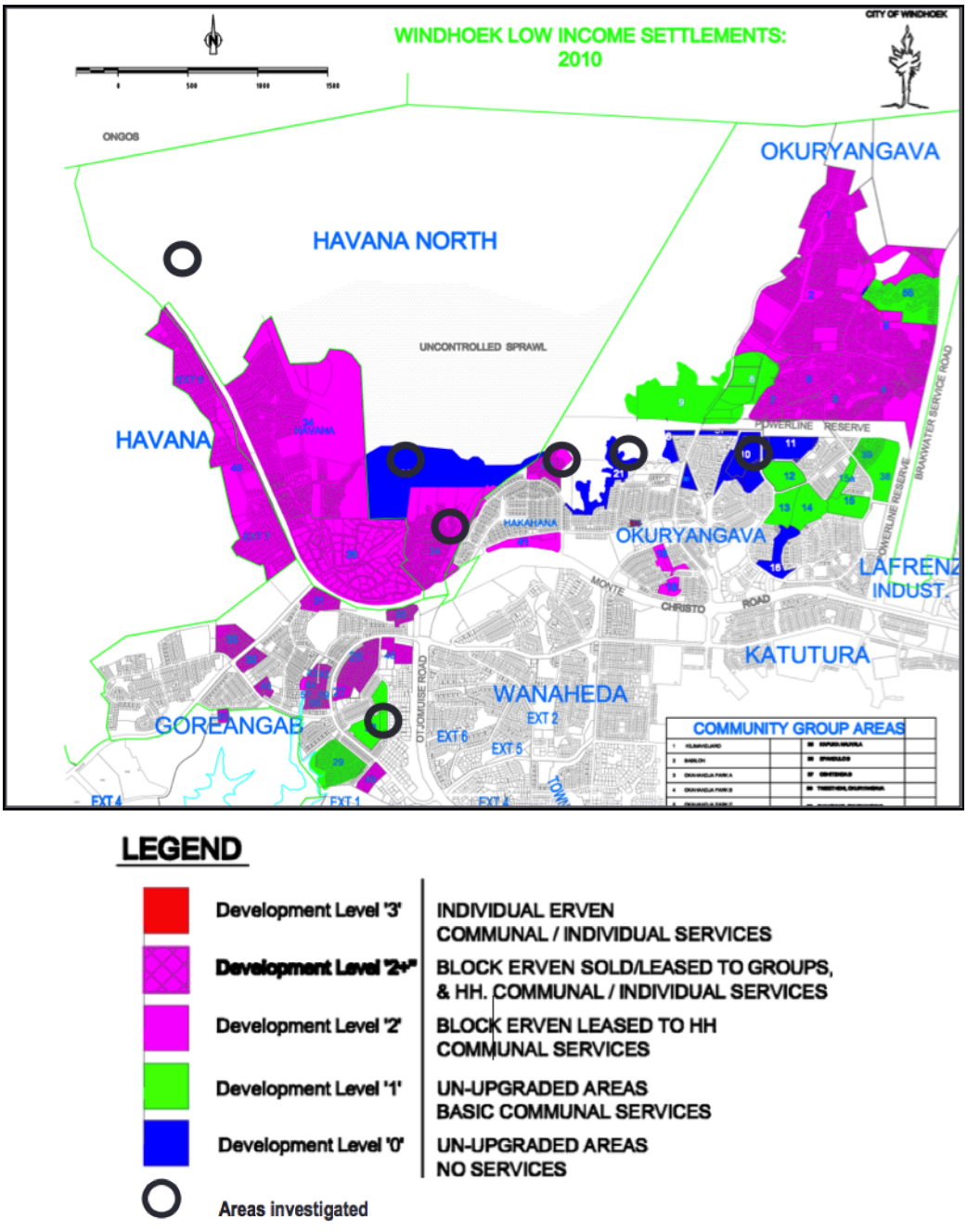
4.3 Sampling of People and areas of investigation

The precarious settlement in Katutura occupies a large area and is divided into 4 main areas (Havana, Havana North, Okuryangava, and Goreangab). On the map from the municipality 2010, figure 4.1, the squatter area is named uncontrolled sprawl. One of my first difficulties was to select my study area. On which part of Katutura should I focus? At the beginning, I went to the terrain and compared it with the description of the region that Elisabeth Peyroux and Olivier Graefe (1995) studied 20 years ago and I realised that the situation had changed considerably, as

most of their studied zone had since changed into formal settlement. So I chose the area according to the four different developments depicted in the thematic map (Figure 4.1). During the first phase of the research (quantitative approach), 101 people were interviewed. These respondents were chosen according to my initial research question. So I decided to select 25 persons for each area: The purple zone covers those with individual services (private water tap) available in some houses, the green zone means the presence of communal services (communal water tap), the blue zone means that basic communal services are available and the white zone means there are no services at all. This system fulfilled Bryman's definition (2012) of the researcher keeping his or her research goals in mind and selecting participants according to this objective and their relevance to the research questions. This sampling process is called a "purposive sample" (Ibid: 418).

For the second part of the research, the qualitative approach, fifteen people participated in my study. Only one of the participants was also selected in the questionnaire phase; this way of choosing is named "sampling of participants" (Bryman 2012: 417). "But it is important that triangulation does not just lead to 'more of the same'. For example, it does not make much sense to interview the same people twice with different methods of interviewing" (Flick, 2009: 448). So I interviewed other persons, by using a purposive sampling (Bryman, 2012: 418). I wanted to meet couples that live in the squatter areas, and in the formal settlement, in that way, the sample represents different stages of development, according to the thematic map of the municipality (2010, Figure 4.1). These sampling strategies were also to complete the quantitative data by examining similarities and differences among interviewees within each area and between them.

Figure 4.1: Thematic map of Katutura (Municipality of Windhoek, 2010)



4.4 Access to the field

The gathering of information could not start without finding an interpreter. This is essential to create contact with the inhabitants of Katutura. My principal translator lived in the neighbourhood and used to sell items to the residents of Katutura. So it was easy to interact with people because most of them knew already his face and trusted him; in contrast to other interpreters not known in the area with whom I experienced more resistance to participate to the questionnaire. So, nearly every day, we walked among these different areas of Katutura and talked with people. One of the advantages that I have to acknowledge and was also reported by Flick (2009) is "the stranger the field, the more easily may researchers appear as strangers, to whom the people in the study have something to tell which is new for the researcher" (Hildenbrand, [1995], quoted by Flick, 2009; 110). Moreover, during my fieldwork I tried to learn basic Oshivambo. So I was able to greet people in their own dialect, which created a certain amusement and confidence in me. And if the people who were not coaxed by my level of Oshivambo and stayed suspicious, we took time to explain the purpose of the study and to present ourselves as students from the University of Namibia and Switzerland. My interpreter showed them his student card of UNAM to confirm our words. This act allowed us to continue the discussion because Namibians have respect for people who graduated from high school, received a technical training or attended university (Pendleton, 1994: 60).

4.5 Data Collection

4.5.1 Structured Interview

I employed the same questionnaire as used by Elisabeth Peyroux and Olivier Graefe (1995) in their study. This questionnaire has 94-closed questions, and open-ended questions. The topics were expenditure, income, agriculture, savings and water consumption habits.

However this method has its limits. There is the risk of invalidity of the data because sometimes numbers were over under-estimated, or lacking because of memory problems of the participant, and also some questions were too personal, like the level of income, or if they spent their money on alcohol. So sometimes it was difficult to avoid receiving a 'socially appropriate answer' (Bryman, 2012: 227). I did not create the questionnaire myself; so occasionally at the beginning I misunderstood the purpose of the questions, and it took me a certain time to adapt the entire survey. Moreover questions were formulated in the context of twenty years ago and I did not adjust all of them for the actual context; for example the possession of items such as laptops, cameras, etc. Moreover, there was sample bias, "a distortion in the representativeness

of the sample" (Bryman, 2012: 187), because more women than men were available during daytime. The latter were working, searching a job, or out of the house. So we interviewed 40 men and 61 women, between 18-63 years old, 79 were Oshivambos, 10 Hereos, 7 Damara and 2 Kavango.

4.5.2 Open And Semi-Structured Interview

I recorded thirteen discussions, 2 "focus group discussions" by interviewing the couple together and 11 face-to-face interviews (with my interpreter present) (Bryman, 2012: 501), which lasted between 20 minutes to 1h30. I interviewed seven men and eight women. Conducting a focus group was interesting because there is a very different dynamic. I could capture some reactions, when the couple disagreed, which gave more information about the sensitivity of the topic, but at the same time, there are also limits and problems of the group dynamics (Bryman, 2012: 517).

During these interactions I encountered many limitations. Information was lost during the interview due to the translation. Sometimes it was rather inappropriate to get into delicate topics. It was difficult to differentiate between the truth or the 'socially appropriate answer'. Then it was very strange to see a white in the Black Township of Windhoek, so I could not avoid many curious people who came to see what happened in the house, and so compromised the privacy of the participant.

I invited people to speak about their past experiences because a narrative story is very important in the socio-constructionist approach. This is a way to grasp the situation of the people, their daily practices, their representations and problems that they are facing (Harper, 2012: 10). There were five main topics in the semi-structured interviews:

- A biographical part
- The organisation of the daily life
- The meaning of being a man or a woman
- Their social networks in Katutura and elsewhere
- The production and the division of sources of income between the couple.

4.5.3 Documents

During these two months of fieldwork, I gathered official and non-official documents from the "Deptartment of Urban Planning and Property Management" of the city of Windhoek. I took

pictures and field notes to enrich the data collected during interviews. The pictures taken were employed as a memory aid (Bryman, 2012: 457), and provide additional information of the social context (Bryman, 2012: 281). During my walks among the houses and the different water points, I observed how the people were living, their social interactions, and so on. If the inhabitants did not notice us (my interpreter and I), it was easy to observe people in public spaces without having any "reactive effects" (Bryman, 2012: 281), except when we were seen, then most people called out to us and asked questions about our presence.

4.6 Data Analysis

Structured interviews were reported in an Excel file, and became a ranking table. The semi-structured interviews were recorded and transcribed. The English discussions were transcribed by myself, and my informant transcribed the Oshivambo discussions. The transcript remained as close as possible to the spoken word.

The coding procedure used was an old-fashioned cut and paste of the extract from the interviews into thematic issues. I began with an "open coding" (Bryman, 2012: 569), and some categories emerged from this analysis. Later on, I reanalysed the data several times by using intersectional analysis according to Gabriele Winker and Nina Degele (2011). This way of analysis aims to highlight the different levels and categories of the people, and it underscores three main levels: 'identity construction', 'the symbolic representation' and the 'social structure' (Developed in Chapter 3.2). Then I combined quantitative and qualitative results to generate triangulated findings (Bryman, 2006: 105).

4.7 Diemmas and Limits in the Field

"How to reach those persons who are the most interesting participants? [...] Processes of negotiation, strategies of reference in the sense of snowballing, and above all competency in establishing relationships plays a major part" (Flick, 2009: 109). To gather structured-interviews was more complicated than to gather open or semi structured-interviews, because I could not choose the participants randomly as in the quantitative approach. The participants have to respond to some criteria (sex, place, language, couple's organization) according to my research questions. Flick (2009), who defines several general criteria for a 'good informant', underlines this difficulty:

> **"These may serve more generally as criteria for selecting meaningful cases (especially for interviewees). They should have the necessary knowledge**

> **and experience of the issue or object at their disposal for answering the question in the interview or in observational studies for performing the actions of interest. They should also have the capability to reflect and articulate, should have time to be asked (or observed), and should be ready to participate in the study. If all these conditions are fulfilled, this case is most likely to be integrated into the study" (Flick, 2009: 123).**

So my interpreter was clearly a great help, he provided me with good support that helped with the stress of fieldwork. Interviews would be impossible without his presence, because he really had a good way to introduce me to the participants. I have to recognize that his presence may influence results for better or worse. As Bryman (2012: 440) points out, "the researcher is seeing social reality through the eyes of the key informant":

- Selection of the participant, because he was familiar with some of the participants
- Translation during the interviews, for instance by recounting the answers
- During the transcription of the recorded interviews in Oshivambo, especially when verbatim translation was impossible. These responses were inevitably filtered through his conceptions and worldviews
- His presence during the discussions may have influenced the responses of the interviewees, and provoked the socially appropriate reply, for example issues about taboos between tribes, religion, alcohol behaviour, gender issues, etc.
- His interventions during the interviews by participating, fuelled by his personal interests

Time was one of the main constraints, because it takes time to form a contact and win confidence with potential participants. Sometimes participants agreed to be interviewed and then they were not very collaborative, and finally the discussions were rushed. I encountered these difficulties several times, certainly due to my lack of experience. And sometimes due to the topics of the interview that were too personal. Moreover I did not spend enough time with them to get more precise information. I have experienced that the open-interview technique demands much closer and deeper exchange between the researcher and interviewee than simply handing over a questionnaire.

"Fieldwork is based on a relationship between an interviewer and a respondent. But this exchange is not a spontaneous discussion: it puts together two individuals with different social positions under the pressure of social structures. To forget this, is to deny the symbolic violence that may take place between the two parties: one with the legitimacy attached to scientific

work, the other being in a situation observed and interviewed" (Champagne *et al.*, 2012: 31, my translation). The characteristics (race, gender, socio-economic status) of interviewers might affect the answers, results may only be an artefact, or an artificial phenomenon produced by the researcher himself (Champagne *et al.*, 2012: 31; Bryman, 2012: 227). Thus in this non-natural interaction, how can I judge the quality my data?

4.8 Reliability and Validity

"Reliability and validity are important criteria in establishing and assessing the quality of the quantitative research" (Bryman, 2012: 389). "Reliability is concerned with the replicability of scientific findings, validity is concerned with the accuracy of scientific findings" (LeCompte *et al.*, 1982: 32). But in a qualitative approach, measurement is not the main preoccupation, so the problem of validity would seem to have little relevance on such studies. Since human behaviour is never fixed, a study can't be reproduced exactly (LeCompte *et al.*, 1982: 35; Bryman, 2012: 389). According to LeCompte and Goetz (1982), the ethnographer could enhance external reliability if he or she recognizes problems like the social status position of him/herself, informant choices, social situations and conditions; these issues will be developed in the following chapter (3.6.2). Concerning the internal reliability, my findings were checked and discussed by my interpreter during the fieldwork, and interviews were reviewed with my interpreter to check the reliability of the answers. In that way, my misperceptions and misinterpretations are diminished. Moreover cameras and recordings increase the reliability of the investigation, because a duplicate of the data is preserved uncodified (LeCompte *et al.*, 1982: 43).

"Internal validity refers to the extent to which scientific observations and measurements are authentic representations of some reality" (LeCompte *et al.*, 1982: 32). For example there is a threat to validity posed by the reactive or the observer effect (LeCompte *et al.*, 1982; Bryman, 2012), "whereby some individuals seek out cues about the aims of the research and adjust what they say and do in line with their perceptions of those aims" (Bryman, 2012: 281). In such circumstances, reactivity must be evaluated; possible and probable effects of my presence on the nature of the data collected must be assessed. Informants may lie, neglect relevant data, or distort their statements (LeCompte *et al.*, 1982: 46). So all interactions and new information gathered during the fieldwork were discussed with my research assistant and I tried to create a connection with various participants "as a strategy for correcting bias and distortion" (LeCompte *et al.*, 1982: 49).

Concerning external validity, in most qualitative studies, as well as in quantitative studies, the limitations required for statistical generalization may be difficult to apply. The use of random

samples, which are made by available groups, could be irrelevant to generate a global explication for micro social processes (LeCompte *et al.*, 1982: 50; Bryman, 2012). So I compared and contrasted my results with data from other documents and sources, to confirm and/or readapt it. And finally triangulation is also useful to cross-check the findings, because there are several sources of data (Bryman, 2012: 392).

4.9 Reflexivity of the Researcher

I experienced the asymmetrical relationship between the participant and myself as the researcher, which may affect the nature of the results. For example, if they knew in advance that I was coming, they were dressed up in their Sunday best, I was offered the best place, and they treated the interview itself as an important event. However I always tried to minimize this asymmetrical relation by my way of acting, and interacting with people.

> **"Conducting international fieldwork involves being attentive to histories of colonialism, development, globalization and local realities, to avoid exploitative research or perpetuation of relations of domination and control. It is thus imperative that ethical concerns should permeate the entire process of the research, from conceptualization to dissemination, and that researchers are especially mindful of negotiated ethics in the field" (Sultana, 2007: 375).**

"The knowledge produced in research occurs within the context of the research process, embedded within broader social relations and development processes that place me and my respondents in different locations" (Sultana, 2007: 385). My findings will always be interpretive and partial, and yet the telling of stories that may otherwise go untold (about precarious conditions, colonial time, gender relations, female and male representation, etc.) are invaluable. These stories were instrumental in developing patterns about intra-household organisation that may or may not be stable over time and space. There was clearly a world of difference. I came from the north, from a country considered as rich, with an educated background. Such explicit distinctions put me in a different position. A white women carrying a notebook, and a camera, hanging out in this precarious settlement was a spectacle in itself, and made me an object of inquiry and fun. This spectacle stimulated curiosity and drew attention from the inhabitants, sometimes children followed me and neighbours appeared during the interviews to find out what was going on in someone else's house; from time to time we were surrounded by up to 10 people. During the fieldwork, there were two main kinds of reactions; the first one that I encountered was rejection,

similar to what Sultana (2007: 381) faced in her field "Not another one of you people with more questions again! " Some zones of Katutura had been over-studied by various development organizations and NGOs[2], so they were tired of participating again for nothing. And on the other hand people were willing to talk, they welcomed us easily into their homes. Even in the poorest household, I was surprised by their hospitality. They offered us a drink, and sometimes candies or food, which made me more conscious about the difference in social position. But this warm welcoming was also because they thought that I could change something and that my research could be 'useful' to bring more water points, street lights, security or jobs. Unfortunately I was not in a position to provide anything at all, rather, I needed their contribution. It was important for me to be honest and explained that my presence would probably not change anything but allows me to get my data, which may give rise to new ethical questions being raised (because I felt as if I was recolonizing, this time for scientific purpose).

[2]It's surprising to see the number of papers written about Katutura; All statistics done by the National Planning Commission, (2004), Frayne (2004), Pendleton (1994; 2012), Nikondo (2010), students from UNAM like Nakanyete (2009) and many others...

Chapter 5

Characteristics of the selected informal settlements

5.1 People come to town

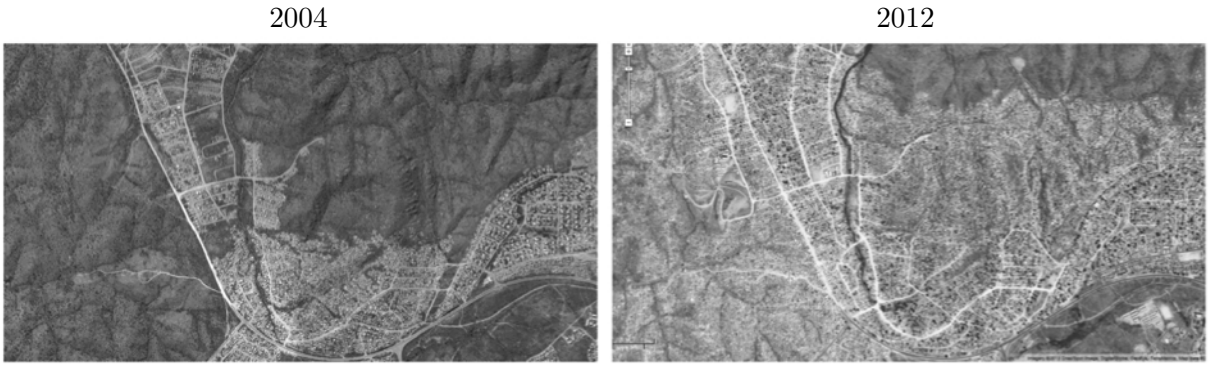


Figure 5.1: The evolution in 12 years of urbanization of the low-cost housing in Havana region. The first image was taken in 2004 and the second in 2012.

With this aerial photography (Figure 5.1), we can easily see the amplitude of the land occupied by low-cost housing in Havana during this last decade. Population data from 2001 indicate a total of 48'183 people living in informal settlements in Windhoek, whereas in 2012 this had risen to 130'359. The annual population growth rate of the suburb was 9.47 percent per year between 2001 and 2012 (City of Widhoek, 2012b). More than 40%[1] of the population of Windhoek lived in the informal settlement in 2012. So even after 22 years of independence, thefact remains the same: People are living in the most densely populated areas and they do not have access to proper services (Newaya, 2010; Niikondo, 2010).

The local authorities classify informal settlements as being for the spontaneous habitat and

[1] Windhoek's population was 322'500 in 2012 (http://www.citypopulation.de/Namibia.html [consulted on 23rd May 2013]

the reception areas of the municipality. This term refers to the housing, built quickly using precarious material (iron sheets, wood boards, or plastics). Residents moved there spontaneously or were resettled by the authorities (Peyroux *et al.*, 1995; Peyroux, 2004).

People migrate to Windhoek for economical purposes such as getting a job, but also for the facilities that the city offers, like better medical services, and the possibility to go to obtain a higher level of education (university) (Pendleton, 1994; Nakanyete, 2009, Niikondo, 2010). Niikondo (2010) states that not all migrants come from rural to urban, but there are also urban to urban migrants. According to Table A.6, not all participants move directly to their actual residence, but 35% of the participants lived in other informal areas and 20% lived in a formal settlement or in luxury suburbs before moving to squatter areas. Different reasons bring them to live in the shacks, but the need to be independent and get their own places, is also one of the main reasons (Nakanyete, 2009).

I approach the issue of population and poverty by outlining demographic characteristics and material conditions in the shantytown of Katutura. In this chapter, I will present the outcome of a survey undertaken in 2012 and highlight changes in comparisons to the conditions of residents in 1994[2]. It is divided into three parts: a description of the different phases of urbanisation development of Katutura; the insecurity problems that inhabitants confront; and a brief demographic profile of the inhabitants (gender, ethnicity/language, age). These chapters will be complemented with photos, which serve to illustrate shantytown life.

5.2 Areas with different phases of development

Let me first outline the differences between the four shanty-areas, zones 0, 1, 2, and uncontrolled sprawl. According to the thematic map of 2010 made by the City of Windhoek (See map 4.1), four different levels of development separate the shantytown of Katutura. These categories correspond to the income of the population, between the low and ultra-low income, which influence the objectives of the City of Windhoek because they provide services to informal settlements according to the affordability levels of inhabitants (Newaya, 2010: 103). But the information given by the municipality was not always brought up-to-date. For example, during my fieldwork, Greenwell Matango appeared to be in one of the most advanced states of development (individual water access and sanitation), which did not correspond to the documents from the City of Windhoek. On the map (Figure 4.1), Greenwell Matango has only a level 2, so less advanced than in reality.

[2]Peyroux, E. and Graefe, O. (1995). Precarious settlements at Windhoek's Periphery. Thesis, Windhoek: C.R.I.A.A. (Centre for research information action for development in Africa).

Table 5.1: Phases of development and their access and consumption of water and electricity

Phases	Water	Electricity	Water access	Daily consumption	Walking distance
2	$ 180.00	$ 400.00	Private tap	100 l.	0 m.
1	$ 50.00	$ -	Communal tap	60 l.	30 m.
0	$ 50.00	$ -	Communal tap	60 l.	60 m.
-	$ -	$ -	Free tap	50 l.	250 m.

In Greenwell Matango, there are streetlights, roads, some brick houses, shacks made of iron sheets with private and communal toilets, and nearly each house has a private water tap. Everybody either owned their patch of land or paid rent to the municipality or a dweller community. They have electricity using a prepaid system. Although this installation is very expensive for their budget, they are connected (see 5.1). This area has considerably developed compared to the report prepared in 1994 (see Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.2: Greenwell Matongo: A house built from cardboard (Peyroux, 2004).



Figure 5.3: Greenwell Matongo: 18 years later.

In 1994, Greenwell Matongo was considered to be a squatter area (Peyroux *et al.*, 1995). Ndapewa [3] (40 years old) and her partner arrived in Greenwell 20 years ago. She explained that when she arrived in this area, there were bushes with monkeys everywhere and only a few shacks were built. There were no water points so they had to fetch water from the centre of Windhoek (Wernhill).

Nowadays Greenwell Matongo is not an informal settlement anymore. One of the most popular streets of Katutura, Eveline Street, crosses this zone. Eveline Street is particularly busy which makes this region of Shantytown quite interesting. All along this street there are a variety of businesses: imposing shebeens in brick house, car cleaners, Kapana sellers, hair salons, vegetable or chicken markets etc. This road has a constant flow of traffic and is very noisy. As Pendleton observed (1994), Eveline Street has a bad reputation during the weekend, particularly at the end of the month when workers receive their pay, some will spend it in the bars. The

[3] Case Study 10, Greenwell, 19th Septembre 2012

street is full and sometimes it can be dangerous. My interpreter explained that he avoids going out in the suburb of Katutura on Friday and Saturday nights, because robberies and stabbings can occur. Many accidents or fights, including shootings, can occur after parties at the shebeen end of the street (Pendleton, 1994: 56). This will then be reported in the Namibian's newspaper if someone has been found dead[4].

Development 2, concerns Havana Proper in the North and Hudare in the region of Okuryangava (see map Figure 4.1). According to the City of Windhoek 2012b, these areas have minimum health and environmental standards: a convenient walking distance to the communal water tap (30 m), which works with a key system (see Figure 5.4), two communal flush latrines (1 x male, 1 x female) for 70 people with a sewer reticulation design (Figure A.1 in the annex). But in reality, none of these public toilets were functional; all toilets had been locked in chains for many years. Inhabitants have to find their own way; most go to the riverbed and several have built their own dry toilets. There was no private electricity connections, but streetlights were installed which can improve security.



Figure 5.4: Communal water point in Hudare; Development 2.

Development 0, corresponds to Oohambo dha Nehale in Havana North region, Ondelitotela, and Okandunu in Okuryangava region. The facilities for this area have an average of 2 latrines for 80 people, but they are as usable as the latrines described earlier. According to the document from the City of Windhoek (2012b/ Figure A.1), walking distances do not exceed 200 m to the communal water points. These distances are mainly respected, but the terrain is not really practicable because it's on slope. No one pays a rent, so they fear to be forced to move out.

"Uncontrolled sprawl" is the name given for the white area on the map from the City of Windhoek (See map, Figure 4.1). It is situated next to Havana Extension. There are only a few

[4]Through a quick research in the archives of Namibian's newspapers for the year 2012, I easily found 5 articles about serious weekend confrontations in a shebeen in the suburb of Hakahana (17.01/13.01/02.07/ 29.08/07.09 in 2012).

free water points provided. There is no tarred road, no streetlights, and no sanitation. They do not pay any rent, nor fee for water. They are considered to be illegal, or in other words squatters (Peyroux *et al.*, 1995: 3). They live very far from communal services and children have to walk a long distance daily to attend school. If there is a fire or an accident, emergency services such as the fire brigade have difficulties to reach these areas. During my fieldwork, five people lost their lives in a shack catching fire from a candle (Namibian, 2012). The walking distance to fetch water is generally more than 200 m (Table 5.1).

The main complaints from people were about the darkness and lack of sanitation. Thus they are using the 'bush' as their toilet, and, living in this environment can have serious implications on health, hygiene and the spread of diseases (Newaya, 2010; Tvedten, 2011; Smit, 2012).

> **"So that's how a lot of people end up, cause here we don't pay water, as you can see, we are in our shacks. There is no electricity, there is no toilet facilities, ha...! [...] So somehow it's a cheap life, cheap but unhealthy. As you can see, we are carrying water in the cans, as you can see. So that water may end up in a can for a week. So imagine if the water stay in a can, maybe for a week-end, we drink it, it's not healthy at all. But still, we are making a living out of it. We are coping. Ja ! I mean.... It's how we live here!" (Goreb, Case Study 13, Havana Extension, 28th September 2012).**



Figure 5.5: Free communal water point in Havana Extension



Figure 5.6: The arrow indicates the location of the water point, 10 minutes' walk.

These four phases of urban development are differentiated by their access to water and the quality of the infrastructures. But is it linked to the level of their income and material condition? According to my data (Table 5.2), 48% of the participants who are living in the white area of the map (Havana extension), are unemployed which represents the lowest rate of unemployment and means that the integration of these people to the labour market is weak. The term unemployed

is used when the participant doesn't have any lucrative activities even in the informal sector, so they are supported by their boyfriends/girlfriends or families (sisters/brothers) (Table A.3).

Table 5.2: Percentage of employment status in Katutura

Employment Status	Greenwell Mat.	Havana Proper	Ondelitotela	Havana Ext.	%
Formal	32	35	40	16	31
Informal	40	35	48	36	40
Unemployed	20	27	4	48	25
Pensioner	0	0	8	0	2
Students	8	4	0	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Moreover the distribution of the household income shows a significant difference between the four suburbs. The Havana extension (white area or unnamed zone) contained the largest number of the people who receive less than 500$ N per month (Table 6.5). Thus this region is not only geographically the farthest from the town, but also the poorest of the fourth areas.

5.3 Silent struggle among residents

Robberies and other illicit activities, in certain cases, may be the only alternative to secure the basic necessities of food and clothes for the poorest and the most marginalised people (Tvedten, 2011). According to the informants, there are criminals who break into shacks to steal food, stoves, clothes, all items available, and even sometimes they take the entire structure of the shacks, and leavre nothing behind. Other criminals appear with guns and ratchets, as explained by Samra.

> **"In Katutura, there is a lot of violence. [...]. Criminals here, a lot of them, robberies with guns. This side is not safe. 'give us money, we want this and this. If you don't want to die, give us !'. Here around 8pm, as soon as it is 7 o'clock evening. If you are walking around there alone, you are in trouble. They can stab you with knifes, they don't care. They are just searching for money. Especially those young one here, they are not going to school, they are dropping out of school. They are just smoking Dara (weed), and alcohol" (Samra and Namtsi, Case Study 9, Okuryangava, 9th September 2012).**

These kind of events raise anger and fear in people, because they have few possessions and resources, so they won't take risks, like Goreb[5] explained: "we try to make a living here, and

[5]Goreb, case study 13, Havana, Extension-0, 28th September 2012

if I lost these little things, where will I get another things ? So we have to get these criminals out of here, they have to go, with the help of the police". For example in the Havana extension, they have created a solidarity network, to protect and to watch out for each other's houses. If someone would see a thief try to steal something from a house in their community, this person will call [6] people and run after him. Goreb was proud to tell me how he succeeded to catch a robber, and held him until the police arrived. Among the inhabitants of a shanty, there is a silent power struggle between "good people" and "bad people": an expression from Gerhon and his wife Miriam (case study 6). So the term "bad people" refers to those who consume drugs, abuse alcohol and have to steal or hunt "to get something in their stomach" [7]. Meanwhile the "good people", who try to make a living in a proper way, worry about the bad people. I saw workers running from the town Windhoek to their home in the extended area, because they want to reach their home before sunset and avoid criminals who are just waiting to steal their pay.

Another way to avoid trouble is to stay close to home when they go out, as Thobias[8] does. He usually stays with the people from his area, people that he knows well. He said; "I cannot drink there, because I do not know the others who are there, so I do not know how they behave or their cultural standing". So Thobias doesn't venture to other shebeens, with other ethnic groups. As Pendleton (1994: 56) stated "it was generally said that if a man went too far from home, people were more likely to take advantage of him because he was a stranger. It was also dangerous to walk around alone since robberies and stabbings occurred". The insecurity and crimes were one of the main day-to-day problems encountered and this observation is similar to the finding in 1994 (Peyroux *et al.*, 1995). Many complained about the darkness, due to the lack of streetlight, because it attracts criminals. On the other hand, this insecurity was partly overcome by the creation of a good collaboration and organisation in the squatter area, where people try to fight against these crimes.

5.4 Characteristics of the respondents

The majority (79%) of the respondents were younger than 39 years; the median age was about 32 years (Table 5.3). This domination of young people in the shantytown reflects the migration of economically active individuals who search employment opportunities in Windhoek (Nakanyete, 2009; Newaya, 2010; Tvedten, 2011, Pendleton, 2012). The ethnic composition of the area investigated were Ovambo (77%), Herero (13%), Damara (6%), Kavango (3%) (Table A.1). For

[6] 97% of respondents possess a mobile phone in the suburb of Katutura (Table A4)
[7] Goreb, case study 13, Havana, Extension-0, 28th September 2012.
[8] Thobias, case study 8, Havana Extension-0, 7th September 2012.

Table 5.3: Population Age (2012)

Years	People	%
18-29	44	44
30-39	36	36
40-49	20	20
50+	1	1
Total	101	100
Median age	32	

a long time, many Ovambo people have come to settle in Katutura (Pendleton, 1994; Peyroux *et al.*, 1995).

Table 5.4: Presentation of sample according to status of head of household

Sex	People	%
Men	58	57
Women	43	43
Total	101	100

This table reflects that 57% of the households are headed by a man (Table 5.4). The head of the household is someone who has the main economic and social responsibility (Tvedten, 2011: 71). Men are still over-represented, but not to the same extent as in 1994, where 67% of households were headed by men and 33% by women (Peyroux *et al.*, 1995: 16).

Table 5.5: Presentation of gender participation in the survey

Sex	People	%
Men	40	40
Women	61	60
Total	101	100

However, there is a majority of women who participated in the survey 60% (Table 5.5). This number represents the occupation of Katutura during the day. Men were generally less available as they were out at work, moved to other places or they simply built the shacks and are still listed as the owner of the plot. Moreover, Pendleton (1994) states, "the resident Katutura population living in houses actually had more females (53%) than males (47%)" (Ibid: 45). The results from Namibia's 2011 households and housing census shows that the household population in Katutura central and Katutura east, shows a female majority (Republic of Namibia, 2012). Pendleton, Nickanor and Pomuti (2012) have also found that in the northern and North-west areas of Windhoek, almost half of the female migrants have arrived in recent years; which indicates an important increase in rural exodus for economic reasons. This is similar to my findings: 61% of the people interviewed had arrived during the last five years (Table A.5).

Chapter 6

Household organization: Intersections of Ethnicity, Class and Gender

In the preceding chapter, I presented the general living conditions of the people of North and North-West of Katutura. This chapter will explore the variety of how households organise their everyday lives. According to my results, the household composition had changed. Marriages seem to be unusual, and more women are head of the households with children to care for. I will show how the households under instability of material resources, affected by politics, economics and societal change, have an effect on the domestic roles, and the construction of the identity, through the dimensions of ethnicity, class and gender.

This intersectional framework contributed to structure my analysis and identify some categories among household arrangements, but the category that I have named doesn't correspond exactly to empirical results. It is a framework to explain how one or two categories appear in a certain situation, and have a specific impact, while other categories seem to be less visible. Most of the time, I encountered difficulties clearly identifying the predominant category, and to separate them.

For example: ethnicity and the gender category are intrinsically linked and experienced simultaneously. Thus I also present the case studies according to the ability of the household to resist or internalize the symbolic representations about womanhood and manhood, which affect the construction of their identity.

6.1 Structure of residential groups

In this chapter, the discussion describes and defines the different types of households found in the North and Northwest of the informal settlement of Katutura. It reflects how people organize their lives to deal with this precarious lifestyle. I focus mainly on the 'conjugal' union, male/female who live together or may be married (official marriage or traditional marriage). I did this study within a restricted frame of heterosexual partnerships, and ignored purposely other sexual relations. The information of the household was taken from a discussion with the couple together, or separately.

Table 6.1: Percentage of the status of head of household from 1994 and 2012

Sex	1994	2012
Men	67	57
Women	33	43
Total	100	100

One of the main social changes that can be revealed is the increasing female headed-households compared to 1994[1] (Table 6.1). The residential group average size has slightly risen; it was 4.8 in 1994 and 5.1 in 2012 with a range of 1 to 14 members (see Table 6.2). The important difference is found in the average household size of female-headed households from 1994 with 3.6 persons, to 5.4 in 2012. This is more than the average size of houses headed by man, which is 4.8. The average size of male-headed households has decreased compared to 18 years ago. This expanding of the size and numbers of female-headed indicates a stronger social responsibility for women.

Table 6.2: Average size of the house according to the sex of head of household

	Female 1994	Male 1994	Female 2012	Male 2012
Average size	3,6	5,4	5,4	4,8
Total average size	4,8		5,1	

Another structural change was observed: 58% of the household heads had a matrimonial status in 1994, there was not more than 17% in 2012 (Table 6.3). However, these numbers agree with the results of another study, done recently by Newaya (2010) in one of the same neighbourhoods (Oohambo Dha Nehale). He found that married couples represent 36% and single respondents represent 58%. Both studies show a high percentage of single headed-household, and a decrease in matrimonial status over time. This change could be explained by several factors.

[1](Peyroux, *et al.*, 1995: 38)

First, there is a strong relationship with the high frequency of formal marriages in shantytowns and the stability of source of income (Cornwall, 2002; Tvedten, 2011: 137). And the process of earning money is related to the representation of the masculine identity. For example, if a man doesn't have a proper job, he fails to fulfil his obligations, as a breadwinner (Cornwall, 2002), thus women will choose a man who has a stable situation and can be the provider.

Table 6.3: Matrimonial status of the respondents

Matrimonial Status		Number of female	Number of Male	%
Single	With children	33	2	35
	Without children	8	18	25
Married	With children	9	7	16
	Without children	1	1	2
Living with partner	With children	10	10	20
	Without children	0	2	2
Total		61	40	100

Other reasons given by unmarried couples were the lack of funds to organize the marriage. Traditionally men have to pay for the rings, the ceremony, and the lobola (the dowry in the Oshivambo culture). But the social-economic situation in Namibia was not really good during this last decade. The unemployment rate increased up to 51,20% in 2010 (Trading Economics, 2012), more precisely in the context of the investigated region only 31% had a formal job in 2012 (Table 5.2), so one of the major reasons for the decrease in legal marriages is of a financial nature. The cost of marriage could be a barrier, also observed in the past by Pendleton (1994: 82). This pressure for an expensive festivity should also be seen as a test that the people involved are serious about the relationship and "capable of supporting the spouse economically from a context of poverty and insecurity" (Tvedten, 2011: 146). The Namibian economic situation has therefore repercussions on household organisations.

Table 6.4: General composition of a residential group in percentage

Type of group	1994	2012
Nuclear family (single and/or with other members)	31	48
Single parent (single and/or with other members)	12	26
Brothers and sisters	45	15
No family relation	5	8
1 Person	7	4
Total	100	100

In 1994, households of brothers and sisters living together without children were the dominant group with 45% (Table 6.4), but nowadays it is less, only 15% of the people interviewed. The

main group is composed of nuclear families[2] , and single parents with children makes up the second largest group, 26% (Table 6.4). This indicates a change in the type of migration. Before, the partner moved to Windhoek in order to look for a job and the rest of his family stayed behind (Peyroux, *et al.*, 1995: 37). Nowadays, women and children come also to Windhoek, which may be an indication of stability and integration to the urban life in Windhoek (Peyroux, 2004: 246). Almost half have moved in recent years (less than 5 years ago), which indicates "a substantial increase in urban migration by women for economic reasons. To some extent, the increased migration of women, especially women migrating alone from rural areas, reflects their desire for an alternative lifestyle free of the male domination typical of rural life" (Pendleton, *et al.*, 2012: 8).

Even if the percentage of couples who are living together (married or not) has decreased since 1994, it remained an important percentage in the shantytown of Katutura 48% (Table 6.4). Marriage remains a goal for most young men and women. It's an institution, which provides an income, security and a romantic view of the traditional past combined with the modern romantic love (Pendleton, 1994; Tvedten, 2011). "In the shanties complete households with a husband, a wife, children and other dependants are respected by others" (Tvedten, 2011: 146). In many urban African contexts as well as in the countryside of Ovambo, failure of the traditional nuclear family is a rupture with the ideology of a 'normal family', and images of modernity (McKittrick, 1997; Tvedten, 2011). However, what is a 'normal family' for the inhabitants of Katutura? What are the norms and values that the interviewed people have to deal with?

6.2 Symbolic representations: Construction of womanhood and manhood

> **"Ohoo... My responsibility me? Me, I cook for him his porridge as he wants, and to wash his clothes too and to iron and to behave like a woman. I cannot go to drinking places because I am a married woman" (Gerhon and Miriam, Case Study 6, Okuryangava, 19th August 2012).**

The sharing of domestic tasks refers to the gender ideology or the representation that men and women have of their identity. If those activities and habits were transgressed, these changes would disturb on one side the status of good housewife and, on the other side, the virility (Guionnet, *et al.*, 2009: 237). Miriam explains that a married woman should not go out to the

[2]Nuclear family lives with other members of the family; brothers, sisters or their own children, who can also be single parent. Several generations live under the same roof (Peyroux *et al.*, 1995: 38).

shebeens, and walk around with other men, and she internalizes these values through religious norms, which prescribe that people don't drink and smoke.

Moreover women should stay home, and take care of the responsibilities of the household, but these restrictions were not the same for men. For example, Gerhon[3] , Thobias[4] and Shila[5] affirm to be also Christian, but it doesn't restrict them from going out for a drink in the shebeen.

Pierre Bourdieu (2002), in his essay *Masculine Domination* reports also these differences between man and women in the overall organisation of the society of Kabylie. This division of social order and activities seems to be natural (Bourdieu, 2002: 49). For example, it is in the natural order of things that men head households; accomplish dangerous and spectacular acts like the slaughter of cattle, ploughing, murder or war, which keeps them outside. As opposed to women, responsible for child-care and domestic tasks, which keep them inside (Moore, 1994; Bourdieu, 2002). Bourdieu (2002) in *The Logic of Practice* developed a synoptic diagram of opposition between male and female: "up/down, above/below, front/back, dry/wet, hard/soft, outside/inside" (Ibid: 20). The biological difference between men and women justifies their asymmetric relations; this androcentric vision imposes itself without any legitimation (Ibid: 25), in other word is the symbolic violence (Champagne, *et al*,. 2012: 234). Especially in the gender division of labour which is the central mechanism of gender stratification (Moore, 1994; Bourdieu, 2002; Epstein, 2006).

However, it's not only women who have constraints imposed by symbolic representations that influence their identities. Men have also norms and social values to perform, which are not necessary easier. In Katutura, the people interviewed told me that a man must be a hard worker, to pay the food for the house and the school for the children, because he is the provider of the family. As Morrell (1998), observed also in South Africa, the wage-earning activity is part of the process of being a man. "There is not one universal masculinity, but many masculinities. These are not fixed character types but configurations of practice generated in particular situations in a changing structure of relationships [...]. It is not the case that all masculinities are equally powerful as social forces. Subordinate and subversive masculinities exist among marginal or dominated groups and these may be oppositional to the dominant masculinity" (Morrell, 1998: 607).

In the shanties of Katutura, the role of the traditional nuclear family inspires people to act. On one side women have the responsibility for the household chores and on the other side, men have the duty to earn money. But what happens when these norms and values can't be fulfilled?

[3]Gerhon and Miriam, Case Study 6, Okuryangava, 19th August 2012
[4]Thobias, case study 8, Havana Ext. 0, 7th September 2012
[5]Shila, Case Study 4, Okuryangava, 17th August 2012

Families that I have interviewed live in such a precarious condition, and none of them could apply exactly this ideal script. So I will demonstrate how these households experiment or invent new strategies to handle daily challenges, along the line of class, gender and ethnicity. I will show that these categories are interlocked: the structural level influences the identity of the people, and some resist internalizing these symbolic representations and find their self-esteem in other ways.

6.3 Intersections of Gender and Ethnicity

> **"I don't have the right to ask my parents to move out with my boyfriend. No... I don't have this right to do that. [why?] He must ask my parent" (Maria, Case Study 7, Havana Ext, 6th September 2012).**

In 1994, Pendleton reported that among all ethnic groups, only the man can take the initiative to get legally or traditionally married. According to this testimony, the situation has not really changed. Customary practices still have some negative impacts on the lives of women (De Klerk, 2008). Here, Maria is not allowed to move out with her boyfriend, or to take the initiative to ask him to get engaged. However if she really wanted it, she always has the means other than requesting directly; she could influence her partner by applying pressure through relatives and friends (Pendleton, 1994: 81).

Laws and customs dictate the legal position of women in a particular group, yet most of these customs and laws are discriminatory towards them (Lebeau, 1999: 194). "Customary practices are these sets of unwritten laws according to which the traditional African societies regulate their marriages, funerals, divorces, heritages, land tenure, and any other business of the same order" (Ibid; 194: my translation). The acceptance of cultural tradition impedes women's freedom to participate in self-development activities, since they are mostly restricted to domestic duties (De Klerk, 2008: 36).

According to the participants, women have to take care of the husband, do the cleaning, the food preparation and the laundry. I have discovered similar descriptions in the stories that I have heard during the fieldwork and in the book *Between Yesterday and Tomorrow*, edited by Elizabeth Ikhaxa (2005). This book is a compilation of statements from Namibian women across the country regarding their daily lives. It reveals the violence that occurs against them such as rape, abuse, and the discrimination of women with HIV, and lesbians. This book also highlights how they find the courage and strength to overcome their situations. The following is an extract from Helena Kadhila's writing (2005):

> **"The truth is that most men in our society believe that women are subordinate to men. I know of many guys who desperately want to get married simply because they want someone to cook for them, do their laundry and submit to all their needs and wants. From this I conclude that marriage puts women into a subordinate position from which they are expected to act passively and tolerantly towards their husbands who lack respect for them" (Ikhaxas, 2005: 192).**

This extract corresponds to the explanation from Shila[6], who explained to me what he expected from his wife: "You know that thing is a creation of God that is a talent already given to women, who must work for their husbands all along". The misinterpretation of the Bible is an important issue in Namibia, because people interpreted the Scriptures as saying that the husband should be the head of the household. Men often use Christian ideas to justify actions that may violate the rights of women (De Klerk, 2008: 38). The majority of the participants explained that this division of responsibilities in the household stems from their own culture and/or the will of God, and nearly all the people that I have met were also connected in one-way or another with a religious institution. Church and schools are foundations which organize power relationships of gender in families (Morrell, 1998: 609). Pendleton (1994) reported also that the church has an important place in the life of Katutura's people. Virtually all the adults are connected to a church group actively or passively. He reported that "half of the Katutura residents are Lutheran, about a quarter are Catholic, and the remainder belong to the Anglican, Methodist, Dutch Reformed, [...], while various evangelical sects are also represented [...]. The church provides support in times of crisis such as death, and performs important rituals such as marriage and baptism" (Ibid: 47). It has a real influence in the social practices of Katutura's people.

Besides the influence of the church, the family gives permission to a couple to move in together or to separate (Pendleton, 1994: 84). For example, Ndapewa[7] (40 years old) lives with her partner in Greenwell Matango. Love seemed to have been lost as her husband spent most of his time in the shebeens drinking and gambling. So she wanted to leave him and when she called her mother to explain the situation, her mother who lives in the north answered "just stay, be patient and keep selling Kapana as you have been doing". Elders have an important influence on the intra-household composition, even if the parents live far from the city in the rural area and even though Ndapewa is a 40-year grown-up; she still listens to her mother. In

[6]Shila, Case Study 4, Okuryangava, 17th August 2012
[7]Case Study 10, Greenwell, 19th September 2012

that situation, it is not the gender category which impedes Ndapewa to change her situation but her family relations and customs. Thus her ethnicity category strongly influences her decisions.

The advice of the mother shows several things: first we can understand that Ndapewa should not leave her partner because she will break the ideology and the honour of the normal family (symbolic capital), and it's also a financial risk. Ndapewa, with her meagre resources, is supporting her parents. Thus her mother fears the financial risk that she may encounter if she moves out, by saying "stay and sell Kapana", because, in Ovambo culture, active people may support the inactive ones (Tvedten, 2011: 152). Children are seen as future financial support. In all interviews, school appears as something very important. The school fees are a significant proportion of household resources (Table 6.8). According to all parents interviewed being good in school is a way to get a respectable job, a good wage and then the elders can be supported in return. Thus Ndapewa is under financial pressure through her family relations.

In the case of Bonnie (31 years old), he wants to live with his girlfriend from South Africa but his extended family do not agree. Here it is not due to gender or economics influencing the decision, but tradition. Bonnie has to marry someone from the same tribe, the Kwambi tribe (Owambo). He says:

> **"I really want [...] But I really have the problem with that, [...] and my parents don't like the idea, it means marry someone but from the other tribes. [...] You know, we are black community here in Africa [...] when you come to the things of marriage, you just don't decide, that I am just gonna marry, or...No first you have to tell the elders. [He laughed] you know it's this traditional things that you should do man. So you talk to them. [...] Your parents don't have the right to decide for you yet, because you mother's sister, your aunt, grandparents, grandfather, they give the right to your parents" (Case study 2, Okuryangava, 5th August 2012).**

Intergenerational relations are normally based on respect and obedience, as illustrated in Ndapewa's case. However, some young people begin to question these traditions (Tvedten, 2011: 153), like Bonnie. When he explained about the tensions concerning the marriage decision, he described it in a sarcastic tone; he was conscious that somewhere else, it's different by saying, "black community here in Africa". In this case, a conflict of representation can be seen between a cosmopolitan[8] style of living influenced by the urban context and traditional rural-based

[8]Cosmopolitan: "having adopted an urban modern life-style in the sense of images associated with Western-style progress and development"(Tvedten, 2011: 116).

perceptions. In other words, a cultural conflict arises between two habitus. One side, extended family maintains traditional practices by arranging a marriage within the tribes, and on the other side, children experience a process of integration to the modern style: The modern style, where people can decide which person they want to marry. Bonnie is a person who experiences also the ethnicity restrictions, even if he is a man.

With these testimonies, it is important to notice that categories do not mix equally. "In principle, there is not a predetermined or pre-hierarchical pattern between the categories. It is not gender first, then ethnicity, or the reverse: first ethnicity, then gender. In reality, however, there may be a hierarchy in which certain categories overrule, capture, differentiate and transgress others" (Staunæs, 2003: 105). With the example of Ndapewa and Maria, we can see that categories are mutually interlocked with one another.

6.4 Intersections of Class and Ethnicity

The poor household and their strategies

Gerhon, Miriam[9] and Shila[10] have as an urban-rural household organisation because they have long distance relationships. Men moved to Windhoek to look for a job, and their wives stayed in the rural area. But during the spring season (2-3 months), when there is less work on the farm, wives come to visit their husbands in town with their children. During these periods, they also try to get a source of income like Miriam who started an informal activity selling perfume door to door. They are living separately because they can't afford to pay someone else who works for them in their farmhouse.

Most of the people, who stay in Windhoek, have also an agriculture activity. According to the data of my survey 52% of the population have a direct or indirect (parents own the farm) link with an agriculture activity (Table A.2). The agricultural products are generally used for personal consumption like in the photo 6.1, women are pounding pearl millet, which comes from the rural area. It's a strategy to earn money, based on rural-urban exchanges. Occasionally they sold agricultural products when they are short of money. This strategy has not really changed since 1994, when Peyroux (2004: 254) reported that 58% of the households interviewed consume their own agricultural products rather than sell them.

Moreover, the majority of urban households send children back to the rural regions for extended periods and provide money several times a year. As Niikondo (2010) stated, they use their meagre income to help their families in rural areas. "In turn, two thirds of urban

[9]Gerhon and Miriam, Case Study 6, Okuryangava, 19th August 2012
[10]Shila, Case Study 4, Okuryangava, 17th August 2012



Figure 6.1: Women are pounding Mahangu in Hakahana.

households receive food regularly from the rural areas as a direct supplement to their urban food budgets. It is the strength of these social networks that provide the resources required by both rural and urban households for survival"(Frayne, 2004: 503). So the urban-rural link is not only a one way-transfer of resources from urban areas to a village, but also an exchange of food and child care that rural households provide (Frayne, 2004; Peyroux, 2004; Newaya, 2010). Thus the most vulnerable and marginalised households are the female and male-headed ones with no access to a farm and limited irregular urban incomes (Frayne, 2004; Tvedten, 2011). Finally, financial difficulty is the main reason that drives a couple to live separately, as Gerhon explained:

> **"The poverty is that you do not have a proper job. Yes, because if you had a proper job, no one could be here (in Windhoek), there (village house) will look for a person of work. Yes, meanwhile you don't have a job, [. . .] my soul is feeling bad. Because it is what we are told that if you are married, stay together with that wife of yours that you are married to. It is not needed to stay far from your wife. Yes, because of the poverty it is just going like that. You can't, if you stay here you kill the farmhouse. Here we just came to look for jobs. It is not our own places. Just to look for employment" (Gerhon, Case Study 6, Okuryangava, 19th August 2012).**

In chapter 6.2, I explained how the existential importance of man being the provider of the

household, and this criterion became difficult to realise in Katutura's shanties. As Gerhorn explained it "meanwhile you don't have a job, [...] my soul is feeling bad". In these conditions, the image of the standard family and identity as a man is not attained. He feels bad because he can't fulfil his responsibility to get a proper job to provide sufficiently. The frustration here is palpably noticeable. Gerhorn believes the common opinion, he has internalized the dominant belief about being a man, which influences his practices and his self-esteem. The situation is seen as a failure that results from his personal limitations. Here the direct linkage between broad societal trends and its influence on people's lives is observable.

Twenty five percent of the people interviewed are unemployed, only 31% have a formal job, and 5% receive an old age pension or a disability pension on a regular basis (Table 5.2). The amount of income is extremly low, 36% of the population have a weekly income under 500$N (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Monthly income of the participants

Household Income	Greenwell	Havana proper	Ondelitotela	Havana	4 developments
N$ 0-500	6	10	9	11	36
N$ 501-1'000	6	2	4	3	15
N$ 1'001- 2'000	7	4	9	4	24
N$ 2'001 +	3	6	2	3	14
No answers given	3	4	1	4	12
Total	25	26	25	25	101

The informal sector was the only viable option for subsistence for women and men who could not find a job in the formal economic sector. Thus, the informal activity absorbed a significant quantity of the labour force (Seibes-Bock, 2004); approximately 40% for the investigated region. "Many people now earn money informally in small-scale activities which they carry out with very little capital. They are unlicensed and unregistered with the receiver of revenue" (Pendleton, 1994: 50). There are various informal activities, such as street sellers "selling cooked food, alcoholic beverages, fruits and vegetables and miscellaneous items such as clothes, cigarettes, sweets" (Ibid: 50) and I have seen also prepaid credit for mobile phones, taxi services, car cleaners, hairdressers, shebeens, and other home based activities such as dress-making. Moreover they can generate income by renting a room out in their house or a part of the terrain to someone who wants to put up a shack.

These informal activities are stratified by gender (Seibes-Bock, 2004; Newaya, 2010; Tvedten 2011). And there are also differences in employment rates among the shantytowns' adults, the informal sectors are more represented by women (Table 11); 25% of men and 75% of women have an informal employment, but there is no significant difference between the proportion of



Figure 6.2: A saleswomen is standing and sells cooked food, fruits and vegetables and other items such as sweets in Hakahana.

men and women who have a formal job.

Table 6.6: Number of people interviewed with formal employment according to sex and status

Sex	Formal		Informal		Unemployed		Other		Total
Men	17	25%	10	55%	10	40%	3	60%	40
Women	14	75%	30	45%	15	60%	2	40%	61
Total	31	100%	40	100%	25	100%	5	100%	101

Coming back to the organization of the urban-rural couple, according to Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford (2006), who studied migration in Africa, claim that male workers who stay in the city while their wives are "left behind" and have the responsibility for the small-scale subsistence farming. They also traded in commodity production and became effective heads-of-households. So the economic precariousness favours the independence of Miriam. However when they are together in Windhoek, they apply the division of tasks of the rural area. As Gerhon explains how much he appreciates when his wife is in Katutura during spring season, because he has himself less to do than when he stays alone.

> **"My daily work used to be difficult because to stay like at work where we are working there work goes early in the morning and we knock off late. Now when you come in the house there is no water, no cooking and even to wash the clothes, meaning one is in a big need [...]. Meaning also you are going to fetch the water, you take water and you come to cook,**

> **everything, you have to do it, but if mom is around she will do the other responsibilities and I continue with the work, because we go home it is dark and we knock off late. When she is around, it's better". (Gerhon, Case Study 6, Okuryangava, 19th August 2012)**

In these urban-rural households' organisation, women do all the chores while the men are working. And it's unthinkable to change these roles, a man is not considered to be a man anymore if someone else saw him cooking as Simba[11] explained me "It's our tradition. If you are found, a man cooking or washing your clothes you will be arrested and you will be asked by the parents why your husband is cooking and washing clothes". The symbolic representation of what a man and a woman should do shapes their social practises. But when the wives are not in Katutura, which is the other seasons of the year, men have to do all the chores on their own (except if the elder daughter is around).

The urban-rural couple is a duo, which live separately throughout the year except during spring season when the wife and children come to visit. This organisation is not a choice but essential, due to the lack of a regular source of income. However men who stay in this urban area may have strong links and economic reciprocity with their rural family, because money and food flow between the rural and urban areas. Most of the family in the urban setting have relatives in the village whom they visit regularly, and they also send children there for extended periods. In that situation categories (gender-class-ethnicity) are interlocked with one another; it's difficult to identify which one is more dominant. Any category can become significant or in the foreground at any particular moment until it shifts to another location (Weber, 1998; Staunæs, 2003; Valentine, 2012). For example: Miriam, when she is in the farm in the North, she is the household-head but when she visits her husbands in Katutura, they apply the usual organisation and she becomes the housewife who is responsible for all the chores. Such intersectional analysis means that one particular identity is weighted or given importance by individuals at any particular moment and in specific contexts, so the category such as gender is less dominant when Miriam is in the North, than when she is in Katutura.

In the following chapter, I will describe better-off households, where the class discrimination has less effect on the household organisation, but the asymmetrical power relations between men and women is also not diminished.

[11] Simba, Case Study 3, Okuryangava, 16th August 2012

Better-off household

The better-off couples have access to better housing in the form of brick houses. In these areas, there are physical infrastructures such as water, sanitation and electricity. They own a larger number of articles such as cars, bicycles, radios, TVs, computers and telephones. Women and men have official jobs. For example, Salma[12] has her own business: she rents construction tracks. She started this activity in 2000, when she arrived in Windhoek. The organisations of better-off couples are a mix between Oschivambo and Western culture. Roles among the couples are well defined. Women are responsible for all the household chores even if she has a job, and men are still the head of the house, the main provider. Better-off couples make important decisions together, but where money is concerned, men will give the household money to the wife and she will buy what's necessary. They are often married in a traditional and/or an official way.



Figure 6.3: Salma at her office in Okuryangava region, waiting calls from clients.

Salma's situation illustrates the theoretical case presented previously (in Chapter 2.2) that even if women have an income, this has hardly led to significant changes in the family and domestic sphere. Guionnet and Neveu (2009), argue that the entry of women into the labour market did not generate a new division of domestic tasks within the couple. Salma works all day in her office, even if she doesn't consider her business as a job, she said; "Me, I am not working, I am just only doing my business"; i.e., that sitting at the office, waiting for calls is not really work. When she is home, she has to cook and to take care of her daughter. It's a double day's work: "when I come here (from the office), I am very tired when I go home I have to do all things. It means that I am not even resting, just resting when I go to bed, only a few

[12]Salma, Case Study 12, Havana-4, 26th September 2012

hours". The chores, this unpaid work, are consequences of gender socialization combined with the asymmetric relations between the sexes (Guionnet *et al.*, 2009: 240). Salma explained "it's not good if he is cooking". First, because Salma doesn't know what to do when he is cooking and, secondly, she would not dare ask him. She said; "I want to but I am afraid!" In the case of Salma, the management of household is a reference to gender identity. If she would not do her tasks, she would destabilise on one side the traditional status of the good wife, and on the other, the status of the virile man.

Even if she has her own business, a good education, access to the media and earns a wage, she doesn't question her situation and seems to have less time and liberty than housewives who stay home. There is no real change in the sharing of household tasks. On the contrary, she just adds supplementary task with her business, like many women in western society (Guionnet *et al.*, 2009).

Martins[13], who works as a politic councillor in the Okuryangava region, described the life of his wife by saying:

> **"My wife is currently in the North. She doesn't have a specific life, she doesn't have a monotony life, life that I am having. She is at home; she is a marketer, [...] for South African company. She is a singer, a wife. She is my manager in the North with the meat business. [...] We are just active, a lot for economic purposes" (Martins, Case Study 11, Okuryangava, 25th September 2012).**

Martins considers his life to be monotonous, contrary to his wife's life, which seems to be diversified. He portrays her in a positive and proud way, and he recognizes her multitude identities; she is not only a mother, but a manager, a singer and a wife. This description highlights the fact that nobody stays in a fixed category. Even "each day of our lives and over the course of our lives, the identities we have as women or men are not fixed or absolute, but multiple and shifting" (Cornwall, 2007: 10). The identity of Martins' wife is not restricted to motherhood only, confined to the private sphere, but more to the public sphere through her managerial activity. After all these positive descriptions given by Martins, I can't be sure if Martin's wife has the same perception about her life and herself. Maybe she may complain to have too much work and have a double working day as Salma explained earlier. Martins' couple does a lot of different lucrative activities for "for economic purposes". His wife is thus implicated in the economic process to run the household. Contrary to Salma's situation, her

[13]Case Study 11, Okuryangava, 25th September 2012

partner is working and he assumes fully the role of provider, therefore there is no real need to adapt to a new role.

So in the following chapter, I will show how households headed by women are adapting to the Katutura life, and contesting the notion of feminisation of poverty.

6.5 Intersections of Gender and Class

Single mothers

In 1994, women belong to the majority of households categorised as single-parental, living alone with their children (Peyroux, 2004: 245). Since then the proportion of female-headed households has increased: there was 33% in 1994 and now it is up to 43% (Table 6.1). Marriage seems to be more unusual than in 1994 (Table 6.3). The female-headed households tend to be a larger size (Table 6.2) and to have a lower income than male-headed households. The majority of female participants (54%) earn a lower income between N$0-1'000 per month, compared to men (45%) (Table 6.7). These data correspond also to another study done in the same area, where "the income varies greatly according to the gender of respondents: Men have higher incomes than women" (Newaya, 2010: 74). In this sense, these characteristics reflect "the common perception about the 'feminisation of poverty' as seen or from the opinion that women have a higher incidence of poverty than men" (Tvedten, 2011: 142). However, in this chapter, I will argue that in the informal settlement of Katutura, there is a diversity of female-headed households, which cannot simply be generalised under the term 'feminisation of poverty'.

Table 6.7: Monthly income according to the gender of respondents

Household Income	Number of women	%	Number of man	%	Man & Women
N$ 0-500	22	36	14	35	36
N$ 501-1'000	11	18	4	10	15
N$ 1'001-2'000	16	26	8	20	24
N$ 2'001+	5	8	9	23	14
No answers given	7	11	5	13	12
Total	61	100	40	100	101

Firstly, many women have made the choice to be independent (Tvedten, 2011: 142), like Maria[14] a 25 year old mother of one child. She moved to Havana Extension 6 and opened a shebeen with her sister. She moved out, because she wanted to have her own place. Their shebeen can generate each day 400 N$ up to 1'000 N$ during the weekend. Besides the alcohol shop, she has another business in Angola.

[14]Case Study 7, Havana, 6th September 2012

> **"I plan to take my business further. Normally, I travel to Angola, I am selling jeans now and tops [...]. A friend of mine introduced me there, we went to Angola together and I bought my stock there and I came selling it here. I save the money for my children and my sisters. I pay school fees for them, and I am helping my mum, helping my other sister, I also helping there, to buy food, clothes" (Maria, Case Study 7, Havana Ext, 6th September 2012).**

Maria is not only taking control of her own situation, she is also the breadwinner of the household and her family in the countryside. She doesn't want to marry her boyfriend (the father of her son) because she considers marriage as a sign of maturity. It's another step in life that she is not yet ready to take; she said: "Cause it shows that you are growing up. But you have to be free now". Moreover my survey data show that female-headed households have different economic resources. For example, they could have a formal job combined with an informal activity and/or in the meantime be supported by the father of the children. 47% of women interviewed receive a contribution from their family or their boyfriend (Table A.3), which can compensate the difference of income so that they maintain extra households with the rural based family by visiting regularly their hometown and their children (Table A.7).

Many women I met have sent their children to the rural area, and according to Frayne (2004: 501), this practice is an important element of the social reciprocity that arises between urban and rural households. "Although this represents a complex system, it does have the important effect of maintaining ties between urban and rural households and reducing the food demand and consumption of urban households. Also, this practice assists in promoting living rurally as a legitimate lifestyle to the younger generation, ensuring that migration to the city does not necessarily result in isolation from the rural sector" (Ibid: 502). All these elements indicate that the notion of 'feminisation of poverty' is more complex than often presumed (Chant, 2007; Tvedten, 2011).

Most of the single women with children share their dwelling with close relatives or friends (see Figure 6.4 and Table 6.4). According to Tvedten (2011), who reported the intra-household relationships in the context of Oshikati's shantytown, claims that this cohabitation is more than just residing together, because they share child-care, cooking and they support each other in informal economic activities. Thus "female members of many female-headed households have created a strong social and economic unit between themselves" (Ibid: 143). Moreover they may have several children from different men (case study 9, 10, 12), but they don't always expect economic support from the father of the children. They find money on their own like Maria



Figure 6.4: Interview in a household headed by a single mother and her sister during a mealtime, 5 people are living in this house.

and Ndapewa[15]. For example Simba, Miriam, Ndapewa and Salma (Case studies; 3, 6, 10, 13), who live with their partners, don't have control of the redistribution of the income within the household. In contrast, "single women were able to improve their social position by increasing their autonomy via economic exchanges" (Hondagneu-Sotelo *et al.*, 2006: 109), like Maria in Havana Extention 6.

Summing up this section: Female-headed households are an increasingly common form of residential structure in the informal settlements of Katutura, but they are diverse and cannot be generalised. Differentiation occurs due to various reasons, which drive them to be independent (whether by choice, through separation or non-marriage, or a business opportunity), due to their means to get access to an economic resource, or the composition of the household and kin relations that they maintain with the rural area which is a really important support. According to Tvedten (2011), the poorest women and men are people with no income, no social networks, or other form of resources. "Only the very poorest women, who are unable to take care of their children, end up being marginalised and excluded from such matrifocal networks; [...] because they lack resources to bring into such networks and because they lose others' respect through not caring for their children" (Ibid: 144). To conclude, there is little evidence to support the principal concept of 'feminisation of poverty', because of the complexity of gendered experiences of poverty, and the difference between man and woman among the poorest is small.

[15]Case Study 10, Greenwell, 19th September 2012

Victim *versus* fighter

In this section, I will show that female-headed households live with more independence and freedom than other cohabiting relationships struggling over resources. My argument is that the presence of two parents in the same house gives no guarantee of financial and emotional support for each other.

> **"The love is there, the love is there, but because he is not giving me anything there is no more love like it was there before. [...] You do not have any other option, but it is not like it was there in the beginning how we have been when the person was helping you. Therefore now it is there like that, but not really anymore" (Ndapewa, Case Study 10, Greenwell, 19th September 2012).**

"Many women maintain marriages in which there is no love and no money"(Cornwall, 2002: 963). Money earned by women and men can support love, keep relationships, and maintain peace and their respectability. But if the situation changes and one of the partners loses its job, friction could appear in the relation. Financial autonomy plays a role in maintaining stable relationships (Cornwall, 2007). Ndapewa (40 years old) and her partner arrived in Greenwell 20 years ago, they settled in one of the first shacks in Greenwell. At the beginning, she had a little business until the municipality restricted her. Then she borrowed money to start a new business which was not fruitful and she ended up selling Kapana in the informal sector. Meanwhile her partner got a gardening post, paid 900 $N per month. Normally, with the two sources of income, they can cover all household basic expenditures, such as food, and school fees (Table 6.8). But they struggle because there is no fair distribution of resources within the couple. They don't collaborate, she told me; "Yes, the beginning was good [...]. Then he began to gamble, and to drink a lot of alcohol".

She can't count on her partner, because he spends all his money in the shebeen. Thus she has to buy food and pay the school fees for her children. As Cornwall (2002: 971) noted in Nigeria, "many of the women received less than half the money required to feed the children from their husbands." Some supported their households with no assistance, and even sometimes Ndapewa has to assist her partner when he has no more money for transportation.

> **"The money you just struggle as you are selling Kapana like this. Nowadays men if he is paid, his money goes to the machines (gambling machines) [...], you hear that he was paid the day before yesterday, but he had already played it all away. You just struggle on your own, you go to**

buy a bag of mealie-mealie for your children" (Ndapewa, Case Study 10, Greenwell, 19th September 2012).

Table 6.8: Main categories of household expenditure per month

Categories	Average	%
Food	N$ 650	48
School fees	N$ 350	26
Electricity	N$ 100	7
House	N$ 100	7
Water	N$ 70	5
Transport	N$ 60	4
Telephone	N$ 35	3

For the majority of the people interviewed, food consumption represented half of their expenditure. At the end of the month very little is left for any other need, and in the poorest households there is not enough food in the house.



Figure 6.5: Ndapewa with her last and tenth child, sitting on her firewood collected for the Kapana preparation in Greenwell Matango

Ndapewa wanted to leave her partner, but as seen in Chapter 6.3 elders have important influence on the intra-household organization, and her mother did not allow her to leave him. When she said; "You hear that he was paid the day before yesterday, but he had already played it all away". This extract shows that there is no longer communication within the couple. Dialogue became nearly impossible because he usually comes home very late and if he has no money to drink or play, he watches soap on TV at his neighbour's. During the weekend, he avoids staying home. He is not violent, but Ndapewa said: "No, he does not try to beat me. He just insults me." However insults are also considered as an emotional or verbal abuse (LAC, 2008). So in this distressing familial context, she decided to contact the human rights organisation. This organisation advised her to contact her partner's boss. She did, and the partner's boss had

already helped her to fix and pay for a new water tap. Then this man would try and reason with her boyfriend, by asking him to pay the school fees. In this example, Ndapewa did not passively suffer from systems of domination (class, ethnicity and gender). She is actively engaged in changing her conditions, so she can't be labelled into as fixed category as 'oppressed'. She is resilient and found the strength and the motivation to demand help from the human rights organisation. For many women "the crisis of manhood has implied additional burdens but also possibilities for them to develop new roles and to challenge male authority" (Tvedten, 2011: 151). Ndapewa has a strong personality, and she won't accept this condition anymore, contrary to Salma who is settled in a middle-class setting and is afraid to ask her husband for help. Ndapewa's story shows that the power does not only suppress but it generates a sense of existence. Power is paradoxical, because it produces as much as it forbids (Butler, 2005). She found enough psychosocial resources that have important consequences for her well-being and her ability to secure material resources. With this example, I show that the social structure (gender-race-class) influences her ways and her ability to act.

6.6 New masculinities

> **"Because you see it's in the bible, they are saying: it's a man who is the one who is going to provide for the house, the man who works. But I am not working now, she is working so I am the house lady now. I am doing the housework now. Like now, I have to clean, wash dishes, make the bed like a lady" (Goreb, case study 13, Havana Extension, 28th September 2012).**

This category concerns households, which have found another distribution of tasks within the house. Men fetch water, carrying children and it's not uncommon to see them cooking or cleaning. Meanwhile women have a formal or informal job, so they have control of income and expenditure, and important decisions are taken together. As Shelton (1996) reported, men whose wives have a job are more likely to share household labour than men whose wives do not have a source of income. Here the division of duties seems to be fairer. The reasons for these different households stem from various causes.

The first cause is the level of education. Generally, in the informal settlement of Katutura, the level is low (Table 6.9). Only 22% have received a grade 11 or higher education. However, the level of education is a bit higher among women than men. In the illiteracy group (no-education), there are 6 men and 1 woman. Moreover 82% of the educated women have obtained grade 10

Table 6.9: Levels of education of the people interviewed

Education	Number of women	%	Number of man	%	Men & Women
No Education	1	2%	6	15%	7
Grade 1-8	10	16%	6	15%	16
Grade 9-10	36	59%	20	50%	56
Grade 11-12	12	20%	5	13%	17
Grade 12+	2	3%	3	8%	5
Total	61	100%	40	100%	101

or higher, compared to 71% for men. Many parents see girls with "better prospects for future support than boys and therefore prefer to pay for the education of girls" (Ibid: 69). During the colonial time, many men had to quit school to take care of the cattle or to engage in the Swapo fight, like Shila, Gerhon, and Thobias (case studies 4, 6 and 8). It is clear that "South African colonialism had a strong impact on everyday lives" (Tvedten, 2011: 17). Hence women studied more, so they could get a formal employment or go to university as Samra[16] did. "The findings of the effects of women's education on division of household labour, generally indicate that women's educational level is negatively associated with their household's labour time" (Shelton *et al.*, 1996: 505). This finding shows that better educated women hold more egalitarian sex role attitudes and thus less housework, while better-educated men are more involved in household tasks (Ibid: 505).



Figure 6.6: Goreb sitting in his kitchen in Havana Extension 6.

In the case of Goreb[17], his wife has formal work so she is the breadwinner of the house. Goreb lost his job, which necessitated their move from a formal settlement in Katutura to a shack in

[16]Samra and Namtsi, Case Study 9, Okuryangava, 9th September 2012
[17]Goreb, case study 13, Havana, Extension-0, 28th September 2012

Havana extension 6 (uncontrolled sprawl on the map 4.1). Actually he is still unemployed and the roles are reversed according to the common symbolic representation of the participants. He clarified the situation: "so nowadays, men thought that in the house cleaning, cooking is only for women but I don't think it's working like that. I mean how could I leave the dishes like this, and my wife is coming after work she must come and clean the house while I must stay here doing nothing. So actually it's a thing of helping each other". According to Cornwall (2002), economic austerity affected many men who lost their income, and they had to count on what their wives brought home. Then Goreb explained: "Now there is a bit of change, as you could see, our government is also experiencing that women are in trouble in some tribes. So they have to come out with something like 50/50. So now they are teaching women about that and the women also know, I mean... You see a bit of change now". The social structure influences social practices, and it has also an effect on the Goreb's identity. He has accepted the fact that he is unemployed and he has to stay home as a househusband. He is aware about the dominant representation of the man's identity that man should work, instead of cleaning and cooking. But he resists internalizing this and has taken the chance to turn it round into a positive image with more self-esteem.

Cultural and ethnic traditions are other reasons, which could influence the intra-household organizations. In the Herero and Ovambo society, women are subordinate to men who are, for example allowed to beat their wives, but in the Damara or Nama culture it's not acceptable that a man beats women (Lebeau, 1999: 199). Goreb has a Herero father and a Damara mother, but he has grown up with his mother, and he explained that in a Damara family, the chores are shared 50/50, and this is also the way that his mother educated him. Also he does not come from a rural area, but from Windhoek. According to Lebeau (1999), gender relations depend on the individual lives in urban or rural regions. Thus an Afrikaner woman from the city has a more egalitarian position than women from the village. This explanation is applicable in Goreb's case. But for other Ovambo households like Ndeya[18] and Thobias who come from rural areas, the motivation for men to cook originates from cosmopolitan influence. They cook to learn and to taste different recipes. Ndeya explained to me: "because there are different people in this house and some know how to cook better than others so we want to try different types of cooking, and also the other thing is to teach people how to cook, to prepare food because it's not here that they are going to end up, but they still have a long way to go in their lives so they have to know how to cook". Ndeya (24 years old) is living with her boyfriend and 3 other young members of the family and their household organisation is really unusual compared to other houses in

[18]Ndeya, case study 1, Havana Extension-2, 1st August 2012

Katutura. They have a schedule, which indicates that tasks of cooking, cleaning and washing are distributed among the household members, and every week they change who is responsible for each task.

To conclude, in this category, men seem to adapt to social change by helping with a certain amount of household chores and childcare. They are forming a more equalitarian union, and interacting with women as co-workers more easily in their own lives. Education, cultural and ethnic traditions, cosmopolitan influence, and changes in the constitution, are reasons that could inspire these less conventional organisations within the household.

But it's also important to take into account the emotional dimension that can influence gender relations. As Bourdieu (2002: 149) notes in a controversial postscript about *'domination and love'*, that emotional and erotic attachments can open a miraculous respite from domination, placing couples in dynamics of gift-giving, into an alternative relationship. Namtsi[19] explained what a man should do for his wife; "I have to look after my wife, to look good, if she is sad; I have to cheer her up, to take her out." Love can stabilize an enchanted relationship where the pursuit of happiness of others is a condition for their own happiness (Bourdieu, 2002). But other sociologists argue that this situation is also fragile, and may deteriorate over time (Guionnet *et al.*, 2009: 372).

6.7 Chain of Violence

Throughout my stay, I experienced a disturbing contrast between the abundant love of the people that I met and the constant violence and crimes against women reported in newspaper. In the report of UNHCR[20] (2012), 12'000 cases of gender-based violence were reported to the police in 2010. Violence against women, children, and elders continues to be an important problem in Namibia, and the data suggest an increase over time. "Poverty and the changing positions of manhood and womanhood have not only contributed to permeability of social relations of the household and process of marginalisation and exclusion, but have also found their expression in a dramatic increase in domestic violence" (Tvedten, 2011: 154). The crucial point here is social representation of traditional roles and others' interpretation of that representation. The perfect husband and the perfect wife do not exist, especially when there is a high rate of unemployment, but their images must be kept continually in play (Moore, 1994). "In this sense violence, when it occurs, is the result of a crisis of representation, as well as the result of conflict between social categories which are intimately connected to those styles of representation" (Moore, 1994: 68).

[19] Samra and Namtsi, Case Study 9, Okuryangava, 9th September 2012
[20] United Nation High Commissioner For Refugees

So to realign this representation of masculinity, sometimes men use violence to enhance their identity as a man (Cornwall, 1996: 26).

> **"I mean domestic violence comes from a lot of things. The major problem is alcohol and drugs abuse which cause all domestic violence. In a lot of places, you will find domestic violence, it's mainly the shebeens [?]. Sometimes, you will find a man and wife fighting, maybe the wife went out drinking or the man came home drunk" (Goreb, Case Study 13, Havana Extension, 28th September 2012).**

Most of the people that I interviewed don't drink for religious reasons. They are Christian, and sometimes even "born again", which means they don't consume alcohol, or drugs and go every Sunday morning to the church. During the quantitative part of the fieldwork, when I asked what amount of money was spent on alcohol, a lot denied that they drank or refused to answer. According to my quantitative data, 8% said they sometimes spent money on alcohol. My informant explained me that this subject is a taboo. Apparently the 8% is a result of the social desirability effect (Bryman, 2012). The real percentage seems to be higher, based on the data collected, but it is difficult to estimate. I was struck by the large number of drinking places that are present. Nearly every street in Katutura has at least one shebeen (Pendleton, 1994: 51). These places were always occupied by people, especially on Saturday. Many complained about the noise, because they can't sleep during the night, and that they are selling alcohol to children under the age of 18.

Concepts such as "cycle of violence" and the "chain of violence" are introduced in the intersectional framework to articulate the experience of oppression, which starts in the public sphere (work) and ends up in the private sphere against women and children (Corbeil, *et al.*, 2006: 5). In this colonial context, men who are drunk most of the time tend to vent their anger on returning home (Lebeau, 1999: 204). This cycle is also valid for women against their children, since they have similar abuses in the public sphere. So it is important to understand the impact of capitalism and racism on the lives of black communities in Windhoek and elsewhere (Corbeil, *et al.*, 2006: 5).

In the case of Katutura's shantytowns, additional reasons may be found for the frequent violence in households. Some men and women that I interviewed had direct personal experiences of violence during the war. Stories about the South African occupation reveal how people came across cruelty in the village and in Katutura.

According to Tvedten (2011), there is not necessarily a link between poverty and violence. In fact people with work or any source of income may be the most violent, because they can

afford to buy alcohol in the shebeens, as in Ndapewa's case.

Another issue is the risk of HIV infection. HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases are very high in Namibia. Youths between 18 and 30 have a greater risk because they may have sexual relationships with several partners and engage in unprotected sexual intercourse. In Katutura the exact level is not known, but this area is the most affected because some residents with lowest income cannot afford even the most basic contraceptive method (Pendleton, 1994; Nakanyete, 2009). HIV pandemic affects many household's organization and may reinforce the process of marginalization. People become even poorer because their ability to work is reduced (Tvedten, 2011: 157). In addition to the risk of diseases, pregnancy among teenagers is nowadays considered to be a social problem; a large percentage of girls between 14 and 18 years of age are expelled from school for this reason (Lebeau, 1999: 211). Teenage pregnancy is one of the main reasons girls do not complete their education (National Planning Commission, 2004).

6.8 Interrelations of the three levels, and the shifting of categories

In this final step, I will resume the overall situation, and look at the interrelations between the three different levels: the identity, the symbolic representations, and social structures. In the previous chapters, I showed that categories (gender-class-ethnicity) are interlocked with one and another, and sometimes they are expressed simultaneously, but it's difficult to identify which one is more prominent. Such an analysis means asking questions about what identities are done? Which categories do individuals experience at any particular moment and in specific context? When a category such as gender might cancel and other categories such as ethnicity become more important? What effects do these Namibian norms and values have on the construction of identity and power relations?

At the structural level (macro, and meso level), we can identify racism, classism and sexism, which result from the colonial context of Namibia (Lebeau, 1999), they are interwoven with each other and have an impact on the lives of the people in the black communities in Windhoek. We can identify some interrelatedness between social structure and household organisations, like in Goreb or Ndeya's case study. Things appear to change and the government may influence gender relations.

"With the abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic government in Namibia, the principle of equality for women is written in the constitution (article 10) which prohibits all discrimination based on gender. [...] It also specifies that customary laws may be

applied if they do not contravene individual rights granted by the constitution (article 66). Since independence, the Namibian government fights to institutionalise gender equality as promised in the constitution" (LeBeau, 1999: 206, my translation). The social structure has an influence on the everyday lives of individuals; levels are linked through social practices (Winker *et al.*, 2011: 56). According to LeBeau (1999), there are some changes in the social status of Namibian women. Women with a good level of education, and good wages succeeded to get a better position, whereas poor women have benefited little from structural changes. Some interviews show the interrelatedness between social structure and social practices, the government seems to influence gender relations. Following Tvedten (2011), social movement "carrying Western ideologies of democracy, participation and gender equality (Ibid: 64)" reach only parts of the population, since there is a notable rate of illiteracy, language problems, or the lack of infrastructure (Tvedten, 2011).

Only the formal neighbourhood of Katutura is provided with electricity. According to my results, barely thirteen percent of the households possess a TV (Table A.4). In the informal settlement, the main access to the media is the radio (75%) and newspapers such as T*he Namibian, the Observer*[21] and *New Era*, which are written in English, and some selected articles are in Oshivambo and Afrikaans. Media that reaches the shanties tends to arrive via intermediaries, through translation and summarising (Tvedten, 2011: 59). Thus there are differences in access to media between people living in the formal part of the city and people in the shanties, which can explain that the weight of gender discrimination is also different among individuals in the informal settlements.

Moreover at macro level, the social-economic context in Namibia is not really good, the unemployment rate increased up to 51.20 percent in 2010 (Trading Economics, 2012), more precisely in the investigated region only 31% had a formal job in 2012 (Table 5.2). This economic situation modifies the household organisations, and influences the construction of identity and self-esteem. Some men, who can't fulfil his obligation as provider, who can't cope with the symbolic representation (also influenced by the religious institutions and cultural practices), would see the situation as a personal failure. However certain men would refuse to internalize these social expectations, and take the possibilities to create a new role in the household, to create a new male identity, by applying another distribution of tasks within the house. Additionally most of their discourses are carrying western ideologies about gender equality, which show how structural facts affect norms and their practices.

The macro level influences the construction of identity, but the identity is also an on-going

[21] "The paper seems to have one editorial principle: At least one murder must be covered in pictures and text on the front page, preferably involving rape and murder" (Tvedten, 2011: 58).

process of becoming (Winker *et al.*, 2011, Valentine, 2012). The case studies highlight the constant movement that individuals experience between different categories such as class, gender and ethnicity and the ways that it becomes significant at any particular moment until it shifts to another situation or location. For example: Miriam, when she is in the farm in the North, is the head of the household but when she visits her husband in Katutura, they apply the usual organisation and she becomes the housewife who is responsible for all the chores, the gender discrimination is more visible in this context. Contrasting with the household headed by single women, where they have more economic responsibilities, so the class discrimination is palpable but on the other hand they have more independence, and the gender category is less noticeable.

Nobody is in a fixed category as oppressed, poor or subordinated. Ndapewa's case is a good illustration about how she succeeds to overcome the stressful situation, by asking for help from a human right's organisation and from her partner's boss. The precarious state steered her to find new solutions. Contrasting to Salma's case, who has a privilege economic situation, a formal job and a man who brings money home, so the class discrimination is cancelled but her ethnicity or gender identity influence the asymmetric power relations between her and her partner. She internalizes the dominant representation, or the symbolic violence because there is no need to adapt a new script.

Categories are shifting to one another, express simultaneously or withdraw, because individuals are in constant interactions with different people (families, friends, bosses, or co-workers), or in different spatial contexts (home, farms, work, or shebeens). Structural facts, like new rights for women in the constitution or the high rate of unemployment influence the organisation of households, which conducts inhabitants to find new solutions in these precarious conditions by making one category more perceptible, or destabilizing others.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to update data and attempt to understand how categories are experienced in the intra-household organisation in the shanties of Katutura. The main finding is that the situation has not much improved since 1994. The informal settlements are still expanding and people are living in the most densely populated areas. 130'359 Namibians don't have access to proper basic services (city of Windhoek, 2012b). Families who are living in shacks are constantly exposed to risks, such as crime and hygiene problems due to the lack of sanitation and access to water. These occur regardless of the different phases of urban progress in the informal settlements. Moreover, marriages seem to be unusual, and more women are the head of the household with children to care for, and the responsibility to provide the basic needs for their houses. It must however be reiterated that these household configurations are diverse and cannot be generalised under the precept of "feminisation of poverty". Variations occur for many reasons which drive them to be independent: as a means to have access to an economic resource; through the composition of the household and kin relations that they maintain with their family. Moreover, some single mother households are in a better situation, with more independence than when living in a couple, where the man is more a burden than a support because of his abuse of alcohol and the domestic violence that may emerge (case studies 10 and 12). This confirms that the presence of two parents in the same house gives no guarantee of financial and emotional support for each other. The gendered experiences of poverty are very complex, but the real difference between men and women in material poverty is minimal.

In Katutura, the role of the traditional nuclear family is motivated by religion and traditions. On one side, women have the responsibility for household chores and, on the other, men have the duty to earn money. But not one of the families interviewed had been able to achieve this ideal, thus some participants internalized this ideology, which affected their sense of identity and self-esteem. One such case was Gerhon (case study 6), but on the other hand some are

able to turn it round and develop more self-confidence, e.g. Maria, Ndapewa, or Goreb (case studies 7, 10 and 13). Goreb accepted his unemployment and takes care of the household. The instability of material wealth has stimulated modifications of domestic roles and their intra-household organization. Goreb decided to improve the situation by sharing a certain amount of the chores, and childcare. His family needed to find another way of living which doesn't correspond to the symbolic representation of Namibian womanhood and manhood. Although he is aware of the dominant representation of a man's identity, he resists internalizing this.

I presented these data using a multi-level intersectional analysis within the framework of a praxeological perspective (Winker *et al.*, 2011). This frame contributed to structure my analysis and identify some categories among household arrangements, and reveals how social praxis is influenced by the symbolic constructions and social structures. It showed that categories (gender-class-ethnicity) are interlocked with one another, and sometimes they are expressed simultaneously. It recognizes the ways in which individuals actively participate in constructing their own lives.

Contrary to my original hypothesis, there is no link between different socio-economic levels, or ease of access to water, to gender relations in the informal settlement of Katutura. The differences are much more to do with the level of education, ethnic origin, changes enforced by local authorities, or access to media, but most of all from the unexpected life situations that a couple face; when the symbolic representation of the Namibian womanhood and manhood are tested and found wanting. Precarious living situations force individuals to challenge the accepted parental and traditional values so they must find inner resources, and it this ability to adapt that goes unnoticed using a purely scientific approach.

Appendix A

Appendix

Table A.1: Population Ethnicity - Language

Languages	People	%
Oshivambo	78	77
Oshiherero	13	13
Damara	6	6
Kavangari	3	3
Other	1	1
Total	101	100

Table A.2: Number of people involved in agricultural activities during their stay in the region of origin

Agiculture	Number	%
Agricultural activities (Extended family or Parents)	53	52
No agricultural activities	48	48
Total	101	1

Table A.3: Contribution's and support given by the participants

Contribution	Number of Women	%	Number of Men	%
Help their families / partners	12	20	17	43
Get a contribution from the families	29	48	8	20
No exchange	1	2	2	5
No answers given	19	31	13	33
Total	61	100	40	100

Table A.4: Household posseessions

Households Items	Number	%
Car	4	4
Bicycle	3	3
Radio / tape recorder	75	75
TV	13	13
Fridge	19	19
Laptop	2	2
Mobile phone	97	97

Table A.5: Length of residence (2012)

Length of residence	People	%
Less than 2 years	26	26
2 to 5 years	35	35
5 to 10 years	27	27
More than 10 years	13	13
Total	101	100

Table A.6: The previous residences of the participant

Residence before	Number	%
Rural area	46	46
Formal Settlement (Windhoek town or Katutura)	20	20
Informal settlement	35	35
Total	101	100

Table A.7: Number of visits to region of origin

Visits of to Hometowns	Number of women	%	Number of Men	%
Never or Occasionnally	8	13	6	15
1 x	21	34	15	38
2 - 3 x	28	46	11	28
4 x and more	4	7	8	20
Total	61	100	40	100

Table A.8: Qualitative interviews

Case studies	Name	Date	Place	Sex	Age	Children	Ethnicity	Length
1	Ndeya	1st August 12	Havana ext - 2	F	24	1	Ovambo	30 m
2	Bonnie	5th August 12	Okuryangava - 3	M	31	-	Kavango	40 m
3	Simba	16th August 12	Okuryangava - 1	F	28	2	Dhemba	43 m
4	Shila	17th august 12	Okuryangava -1	M	?	5	Ovambo	21 m
5	Magana	17th August 12	Okuryangava - 2	F	22	1	Ovambo	23 m
6	Gerhon (M) & Miriam (W)	19th August 12	Okuryangava - 2	M+F	37-42	2	Ovambo	01h32
7	Maria	6th September 12	Havana Ext - 0	F	25	1	Ovambo	31 m
8	Thobias	7th September 12	Havana Ext - 0	M	41	3	Ovambo	1h35
9	Samra (W) & Namatsi (M)	9th September 12	Okuryangava - 2	F + M	30 + 37	3	Ovambo	1h12
10	Ndapewa	19th September 12	Greenwell - 3	F	40	10	Ovambo	1h7
11	Martins	25th September 12	Okuryangava - 4	M	40	2	Ovambo	1h15
12	Salma	26 September 12	Havana - 4	F	33	2	Ovambo	50 m
13	Goreb	28 September 12	Havana ext - 0	M	37	2	Damara + Herero	1h01

Table A.9: Fieldwork Process

Date	Activities
1st week 28 June	Arrival at Windhoek
Field study period in Katutura	
2nd week 1 July until the 4th week 28 July	101 families with structured-questionnaires
5th week 30 July until 7th week 18 August	Semi-structured questionnaires
8th week 11 September until 16 September	Participant observation in the rural area of Ohangwena
9th week 17 September until 10th week 29 September	Semi-structured questionnaires

Figure A.1: Services Standard for development 1-3 (Municipality of Windhoek, 2012).

SERVICE STANDARDS FOR DEVELOPMENT LEVELS 1–6 **ANNEXURE A**

LEVEL		OBJECTIVES & TARGET GROUP	FORM OF TENURESHIP/ PAYMENT	SERVICES						
				Roads	Water	Sanitation	Electricity	Refuse removal	Community development	Other
0	COMMUNAL SERVICES	▪ Existing situation of app. 8 000 informal households ▪ Basic survival needs (water) ▪ Informal accommodation of newcomers to the City ▪ Should be ameliorated	▪ water & refuse removal tariff charged ▪ promote saving schemes ▪ purchase possible by entire block	▪ None	▪ Water points at 200 m walking distances ▪ Water meters at each water point.	▪ None	▪ None ▪ Investigate alternative energy sources ▪ Upgradeability to include electricity possible, but should be considered on merit, according to site-specific conditions e.g. availability of bulk services.	▪ Two systems namely self containment, collection by private contractors and ad hoc open space cleaning by private contractors ▪ Choice of system depends on accessibility to an area and nearby systems already in place.	▪ Intensive ▪ Work out needs, aspirations , priorities with communities ▪ Promote saving, self-help schemes	▪ Socio-economic surveys ▪ Promote NGO involvement ▪ Access to transportation encouraged (measured in terms of radius to the nearest transportation facility.
1	COMMUNAL SERVICES	▪ To provide the poorest section of the community (earning no or a marginal income with a basic level of service ▪ Services within reasonable health standards, but keeping in mind the reality of unaffordability and lack of resources ▪ Lower convenience levels ▪ Restricted upgradeability, depending on site-specific circumstances ▪ Upgradeable by the community (only per block)	▪ Lease ▪ Purchase possible by entire block ▪ Saving generally encouraged	Road type / Reserve / Way Urban arterial 12-16 6 Access collector 12 5 Access loop 10 4 Access way 6* 4 Access court 6* 3 Access cul-de-sac 5* 3 * cul-de-sacs to serve a maximum of 10 erven; other lanes of 6m width and less to serve a maximum of 20 erven. ▪ Alter design in accordance with ground conditions and traffic volumes ▪ Surface stormwater as far as possible: ▪ Channel in roads ▪ Drifts ▪ Open/lined drains ▪ Retain roads on natural levels as far as possible ▪ Decision of graveled vs. graded and tarred surfaces depending on environmental conditions e.g. topography, etc.	▪ Waterpoints at each toilet block. ▪ Walking distances not to exceed 200 m ▪ Diameter of external lines (lines serving blocks): 110 mm ▪ Diameter of internal lines (within blocks) with fire hydrants: 90 mm ▪ Diameter of lines requiring no fire hydrants may be less than 90 mm., depending on the anticipated consumption. ▪ Water meters at each water point. ▪ Fire hydrants on water mains, at intervals of 250 m street distance	▪ Ventilated improved pit latrines (or as specified by investigation) at access points to each block ▪ 2 latrines (1 x ladies, 1 x gents) /80 people (may be relaxed if urinals are introduced) ▪ 100m walking distances ▪ Building materials and designs to accommodate self-help schemes			▪ Intensive ▪ Resettlement facilitated by the City ▪ Integrated education and capacity building programme ▪ The parameters of upgradeability must be conveyed to the community ▪ Organize neighborhood committees for maintenance, credit control and communication purposes. ▪ Promote saving and self-help schemes	▪ High density ▪ Informal block layout ▪ Promote NGO involvement ▪ Access to transportation encouraged (measured in terms of radius to the nearest transportation facility.
2	ULTRA LOW INCOME	▪ To provide a service level for lease to those with insufficient income to purchase an erf, with opportunity to obtain ownership. ▪ Adhere to minimum health and environmental standards ▪ Convenience levels (walking distances) should be considered ▪ Upgradeable to full range of services, but costs depending on site-specific conditions, such as availability of bulk services	▪ lease ▪ purchase possible by entire block/ ▪ purchase to individuals possible subject to the following: 1. the purchaser agrees that an individual water and sewer connection can not be provided to the erf unless the entire block purchases; or 2. The individual sponsors the entire installation of the water and sewer line to the erf. 3. The prospective purchaser must make a suitable arrangement with his/her fellow lessee, which is acceptable to all parties concerned, regarding that lessee's future accommodation needs. ▪ pre-purchase saving encouraged.		▪ Water points at each toilet block ▪ Design for full reticulation, but install when required ▪ Diameters same as for DL 1 ▪ Water meters at each water point ▪ Fire hydrants as for DL 1	▪ communal flush latrines in road reserves ▪ 2 latrines (1 x male, 1 x female) /70 people (may be relaxed if urinals are introduced) ▪ 30 m walking distances (or as specified by investigation) ▪ sewer reticulation design for entire area ▪ install only lines to communal facilities ▪ design to accommodate latrines in road reserves				▪ individual erven ▪ 2 households per erf ▪ larger blocks to self-help groups ▪ promote NGO-involvement ▪ Access to transportation encouraged (measured in terms of radius to the nearest transportation facility.
3		▪ To provide an affordable minimum service level for those wishing to purchase ▪ Adhere to minimum health and environmental standards ▪ Convenience levels (walking distances) should be considered ▪ Fully upgradeable, but depending on site-specific conditions, such as availability of bulk services ▪ Easily upgradeable to individual "wet" connections	▪ Sale ▪ Pre-purchase saving scheme encouraged ▪ The costs of water and sewer connections may be incorporated into the original loan account		▪ Full water reticulation designed and installed. ▪ Water points with meters at each toilet block ▪ Diameters the same as for DL 1. ▪ Fire hydrants as for DL1.	▪ Standards same as for level 2 ▪ Entire sewer reticulation system designed and installed ▪ design to accommodate latrines in road reserves				▪ individual erven ▪ larger blocks to self-help groups ▪ Access to transportation encouraged (measured in terms of radius to the nearest transportation facility.

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