

TRANSFORMATIVE LEISURE ECONOMIES

Eveline Street, Katutura, Windhoek



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1. INTRODUCTION

The role of the leisure economy in South African townships is a subject of policy controversy and political concern. An important part of the leisure economy are businesses linked to drinking and alcohol sales in general, and those enterprises associated with night-time leisure activities. The range of implicated businesses is diverse, and includes bars, restaurants, street food establishments, entertainers and musicians, and businesses providing services such as car guards, car washers, hair salons, etc. The Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation's (SLF) research in nine South African townships shows that these sectors comprise about 25% of all micro-enterprise activities. Given the significance of the leisure economy, the developmental implications of regulatory policies towards liquor sales requires careful consideration. One of these implications relates to the need to remake African cities in ways that can overcome the rigid planning of colonial segregation and spatial strategies that sought to regiment working-class livelihoods in dormitory settlements. In the Global North, leisure activities have had an important role in reshaping the nature of cities, stimulating economic growth whilst simultaneously eroding old orders of spatial exclusion. We examine the theoretical debates on these processes (in Section Two), arguing that the transformative possibilities of the (night-time) leisure economy have yet to be extended to the township environment.

The question of what role the leisure economy should fulfil in township economic development divides opinion. The dominant policy response in South Africa is on restricting leisure-economy businesses in terms of when, where and how alcohol-serving venues may operate. In some localities, such as the Western Cape, the policy emphasis has been on strict prohibition outside of commercial areas, even though this policy has proved profoundly unsuccessful (Charman, Petersen & Piper, 2013). To trade legally, business owners need to overcome an array of hurdles, Kafkaesque in complexity, which include acquiring land title, having an approved building plan, obtaining appropriate zoning, gaining community and police consent for the business, acquiring a licence from a provincial authority and adhering to operating times specified by the local authority. Most township bar owners have neither the financial means nor the skills to navigate through the web of legislation required to trade legally. The zoning requirement, in particular, is the most onerous obstacle in the licensing process.

In seeking to control the spatial distribution of leisure related enterprises, politicians have shown an interest in the development of 'high streets' to accommodate such activities, recognising that prohibition is both difficult to enforce and unpopular. Looking for possible solutions, stakeholders (including the Western Cape Premier) have considered the use of high street business corridors as pioneered in Katutura, City of Windhoek (CoW), Namibia, where a more accommodating planning approach has been applied with the aim of concentrating the drinking and night-time leisure around the high street environment (see *Map 2*).

In January 2012, the Premier of the Western Cape, Helen Zille, led a delegation of local and provincial politicians on an official visit to Windhoek to gain knowledge of their high street model. The delegation was particularly interested to understand the regulatory

complexities and roles of different spheres of government in managing liquor-related activities on the high street. In the minutes recording the engagement between the delegation and local stakeholders, Premier Zille expressed a desire to see the emergence of high streets similar to Long Street in Cape Town, which she felt was characterised by a diversity of business activity. The Premier expressed concern with what she perceived as a 'lack of diversity' in the case of Eveline Street and Single Quarter sites in Katutura. The City of Cape Town did, however, recognise the potential of the Namibian approach, and as a result initiated a high street pilot project. The project was conceptualised as a 'supporting and complimentary' initiative in the context of the likely progressive rollout of the new [liquor trading] regulatory regime, which would, so it was thought, result in the closure of illegal liquor traders. The project concept was to identify select high streets deemed to be 'suitable' for increased business activities which could, as part of their redevelopment, accommodate liquor-trading businesses and venues. Although the mechanisms for redevelopment were ill-defined, they were to include amending land-use rights and fast-tracking approvals for compliance with regulatory conditions on business activities.

Despite the interest of South African politicians in the CoW business corridors intervention, there are no rigorous and/or analytical studies of the dynamics of the high street economy to inform policy-making and strategy. A version of the high street concept has since been applied by the City of Cape Town as a pilot intervention in the Langa Quarter (Rousseau & Van Eeden, 2016). This intervention does not accommodate bars (only restaurants) whilst implementation (although too soon to assess the impact) has already highlighted challenges with respect to land ownership and the cost implications for landholders whose property values have been upwardly affected. Furthermore, the Cape Town engagement with the high street idea has the potential to harness a linkage between township high street leisure economies and strategies of Transit Oriented Development (TOD). The land re-zoning policy in the case of Eveline Street, we shall argue, has unintendedly contributed towards some of the core objectives of TOD, including fostering mixed business/residential development, enabling the densification of economic activities, enhancing the use of public transport, strengthening city-wide connectivity and improving the quality of public space within the high street.

The research presented in this paper – the result of a collaboration between the SLF (the project lead) and UrbanWorks (UW) (hereafter referred to collectively as the researcher) – sought to understand the developmental impact of land re-zoning policies on a township high street, in this case in Windhoek. The investigation was undertaken within the scope of the Unlocking Land for Micro-Enterprise Growth (ULMEG) Project, an initiative of the SLF that seeks to address land-related obstacles to enterprise growth in township contexts. Ultimately, the lessons learned in this Windhoek study can contribute to advancing and transcending the divisive policy debates around micro-enterprise regulation, particularly leisure-related development, in South Africa.

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2.THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The leisure economy of Eveline Street has its equivalent in South African cities, including Long Street in Cape Town. Unlike the Eveline Street case, where the CoW responded to an emergent process of business agglomeration, most leisure-driven developments in inner cities have been more purposely shaped through a combination of policy interventions (including liquor-trading deregulation), commercial investments and social network building. In some cities these processes have resulted in gentrification and the establishment of 'creative' spaces that generate ambiguous outcomes. Scholarship that dissects such experiences and theorises the ramifications of creative city developments thus provides a useful perspective for re-evaluating our understanding of leisure dynamics in townships and informal settlements.

2.1.NIGHT-TIME LEISURE IN CREATIVE CITIES

Over the past 20 years, cities in the Global North have been reinvented around (food and alcohol) consumption, especially through the influences of market segmentation, gentrification and corporatisation (Jayne, Holloway & Valentine, 2006). There is a large body of literature that examines and theorises this process of city regeneration, its positioning to attract a creative class, and linkages to consumption (for critiques, see Pratt, 2011 and Shaw, 2010). Chatterton and Holland's (2003) book, *Urban Nightscapes*, details the profound changes in the night-time leisure economy of post-industrial, post-modernist European cities in terms of the creation of new night-time public spaces, their regulation through private and public actions, and new patterns of consumption which are characterised by the participation of youth and the corporatisation of (drinking) venues. Such economic and social transitions have been underpinned by a significant economic reinvestment in inner cities. This investment has consequently revived failing city economies and spatially reshaped the linkages between suburbia and the city. An important component of this revival, of relevance to the Eveline Street case, are forms of public and private transport that provide a spatial connection between outlying suburbs and the city into night time.

A notable aspect of the emergence of the 'creative', consumption-focused city, has been the centrality of alcohol and drinking venues in the night-time leisure economy. This has necessitated the revision of liquor licensing conditions and deregulation, in countries from Great Britain to New Zealand, allowing venues to operate late into the night. Planning restrictions have similarly been liberalised to encourage investment within areas of the city deemed appropriate to this vision to generate wealth creation through the burgeoning leisure economy, comprising cafés, restaurants, bars, cinemas and theatres.

The night-time city has become recognised as a vehicle for economic revival through extended trading hours, corporate entrepreneurship and alignment to the hospitality and tourism sectors. The centrality of drink within this economy has given rise to the term 'drinkatainment' (Bell, 2007).

With its links to the 'creative' classes and changing city, the emergence of the inner-city night-time leisure economy has fuelled what Jayne, Holloway and Valentine (2006:459) denote as a 'moral panic' around drinking cultures. Across several European countries,

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public concern has honed in on youth drinking and especially alcohol consumption among 'sexualised' young men and women, and the drinking of new types of drinks (Jayne, Valentine & Holloway, 2010:7). Moral fear has centred on notions of disorder that challenge middle-class sensibilities. This has resulted in policy refinements (and tightening regulation) to tackle drunken transgressive behaviour, street violence, littering and public sex acts, amongst the key concerns. In response to concerns around public disorder, notable control measures include the revision of policing strategy and the introduction of Zero Tolerance Policing, CCTV monitoring, prohibitions on begging and measures to discourage rough sleeping. These measures, whilst seeking to maintain an exclusionary environment, paradoxically enhance the participation of persons vulnerable to crime. At the same time, bouncers employed by businesses extend privatised control into public space and contribute towards violence in a contradictory role. Similar regulatory measures have been introduced in South African cities, especially in streets of late-night leisure. It is arguable that these (imported) multiple actions to regulate, control and exclude those without money amount to an attempt to curtail the 'rogue urbanism' (Pieterse & Simone, 2013) characteristics of cities in general and the African cityscape in particular.

In understanding the transformation of the night-time (Northern) city, it is important to note that the change does not nearly conform to the scenarios of deregulation (and liberalisation) and (re)regulation. The nightscape remains, as Jayne and colleagues (2006:459) argue, 'simultaneously conflictual and segregated, commodified and sanitised, saturated by both emotion (enhanced through alcohol, drugs, dance, sex encounter) and rational elements (planning, surveillance and policing)'. Whilst open to criticism, not least through fostering new forms of violence and binge consumption cultures, the night-time economy has shown a capacity to support social tolerance and creative expressions (emotional, cultural and visual). Latham has argued that valorising 'everyday relationships and practices' in the leisure economy require that we focus on the 'emergence' of public spaces and social practices associated with 'specific instances of urban change' (2003:1704). In a study of bar activities in Auckland, New Zealand, Latham shows how drinking can have a 'potentially productive element in the creation of social relationships and solidarities' (2003:1713). Through shifting focus to the specific contexts, the combination of 'objects, spaces, persons and practices' that come into focus provides insight into the coexistence of differences in culture, class, race and sexual orientation. This perspective illustrates that specific night-time contexts can provide a framework for sociability which may erode social divides, though simultaneously could reproduce exclusion or indeed heighten friction. Youth from across social classes/racial backgrounds, in the Auckland or Long Street cases, openly mingle and parteciple in the urban nightscape. Barriers of exclusion may still exist such as the specific dictates of venues and spatial practices within bars that informally segregate (Tredoux & Dixon, 2008). Furthermore, the predominance of bars in the night-time leisure economy along with public acts of drunken sociability can alienate non-drinkers seeking sober forms of sociability (Valentine, Holloway & Jayne, 2010).

2.2. TRANSFORMATIVE POSSIBILITIES IN SHEBEENS

The imagining of transformative possibilities has not been afforded to informal liquor venues and drinkertainment in the South African township context. A 'moral panic' around alcohol in the township has helped to sustain apartheid-era liquor policies that restrict opportunities for township bars to formalise and regularise, with liquor authorities seeking to prohibit drinking venues in residential areas. From a socio-historical perspective, bars are recognised as fulfilling an important role in township socialisation through providing public space within an urban environment that was designed to regiment the working class. Shebeens at one point embodied resistance to state control of public drinking, which apartheid had sought to restrict to municipal beer halls (Rogerson & Hart, 1986, La Hausse 1986). As a statement of resistance, liquor-serving venues were simultaneously an expression of urban permanence and entrepreneurship. Importantly, the shebeen became a site of leisure and means for the production of culture and the expression of the right to determine creative outcomes away from the institutionalised control of the state, church and family. The contribution of these bars towards the production, refinement, and translation of dance, theatre and music into modern expressions of indigenous culture in the urban milieu is well documented (Coplan, 2008). From a society perspective, the creative dynamics of township bars are nevertheless duplicitous – the contradictions of which are heightened by masculine chauvinism and alcohol consumption dedicated to the attainment of drunkenness.

In considering the creative as well as contradictory and risk-related implications of township bars, we are reminded of the value to be obtained from a closer examination of the interaction between 'objects, spaces, persons and practices'. Such a project we have undertaken at the 'shebeen level' where we have studied five different venues. The results have been published in academic journals (see Charman, Petersen & Govender, 2014) and are visually presented at www.emergent.city.co.za. The research highlights the complexities of the social spaces in different types of venues, yet we were able to discern the nuances through which the business owners and participants are able to shape so as to include and/or exclude participation in bar recreation. In Eveline Street, the possibilities for creative production within the night-time economy are greatly enhanced as a result of the street dynamic, which encompasses both public and private actions to create new spaces whilst influencing the manner in which these spaces are utilised for commerce and social interaction. This report investigates this topic.

"A moral panic around alcohol in the township has helped to sustain apartheid-era liquor policies that restrict opportunities for township bars to formalise and regularise."



Car wash

3. RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODS

A central objective of the research project was to obtain detailed information on enterprise activities within a transect along Eveline Street, focusing on the portion of the street along which commercial activities predominate. Our aim was to understand the scope, scale and interconnections between micro-enterprises and the influence of the high street (as a distinct spatial variable) in economic ordering and business opportunities. The approach required primary data collection and therefore immersed field research. The idea was to build upon research methods which the researchers had pioneered in the 'small-area census approach' (Charman et al., 2015), an approach that utilised qualitative and quantitative methods including a geospatial enterprise census count. Utilising a socio-spatial perspective employed in previous research on shebeens (Charman, et al., 2015) and street traders (Charman & Petersen, 2015; Charman & Govender, 2014), the research sought to understand the manner in which space within Eveline Street was utilised and the negotiations/agreements/rules established between different users of space, ranging from businesses, to mobile traders, to leisure participants, to pedestrians and the vehicle users of the street themselves.

The research process comprised both field and desk activities. In the development of the research approach, the team undertook the following desk activities:

- A literature review of published sources, historical information on Katutura, and grey material (government reports) from both South Africa and Namibia. The research included gaining a historical overview of town planning in Namibia.
- An analysis of media reports on Eveline Street and the leisure dynamics as reported in both Namibian and international sources.

The field research component was undertaken in August 2016. The research plan was to involve student researchers and academics in the data-collection process, in critical reflection on the outcomes, and in the dissemination of knowledge. To advance this objective, an informal collaboration (to share knowledge and research experience) was established with senior researchers in the Department of Architecture and Spatial Planning at the Namibia University of Science and Technology. This relationship enabled the research team to recruit six field researchers, gain introductions to officials at the CoW and identify available data sources to enhance the analysis. The researchers mobilised three additional field researchers (persons familiar with Eveline Street) through consultation with the leadership of a local business association.

Data gathering entailed four components. One component was to undertake a business census of all activities within the high street, recording the spatial position of the enterprise, a photograph of business signage and basic details of the business activity. The census approach was extended to include a focal area within a 200m radius of the high street and covering residential business. The geospatial data would enable the researcher to develop geospatial maps; these products provide a visual comparison of the 2016 census data with census data collected by the CoW in 2008 as well as a comparison of the high street data vs. residential area data.

"Our aim was to understand the scope, scale and interconnections between micro-enterprises and the influence of the high street in economic ordering and business opportunities."



Bar dynamics

The second component was to conduct an enterprise survey of each bar, using a questionnaire tool. The survey sought to obtain data on the leisure offering within the venue, the business linkages to other enterprises along the high street, the bar operating hours, employment and distinguishing characteristics of the social environment within the bar and adjacent public space. The third component entailed a spatial/architectural examination of the building structures, documentation of infrastructure components within the streetscape and an analysis of public–private thresholds of one cluster of business activities (whose layout and spatial use is characteristic of broader dynamics). Spatial dynamics were investigated through architectural diagrams and sketches, photographic narration, 3-D modelling and analysis of video material. The fourth component utilised ethnographic methods to research the experiences of employees and entrepreneurs of different business sectors. Snap-shot biographies of the respondents are detailed later in the analysis. As part of the qualitative research component, the researcher conducted interviews with a range of informants (bar users, entrepreneurs, employees, industry reps), made notes of street-life activities, collected artefacts, studied transport movement, recorded video footage, and captured photographs of business activities, infrastructure uses/configurations, human interactions and cultural artefacts. The four strands of research, analysis and interpretation have been brought together and narrated in a visual documentation of the Eveline Street leisure economy through a set of poster exhibits. The posters will be displayed at www.emergentcity.co.za.

Upon the conclusion of the field research phase, the researcher obtained historical data from the CoW on enterprise activities (a site survey from 2008 and data from the city-wide industrial survey in 2012) as well as land-use and enterprise corridor data. The researcher further obtained GIS data on the localities of established bars from the industry. The researcher's own data from the census and survey was compiled into a dataset, error checked and businesses classified according to the business classification utilised in prior research (for an explanation of categories, see Charman & Petersen, 2014). This classification system was applied to all three datasets. A consolidated dataset was then established and statistically analysed to compare the distribution of enterprise activities (proportional and absolute numbers) across time. The geospatial data was translated into a series of maps to illustrate the context of Eveline Street (in terms of the business corridor intervention), to indicate the scope and scale of enterprise distribution and highlight enterprise spatial dynamics, both in the high street and in residential streets.

4. RESEARCH SITE OVERVIEW

Katutura is a settlement situated about 10km north-west of the Windhoek central business district (CBD). Prior to its establishment in the 1960s, black people lived in the Old Location, a township situated close to Windhoek's commercial centre. In the 1950s, the colonial authorities sought to clear the city centre of black inhabitants by eradicating the Old Location and planning a new settlement on the urban fringe. Residents of the Old Location strongly resisted the forced relocation, resulting in a violent clash between protestors and police on 5 December 1959, in which 11 residents were killed. The event is commemorated as the Day of Human Rights. The new settlement (Katutura), in which people began to settle in the 1960s, originally comprised 4 000 standardised houses, plus dormitories; each house had to have a letter symbolising the tribe of the occupants. Friedman (2000:6) argues that the township was cellular and mono-functional in design, facilitating the easy surveillance and control of the occupants (Friedman, 2000:6). Its position, layout and architecture reflected the institutionalisation of apartheid spatial planning (as Namibia was at this time under apartheid governance). In reference to the forced relocation and dislike of the spatial construction, the settlement acquired the name Katutura, meaning 'a place where people do not want to live' (or a variation thereof).

Since independence from South Africa, Namibia has reformed its urban development policies. Home occupants have been afforded property ownerships. Investments in social and physical infrastructure have been undertaken. Katutura has grown (in physical and population size) and is officially no longer referred to as a township, but as Windhoek's north-western suburbs. Since the removal of influx control laws, migration into the CoW has necessitated the expansion of residential settlements and reduced the per capita availability of resources for development. The City responded to the influx of urban residents by creating low-cost housing and 'reception areas': temporary settlements in which migrants could live until more permanent residences were available (Newaya, 2010:59, 100). In Goreangab, a north-western extension of Katutura that was established in 1991, 3 000 low-cost erven were allocated to persons between 1992 and 1999 (World Bank, 2002:7). An additional reception area was established in the township in 1998 (Newaya, 2010:101). As a result of the demand for land on which to establish temporary homes, informal settlements have continued to expand within Goreangab, creating a patchwork of formal and informal land parcels (Mchombu, 2012). One such neighbourhood where this mixture of land use has occurred is Greenwell Matongo, an area named after a famous liberation struggle hero from the Caprivi region. Eveline Street, the focus of our study, runs through the centre of Greenwell Matongo.

5. REGULATORY CONTEXT AND LAND USE

The regulation of liquor in Namibia is set out in Act 6 of 1998 and subsequent amendments of specific aspects. The Act mandates local authorities to determine the suitability of the premise and locational situation from which a business may trade in liquor and/or provide liquor-related entertainment. It specifies that this decision should take into consideration safety, health and town planning requirements, as well as the potential impact on schools or places of worship (Clause 16, i–vi). In granting a licence, the Act empowers the regulatory authority to determine whether the operation of the business will be ‘offensive to the community’. The regulation of liquor in Windhoek is thus subject to the Town Planning Scheme. The Planning Scheme stipulates that liquor cannot be sold for on-site consumption where the property erf from which the business operates is zoned for residential or general residential use (Clause 6, vi). Liquor outlets are thus required to be located under the ‘business’ land-use zone.

“The Council resolved to formalise the businesses operating on Eveline Street, an objective that would require re-zoning the high street erven...”

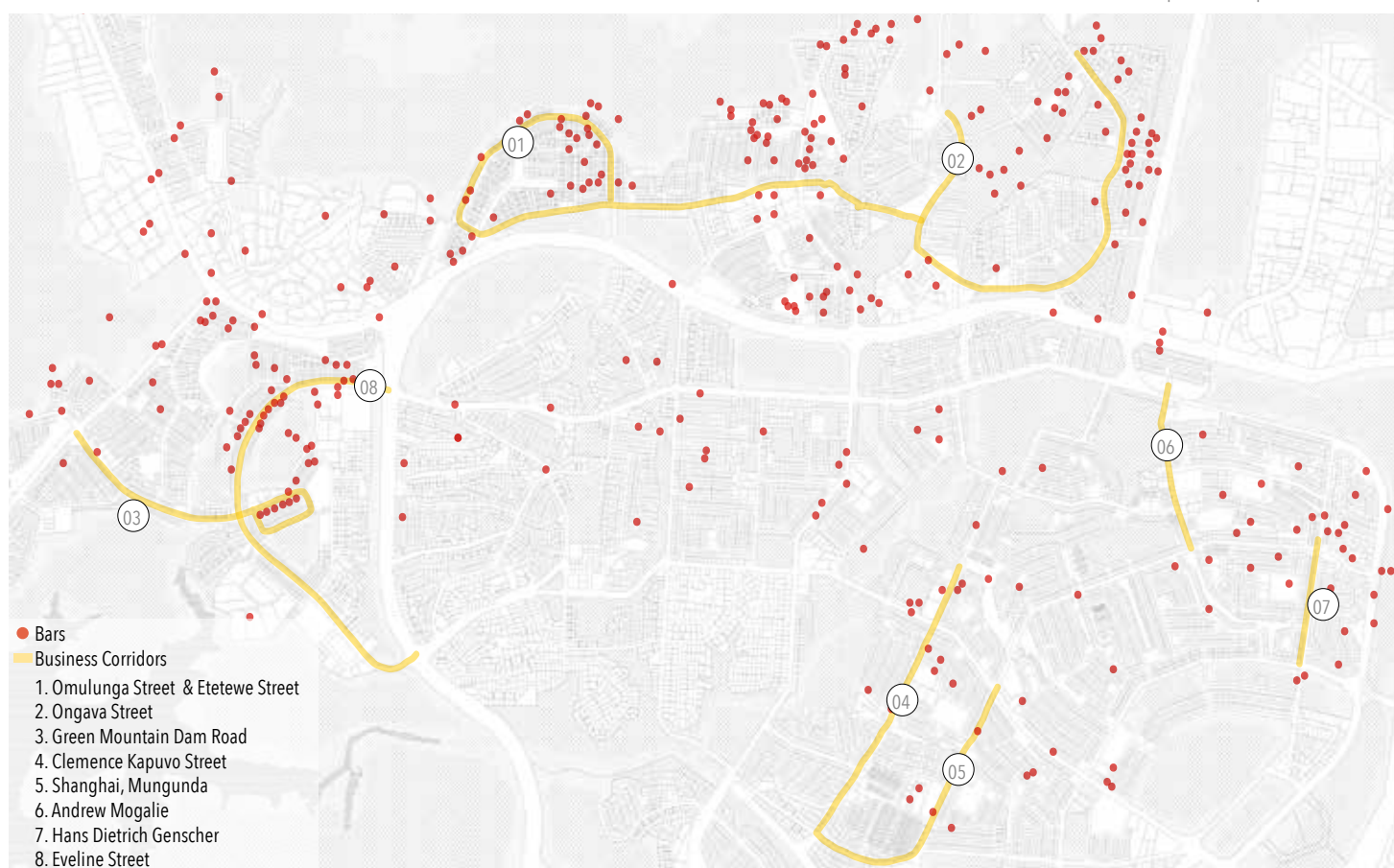
The objectives of liquor regulation have been challenging to achieve. Much of the liquor sold in poor communities throughout Namibia is retailed through unlicensed and informal businesses. The informal trade in liquor (and provision of social spaces) is part of a historical tradition that is rooted in the exclusion of black businesses from the formal economy under colonialism. In the urban townships, these enterprises are known as shebeens, a term borrowed from South Africa. The term shebeen, a word of Irish origin, came into colloquial use in referral to the informal drinking venues which first emerged along with the rise of industrial and mining settlements in the colonial era. These informal bars have since become ubiquitous and are found throughout residential settlements with their spatial distribution spread universally – a pattern that is evidently shaped by localised market demand (Charman, Herrick & Petersen, 2014). In contrast with the South African situation, a significant proportion of shebeens in Windhoek settlements are positioned along transport routes, especially on the arterial and/or local ‘collector–distributor’ roads (road classes 3 and 4) that spatially connect settlements. The agglomeration of shebeens on these streets reflects, we shall illustrate, the role of sedan taxis in the wider Windhoek economy. These roads are considered to be synonymous with ‘high streets’.

Political concerns about unlicensed liquor trading prompted the CoW Council to establish business corridors along high streets wherein enterprises such as shebeens could trade legitimately. The initiative was driven in response to the presence of shebeens in high street localities. The first such business corridor was Eveline Street in Greenwell Matongo settlement, Goreangab Township. The Council resolved (as per resolution 184/08/2006) to formalise the businesses operating on Eveline Street, an objective that would require re-zoning the high street erven and assisting the businesses therein to formalise. This resolution prompted the CoW to undertake a business survey of Eveline Street. The survey (whose results are discussed in more depth in Section 6) found that of the 126 enterprises operating on the high street, merely 11 businesses were in compliance with business regulations and the town planning scheme. Shebeens comprised 63 of the 126 enterprises. Merely six shebeens were licensed at this point. Since 2008 the CoW has expanded the Eveline Street concept, promulgating nine business corridors (see *Map 2*); these are:

- Green Mountain Dam Road (between Eveline and Matshitshi)
- Danela, Audrey and Eileen Streets
- Omulunga Street
- Etetewe Street
- Ongava Street
- Has Dietrich Genscher Street
- Clemence Kapuvo (between Mungunda and Sigfried Tjitemisa)
- Shanghai Street (Mungunda and Independence Avenue)
- Andrew Mogalie Street

In this paper, we use the term ‘bar’ synonymously with the word ‘shebeen’, even though the investigation examines both licensed (what are known in South Africa as taverns) and unlicensed outlets. The term bar is preferred to shebeen in reference to many outlets that include the word in their business name, even though shebeen is the colloquial term for liquor-selling venues (including those with licences).

Map 2: Township Business Corridors



6. HIGH STREET ECONOMY

6.1. DATA ANALYSIS

In the period 2008–2016 (eight years) the high street economy of Eveline Street has undergone notable changes. The density and diversity of enterprise activities has profoundly changed. In eight years the number of businesses has doubled from 133 to 270. Over time, the economy has also diversified from bars and car washes to a wider range of enterprises, with particular growth in service businesses, notably enterprises providing car services and hair care. The trend can be seen in *Figure 1*; the figure compares the relative proportion of enterprises per category, contrasting 2008 and 2016 situations. *Figures 2 and 3* compare the hierarchy and numerical weighting of enterprises across all business categories situated on the high street 2008 vs. 2016. There is evidence to indicate that business ownership has also become more diversified with proportionally fewer enterprises linked to bar owners, though the absolute number has risen from 24 to 56. *Figure 4* shows the distribution of businesses per category linked in ownership to bars: car washes, hair salons and takeaways constitute the bulk of these linked enterprises.

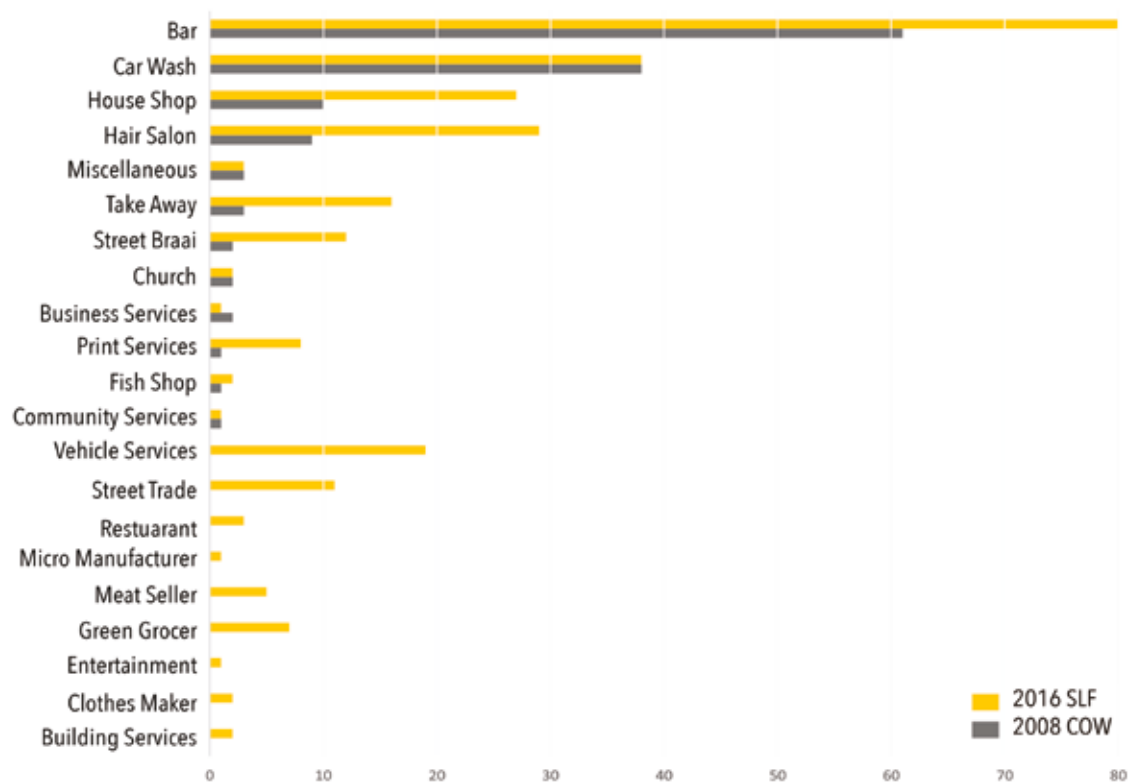
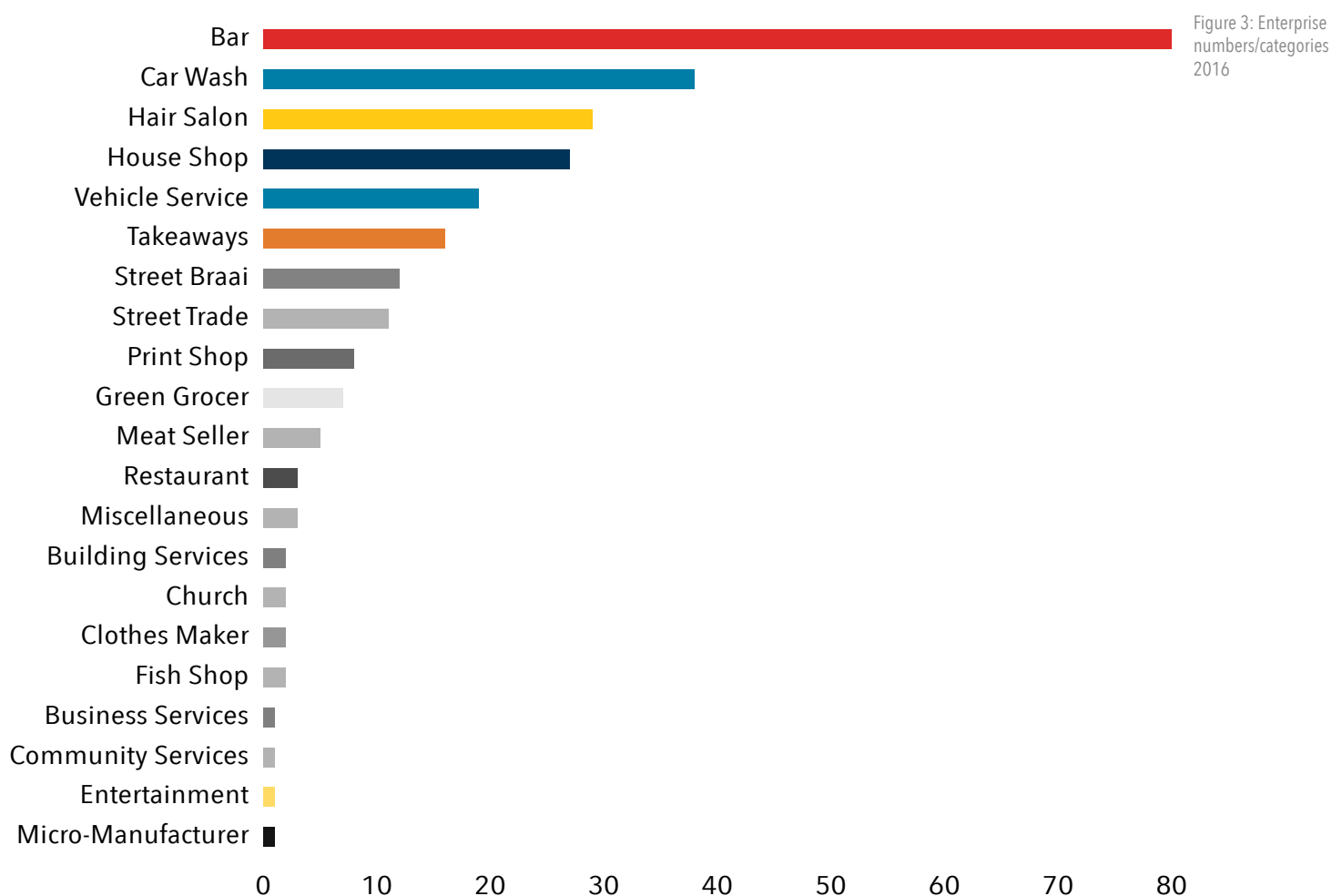
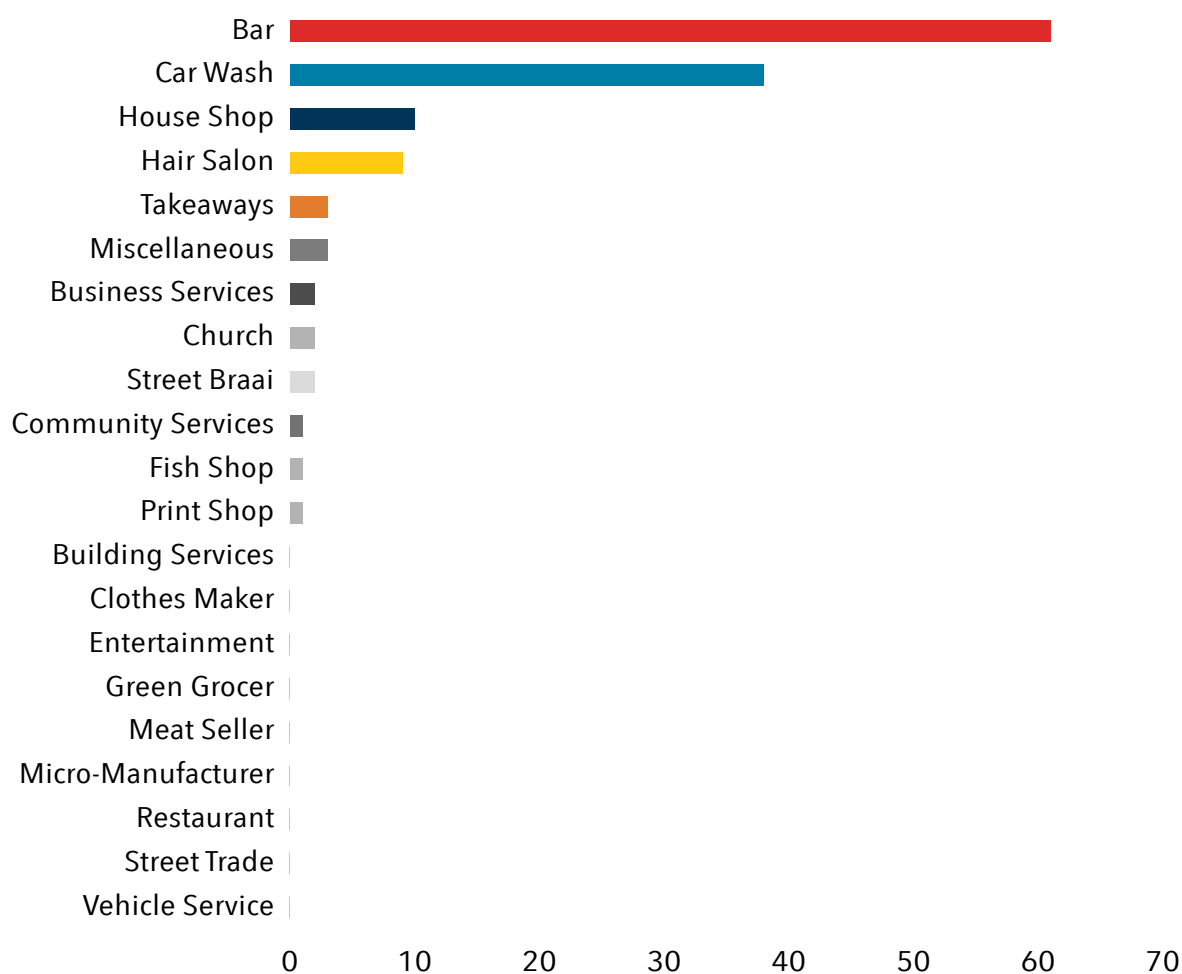


Figure 1:
Enterprise numbers/categories
as percentage of all enterprises
2008 vs. 2016



"In the period from 2008 to 2016, the number of bars increased from 61 to 80, but as a proportion of all enterprises, bars decreased from 45% to 29%."

Maps 3 and 4 show the spatial dynamics of enterprise densification and diversification between 2008 and 2016: it is evident that the growth of enterprise activity has taken place all along the street, with particular clusters a reflection of infrastructure facilities (street braais at the council market) or the availability of trading space on undeveloped land parcels.

In the period 2008 to 2016, the number of bars increased from 61 to 80, but as a proportion of all enterprises, bars decreased from 45% to 29%. The number of car washes remained constant, but fell proportionally from 29% to 14%. The growing diversity in enterprise activities is notable in both survivalist activities (street braais, street trade, green grocers, etc.) and in businesses operating from dedicated business premises. The latter include hair salons (11%), house shops (10%), print shops (3%), food takeaway businesses (5.9%) and vehicle services such as car mechanics, panel beaters and spare-part suppliers (7.1%). The data indicates that there have been changes in the ownership structure of high street businesses. In 2008, 8% of the car washes, 78% of the hair salons, 70% of the house shops and 33% of the takeaways were linked to bars, in other words under common ownership. In the case of both car washes and takeaways, the proportion of enterprises run by bar owners has increased to 82% and 56% respectively. Whereas, in the case of hair salons and house shops, the proportion under bar ownership has decreased to 31% and 7% respectively, thus providing evidence of new opportunities for entrepreneurs who don't own bars.

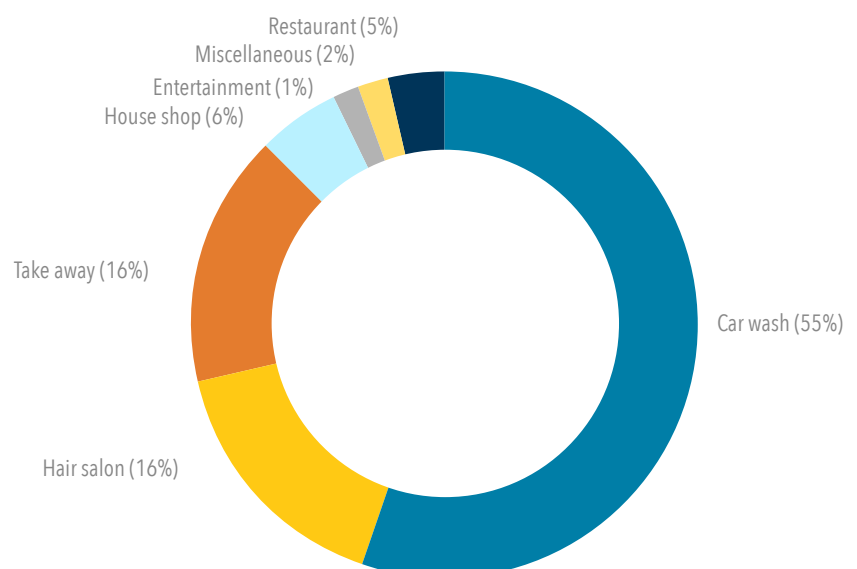


Figure 4: Percentage of enterprise category linked to bars



Map 3: Micro-Enterprise Survey, 2008



LEGEND		2016
	Bar	80
	Car Wash	33
	Hair Salon	26
	House Shop	26
	Vehicle Services	19
	Take Away	15
	Street Trade	12
	Street Braai	11
	Print Shop	08
	Green Grocer	07
	Meat Seller	05
	Church	02
	Clothes Maker	02
	Fish Shop	02
	Miscellaneous	02
	Building Services	01
	Educare	01
	Entertainment	01
	Manufacturer	01
	Restaurant	01

The 2012 Industrial Survey undertaken by the CoW provides data on formalised businesses. These would include all registered enterprises, though it is unclear whether all formalised enterprises comply with zoning requirements. In the City's baseline survey undertaken in 2008, merely 11 businesses were recorded as formalised (in the survey, formalised was defined as operating legally). Four years later the number of legal enterprises in Eveline Street had increased to 64. Over the same period the number of licensed bars grew from six to 34. Also noticeable was the emergence of formal enterprises in hair care, house shops, restaurants, vehicle services and miscellaneous categories. This impressive change testifies to the entrepreneurial impact of the introduction of the business corridor on enterprise formalisation. The 2012 survey unfortunately excludes informal businesses, so we are unable to gauge the broader impact on the high street economy at this particular point in time.

6.2. INNOVATION ENGINES

Eveline Street high street has been shaped by twin engines of enterprise innovation. One is the leisure economy that comprises bars (and the offerings within), restaurants, casinos and businesses related to leisure that include takeaways, street braais and, importantly, hair salons. Hair salons are important because the high street leisure experience is inextricably linked to people's sense of identity. The other engine of innovation is public transport, specifically the tens of thousands of sedan taxis that operate throughout Windhoek. The combination of leisure and public transport has resulted in the kind of developments that are associated with the objectives of TOD. These include: densification and diversification of land use (including a mix of business and residential properties), the reorientation of buildings to facilitate public use, and improvements in the quality of the public realm – the street, sidewalks and public bars in this case. Taxi vehicles are the main customer of the car wash businesses. The taxi sector also provides the main source of revenue for print shops (where taxis obtain their compulsory signs), for wheel alignment, tyre repair, mechanical servicing and panel beating. The taxi drivers are also important customers for hair salons, bars (where non-alcoholic drinks are commonly available), and the various

"The combination of leisure and public transport has resulted in the kind of developments that are associated with the objectives of TOD."

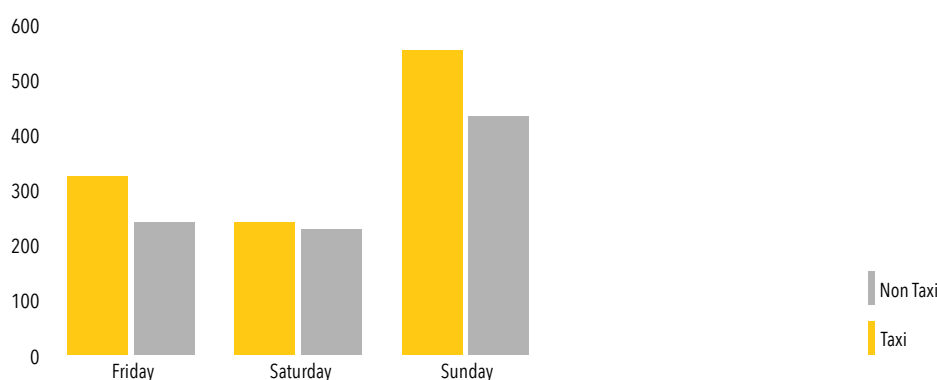


Figure 5:
Traffic Flow (Single Point)
7:00pm–8:00pm,
Eveline Street



Print shop

"The twin engines of innovation intersect in the night-time economy."

street food sellers, in particular the meat sellers situated at the council market where off-street parking is accommodated. Short distance taxi trips within the broader Katutura area cost N\$10; longer trips to the CBD cost N\$20; these prices are considerably cheaper than registered taxi trips in South Africa, which cost roughly N\$10 per km.

The twin engines of innovation intersect in the night-time economy. At night, most businesses close, apart from bars, restaurants, takeaway stores and hair salons. These leisure-related businesses would struggle to survive without taxi transport. Taxis ferry customers to bars and home thereafter, operating late into the night. The high street is both a point of origin and destination. The SLF team undertook a vehicle movement survey along Eveline Street, measuring the volume of traffic flow at 8.00pm over a three-day period. The results are shown in *Figure 5*. The highest volume of traffic was recorded on Sunday evening, when 984 cars per hour traversed the survey position.

The traffic survey found that over 50% of vehicle traffic along Eveline Street in the early evening is taxi-related. Interviews with taxi drivers confirm that a significant portion of their business activity derives from transporting people to bars (and home). Some of the drivers operate until the early morning, particularly on weekends when the high street leisure economy is operating at full capacity. Public transport thus expands the otherwise limited operating windows (in terms of hours of trade) for township businesses, especially those supporting leisure activities. Whilst the Eveline Street leisure economy is spatially isolated from other leisure nodes in Katutura and the Windhoek town centre, taxi transport provides means of connection and integration. Taxi drivers report that they often pick up customers in Eveline Street to take them to other leisure destinations; similarly, people are brought to Eveline Street to attend particular venues.

Within the street itself, there is not a mechanical flow of traffic and commuters along Eveline Street, but rather a movement of people to and from particular destinations. Traffic flow is bi-directional. The tempo of movement is indeterminate since taxis operate on a drop-and-go basis; there is no infrastructure to determine where taxis should stop (see *Figure 6*). At night, revellers take taxis to move from one end of Eveline Street to the other rather than walk, in part to reduce risks of crime. Whilst taxi mobility adds vitality to the high street, it may impede increased pedestrianisation. Our analysis indicates that the high street comprises a multiplicity of single leisure destinations, each largely unconnected

via pedestrian movement. The businesses do not depend, ironically, on the high street phenomenon commonly associated with high streets in CBDs whereby pedestrian flows are central to social and business life. Eveline Street does not function in this conventional sense; instead the business distribution comprises a series of spatial segments that are co-dependent rather than connected. The morphology of the street is also segmented as a consequence of different types of land use, forms of land ownership and states of adjacent residential settlements. The architecture of the street businesses comprises, inter alia, business and single residential property, public infrastructure for businesses and car parking, informal settlements, unoccupied land and, on the fringe, multi-story residential complexes.

Although Eveline Street constitutes part of a growing micro-enterprise economy, most businesses remain financially 'excluded', or at least operate outside the institutional framework of financial systems. As with most informal economy businesses, all transactions are cash based. There is only one automated teller machine (ATM) within the street; although this machine is situated within a newly opened casino. The nearest publically accessible ATM is situated over 1km distant, whilst customers often have to stand in queues 20 to 30 deep simply to access the machine. In order to withdraw cash, revellers of Eveline Street sometimes take taxis to ATMs further afield.



Kapano stands

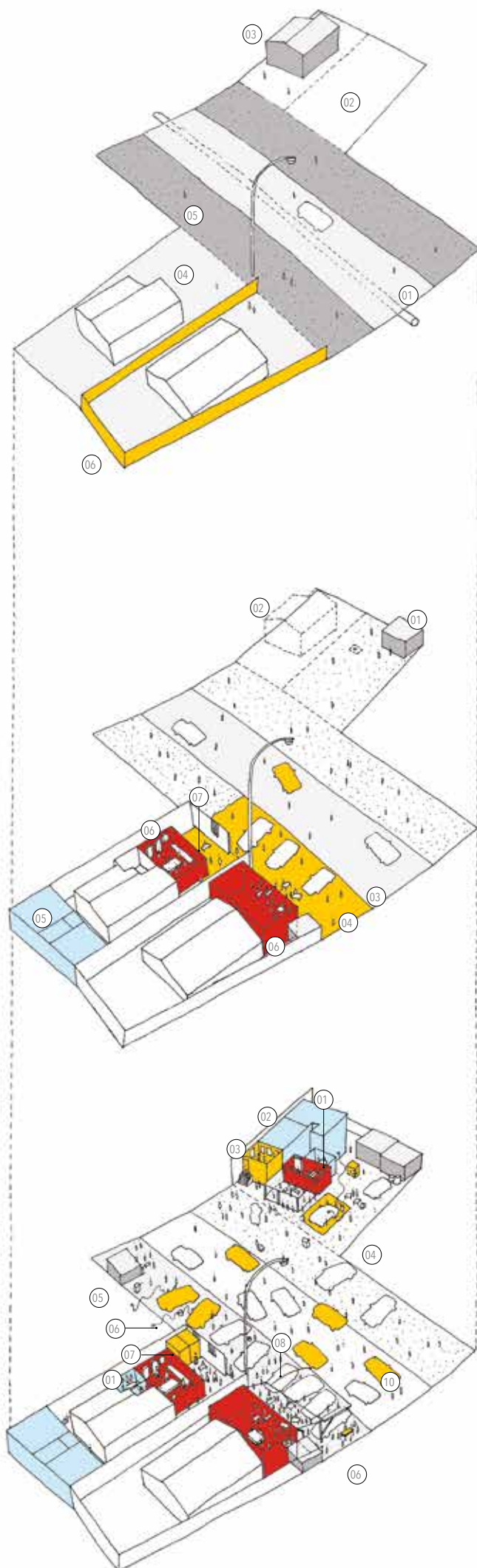
"The wideness of the road reserve, in turn, has permitted businesses and socialisation to concentrate in public space."

6.3.STREETSCAPE

6.3.1.LAYOUT

The urban layout proposed a simple and unimaginative infrastructure; spatial planning sought to reproduce a dormitory neighbourhood. Yet elements within the layout have contributed towards the unforeseen and transformative outcomes (see *Figure 6*). Plot sizes along the high street vary; this has supported diversified land usage. The road reserve is symmetrical, allowing both sides an equal opportunity to grow and develop. The wideness of the road reserve, in turn, has permitted street businesses and socialisation to concentrate in public space. Initial residential dwellings were placed in the centre of the plot. This decision has enabled property owners to develop the land both in front and behind the dwelling. Businesses now occupy the street edge whilst second dwellings have been established at the rear of the house. Whereas the back yard infrastructures tend to be mono-functional (though they increase settlement density), the front yards are multi-functional and dynamically changing. In the establishment of the settlement, boundary walls were absent. This has resulted in relatively flexible thresholds between adjacent properties, encouraging the shared use of opportunities. Pathways that connected residential streets to the high street have been sealed off over time, thus transforming Eveline Street into a conduit, funnelling movement up and down the street.

The re-zoning of land to enable business formalisation has undoubtedly contributed to the development of the high street, particularly with regards to the infrastructure and public space along the high street. Although compliance with regulation (and formalisation) is not an absolute requirement (as is evidenced by some of Eveline Street's businesses pre-existing the re-zoning policies), for those enterprises that have formalised, the changed land-use/business regulatory environment does seem to have stimulated new investment. New investments are evident in substantial building alterations (both horizontal and vertical), infrastructure adaptations, provision of shaded parking, surface treatment (paving), public lighting and in the establishment of satellite enterprises. There is also evident investment in the business facilities of formalised businesses, from seating, to décor, storage facilities and entertainment offerings. The re-zoning of Eveline Street as a business corridor and subsequent enabling of business formalisation has increased the number of legal, formalised businesses on the street – and legal, formalised businesses can safely invest in their businesses without fear of repercussions from the law because they have secure business rights.



A. FIRST FIX

The accompanying digram illustrates the original infrastructure that informed the properties along Eveline Street.

- 01. Serviced infrastructure including roads, sidewalks, drainage and lighting.
- 02. $\pm 200\text{sqm}$ stand sizes with 15m street frontage.
- 03. Standardised State housing placed in middle of plot.
- 04. Large street set-back ($\pm 5,0\text{m}$).
- 05. Large sidewalk on both sides of street ($\pm 8,0\text{m}$).
- 06. Privately constructed boundary walls. Original properties do not have any enclosure.

B. EARLY TRANSFORMATIONS

Early responses to the original infrastructure sought to optimise and appropriate wherever possible.

- 01. Plots that have no formal top-structure are occupied with make-shift structures.
- 02. Original state houses, where unsuitable for occupants desires, are demolished to make way for new structures.
- 03. The road increases in intensity and supports a public transport system (taxi's).
- 04. Sidewalks are appropriated through the use of encroachments, objects and surface treatments. Mountable kerbs allow for cars to access the sidewalk with ease.
- 05. Backyards are optimised with new structures for residential accommodation.
- 06. Additions are added to the front of original structures.
- 07. Semi-permeable front yards are made between the new structure and sidewalk.

C. TRANSFORMED STREETS

Over time, these small incremental changes result in a dramatic change to the street creating a diversity of uses.

- 01. Small residential accommodation is provided in immediate proximity to businesses.
- 02. New top-structures are created to replace original houses that better suit the economic interests of owners.
- 03. Business have direct street relationships and are small in scale.
- 04. Where boundary walls between adjacent properties are absent, interdependent business networks form.
- 05. Small structures are built on the public sidewalk to respond to the opportunity of the busy street.
- 06. Smaller business opportunities such as car washing, kapano and car repairs are stimulated and accommodated along the sidewalk.
- 07. Services such as ablutions are provided by private enterprises for their patrons.
- 08. The sidewalk is highly appropriated to allow for circulation, socialisation, business and entertainment.

Figure 6: Urban Layout

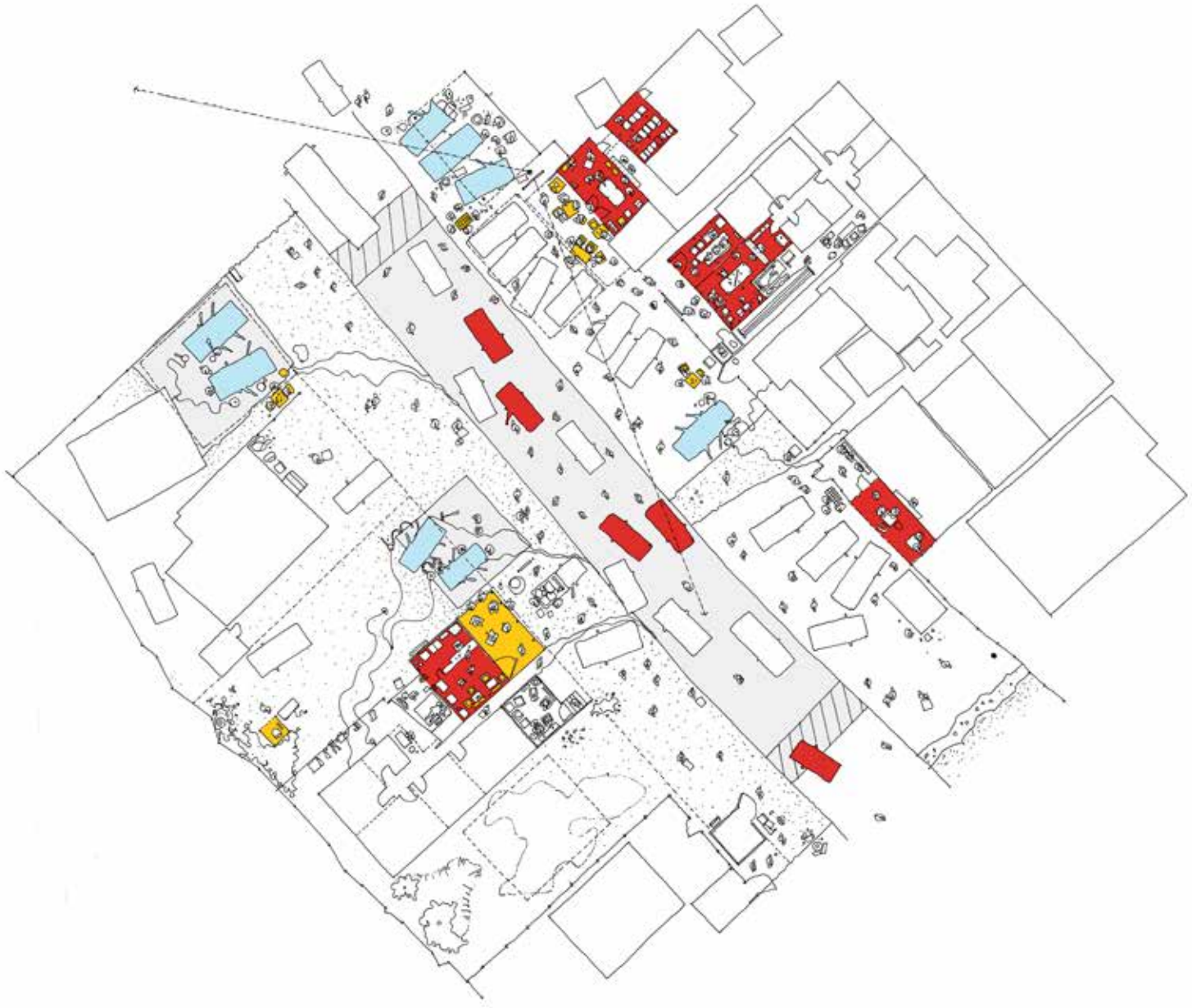


Figure 7: The Sidewalk

6.3.2. STREET ENCROACHMENT

Speed bumps control the speed of vehicles, slowing down commuter traffic. The result is a safer street. The sidewalk has become a multi-functional space, used for pedestrians, car parking, economic activities and socialising. Though the sidewalk is highly congested, the space is semi-regulated, allowing for an intensification and diversification of uses. Some business owners have sought to exert claims to the sidewalk through objects and surface treatment to demarcate boundaries. But the impermanence of the infrastructure established on public land contrasts with the investment on private property, where property rights permit greater investment risk. The architecture of businesses in the street is agile and highly responsive to both opportunities and the contested requirements of multiple users. Most encroachments are temporary appropriations and can be easily removed. The transcendence of thresholds between public- and private-use rights, along with the diversity of architectural responses, has created a differentiated street edge with no two properties utilising space in the same manner.

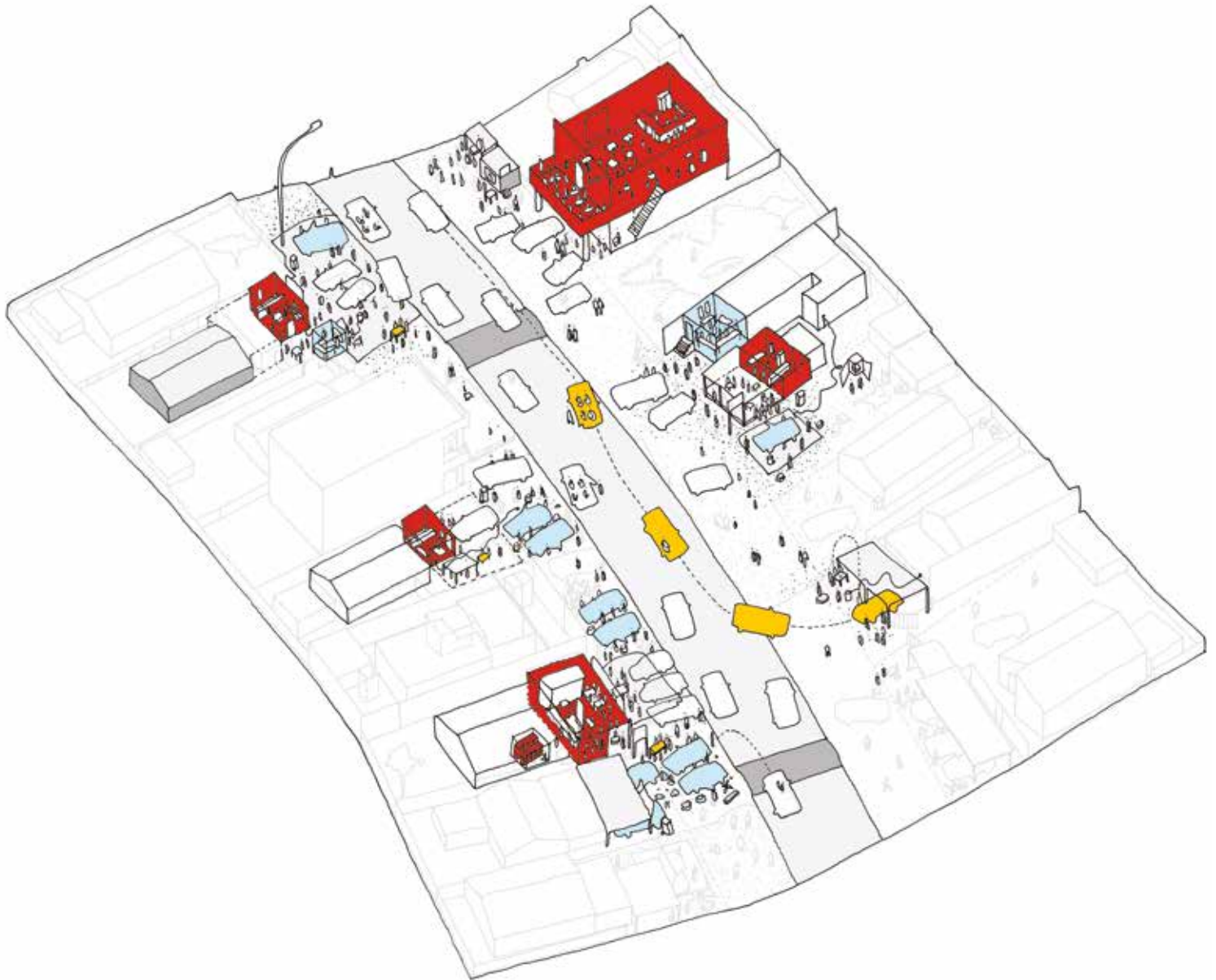


Figure 8: Architectural Interventions

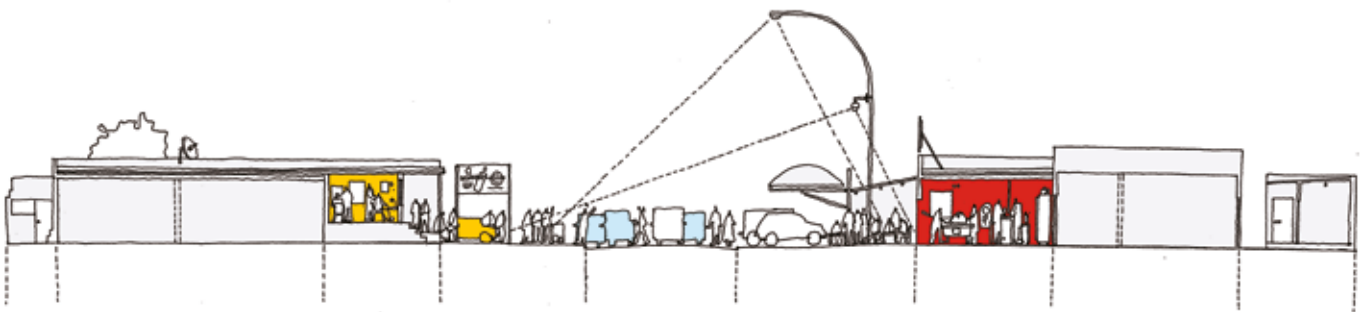


Figure 9: Section: Architectural Interventions

"Overhangs serve the street, providing shelter for business and socialisation."

6.3.3. ARCHITECTURE

Small architectural interventions impact on the way street-fronted businesses and the sidewalk are utilised for social and economic activities (*Figure 8*). The objects that constitute this architecture are fences, gates, lights, bins, surface treatments, kerbs, light posts, overhangs, boundary walls, speed bumps, signage, furniture and shade, to list some examples. These objects are often used in unusual configurations, challenging normative usage. Their use is often subject to considerations of broader social benefit and system flexibility. This can result in a spatial openness that transcends formal property boundaries. Overhangs serve the street, providing shelter for business and socialisation. Public seating (though temporary) animates street life. Businesses operate across spatial boundaries, utilising the objects of neighbouring properties under both formal and informal agreements. There are few boundary walls on the street edge. The threshold between residential dwellings and public space is instead defined by the infrastructure, whose primary function is to support business activities. Vertical building extensions fulfil multiple benefits, expanding the building footprint whilst providing another layer of surveillance/entertainment, so affording a bird's-eye perspective on the spectacle of the street drama.

The architecture of social and business space is people-centred. Buildings, structures and objects come alive through the manner of their usage. As a result, the architecture is preoccupied with attracting people to various spaces. There is a reciprocal relationship between structure, objects and street life. One of the most important variables in shaping this outcome is the width of the street reserve (about 8m) and its symmetrical provision on either side of the road. The sidewalk functions as an urban sponge, absorbing intense and diverse functions, though flexible in its shape and form over the course of the day and across the week. It presents an open system of design and therefore permits micro-architectural interventions that collectively permit greater diversity and inclusivity. Since the sidewalk is accessible to spatial transitions, it is easily appropriated with use rights marked through surface treatments and the use of objects.

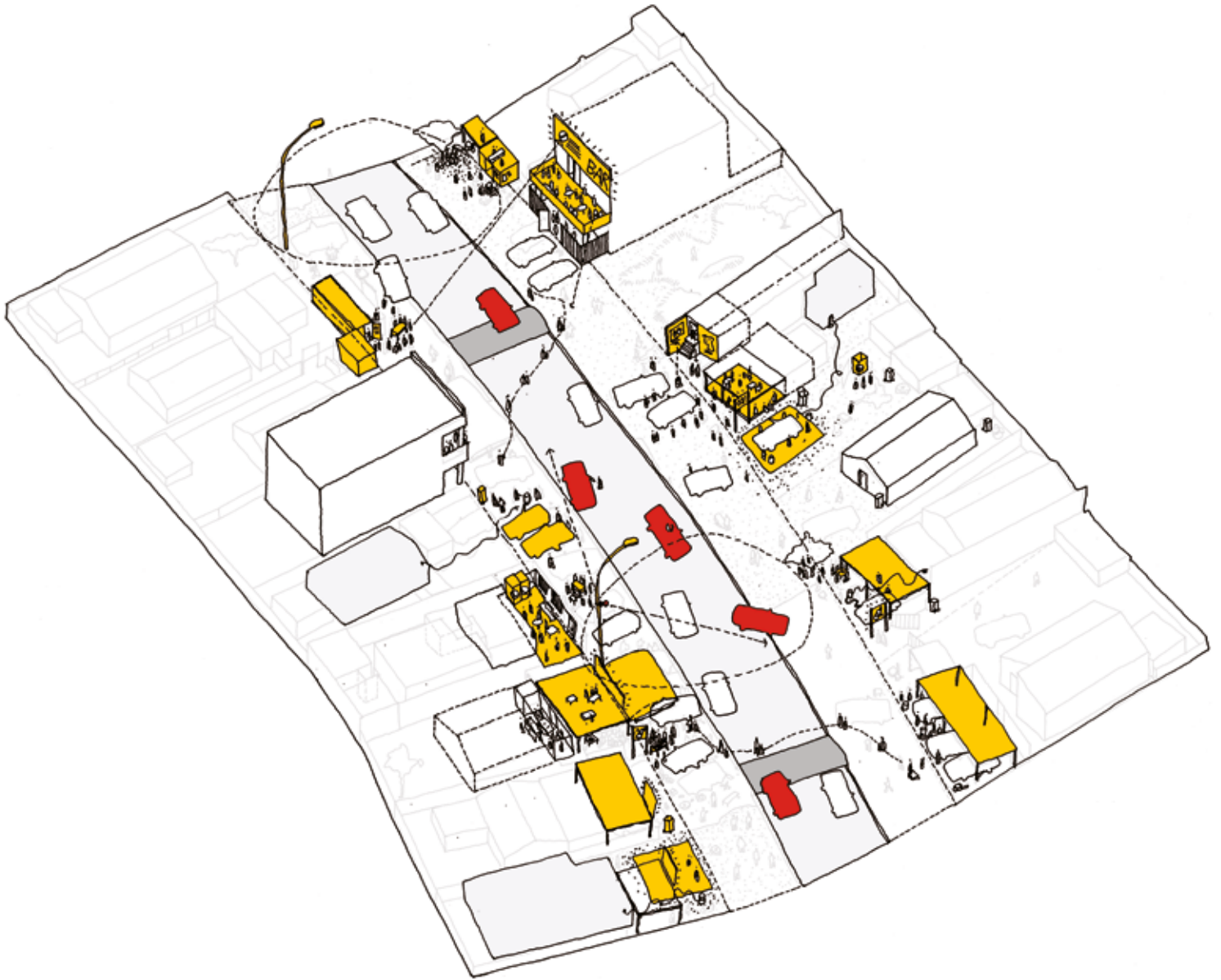


Figure 10: Spatial Interdependence

6.3.4.HIGH STREET NODES

Throughout the street there are clusters of interdependent social, spatial and economic arrangements. The nature of clustering is driven through the actions of patrons in response to factors such as proximity, familiarity and accessibility. As the frequency and intensity of patronage changes, so too will the arrangement of clusters change; new clusters again correspond to interdependent economic opportunities, social impulses and spatial accommodation.

This nodal characteristic means that business and social activities are not spread out evenly, but clustered in particular localities. In spatial terms, the high street comprises a series of disconnected nodes that expand and contract in intensity (see *Figure 10* and *Figure 7*). This fragmented distribution of businesses is supported by the flexibility of taxi operations. The taxis are called to pick up and drop off on demand, resulting in a random and distributed transport generator. In contrast, the bus stops have minimal consequence for the urban form. The large plots on the southern end of Eveline Street show little evidence of repurposing to respond to street dynamics whereas the nodes of greatest intensity correlate to spaces that have undergone the most profound change in built form. Public investments in street lighting, CCTV and the provision of hand-washing buckets enable rather than determine the nodes of activities.



Street dynamics



Casino

7. LEISURE ECONOMY

7.1. SCALE



The scale of liquor trading in Namibia is difficult to quantify. The informal trade component is simply unknown. The Namibian liquor traders' association data, as reported in 2012 to the South African delegation from the Western Cape, accounts for 1 110 unregistered and 441 registered outlets. Within the broader settlement of Katutura, there are approximately 355 established outlets (2016 data) that operate at a sufficient level of business sophistication to have established linkages with upstream distribution channels. These bars comprise both registered and unregistered entities. Collectively, these businesses potentially comprise around 50% of the outlets in broader Katutura, though they may account for up to 80% of liquor sales. With 80 bars, Eveline Street is therefore a major node of liquor retail and drinkertainment. In *Map 2*, we show the relationship of bars to the nine business corridors. It should be noted that most enterprises in Eveline Street are informal, including around half of the venues selling liquor.



Leisure offerings



LEGEND

	Bar	80
	Other Businesses	169

Map 5: Bars on Eveline street, 2016

"Each bar is differentiated in their leisure offering, service provisions, and cultural orientation."

7.2.EVELINE STREET LEISURE ECONOMY DYNAMICS

7.2.1.VENUES

The 80 Eveline Street bars are diverse in character, architecture, interior design, leisure offerings and business set-up. The spatial distribution of the bars along the street is shown in *Map 5*. No two bars are alike. Each holds a unique name (72 of the 80 have business names) and unique brand identity. Although corporate brand influences are discernable, noticeably in signage, décor and bar fridges, most venues have an independence of brand and identity. The business names provide insight into the cultural orientation and/or status-positioning of the business. A minority of the bars have vernacular names, some taken from the name of the owner or a person of significance and some referring to geographic localities. The majority of bars have taken names to convey an urban sophistication (lounge rather than simply bar), connection with foreign places, or British football teams. Examples include: City Bar, Willy's Wine Bar, Tsunami.Com Bar, Long Street Bar, Old Trafford Bar and The Gunners Bar. A sign writer is often employed by township businesses to make the sign. Yet in Eveline Street, much of the signage is produced with the support of product manufacturers. We identified four types of signage of different scale and operation, namely (i) road post signs; (ii) signs affixed to a fence; (iii) signs erected on the building façade; and (iv) billboard signs. Bar signs communicate a particular brand message, often reaffirming cultures of consuming and brand identity.

Each bar is differentiated in their leisure offering (in terms of amusements, entertainment, décor and facilities), service provision (operating times, range of liquor and non-liquor beverages, quality of service, entrance fee, etc.) and cultural orientation. A number of the bars provide a socio-cultural reference point to a particular ethnicity or geographic area. For example, Herero speakers will gather in one bar, people from the Kavango region in another; the various Ovambo groupings each have favoured bars. Similarly, football supporters of Manchester United and Arsenal will congregate in the Old Trafford and The Gunners Bar respectively. Nicky's Durban takes its name from the owner, who once worked as a long-distance transport driver, and Durban (South Africa) being a destination to which he frequently travelled.

7.2.2.LEISURE OFFERING

There is considerable diversity in the leisure offerings of the Eveline Street bars. Although there are common features in most bars, venues also seek to distinguish their leisure offering through the seating arrangement and layout, range of facilities, design features, access to other businesses and shaded parking. Some of the notable strategies through which business owners have sought to influence the drinking occasion are: (i) seating arrangements to enable conversation (facilitated through the provision of chairs and tables); (ii) provision for drinkertainment, combining spatial allocation for dancing and the availability of (loud) music and television watching (especially of sports matches, but also films and 'soap opera' shows, broadcast during the week), which necessitates appropriate seating orientation; (iii) gaming and gambling facilities; and (iv) outdoor seating. The latter is

accommodated, in part, as a result of the breadth of the sidewalk. The overlap between the encroachments of the bar, public social life and street business has particular significance and facilitates multiple uses of space at the same time (leisure, movement, business and conversation). The thresholds between these different uses of space are influenced by an array of devices such as shade, music, seating and entertainment. Nearly all bars in Eveline Street (in contrast to many shebeens in South Africa) have moveable chairs and tables. A surprisingly small number of bars, nine in total, provide fast food, usually via a takeaway kiosk situated outside the venue; this is due, in part, to the alternative sources of fast food within the street. It is interesting to note that bars commonly sell tinned foods (fish and luncheon meat) for consumption by patrons. All the bars sell a range of non-alcoholic beverages, including fruit juices. This is uncommon in South African shebeens. The sale of non-alcohol drinks benefits non-drinkers (such as the taxi drivers), though also underlines the emergence of a comparatively sophisticated drinking culture where soft-drinks are used to enhance taste and/or dilute the alcohol content with mixers.

Our bar survey recorded a range of leisure offerings, including television, DSTV, pool tables, gambling machines and juke boxes. The percentage of bars with these offerings is shown in *Figure 12*. The most common leisure offering was the juke box; these are present in 87% of venues and provide a range of music genres, mainly African in content, but also including hip-hop, rap, house/trance and soul albums. Gambling is a central aspect of bar entertainment, with around 70% of venues having slot machines. Whilst television is central to some venues, such as sport bars, merely 38% of venues have satellite television, though 39% have terrestrial television showing Namibian local content. The researchers interviewed the owners and/or bar staff on the topic of the unique service offering. The responses were diverse, as is to be anticipated considering the different cultural positioning and target markets signalled by the bar names, though several respondents made reference to the

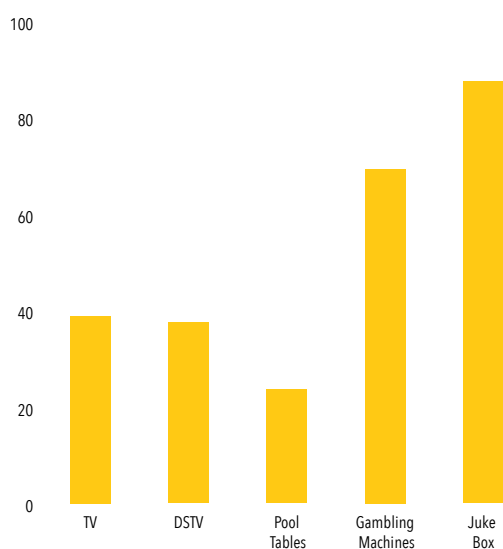


Figure 12: Percentage of all venues with entertainment facilities



social environment of the bar in attracting and securing customer loyalty. Some of the core themes from these interviews are illustrated in the word cloud in *Figure 13*, which shows the perception of favourable venue attributes. The importance of customer service along with creating a 'friendly' and 'safe' environment reoccurs throughout these discussions. The words 'peace', 'order', 'security' and 'no-fighting' underline the importance of safety as a central concern to both patrons and owners. Providing customers with a professional service, cold beer and entertainment is equally recognised, especially in venues that attract a diverse cultural spectrum of patrons. The researchers only encountered a single venue on the high street that sold 'traditional beer'. Informants report that traditional beer is sold widely, though more commonly in bars situated in residential settings.

There is a synergistic relationship between bars, car washes and hair salons. Car washes (and salons to a lesser degree) require access to water and electricity (and space). Since these public utilities in Greenwell are accessed via property, bar owners are favourably placed to operate these businesses. Furthermore, the physical footprint of most property owners' businesses in Eveline Street have encroached onto the street verge and sidewalk, thus providing them with the space in which allied businesses can operate. Yet car washes, hair salons and takeaways are also linked to bars through the dynamic of the leisure economy, each providing services that reinforce their interconnectedness. The Eveline Street leisure economy does not simply comprise a strip or string of bars, but in itself constitutes a place where people 'go out'. For many participants, going out presents an opportunity for displaying a social statement of status, identity and class position. This process of statement-making influences where people drink, with whom they drink and what they drink. These variables combine with other identity statements, such as vehicle ownership and make, the clothing worn, attire and hair style. The hair salons along Eveline Street fulfil an important role in shaping identity. As social spaces in their own right, salons also provide a meeting (and drinking) place for persons to congregate before (and instead

Figure 13: Perceptions of Favourable Venue Attributes

of) going out. The researchers were surprised to encounter the sale of alcohol in salons, a feature that is common though not universal. Salon leisure is particularly important for women as a place to meet (and have their hair done).

There is a symbiotic relationship between car washes and bars. Taxi drivers have an imperative to keep their vehicles clean because customers prefer clean cars. Since the cleaning of a vehicle can be quite time consuming (20 minutes or longer), drivers tend to favour those bars that provide car wash facilities and leisure offerings to suit their tastes. The bars provide a place of respite, where the drivers can meet friends, watch TV, have a quick meal, and sit and relax out of the sun and heat. Bars are also sites where new customers can be found.

7.2.3.EMPLOYMENT

One respondent (possibly the owner) thought that the venue's unique offering included the friendliness of the 'female employees in short shirts'. Indeed, many Eveline Street venues are operated by 'bar ladies'; male employees are less commonly found to be working behind the counter and tend to fulfil roles in operating car washes, providing security and managing venues. Some of the bar ladies also manage the business. Within Eveline Street, 90% of the bars are run by a manager; merely eight bars are owner-operated. In the 72 businesses surveyed, we counted 124 full-time employees and 15 part-time workers. Twenty-six bars (36% of total) employ two or more persons. The employment figures (presumably) exclude employees in linked enterprises, such as car washes, hair salons and takeaways. Workers in car washes and hair salons are remunerated in relation to the business turnover. Bar work is poorly paid. Informants reported that bar ladies earn around N\$1 500 per month (though in some cases higher sums), depending on their role in the business. Bar work demands long hours, and staff typically work seven days a week.

7.2.4.TEMPORAL DYNAMICS

Most bars open at 10.00 am in accordance with licence conditions. There is little demand for alcohol sales and leisure offerings during the day, except on weekends when demand intensifies in the mid-to-late afternoon. During the day time in the week, there is almost no drinkertainment on offer, the bars instead provide a social space facilitating conversational interaction (among friends/countrymen) and television watching. Serious drinking (including binge drinking) and drinkertainment usually commence in early evening and into the night, precipitated by the arrival of workers on route home (during the week) and leisure seekers (on the weekend). Bars are busiest during the weekend. The demand for leisure lasts late into the night. Our bar survey found that merely 22% of bars remained open after 10.00pm during the week, whereas on Saturday the number increases to 73%, with a few bars even operating until dawn. The night-time demand for leisure provides business for a small number of restaurants and food sellers. One such restaurant owner reported that the bulk of his sales occurs late at night, with customers tending to purchase food having concluded drinking/partying in the bars rather than the other way round.

"The state (Namibian police) exercises surveillance of the street through CCTV cameras situated at seven points along the street and via vehicle patrols of the street."

7.2.5. RISKS AND SECURITY

Unlike the leisure economy of Northern cities (and cities in South Africa), the security of the Eveline Street high street remains largely non-privatised. A few bars do employ bouncers and security guards, but these seem to be in the minority. Most bars are publicly accessible: the bar space traverses both the private realm of the bar itself and the street encroachment. At night, tables and chairs migrate into public space, under shade awning established for day-time car wash activities and onto paved surfaces beyond. A few bars have sought to enclose public spaces, motivated more through concerns for security than ownership, though such enclosures have only been done in particular spatial contexts with higher crime risks. The publicness of the bars permits a fluidity of movement within venues and between venues. As a result of the combined influence of the agglomeration of bars (the sheer number) and the expansion of venues into the public realm, Eveline Street bars do not have the same risks of spatial confinement associated with bars in township residential settlements (and universally characteristic in South African taverns). In general, the patrons have access to uncontested space, whilst the availability of space allows for drinkers to assemble seated around tables. Conflicts of congestion (spilt drinks, physical encounters of bumping and pushing, etc.) are thus minimised. Within the bars, there is limited evidence of overt self-regulation through, for example, rules/signage or the use of a cover charge. Only six venues displayed autonomous rules. Instead, indirect strategies of control (such as controlling the volume of music) provide the main tools through which bar owners and managers seek to exercise control.

The street itself harbours risk. Muggings happen throughout the street, though they occur especially in localities outside the preview of the bar customers, at street corners and adjacent to underdeveloped land parcels. The state (Namibian police) exercises surveillance of the street through CCTV cameras situated at seven points along the street and via vehicle patrols of the street. The frequency of police patrols intensifies at night. A police outstation is situated within 50m of a central node within Eveline Street, though the station's contribution to risk reduction is unclear. The police do monitor licensing conditions, though the emphasis is seemingly on adherence to operating hours. The structural composition of the street and enterprise mix might also have a role in minimising crime through, for example, the accessibility of businesses to the street, the surveillance of bar customers seated on the forecourt and the informal patrolling of taxi drivers, providing three means through which street monitoring is enhanced.

7.2.6. DRINKING AND DRUNKEN SOCIABILITY

Eveline Street has acquired a reputation for drinking and (drunken) sociability. The reputation derives in part from the agglomeration of bars (though Eveline Street is not alone in this respect) and media coverage. An analysis of media articles on bars (and drinking) in Eveline Street reveals the contrasting perspective between news coverage targeted at local readership and news coverage targeted at international audiences. Eveline Street is portrayed in local newspapers as a site of contestation between bar owners and the local

residents. The bars are seen as responsible for fostering a culture of heavy drinking, which in turn (is it claimed) results in public violence and crime. Yet specific crime incidents are rarely mentioned in these articles. Opponents of what they perceive as a generalised state of immorality and illegality within Eveline Street call for state action to close shebeens (nationally) and tighten regulations on liquor trading. To an international audience, Eveline Street is portrayed as a desirable destination where visitors can safely engage in the kind of leisure economy with which they are familiar from their Northern experience. This media coverage does not speak of crime or immorality. Indeed, a township bicycle tour operator takes clients (mainly Europeans and Americans) on cultural tours along Eveline Street.

Amongst some local participants, the reputation of Eveline Street as a place of heavy drinking has been re-appropriated in emergent youth identities. Print shops produce stickers that directly (and indirectly) celebrate a drinking and partying counter-culture. These icons include the signs: Gas Gang – drinkWELL/greenWELL, Taliplak (showing a person downing a drink) (the name possibly derives from a local DJ), and Dis Lekker in Windhoek (showing a man ‘dabbing’). A number of videos have been posted on YouTube of people engaged in the sociability around drinking. One such video, titled ‘Eveline Street Windhoek: African puppet master spices up drinking sessions at shebeen’ shows a puppeteer entertaining the bar patrons through his puppet’s hip-hop dance routine. Within sites such as Eveline Street, emergent forms of youth drinking culture have begun to take expression, constituting a combination of masculine/sexualised identity, corporatist consumption and brand exhibitionism, along with expressions of social autonomy (from the constraints of traditional culture and parental control).

“The reputation of Eveline Street as a place of heavy drinking has been re-appropriated in the emergent youth identities.”



Residential street

7.3.IMPACT ON THE RESIDENTIAL AREA

From a liquor regulatory policy perspective, much of the support for the high street concept has been premised on the proposition that liquor establishments would relocate (or be compelled to move) away from residential areas. The licensing opportunity afforded to high street businesses would provide a pull factor, so the argument goes, whilst the enforcement of law against illegal businesses would provide the push. The Eveline Street example, with 80 bars in the high street, thus provides an advantageous case study to investigate the endurance of otherwise residentially based bars. To understand these issues, the researchers surveyed all business activities in a focal area within a 200m radius of the high street, selecting a non-random central point that straddled both formal and informal settlements. We found a surprising number of bars situated in residential localities. These businesses have no direct linkages to the high street. Their spatial distribution reflects the findings from previous studies that bars occupy positions within neighbourhood micro-markets, serving residents in particular streets or particular social niches. In proportional terms, the research found more bars (in relation to other enterprises) in residential areas than along the high street. The proportional distribution of the identified businesses is shown in *Figure 14*. Based on this data, we deduce that business corridors such as the one in Eveline Street are unlikely to draw leisure activities away from residential areas. But high streets should be supported, none the less, for the broader impact on the economy and spatial environment.

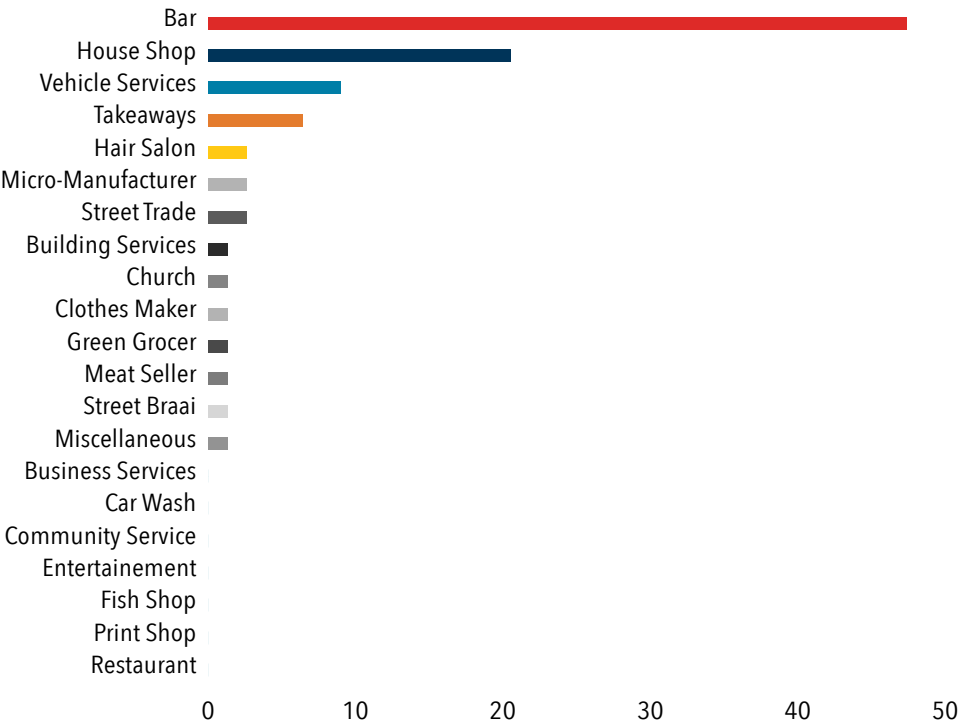
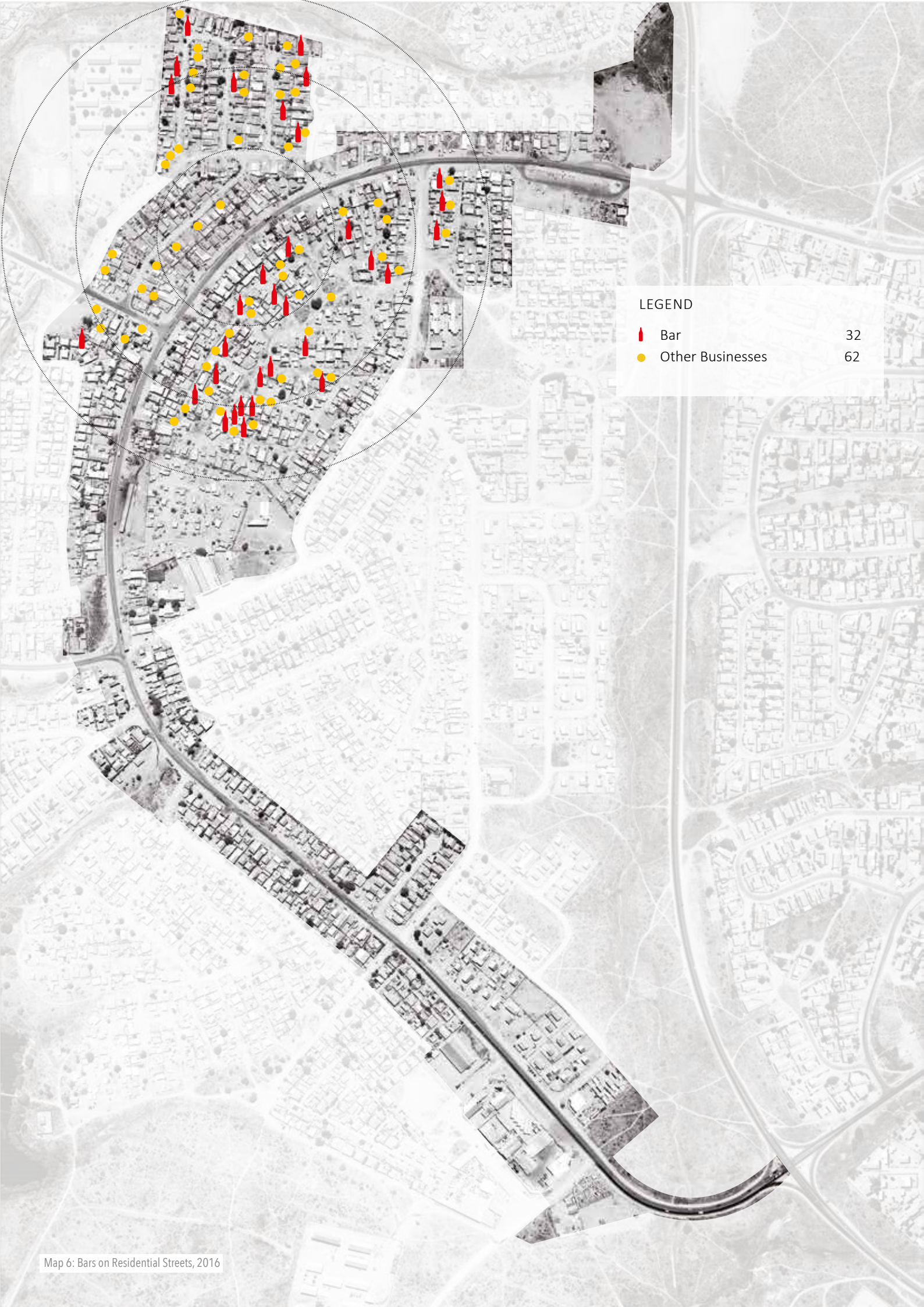




Figure 14: Enterprise numbers/ categories as a percentage of all businesses residential focus area, 2016



LEGEND

	Bar	32
	Other Businesses	62

Map 6: Bars on Residential Streets, 2016

7.4.BUSINESS PERSON AND EMPLOYEE BIOGRAPHIES

The researchers interviewed a number of business owners and employees in different enterprise sectors. We asked them about the work they undertake, the opportunities and challenges within their businesses, and the advantages and disadvantages of working in Eveline Street. Below is a collection of snap-shot biographies of some of the persons with whom we engaged.



MATHEW, TAXI OWNER AND DRIVER

Mathew is 21 years old and lives in the Havana informal settlement. He is a taxi driver, operating a Toyota Corolla. He started driving four years ago, working for an employer. Mathew and his employer reached a business agreement which enabled him to gain ownership of the vehicle once he had generated N\$60 000 in profit. He has now surpassed this target and owns the car. His ambition is to raise N\$100 000 and purchase two vehicles. Mathew frequents Eveline Street as it is a popular destination for customers, and he regularly goes to Eveline Street to have his car washed.



NDAPANDA, TAKEAWAY EMPLOYEE

Ndapanda is a young woman aged 23, employed at a takeaway located along Eveline Street. She has worked in that business for the past two years. She stays with her husband in Goreangab; they have no children. Ndapanda starts work every day at 6.30am and ends at 5.30pm. She sells chips, cooldrinks and other locally cooked foods. Her employer owns the kiosk, which is located on the erf where she lives. Ndapanda's employer handles all finances and she is paid a fixed salary of N\$1 500 per month. Every month, she sends some of her money home to her family.



HIDIPOHAMBAMBA, HAIR SALON, BAR AND VEHICLE SERVICE ENTREPRENEUR

Hidipohamba is a 41-year-old male, from the Oneheke village in the far north of Namibia. He is married and has four children. He has four sisters and supports 15 people with the income he earns, including his own children. He started his first business, Em Casa Hair Salon, in 1997. In 2003 he opened a car wash, a bar and car maintenance shop, specialising in wheel alignment. The salon is normally busy from 1.00pm until early evening, though the weekends are the busiest. He makes between N\$2 000 and N\$2 500 per day. On weekends his income increases to N\$3 500 per day. His monthly expenditure is around N\$13 000. He says that the advantage of having a hair salon in Eveline Street is that the street is very busy and there is a lot of foot traffic. People choose to come to the street, he believes, because they find all their needs fulfilled as the street offers a wide range of services. Customers do not have to travel far to have their hair done. The biggest disadvantage, he thinks, is that the space allocation/business area is not equally distributed. Business competition is stiff. Crime is a serious concern as thugs capitalise on the busyness of the street to grab bags, cell phones, tablets and other valuable goods. There is also crime inside the shop when it is very crowded.



SHIVUTE, CAR WASH EMPLOYEE

Shivute is a single male aged 21, with no dependents. He failed his final school examinations and decided to look for a job; in 2012, he was fortunate to obtain a job at a car wash. His employer, Mr K., owns five car washes in Katutura. Shivute works every day of the week and earns an average of N\$1 400 per month. His remuneration is linked to the business turnover. The busiest days of the week are Fridays and Sundays. On a normal day, he washes between five and six cars, and on busy days between ten and 11. Most customers are private car owners and are charged N\$40, though taxis are charged N\$30. Bakkies and mini buses are charged N\$50 whilst 22-seaters like the Iveco are charged N\$120. He says that the advantage of working in Eveline Street is that it is busy; it is a public transport route and has lots of bars where customers can leave their cars to be washed and relax, hence 'Sundays are so busy because customers have more time on their hands to relax and enjoy themselves'. The disadvantages, he says, are that the car wash can be overcrowded and become difficult to work in. Thugs also take advantage of the situation and grab valuable goods from cars or customers. Sometimes they inflict injury on customers that try to fight back.



ISAACS, KAPANO SELLER

Isaacs is a 25-year-old man who sells Kapana meat along Eveline Street. He came to Windhoek from Akongo, a village in northern Namibia, in search of employment opportunities, and has been working at the Kapana stand for the past two years. He rents a room in Havana (an informal settlement) where he lives with his girlfriend and child. Apart from supporting his family in Windhoek, he sends money to his parents back in the north. Isaacs rents the Kapana stand on a monthly basis. A typical day starts at 7.00am with him going to Blackwater to buy a cow for slaughter. He gets to the stand with his meat and starts braaing and works until around 9.00pm (or longer, if he has a lot of customers from the neighbouring bars), with the weekends and month-ends being the busiest times. On average he makes roughly between N\$1 600 and N\$2 000 a month after paying for operating expenses. Earnings are small. He prefers Eveline Street to other Kapana locations because of the high traffic and many bars along the street that bring him a lot of customers. On the other hand, he dislikes the long hours he spends in the sun and the heat of the braai.



JOSEPHINE, STREET VENDOR



ABRAHAM, BARBER SHOP OWNER



HEINI, TAKEAWAY EMPLOYEE

Josephine is a single mother aged 27 years, who sells cooldrinks along Eveline Street. She is originally from Opuwo, a village in northern Namibia, but she came to Windhoek in 2009 to search for opportunities. She has been self-employed for the past eight years (since 2009). Now she lives in Goreangab where she stays with her child, and she sometimes sends money home to her parents, who are still in Opuwo. Every day she wakes up at 6.30am and goes to Namica market to buy cooldrinks. After that, she gets to her corner and starts selling. Normally she works until 5.00pm, except on busy days, like weekends and month-ends, when she can work as late as 7.00pm. Josephine makes on average N\$50 to N\$60 a day. She likes Eveline Street because it has a large number of customers, but on the other hand she dislikes the strong male influence in the street, which can at times be abusive.

Abraham is 35 years old. He is unmarried and without children. He has operated his barber shop on Eveline Street since 2012, and operates the business in partnership with Eve, a close friend. The business premise is a corrugated iron shack, which he rents from the plot owner. The business operates from 7.30am until 8.00pm or later, especially on Saturday and Sunday. Abraham employs two stylists. There is no music or television in the salon. On a regular day of trading, Abraham does about 20 haircuts on men, with prices ranging from N\$25 to N\$45. The most popular cut is the 'English cut'. What he likes most about Eveline Street is its busyness: he says that there is 'always money to be made here'. The most challenging aspect of the street is theft. His ambition is to grow the business and open another salon in a different locality.

Heini is a young woman who works in a kiosk that is next to a bar. She came to Windhoek four months ago (prior to August 2016) and is living with her uncle and his family in Eveline Street. She does not have any children, though she uses part of her income to support her parents and siblings back in Okalongo, as well as to pay for her studies. The bar and kiosk in which Heini works are both owned by her uncle, who runs the businesses from home. Her typical day starts at 8.00am and ends at 10.00pm when the kiosk closes. She works shifts with another female employee. The kiosk makes around N\$200 profit a day. She was unwilling to talk about her salary but she said she is satisfied with what she gets.

100%
CARWASH



8.CONCLUSIONS

"The transformation witnessed in Eveline Street would not exist without the influence of an agglomeration of bars, clubs and restaurants, and... personal services, public transport and car washes."

Eveline Street provides a case of 'handmade urbanism' in terms of how the objectives of TOD can be substantially achieved. This has taken place through a combination of land-use planning instruments (notably commercial zoning and private land holding), private-sector initiated business investment (in buildings and establishing businesses) and public transport. In this case, the leisure economy (which includes bars, allied businesses and late-night drinkertainment) has been a central component in enterprise development, fostering both densification and diversity. The creation of a business corridor along Eveline Street in 2008 (thus enabling property owners to acquire commercial land-use rights) has enabled enterprise formalisation and legitimisation (through which process bars are able to obtain liquor licences). Not all businesses have formalised, but those that have (64 businesses in 2012) have forged a developmental vision of enterprise, architectural and spatial transformation. The business corridor initiative responded to an organic assembly of bars along the high street, providing an institutional framework for an emergent economy to evolve and regularise. Though the initial target were bars, the corridor has unleashed opportunities for a diversity of service-oriented enterprises.

The transformation witnessed in Eveline Street would not exist without the influence of an agglomeration of bars, clubs and restaurants, and allied activities like personal services, public transport and car washes. Over an eight-year period, we can trace (using spatial data and surveys) a densification in business activities and diversification of ownership. We did not find evidence of economic concentration and marginalisation of opportunities. More people are running more businesses, offering a range of services and products. Additionally, the range of social offerings has also diversified, with alcohol-selling venues still central, but with separate food venues providing a diversity of attractions. The bars themselves are not singularly focused on alcohol consumption, but offer a choice of leisure attractions (seating for conversational socialisation, music listening, TV watching, pool playing and gambling), with the consumption of non-alcohol drinks an unquestionable part of bar socialisation.

The bars of Eveline Street have helped to position this township high street as a destination in the same way that Long Street in Cape Town has become a leisure node. As a destination, Eveline Street attracts customers from across the CoW, thereby contributing to a public transport sector whose very role permits inclusiveness by enabling persons without vehicles to access the numerous leisure offerings. The attraction of taxi vehicles to Eveline Street has, in turn, helped to stimulate vehicle-service businesses, a development that has arisen subsequent to the presence of informal bars. A leisure-centric development process has influenced the form of business infrastructure as well as the availability and quality of public space. Over time, bars have undergone an architectural transformation – from house venues to purpose-designed commercial premises – extending the business foothold both vertically and horizontally. The double buildings with balcony bars, though few and scattered along the street, underline the sense of place and belonging that the combined leisure offering has achieved. People hang out in Eveline Street bars to see people and to be seen themselves. The street verge accommodates an exhibition of the 'self', displayed most ostentatiously in the vehicles parked outside the bars.

The impact of the economic and social activities on the high street in residential neighbourhoods is less evident than we anticipated. Our research found that the high street has not eliminated the demand for alcohol-selling and social venues in neighbourhood localities or limited their occurrence. The availability of residential bars and spatial distribution within a focal area surrounding one point in Eveline Street is consistent with residential settlements studied in South Africa, where no such high street dynamic exists. But the late-night leisure economy does heighten risks of crime, especially for pedestrians on the high street. As a leisure destination, the leisure economy amplifies vehicle traffic moving into the settlement, some of which traverses residential areas. The street also generates much noise (from vehicles, music and socialisation), though leisure activities fluctuate over the week, with late-night socialisation concentrated on Friday and Saturday evenings, peaking and dipping according to wage payment cycles.



Nightscape

9. RECOMMENDATIONS

The development outcomes documented in Eveline Street could be unlocked in other social contexts and settlement dynamics. For city and state authorities, the most important policy variables which can enable leisure businesses to enhance economic growth are:

- A focus on transit-oriented streets;
- Secure property rights;
- Commercial land use/zoning to permit diverse business activities;
- Diverse land-use ownership;
- A diversity of land-use parcels, ideally no smaller than 150m²;
- A wide street layout (symmetrical) to accommodate off-street parking and social interaction;
- Public investment in street lighting, traffic calming and safety controls;
- Policy endorsement to enable the formalisation and regulation of liquor trade along the high street;
- Policy endorsement of sedan taxi operation and action to reduce obstacles to public transport permits.



Balcony bar

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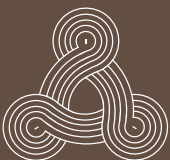
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