

RESILIENCE ON THE STREET: LIVED EXPERIENCES OF CAR GUARDS

IN

WINDHOEK'S CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT

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ABSTRACT

This study delves into the challenges and aspirations of car guards, a vulnerable community aiming to improve their overall well-being. The research, conducted through semi-structured interviews guided by qualitative methodology, offers profound explanations for the multifaceted struggles faced by car guards. The interview used a semi-structured guide, which was meticulously designed to capture the rich and diverse experiences of car guards. In addition, photographs were used as a supplementary method to collect data, offering a visual context for their living and working conditions. The findings illuminate the complexities of car guards' lives, highlighting issues such as limited health care access, inadequate housing, financial vulnerabilities, and occupational hazards. Despite these challenges, the study underscores the remarkable resilience, determination, and hope demonstrated by car guards as they navigate their precarious circumstances. This study recommends urgent policy reforms, including the revision of restrictive municipal bylaws, and emphasises the importance of addressing basic needs such as healthcare, clean water, and nutrition. Education and skills development programmes are advocated to enhance employability, coupled with financial support mechanisms and community engagement initiatives. Environmental safety training and psychosocial support services are essential. Empowering car guards to advocate for their rights and involving them in decision-making processes are crucial steps towards creating a more inclusive and supportive urban environment. By implementing these recommendations, society can recognise and nurture the resilience of car guards, thus fostering a compassionate and equitable society for all. This comprehensive approach, informed by qualitative research and visual data, contributes significantly to understanding the unique experiences of car guards and supports their journey towards a brighter future.

Keywords: resilience, informal sector, car guards, living and working conditions

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU: African Union

CBD: Central Business District

COVID-19: Coronavirus 2019

COW: City of Windhoek

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GRN: Government of the Republic of Namibia

ILO: International Labor Organization

NSA: Namibian Statistics Agency

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SSC: Social Security Commission

UMIC: Upper-Middle Income Country

UN: United Nations

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

WHO: World Health Organization

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DEDICATION

To my Family: Past, Present, and Future.

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DECLARATIONS

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DAWID GAWASEB



OCTOBER 2015

Name of Student

Signature

Date

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The practice of car guarding, prevalent in South Africa and Namibia, provides a valuable service in managing parking lots and ensuring the safety of vehicles. Car guarding, a common practice in South Africa, involves individuals stationed in shopping mall parking lots wearing identifiable yellow or red bibs (Geldenhuys, 2015). Their duty involves guiding drivers to available parking spots (Geldenhuys, 2015), and upon acknowledgement, these car guards vigilantly monitor parked vehicles while owners shop. Likewise, car guards are present in nearly every parking area in Namibia (Kaalushu, 2023; Muningirua, 2015; Nkhatau, 2017). They provide a sense of security to the vehicle owners, deterring potential theft or vandalism with their presence and vigilance (Bothma & Blaauw, 2003). Hence, it can be said that this service is especially valuable in busy areas where parking spaces are limited, and the presence of car guards helps in efficiently managing the parking lots and ensuring the safety of parked vehicles.

According to Nkhatau (2017), unemployed people are driven to engage in car guarding because of their poverty and limited job opportunities, as they are in need of income for their survival. This idea is reinforced by Nendongo (2011, p. 9), who discovered that a significant portion of Windhoek's unemployed residents sustain themselves through various informal means, including working as casual labourers, newspaper vendors, and car guards, and engaging in activities like selling Chinese products.

Urban areas such as the Windhoek Central Business District (CBD) are regarded as important physical assets through which car guards secure their livelihoods (Hayes, 2022).

These car guards face various weather conditions and frequently experience harassment and discrimination from drivers (Foster, 2015; Nkhatau, 2017). As a result of its precarious nature and meagre earnings, car guarding is also considered a provisional method of subsistence (Steyn et al., 2015). Therefore, most car guards understand that it will not yield long-term improvements to their living conditions (Steyn et al., 2015). According to Foster (2015), car guards' modest incomes often only suffice for expenses related to overnight communal shelter accommodations and the purchase of inexpensive, nutritionally deficient foods. Furthermore, car guards work under harsh conditions because they work outdoors and must be on their feet all day long (McEwen & Leiman, 2008).

Although a significant amount of research has been undertaken on informal labour sectors in Africa, such as street vending and domestic work, there is a crucial deficit in the field of scholarship about car guards in Namibia. No thorough investigation has been conducted on car guards in Windhoek's central business district or anywhere else in urban Namibia, in contrast to South Africa, where car guarding has been studied in the context of urban insecurity and informality (Bothma and Blaauw 2003; Steyn, Coetzee, and Klopper 2015). Consequently, it can be said that the absence of research has resulted in policy neglect, as local authorities and labour regulations have failed to acknowledge car guarding as a means of economic survival.

Therefore, the objective of this investigation is to address this empirical and policy gap by investigating the lived realities of car guards in Windhoek.

Against this background, this study focused on exploring the day-to-day living and conditions of car guards operating in Windhoek (CBD) by observing how they overcome challenges and examining the adaptation strategies they use. The study draws its theoretical perspective from Ungar's resilience theory (2008; 2011), which defines resilience as an individual's capacity to triumph over challenges, adjust positively, or deal with difficult situations.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Car guarding, a tactic predominantly employed by young individuals lacking employment opportunities, presents various difficulties. These challenges can be attributed to the informal nature of car guarding, as it does not guarantee decent living and working conditions. The Patriot (2016) found that car guarding is a male-dominated activity in the CBD of Windhoek, and it emerged due to the city's high unemployment rates and high-income disparity. The insecure and unsafe nature of car guarding causes most car guards to feel strained (McEwen & Leiman, 2008b; Steyn et al., 2015).

Although the informal economy significantly contributes to urban livelihoods, certain activities, such as car guarding, remain underexplored. Resilience theory, for instance, has seldom been applied to urban informal workers, with most research focusing on trauma recovery, youth development, and disaster resilience (Ungar 2011a; Masten 2014a). As a result, the theoretical applicability of resilience in the context of urban informal labour, particularly among marginalised workers like car guards, remains limited. South Africa has studied car guarding as a solution to urban insecurity, unlike

Namibia (Bothma and Blaauw 2003). However, there is currently a lack of research on the strategies that car guards in Namibia use to address their challenges. This study seeks to address these gaps by applying resilience theory to the context of informal labour, offering new insights into the survival strategies deployed by car guards in response to socio-economic vulnerability. Hence, this study used resilience theory to examine car guards' perceptions of their living and working conditions.

1.3 Objectives

This study was guided by the following broad objectives:

1. Explore the living and working conditions of car guards in Windhoek's CBD.
2. To assess the car guards' challenges and aspirations.
3. Establish ways to improve car guards' living and working conditions.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The study may enrich academic knowledge about car guards' living and working conditions in Windhoek. In addition, the findings can help inform policy discourse on the need for social protection measures and employment opportunities for youth development. Likewise, this study may make a scholarly contribution to the existing body of knowledge concerning resilience exhibited by informal sector employees, including car guards in Namibia. In addition, the study aims to illuminate several critical domains in which the government could enhance the living and working conditions of car guards to promote their overall welfare.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

First, time was a critical limitation, as there was not sufficient time to conduct the study. Therefore, the participants engaged in one-on-one dialogues during their normal working hours. This procedure required the researcher to meet and greet potential participants before the interviews to build rapport. Another key limitation is the lack of prior research on the living and working conditions of car guards in Windhoek and Namibia at large. Therefore, we drew insights from numerous studies conducted in South Africa and around the world.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

The scope of the investigation was restricted to Windhoek (CBD). Furthermore, it only included car guards who work independently and not those who work for official security firms.

1.7 Chapter Summary

Chapter 1 introduces the background and context of car guarding, an informal trade adopted by unemployed individuals in urban areas out of desperation for a livelihood.

This activity is often a temporary solution, offering meagre earnings that barely cover necessities. Despite harsh conditions, car guards, especially young males, engage in this practice. Such behaviour is caused by limited job opportunities and widespread poverty.

This study explores the daily lives of car guards in Windhoek's Central Business District (CBD), focusing on the challenges they face and the strategies they employ for survival.

The research objectives include examining their living and working conditions, understanding their challenges and aspirations, and identifying ways to enhance their circumstances.

The significance of this study lies in its potential to enrich academic understanding, inform policies related to youth employment and social protection, and contribute to knowledge about the resilience of informal sector workers such as car guards in Namibia. The research also sheds light on areas where government interventions could improve car guards' living and working conditions. However, the study faced limitations primarily related to time constraints, which restricted in-depth engagement with participants. In addition, its scope is limited to car guards in Windhoek's CBD; the findings cannot be generalised to all car guards in the city. Drawing insights from studies conducted in South Africa and other global regions was imperative due to the dearth of prior research in Namibia. Furthermore, the study specifically focuses on independent car guards, excluding those employed by official security firms.

1.8 Thesis Outline

This thesis organised the material into five distinct chapters in total. *Chapter 1* presents a comprehensive overview of the research, commencing with a broad categorisation of car guards as employees of the informal sector. It further highlights the precarious nature of the informal sector and the challenges faced by its workers, such as car guards. Additionally, it discusses the application of resilience theory to analyse the survival strategies employed by car guards in relation to their resilience, along with the problem statement, research objectives, and significance of the study. This chapter also describes the limitations and delimitations of the study. *Chapter 2* presents the literature review, focusing mainly on the informal sector and its impact on the Namibian economy and labour market and specifically on car guards within the informal sector.

It further presents a theoretical review of resilience theory as the basis of the study, highlighting its application in sociology and other social sciences. *Chapter 3* outlines the comprehensive qualitative research methods employed to explore the living and working conditions of car guards in Windhoek's CBD, emphasising ethical practises and rigorous data analysis techniques. Chapter 4 presents the principal discoveries from the fieldwork, accompanied by appropriate analytical commentary. Lastly, *Chapter 5* presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a literature review that focuses mostly on the informal sector. It further draws on the living and working conditions of car guards by examining their experiences and coping strategies as informal sector workers. Hence, the literature further covers the Namibian informal sector, her general economic situation, and the labour market. This chapter presents a brief discussion of resilience theory, focusing on its background and use in social sciences such as sociology. This section presents and discusses the definitions of the key research concepts. The purpose of this chapter is to assist the reader in comprehending the rationale behind providing details about the living and working conditions of car guards and other informal sector employees. The work is also done to further shape the findings derived from the car guards as they perceive them.

2.2 Historical Background of the Informal Sector

The informal sector, a concept originally introduced by British anthropologist Keith Hart, has been a prominent subject of research since the latter part of the 20th century. In Hart's (1973) influential research on rural migrants in Accra, Ghana, it was discovered that individuals working in the informal sector were participating in unofficial activities and had the capacity to earn revenue autonomously (Hart, 1973).

Contrary to popular belief, this discovery highlighted the economic opportunities offered by the informal sector. The International Labour Organization's (ILO) first World Employment Mission in Kenya in 1972 acknowledged the potential of the informal sector to generate employment and reduce poverty, even if it did not expressly refer to it as such (Singer, 1975).

Therefore, it can be stated that this preliminary research has significantly impacted the worldwide understanding of the informal sector and its role in economic advancement.

Furthermore, without any formal arrangements or contractual obligations, workers in the informal sector could seek, generate, and carry out work independently. However, before the above events, Lewis (1954), as cited in Chen (2007, p. 2), stated under his school of thought, the “Lewis turning point,” that what was then referred to as the traditional sector would cease to exist due to the formalisation of world economies, mainly in developing countries.

In 1970, Hans Singer examined the dynamics of developing economies, a topic that Martha Alter Chen later referenced in 2007. He contended that factors such as uneven distribution of labour, population increase, technical progress, and the adoption of capital-intensive technology would result in the creation of what would later be termed the 'informal sector' by Keith Hart in 1973. Singer (1970) proposed that this increase will exacerbate underemployment and unemployment. Furthermore, it will lead to the persistence of dangerous duality in labour markets, as Singer (1970) asserts.

The concept of dualism in the labour market argues that the informal sector has very few or no connections to the formal economy and functions as an isolated unit (Sethuraman, 1976; Tokman, 1978, cited in Chen, 2007).

Singer (1970) also argued that this would increase casual labour, which is somewhat precarious employment. In addition, he warned that it would result in employment crises, mainly from critical land shortages in rural areas and overpopulation in urban spaces. As such, informal workers were regarded as a less advantageous sector of the dualistic labour market (Chen, 2007). Studies on the identity of formal/informal dualism conducted in developing countries have mainly focused on organisation, production, and technology (Swaminathan, 1991). Moreover, according to Swaminathan (1991), the majority of research conducted during the 1950s and 1960s with respect to the informal sector was predicated on the dualistic characteristics of developing nations at the time. Therefore, the mismatch between organisation and production is associated with the dual economy and the concept of dualism. It can thus be said that this division led to a disconnect between how work was structured and how goods were produced. Therefore, the concept of economic dualism strongly links to this disconnect.

Therefore, determining whether unorganised sectors could be as productive as organised sectors was a central research question. Additionally, the duality of an economy's structure, characterised by sections that are both traditional and contemporary peasant and capitalist, was identified as a defining feature of developing nations (Swaminathan, 1991). In contrast, formal entities were described as state-sponsored, nourished, and regulated (Week, 1975). Moreover, Hart (1973) considered individuals employed in the formal sector to be wage earners rather than self-employed individuals, which contrasts with the situation in the informal sector. In a similar vein, Mazumdar (1975), who was referenced in Pratap and Quintin (2006), concluded that an additional differentiation between informal and formal labourers resided in the extent to which the formal was safeguarded by governmental agencies and trade unions.

2.3 Living and Working Conditions of Workers in the Informal Sector

Personnel engaged in informal work today continue to endure unforgiving living and working conditions. Chen, Bonner, and Carréet (2015) argue that informal sector workers are confronted with various obstacles, including unpredictable and low wages, hazardous working conditions, little legal protection, a multitude of physical and legal dangers, and frequently low social standing. Informal sector workers are said to be living from ‘hand to mouth’ due to their very low-income levels, which are regarded as much less than the minimum wage (Alam, 2012).

Therefore, one could argue that these workers are compelled to work under pressure and endure hard labour in order to meet their basic needs. Foster (2015) found, for example, that abusive treatment, excessive hours, and deplorable working conditions are commonplace for car guards. Furthermore, they persist outdoors for prolonged durations, enduring extreme temperatures and adverse weather conditions. This exposes them to potentially fatal health hazards. Therefore, we can assert that these informal sector workers necessitate comprehensive health care and support.

Research findings indicate that Namibia has made great strides in health care provision and promotion since independence (Mwakanyadzeni Abigail Chipare et al. 2020). In their study, Mwakanyadzeni Abigail Chipare et al. (2020) documented a rise in life expectancy, a decline in tuberculosis, and a noteworthy first upsurge in AIDS-related deaths. However, they also observed a subsequent decrease in deaths caused by AIDS, which they attributed to the significant use of antiretroviral medications 90 % in 2012.

In addition, they documented that the death rate among children under the age of five declined from 74 per 1000 live births in 1990 to 50 in 2013 (Mwakanyadzeni Abigail Chipare et al., 2020, p. 1).

Despite the achievements, the healthcare sector still faces numerous challenges today. As seen by the multitude of health sector changes and improvements implemented under the Primary Health Care policy, including a large increase in coverage and access to health and social welfare services, it continues to be a top priority for the Namibian government (World Health Organization, 2012). Subsequently, healthcare spending since 2019/20 has increased drastically, as the share of the total budget showed an upward trend of 12.1% in 2021/2022 (UNICEF, 2022). In addition, not having enough safety, sufficient health care, and general environmental hazards were identified as fundamental challenges faced by informal sector workers. Furthermore, Forastieri (1999) maintains that this poor working environment continues to impair the health, well-being, and quality of life of informal sector workers and their families. Arguably, among other challenges, the need for health care and a lack of social security are common ones identified by Alam (2012), Ngowi et al. (2016), Forastieri (1999), Muiya (2013), and van Ginneken (1999). While health and well-being seem to be the primary concerns, a fundamental aspect of the challenges is the notion that a significant number of informal workers are not recognised as legal employees by trade unions and policymakers, as well as by other workers and possibly even by these individuals themselves (Chen et al., 2015).

From the context, workers in the informal sector frequently endure precarious living and working conditions that are characterised by low and unpredictable incomes, hazardous environments, and a lack of legal protection.

Consequently, Roy (2005) emphasises that informality is not merely a sector but a mode of urbanisation in which the distinctions between legality and illegality are often obscured, often to the disadvantage of the urban poor. Therefore, we can infer that this insecurity causes informal workers to operate without sufficient social security, exposing them to various vulnerabilities. Pieterse (2014) underscores the systemic nature of these challenges, observing that urban management and governance frequently perpetuate cycles of exclusion and injustice. To address the deeply ingrained problems of slum urbanism, he proposes alternative approaches based on practical experiences and ethical principles. This viewpoint emphasises the necessity of inclusive policies that acknowledge and incorporate informal workers like car guards into the broader urban context.

Additionally, Simone (2022) investigates the resilience of urban residents in the Global South, demonstrating how they adapt and innovate within the limitations of informality. He argues that these populations establish intricate social networks and practises in order to manage their marginalisation, thereby establishing their own systems of support and survival. Hence, it is possible to argue that this adaptability, while commendable, is frequently the result of necessity and, as a result, the absence of formal support structures.

The informal economy is a critical component of Namibia's workforce, where approximately 58% of the workforce is employed in this sector (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2019, as cited in Hofmeyr, Namibia Informal Sector Organisation, & Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung 2024).

Nevertheless, the lack of access to essential services, including healthcare, education, and social security, is a common issue faced by workers in this sector, which can lead to the perpetuation of cycles of poverty and vulnerability. Therefore, it can be maintained that the resolution of these issues necessitates a thorough comprehension of urban informality and resilience.

2.4 Namibia's Informal Sector

The ever-increasing unemployment in Namibia remains a critical contributing factor to the expanding informal sector. As a consequence, the ILO (2017) discovered that graduate unemployment is on the rise. Hence, it can be said that the high unemployment rates and the inability of labour markets to generate adequate, decent employment opportunities for a growing pool of job seekers force many young workers and those laid off from the formal sector to enter the informal sector. Furthermore, informal sector employment comprises 57 percent of the 725,742 employed workers in the country, as reported by (NSA, 2019). Therefore, it can be asserted that informal sector workers constitute a significant portion of the Namibian labour force. These workers persistently face disadvantages, including poor working conditions, a lack of social security, the absence of employment contracts, and inadequate wages (Kalusopa & Katjuongua, 2021).

Despite the unregulated, disorganised, and underserved nature and overall precariousness associated with the informal sector, its economic importance cannot be disregarded, as it sustains the livelihoods and earnings of countless individuals and their families (Neunda, 2020). More profoundly, it was further stated that more than half of the self-employed are women.

2.5 Living and Working Conditions of Car Guards in the Informal Sector

In contrast to Namibia, where literature on the living and working conditions of car guards is scarce, South Africa has been the subject of extensive research throughout the years. According to Bothma and Blaauw (2003), the sector emerged as a reaction to the challenges faced by the unemployed, who were characterised by low income, inadequate skills, and difficult work conditions that required extended working hours. Thus, car guarding is an unregulated, informal job with many challenges and benefits. The car guarding industry is said to have emerged in South Africa because of motorists' fear of criminality and related social ills in various communities, through which car guards make a living (Steyn, Coetzee, & Klopper, 2015). The protection of their clients' expensive goods from all dangers is a critical function performed by car guards. As stated by Steyn et al. (2015), car guards function as criminal deterrents; they are economically reliant on motorists for financial support due to unemployment and have no alternative but to offer their services to generate cash. Hence, guarding cars, according to Bernstein (2003), is a "survivalist" activity, which is characterised by insecurity and little income for immediate survival but not to thrive. Hence, it may be asserted that those who are unemployed will persist in engaging in car guarding as a basic economic livelihood in the absence of regular employment. Like Namibia, in most countries, precarious employment such as car guarding has increased over the last two decades (Duell, 2004).

Hence, it is because of the increase in precarious work flooding the “world of work” that the trade unions advocated and requested the International Labor Organization (ILO) to conduct research on precarious work and ultimately take further action to address the challenge of widespread precariousness in the world of work (IOL, 2011). The term ‘vulnerable employment’ in Namibia denotes a category of workers whose circumstances are comparatively precarious (NSA, 2019). Further, denoted as the rate of vulnerability, it is concerned with three main categories or vulnerable groups: subsistence or communal farmers, contributing personal account workers, and uncompensated family members (NSA, 2019). The term ‘own account workers’ refers to individuals who are engaged in self-employment activities or are operating on their behalf in collaboration with one or more partners. These workers do not have any employees assigned to them on a continuous basis (ILO, n.d.). ILO (n.d.) further states that own-account workers face fewer opportunities to obtain formal employment agreements. Consequently, car guards and other self-employed individuals are prone to lacking fundamental provisions of respectable employment, like sufficient social security benefits and a voice in the workplace. Thus, we can classify them as vulnerable workers. Judging by the rate of vulnerability, which is at an alarming 31.6%, it can thus be said that high numbers of Namibians are involved in precarious jobs, with the Khomas region accounting for 28,013 or 12.2% (NSA 2019). Among the aforementioned groups, we can classify car guards, predominantly young individuals, as own-account workers. Stuth and Jahn (2019) advocate the notion that, upon entering the workforce, young individuals are particularly susceptible to employment dangers.

2.6 General Economic Situational Analysis: Namibian Perspective

As an upper-middle-income and developing country, Namibia has experienced reasonable economic growth and a reduction in some of the socioeconomic challenges since independence (Rafael, 2020). Namibia is categorised as an upper-middle-income country (UMIC) by the World Bank, which hides unemployment and inequality since a significant number of its citizens continue to reside in poverty (ILO, 2017).

Despite the annual average growth of 4.4% between 1991 and 2015, findings show that the Namibian economy has fallen into recession since 2016 (World Bank, 2020). This reasonable average growth, which resulted in GDP per capita growth of about 2.3%, has not sufficiently translated into substantial reductions in poverty, income inequality, and unemployment (Sherbourne 2013, as cited in Nakale, 2016). Equally, according to the World Bank (2020), the Namibian economy is struggling to recover due to the falling commodity prices in Angola and South Africa. Further, it is suggested that this is owing not just to the slow development of Namibia's primary trading partners, Angola and South Africa, but also to the government's stringent fiscal policy as part of its drive to rebalance public finances. Therefore, it may be argued that Namibia's categorization as an upper-middle-income country (UMIC) fails to accurately represent the prevailing conditions due to the persistence of the discrepancies. One may argue that the indicator has been even more severely affected by the COVID-19 (coronavirus) epidemic, which has also had an unparalleled effect on Namibia's economy. This is further made evident by the contractions in key economic sectors such as the mining sector, which contracted by 12.2%, and the hospitality industry, which recorded a 46.5% contraction (World Bank, 2020). Consequently, it is ascertained that the real gross domestic product (GDP) saw a decline of 7.4% in the year 2020 (Bank of Namibia, 2021).

The classification of an alarming 1.6 million individuals as poor has been based on the upper middle-income poverty level, which is equivalent to \$5.50 per person per day in 2011 purchasing power parity dollars, according to a report by the World Bank (2020). This figure has climbed by an additional 200,000 individuals since 2011 (World Bank, 2020). As a result, the COVID-19 (coronavirus) pandemic has mostly impacted those who were already at a heightened vulnerability level. This poses a threat to social cohesion and exacerbates already significant levels of inequality, as stated by the World Bank (2020). Namibia has witnessed a consistent decline in equality over the last 25 years, with a reduction of up to 14.1 percentage points. In 2015/16, the Gini coefficient, which quantifies income inequality, reached a concerning level of 57.2% (NSA, 2016b). Recent data from UNFPA (2022) shows that the Gini coefficient has remained constant at 57.2%. Therefore, it may be concluded that the ongoing presence of significant income inequality highlights the enduring structural economic difficulties that Namibia is still confronting. Similarly, it might be argued that the unaltered Gini coefficient indicates that, despite the implementation of different socio-economic policies, income inequality continues to be a substantial problem in Namibia.

Moreover, there is a strong association between poverty rates and per capita wealth, with urban and rural poverty rates being 9.6% and 27%, respectively, according to the NSA, (2016a; 2019). Despite having a relatively high income, Namibia has a poverty rate of 26.9% (English, 2016). The significant discrepancies in the distribution of wealth between urban and rural areas, as well as within different income levels, along with the disparity in poverty rates between urban and rural areas, suggest the necessity of implementing specific measures to tackle rural poverty.

Aside from economic disparity, the poverty level in Namibia is assessed using many metrics, including the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI). The MPI takes into account many factors in addition to income, including health, education, and living standards (UNFPA, 2022). UNFPA (2023) reports that about 43.3% of Namibia's population resides in a state of multidimensional poverty. The significant prevalence of multidimensional poverty in Namibia highlights the intricate nature of poverty and emphasises the necessity for comprehensive social policies that tackle not only income but also other aspects of well-being. At present, Namibia's unemployment rate is 34 percent. Another alarming aspect is that the youth unemployment rate in Namibia did not exhibit any substantial fluctuations in 2023 when contrasted with the previous year, 2022, and remained at approximately 38.41% (O'Neill, 2024). This persistence in the youth unemployment rate, despite a minor drop over the past three years, may illustrate the persisting obstacles that young job seekers in Namibia encounter. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the youth unemployment rate experienced its third straight reduction in 2023 (A. O'Neill, 2024). Nevertheless, it is imperative to acknowledge that the country may be at risk due to the high rate of youth unemployment (Petersen, 2023). Consequently, the issue of youth unemployment is not just a problem of economic policy but also a critical component of national security and social policy.

2.7 Namibian Labor Market: A Legal and Policy Framework

The prevailing legal and legislative environment in Namibia is indicative of favourable developments for the informal sector's workforce. For instance, regarding the well-being of the Namibian populace, Chapter 11 of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia establishes an obligation to promote and safeguard these qualities through the

improvement of wages, working conditions, safety, and the overall welfare of all employees while on duty (Labour Act, 2004). However, as it is the world over, in Namibia it can also be said that these proclamations are not enforced and that scores of workers, more significantly in the informal sector, continue to endure hardships at their workplaces. As per the findings of the ILO (2018), more than 60% of the global workforce is employed in informal sectors. A significant proportion of this population encounters substantial disparities in decent work, such as inadequate social security coverage. Inadequate social security coverage is the main factor that prevents members of the informal labour force from accessing essential medical care and achieving a certain degree of financial stability (ILO, 2017a). Therefore, it can be argued that the worldwide informal labour force, which includes Namibia, is predominantly entangled in a detrimental cycle of susceptibility, destitution, and societal marginalisation. This cycle undermines the rights to social security and personal well-being of individuals and presents a significant obstacle to the economic and social progress of nations (ILO, 2017b; OECD & IOL, 2019). Furthermore, informal sector workers such as the car guards under question do not benefit from the minimum wage. This is although the Labour Act (2007) established Namibia's minimum wage as a national measure aimed at enhancing wages, reducing income inequality, alleviating poverty, and ensuring a reasonable standard of living. According to the Labour Act, 2007 (Act No. 11 of 2007), the Labor Commission is mandated to enforce the National Minimum Wage by making any other recommendations regarding the national minimum wage that it considers appropriate (Government of Namibia Gazette, 2021). In his Budget Estimates for Vote Motivation Speech (2021/2022) in the Namibia National Assembly, Minister of Labor, Industrial Relations, and Employment Creation, Honorable Minister Utoni Nujoma, said that his ministry would finish revising existing laws, such as

Affirmative Action (Employment) Act (Act No. 29 of 1998), the Employment Services Act (Act No. 8 of 2011), the Labor Act (Act No. 11 of 2007), and the Social Security Act of 2021 (Nujoma, 2021). However, as of April 2021, the Republic of Namibia still had not managed to adopt the SADC Employment and Labour Policy Framework of 2014. This framework was made to help SADC member countries deal with the most important problems related to not having enough decent work, like underemployment and unemployment, which keep getting in the way of positive structural change and ending poverty in the SADC area (Nujoma, 2021). Therefore, it can be said that there is a general slow implementation of policy frameworks that continues to hinder the progress of greater national, regional, and international goals, among others, Agenda 2063, Namibia's Vision 2030, the ILO's decent work, and the 2030 agenda for sustainable development. In a similar vein, Namibia has yet to ratify the Conventions of the International Labor Organization (ILO), specifically Convention 131 (1970) on Minimum Wage Fixing and Convention 95 (1949) and 117 (1962) on Wage Protection and Social Policy. These conventions stipulate that all ILO member states are obligated to establish minimum wages sufficient to cover the living expenses of employees and their families (Ahmad & Ahmad, 2021). The Labour Act (2007) provides encouraging standards for equal and fair payment and employment practises for all in Namibia. For example, according to Section 10-12, Sub-section 8(b) of the Namibia Labor Act, 2007, employers are mandated to furnish employees with a pay slip detailing the wages paid. The Labour Act of 2007 also gives the formula for calculating remuneration and basic wages. In addition, the Act also provides compensation for work on a Sunday or a public holiday, clearly stipulating the requirement for the employer to pay the employee's daily remuneration along with the hourly wage for each hour worked on Sundays or public holidays (Labour Act, 2007).

An additional noteworthy assertion can be found in Sections 28–29 of the Social Security Act, 1994. This provision mandates that the Social Security Commission (SSC) shall remunerate the employee at her basic wage throughout the duration of maternity leave, irrespective of whether the leave is extended or not. In other words, a female employee who is on maternity leave shall receive one hundred percent of her monthly salary (Social Security Act 34 of 1994). Furthermore, Section 5 (Subsection 3) of the Namibian Labor Act, 2007 says it is illegal to treat people differently because of their gender when it comes to pay, whether employees doing work of equal value or job applicants are seeking work of equal value (Labour Act, 2007). In a positive development, Ahmad & Ahmad (2021) said that Namibia ratified two conventions that support fair treatment of workers: Convention 100 (1952) and Convention 111 (1958). These conventions specify the types of discrimination that are illegal and ensure equal compensation for equal work. The literature review points out that not much is being done to roll out and enforce decent work and other imperative legal and policy frameworks in the Namibian labour market. As such, it can be said that informal sector workers such as car guards continue to endure grave hardships as they toil daily to make a living for themselves and their families.

2.8 Resilience as a Survival Strategy: Resilience and Social Science

2.8.1 Definitions and Background of the Resilience Theory

According to Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker (2000), strengthening one's capacity for constructive adaptation amidst significant adversity is the primary way in which resilience is defined. Additionally, Luthar et al. (2000) consider two fundamental key conditions to describe resilience: (1) the capacity to effectively adapt and thrive in the face of substantial challenges that significantly impede the developmental process; and (2) exposure to substantial threats or severe adversity.

Hence, over the years, resilience has been used as a tool to overcome and withstand hardships and to turn those misfortunes into positive attributes for growth. Resiliency theory has been the focus of research in a variety of disciplines over the past several decades. Some of the important earlier fields that investigated resilience studies are psychology, psychiatry, and biology (Higgins, 1994; Wolin & Wolin; 1993; Flach, 1988; Garmezy & Masten, 1986; Werner & Smith, 2001; Conner, 1993), as cited in (Ledesma, 2014). The following figure shows a range of definitions from an array of fields that have investigated resilience studies over the years.

Field	Definitions	Authors
Psychiatry	Psychological and biological strengths humans use to master change successfully	Flach, 1988
Developmental Psychopathology	The ability to cope with challenges and threats while maintaining an internal and integrated sense of self	Garmezy & Masten, 1986
Human development	Ability to withstand or successfully cope with adversity	Werner & Smith, 2001
Change management	The ability to demonstrate both strength and flexibility during the change process, while displaying minimal dysfunctional behavior	Cooner, 1993
Medicine	The ability to recognize pain, acknowledge its purpose, tolerate it for a while, until things begin to normalize	Flach, 1988; O'Leary & Ickovics, 1995).
Epidemiology	The ability to survive stress and to rise above disadvantage	Rutter 1979
Nursing	The ability to regenerate power to respond to the internal or external environment for survival, growth, or development	Jones 1991

Figure 1. © (Ledesma, 2014).

As can be deduced from the figure above, the definitions of resilience in the social sciences are centred around the idea that resilience is the capability of recovering from and growing stronger because of unpleasant life experiences (Henderson & Milstein, 1996), as cited in (Ledesma, 2014).

Other researchers, such as Werner & Smith (1982); Rutter & Madge (1976); and Garmezy (1971), are further regarded as pioneers of studies in resilience and researched vulnerability. Children born into unfavourable social situations, intergenerational transmission of poverty and disadvantage, and genetic and environmental factors for the development of schizophrenia are some of the topics that have been the subject of their research (Breda & Adrian, 2018).

Over the years, resilience theory has been said to be based on the study of adversity, a relationship referred to as a 'pathogenic' focus by Antonovsky (1979), as cited in (Breda & Adrian, 2018). This perspective was thought to highlight the fundamental causes of illness or, when applied to social work, a decline in social functioning or well-being (Breda & Adrian, 2018). In contrast, Lyon and Parkins (2013) found that some communities are able to survive and thrive beyond grave adversity, while others deteriorate and undergo extreme changes both demographically and economically. Other scholars, like Kusel (2001), Brooks, Adger, and Kelly (2005), and Emery and Flora (2006), as mentioned in Lyon & Parkins (2013), have utilised variety of models or frameworks to examine and assist these communities in the context of community transition and the necessity for resilience. Hence, it can be said that these frameworks consider the capacity, vulnerability, and welfare of the communities. Therefore, it is feasible to analyse the living and working conditions of car guards in the informal sector, as an example, given the circumstances at hand. It is undeniable that this way of thinking had a greater impact on other medical and social sciences than on sociology.

2.8.2 Resilience Theory and Social Sciences

The use of resilience theory in social sciences, such as sociology, is reportedly unappealing (Olsson et al., 2015). This can be based on the ambiguous nature of the definitions of relationships between vulnerability, resilience, and other interrelated concepts (Füssel 2007; Gallopín 2006; Miller et al. 2010; Turner II 2010), as cited in Lin, Lin & Lee, 2017). Furthermore, one could contend that the perceived lack of clarity in these definitions could impede both theoretical and practical progress in the discipline, thereby underscoring the necessity for a more refined and unified framework to direct social science research and the application of resilience theory. Subsequently, addressing these conceptual challenges could contribute to a more robust and widely accepted foundation for understanding and addressing social vulnerabilities and resilience dynamics. However, the writings of Endress (2015) indicate that, despite its ambiguous nature and plurality, resilience has gained significant prominence over time. Consequently, the term is employed in diverse manners and is associated with a multitude of connotations across numerous academic, occupational, and even informal spheres.

More significantly, Endress (2015a) discovered that professional actors observe phenomena conceptually using resilience theory, whereas academic disciplines observe phenomena in the professional, political, and everyday spheres and analyse academic perspectives that employ the term. Therefore, in essence, it can be argued that the application of resilience inherently carries a notably positive connotation. This means that resilience is noble and desirable and that it denotes both theoretically clear knowledge about what is a risk and what is considered to be a suitable approach (Endress, 2015b).

The observed ambiguity in these definitions may potentially hinder the theoretical and practical advancements within the field, emphasising the need for a more refined and

cohesive framework to guide research and the application of resilience theory in social sciences. Addressing these conceptual challenges could contribute to a more robust and widely accepted foundation for understanding and addressing social vulnerabilities and resilience dynamics. It can be asserted that, for instance, resilience is deemed by certain psychological scholars to be an individual characteristic. Moreover, it is well recognised that this constitutes a dynamic undertaking of constructive adaptation that transpires in reaction to significant challenges, hardships, distress, or causes of tension (Olsson et al., 2015).

To further substantiate this view, a functionalist view of resilience in the informal sector sheds light on the crucial roles fulfilled by workers, such as car guards, in maintaining social stability and cohesion within urban environments.

2.8.3 Resilience within the Informal Sector

The informal sector, characterised by the absence of formal contracts and social protections, presents unique challenges for workers. Research has indicated that informal workers frequently encounter volatile incomes, precarious employment, and restricted availability of vital provisions, including social security and healthcare (Mushi & Millanzi, 2019; Olivier, 2019; Thornton et al., 2010; Wiebe, 1999).

The fast-changing social landscape further complicates matters, unsettling the stability of informal sector workers and leaving them vulnerable to daily challenges (Almaqfirah, 2016). Hence, individuals in this sector are forced to show resilience to cope with the constantly changing and unpredictable work environment they find themselves in. Therefore, this ability to adapt empowers communities, such as informal sector workers, to bring about alterations in their lives and means of earning a living. (Ensor et al., 2013).

Therefore, resilience theory provides a helpful viewpoint when examining how individuals and communities address these challenges (Bushati, 2020). Studies have shown that informal labourers often rely on resilience as a strategy for their survival, as noted by (Adair, 2020).

Therefore, the application of resilience theory within the context of informal sector employment reveals a range of coping mechanisms. These may encompass the ability to access social networks and support, adaptability, entrepreneurial skills, and the capacity to diversify income sources. Hence, resilience empowers informal workers to navigate through challenges, equipping them with the resources to maintain their livelihoods in difficult circumstances. This is achieved through the utilisation of a multitude of protective factors, as delineated by Dyer & McGuinness (1996), who conceptualise resilience as a progression through which individuals surmount adversities and persist in their existence. They emphasise that protective factors significantly influence this dynamic process.

2.8.4 Functionalist View of Resilience in the Informal Sector: A Sociological Perspective

The literature on the functionalist perspective in sociology offers valuable insights into understanding various social phenomena, particularly concerning the resilience of informal sector workers such as car guards. Functionalism, as described by Bell (2013), regards society as an intricate yet well-organised and stable system with interconnected structures and functions designed to fulfil individual needs.

This theoretical framework highlights the connexions between various components of society and their functions that ensure the operation and stability of the social system as a

whole. Studies have explored the essential roles of informal sector workers, such as car guards, within urban settings. These roles include maintaining security, organising informal parking spaces, and contributing to local economic activities (Adair, 2020; Bernstein, 2003; Bothma & Blaauw, 2003; J. Foster & Chasomeris, 2017; Steyn et al., 2015b). These tasks are vital components of urban life, ensuring order and the smooth flow of daily functions (Karsono et al., 2023). Therefore, car guards, functioning as a social entity within urban communities, play a crucial role by performing various tasks in Windhoek (CBD).

From a functionalist perspective, the resilience of informal sector workers is seen as the adaptive strategies and social networks they develop to navigate challenging conditions (Rusticot et al., 2012). These can be based on the ideology that these workers demonstrate their ability to withstand adversity and continue their roles within the social system.

These adaptive behaviours are functional responses that serve as the cornerstone for maintaining crucial services and social stability, even in challenging situations (Ditterline & Oakland, 2009). Adaptive behavior, according to Ditterline and Oakland (2009), pertains to an individual's capacity to attend to the needs of others and carry out their daily activities efficiently. For instance, car guards work daily not only to sustain themselves and their families but also to provide security for their clients.

Moreover, the literature acknowledges that informal sector workers' resilience contributes to the broader community and urban environment by providing stability and cohesion. Their roles ensure a sense of security and order within urban spaces, forming an integral part of the urban landscape (Steyn et al., 2015).

This adaptability is recognised as a functional contribution to social equilibrium, where institutional arrangements create fair and legitimate social lives (Deville & Burns, 1999). The literature on the functionalist perspective provides a refined understanding of how informal sector workers, including car guards, fulfil essential functions within society. Therefore, it can be asserted that car guards, through their resilience and adaptability, heighten the significance of their contributions to social stability and the operation of urban spaces, which are fundamental to the normal operation of society. Consequently, this rationale provides support for the application of resilience theory in sociological studies as a social science.

2.9 Resilience: A Theoretical Overview

Resilience theory revolves around the study of how individuals and communities cope, adapt, and recover from challenging situations through the use of both personal attributes and external resources. According to Hempel and Lorenz (2014), it incorporates developmental psychology and ecological systems theory as foundational concepts. By employing this interdisciplinary methodology, the significance of taking into account the intricate dynamics between personal encounters and wider environmental influences is emphasized. This results in a broad comprehension of resilience and informs suggestions intended to assist car guards in the Windhoek's (CBD). According to Walker et al. (2006), C. S. Buzz was the pioneer who introduced the idea of resilience within ecological systems and explored the interplay between resilience and stability. This historical perspective further emphasises the significance of resilience theory in understanding complex systems and informs the strategies proposed for enhancing the resilience of car guards despite their challenges.

While ongoing concerns persist regarding the accuracy of constructs and measurements (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Tolan, 1996), as cited in Reynolds & Ou (2003), the study of resilience has had a significant impact on developmental research. Hence, these recommendations, informed by a complex understanding of car guards' resilience and challenges, aim to address the multifaceted aspects of their lives, ensuring a holistic approach that accounts for their immediate needs, psychological well-being, and social empowerment. Additionally, through a comprehensive analysis of available literature and integrating scholars' perspectives, resilience theory posits that both individuals and communities possess the ability to adjust and thrive despite obstacles and difficulties. (Hempel & Lorenz, 2014).

This understanding underscores the importance of implementing the recommendations for car guards, emphasising the nurturing of their inherent resilience to help them overcome challenges and build a more secure and hopeful future. Therefore, it can be affirmed that social support is essential for building resilience.

Furthermore, resilience theory offers a conceptual framework for comprehending the adaptation and growth of individuals, communities, and systems in the presence of adversity, as previously stated. Consequently, this study investigates resilience as a multidimensional concept that encompasses psychological, social, and structural components, which influence the capacity of individuals to overcome and recover from challenges. Additionally, the theory suggests that resilience is not limited to a single trait, but rather a dynamic process that is influenced by both internal and external factors, such as personal attributes, supportive relationships, and environmental resources (Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker 2000).

Fundamentally, this study employs resilience theory to investigate the manner in which car guards in the informal sector of Windhoek's CBD navigate socio-economic challenges. Hence, the study aims to identify key protective factors that enhance their capacity to withstand and adapt to economic, social, and environmental stressors by analyzing the mechanisms through which they build resilience. These factors may include entrepreneurial opportunities, mentorship programs, social support networks, and access to education (Zimmerman 2013). It can be maintained that the application of resilience theory enables a deeper understanding of how these factors interact to foster sustainable informal economies. Additionally, the study is guided by resilience theory in its assessment of the effectiveness of urban development policies and interventions.

As such, the research emphasizes the most effective methods for promoting long-term socio-economic stability and improving car guard adaptive capacities by identifying resilience-building strategies. From the perspective of Slopen and Williams (2021), this theoretical lens also influences policy recommendations that are designed to strengthen institutional frameworks that assist car guards in overcoming adversity by providing them with the requisite tools and resources.

The application of resilience theory has numerous implications for the field of study. The initial change, as per Zimmerman (2013), is the transition from a deficit-based approach, in which car guards are perceived as vulnerable and in need of assistance, to a strengths-based perspective that acknowledges their capacity to adapt and succeed in the face of adversity. Therefore, it can be claimed that this viewpoint emphasizes the significance of promoting self-efficacy and agency in car guards, thereby enabling them to take proactive measures to advance their livelihoods.

Secondly, resilience theory enables a thorough examination of the interaction between systemic support structures and individual capabilities. It enables the identification of gaps in current urban development initiatives and offers insights into how these initiatives can be refined to improve their effectiveness. Hence, the research emphasizes the significance of holistic support systems in promoting sustainable development outcomes by incorporating resilience theory into the study, thereby contributing to a more informed understanding of the lived experiences of the car guards (Dray et al. 2017).

The use of resilience theory indicates that we must pursue policies that tackle deep-rooted inequalities and enhance access to resources that help people become more resilient. As such, the study advocates for targeted programs that offer economic opportunities, mental health support, and inclusive educational frameworks as a broader aspect, ensuring that the car guards can navigate challenges and make a meaningful contribution to their personal wellbeing and national development (Slopen & Williams, 2021).

2.9.1 Social Support and Resilience: Exploring their Interplay

Social support is critical for attaining resilience. Social support refers to assistance that an individual can obtain by means of social connections with other people, organizations, and the broader community (Schaubroeck et al., 2019). According to Xu and Burleson (2001), social support refers to aid that an individual can obtain by means of social relationships with other individuals, organisations, and the wider community. Several scholars propose that social support can be defined as “positive social interaction that takes place in ongoing situations” (Jang, 2012, p. 5) Hence, it can be inferred that these various definitions describe social support as either a broad occurrence or a particular response in times of crisis. In simpler terms, it can be described as either a temporary or ongoing occurrence.

Cutrona (1996) further divided these various forms of social support into two distinct categories. The first category is continuous support, which contributes to the general well-being of an individual by fostering feelings of security and self-efficacy. The second category is immediate assistance, which comes into play when individuals face stressful or challenging life events. Therefore, continuous support primarily addresses the need for stability and confidence over time, whereas immediate support becomes necessary in unexpected traumatic situations such as job loss or a sudden pandemic outbreak.

This review thus underscores the correlation that exists between social support and resilience. When looking at how social support relates to resilience, a key question arises about how social support helps people effectively deal with their everyday challenges. The literature also indicates that social support is a multifaceted concept, and therefore, its contribution to enhancing resilience can differ from one situation to another (Jang, 2012). This variability highlights the intricate nature of resilience, emphasising the need for personalised approaches and targeted interventions tailored to the specific challenges faced by individuals, such as the car guards in Windhoek's CBD. According to a psychological model proposed by Wongpakaran et al. (2023), social support serves as a mediator in the connection between peace of mind and resilience. Therefore, it can be asserted that when individuals have some form of social support, they are best able to cope psychologically. The intensity of depressive symptoms, for instance, is influenced by both internal and external factors, such as an individual's subjective outlook on life and their own psychological state, which may involve social support (Chang et al., 2023). Similarly, an investigation carried out by Pięta & Rzeszutek (2023) about individuals who are living with HIV (PLWH) suggests that enhancements to the patient's environment and the provision of positive social support could be viable therapies that contribute to the patient's

resilience. The literature has extensively discussed the connections between social support and social ties, as demonstrated by the works of Goldsmith, McDermott, and Alexander (2000), Gurung, Sarason, and Sarason (1997), and Sarason, Pierce, and Sarason (1990), as mentioned in Jang, 2012). Moreover, previous studies conducted by Buhrmester et al. (1988) and Cauce (1986) have examined the relationship that exists between interpersonal skills, other personal qualities, and social support.

The study conducted by Jang (2012) provides a comprehensive demarcation of five discrete categories of social support, namely: informational, network, emotional, tangible and esteem based.

Among the above categories, the topic of emotional support, which pertains to the acknowledgment and management of emotions, has garnered considerable scholarly interest and is widely regarded as the most extensively investigated form of social support (Cutrona, 1996; Samter, 2002, as quoted in Jang, 2012). In line with this, Dunkel-Schetter (1984) asserts that emotional support is frequently considered the most beneficial type of social support. Furthermore, according to Burleson (2003), there exists a correlation between emotional support and communicative behavior, which includes aiding others in the management of their emotional discomfort. Moreover, theorists assert that emotional support holds great importance in close relationships, and research indicates that receiving sensitive emotional support correlates with various indicators of well-being (Burleson, 2003).

The correlation between social support and resilience is distinguished by deeply felt emotional bonds. As such, it can be maintained that social support, in various forms such as emotional, esteem, network, tangible, and informational support, plays a critical role in fostering and fortifying the resilience of an individual.

Furthermore, the presence of positive supportive relationships, whether from family, friends, or the community, furnishes people with the resources, encouragement, and aid required to navigate and overcome challenges, stressors, and adversities (Butler et al., 2022). Social support serves as a protective shield, mitigating the adverse effects of challenging situations, improving coping abilities, and encouraging the formation of effective strategies, thereby nurturing resilience in individuals (Gariépy et al., 2016).

Additionally, other scholars have found that social support is capable of aiding in the formation of a feeling of inclusion and connection, positive self-perception, and increased self-efficacy, all of which are vital components of resilience (Coffman & Gilligan, 2002; Goodwin et al., 2004; McLaren & Challis, 2009; Pang, 2020). Selectively drawing from the above types of support, the literature further focuses on the ‘tangible’; also referred to as instrumental support, this form of aid entails offering financial assistance, tangible resources, or essential services (Jang, 2012).

2.9.2 Resource Accessibility and its Impact on Resilience

Undoubtedly, individuals and groups require various resources to build resilience. According to Kuldass and Foody (2022), consensus regarding the essential elements that facilitate human capability in effectively navigating and adjusting to stressful or traumatic incidents has been established on the basis of empirical research. These elements, which are sometimes referred to as assets, resources, strengths, protective factors, and promotional factors, collaborate to enable individuals to handle and overcome difficult situations (Kuldass & Foody, 2022). Henceforth, this literature review outlines four key ‘protective factors’: (1.) Emotional resources, (2.) Social resources, (3.) financial resources, and (4.) physical resources.

2.9.3 Emotional Resources: Nurturing Resilience and Well-being

These resources may include self-awareness, emotional intelligence, and coping skills (Blakemore & Frith, 2003; Cleary et al., 2018; Schneider et al., 2013). Based on the foregoing definitions of resilience theory, which predominantly adopts a psychological standpoint focusing on the capacity to overcome challenges, emotional support frequently includes providing physical gestures of comfort such as hugs or supportive gestures such as pats on the back, alongside active listening and demonstrating empathy (Jang, 2012). Furthermore, as noted by Fredrickson (2001), emotional resources such as positive emotions, emotional regulation skills, and a positive mindset contribute to building resilience and enhancing overall well-being. Thus, emotional resources empower individuals and groups to effectively control their emotions, handle stress, and sustain a positive mindset during challenging periods (Fredrickson, 2001). They also provide individuals with the capacity to proficiently handle stress, confront obstacles, and maintain a sense of optimism in difficult times (Fredrickson, 2001). Hence, by cultivating emotional resources, individuals can strengthen their resilience, leading to better mental health outcomes and a greater capacity to overcome setbacks and thrive despite adversity.

2.9.4 Social Resources: Catalysts for Resilience and Community Well-being

Strong social networks and supportive relationships are crucial for resilience. Individuals and groups can more efficiently manage obstacles with the use of social resources, which give practical aid, emotional support, and a sense of community, according to Cherry (2023). According to Jang (2012), this form of support entails fostering an individual's sense of belonging. Similarly, social resources, or social capital, build community and resilience in times of crisis (Cherry, 2023).

People often lean on their social networks, social connexions and social groups, including family and kinship connexions (USAID, 2023, para.1). Hence, elements of social resilience, such as supportive communities or social networks, robust livelihood opportunities, and a sense of confidence in confronting difficulties, contribute to individuals' ability to effectively navigate through shocks and stressors (Cherry, 2023; Kacmaz, 2022; Waldinger, 2020).

2.9.5 Financial Resources: Empowering Resilience and Economic Stability

As stated by O'Neill (2011), financial resilience refers to an individual's ability to endure and recover from challenges that affect their assets and/or income. Denoting the above sentiment, it can be said that there is evidence supporting the existence of a favourable correlation between life satisfaction and income (Diener et al., 1993; Veenhoven et al., 1993, as cited in Jayasinghe et al., 2020). Likewise, Salignac et al. (2019) recommended that governments must comprehend how individuals and communities rebound from financial setbacks and the resources and support networks they depend on to secure their financial resilience.

Therefore, it can be suggested that it is imperative that individuals and groups have sufficient financial resources to fulfil their fundamental necessities and manage unforeseen financial obligations. As such, financial resilience is enhanced by the availability of financial resources, including wages, health coverage, and investments. (O'Neill, 2011).

Lusardi et al. (2021) maintained that during periods of economic uncertainty, savings, access to credit, and a strong comprehension of financial principles play a vital role in substantially enhancing resilience.

Moreover, Sirtaine and McKay (2022) emphasised that having access to various financial services is crucial for fostering resilience. Four more sets of characteristics comprise financial resilience: social capital, economic resources, financial inclusion, and financial capacity (Jayasinghe et al., 2020). As stated in Jayasinghe et al. (2020), Lucas & Schimmack (2009), Adler & Snibbe (2003), Kahneman et al. (2006), and Layard (1981), money empowers people to engage in spending and consumption activities that contribute to their overall welfare. These activities may include the acquisition of material possessions, the enjoyment of pleasurable experiences, and the enhancement of health. Furthermore, inadequate financial means to fulfil fundamental needs might induce psychological distress, which can have a profoundly adverse effect on an individual's overall sense of life fulfilment (Naragon-Gainey, 2023). Furthermore, higher social status achieved through wealth can also explain the relationship between money and happiness (Oishi et al., 2022). In other words, when individuals accumulate wealth and achieve higher income levels, they often experience an increase in social status.

It can thus be argued that financial resources equip individuals and communities with the means to effectively navigate various challenges and obstacles they encounter. Therefore, the foregoing rationalisation can guide governments' resource allocation and help design effective policies to aid people in coping with financial challenges, ultimately leading to improved financial well-being for all.

2.9.6 Physical Resources: The Foundation of Resilience and Health

Good physical health and access to health care services contribute to resilience. Having access to physical resources, such as good health and well-being, allows individuals to function at their best (Abraham et al., 2010; Corvalán et al., 2005; McKnight & Kashdan, 2009).

According to Corvalán et al. (2005), physical resources also empower individuals to effectively cope with stressors and recover swiftly from physical setbacks. Physical resources perform an essential role in building resilience because they provide the necessary foundation for individuals and communities to navigate and conquer diverse challenges and adversities (Corvalán et al., 2005). In addition, certain groups within the population may find it difficult to adapt due to a scarcity of material resources, pertinent information, insufficient public health facilities, and ineffective governance and civic institutions (Corvalán et al., 2005).

When confronted with an injury or disease, access to health care services guarantees prompt and suitable medical assessment. Razzak and Kellermann (2002) found that prevention remains a fundamental principle within any health system. Nevertheless, despite the provision of preventive services, certain health issues persist (Razzak & Kellermann, 2002). Therefore, adequate health care support can help prevent conditions from escalating and contribute to a quicker recovery.

There is a close link between physical well-being and mental health. According to Mahindru et al. (2023), empirical evidence indicates that engaging in physical activity has noticeable benefits for physical health and exerts a beneficial influence on specific aspects of mental health. As such, when individuals are in good physical condition, they are better equipped to manage stress and maintain a positive outlook during challenging times.

Based on the scholarly works, it can be argued that physical resources play a critical role in fostering resilience by promoting holistic well-being, facilitating adaptive coping strategies, and empowering individuals to confront the difficulties of existence with fortitude and resolve.

Moreover, the possession of tangible assets can enable individuals to assume responsibility for their lives and diminish reliance on external assistance in the face of adversity, thus cultivating a heightened sense of self-sufficiency.

2.10 Enhancing Resilience through Protective Factors

Studies emphasise the role of protective factors in fostering resilience among workers in the informal sector (Dyer & McGuinness, 1996; Flach, 1988; Marschke & Berkes, 2006). These protective factors may include social capital, access to microfinance, education and skill development, and community cohesion (Dyer & McGuinness, 1996). Resilience might emerge from routine protective mechanisms that safeguard human development in various circumstances, as evidenced by the presence of self-regulation abilities, successful educational institutions, supportive communities, and competent parenting (Masten et al., 2009). Hence, comprehending these factors can guide governments in designing interventions aimed at assisting informal workers in cultivating and reinforcing their resilience. Therefore, understanding how individual characteristics contribute to resilience is crucial. Hence, this chapter further explores these individual traits and their impact on resilience.

2.11 Individual Characteristics and their Influence on Resilience

While external resources are widely recognised as pivotal for nurturing resilience, it is equally imperative to acknowledge the vital role of personal traits as significant contributors to resilience. For instance, Dr. Sharon Danes, a professor and specialist at the University of Minnesota conducted research that illuminates five crucial attributes that enhance individuals' resilience when confronting life's transitions and challenges, which are outlined by (B. O'Neill, 2011).

These traits, as emphasised by O'Neill (2011, para. 1), include being “positive, focused, flexible, organised, and proactive.

- **Positive** people view challenges as opportunities and consistently ‘use lemons to make lemonade. They reframe situations positively and often use the expression ‘it could have been a lot worse’ when comparing their misfortune to others.
- **Focused** people determine where they are headed in the future and stick to their goals so that life events and other barriers do not deter them.
- **Flexible** people are open to new and different options when faced with uncertainty.
- **Organised** people set priorities and develop structured approaches to manage change.
- **Proactive** people work with change rather than defend against it.”

The above literature highlights the relationship between these traits and an individual’s capacity to skillfully navigate and overcome challenges. Therefore, this optimistic perspective implies that individuals who perceive challenges as opportunities for personal growth and transformation can effectively navigate adversities in a constructive manner.

Moreover, it can be said that this optimistic perspective is more than just a personal issue, as it represents deliberate and informed decision-making that assists individuals in yielding benefits from difficulties. Hence, in some cases, individuals employ expressions like ‘*turning lemons into lemonade*’ to symbolise their capacity for adaptive thinking (Hartanto et al., 2022).

Literature highlights the importance of staying focused. Individuals who are determined and unwavering in their pursuit of future goals exhibit remarkable resilience despite life events and barriers (Kus, 2014).

Therefore, it can be asserted that individuals who are focused commonly exhibit a clear sense of direction, allowing them to persist in the face of challenges.

Furthermore, flexibility can be regarded as an important coping mechanism. For instance, being open to fresh and diverse concepts when confronted with insecurity indicates that the individual can adapt and is willing to accept change (Waugh et al., 2008). This agility is instrumental in navigating through unforeseen circumstances, demonstrating how cognitive and emotional flexibility contribute to resilience (Waugh et al., 2008). Furthermore, individuals who possess resilience are capable of modifying their physiological and emotional reactions to adapt to ever-changing environmental conditions (Waugh et al., 2008).

In addition, organisational skills emerge as a practical aspect of resilience. Individuals who are organized and use well-thought-out ways are also best able to handle complex situations (Floris & Cuganesan, 2019; Williams, 1989). Therefore, one can consider organised individuals to be relatively good at problem-solving and capable of maintaining order in chaos.

Finally, the proactive approach serves as a catalyst for resilience. Choosing to embrace change instead of opposing it indicates an individual's readiness to initiate transformative endeavours (Yulianingsih & Fachrunnisa, 2020). Therefore, this perspective asserts that resilience encompasses more than just a passive reaction to challenges; it involves actively embracing change, which in turn results in personal growth and empowerment.

In conclusion, according to Barton et al. (2020, p.1) "resilience is not just something you have; it's something you do." As such, resilient individuals should be proactively involved in the process and not only expect external sources to aid them in building resilience.

2.12 Obstacles and Vulnerabilities in Resilience Building

The presence of obstacles and vulnerabilities significantly impacts the resilience-building efforts of individuals and systems, particularly among informal workers facing economic downturns and crises. The capacity of systems to either absorb or recuperate from the consequences of disruptive events is referred to as resilience (Proag, 2014). This is claimed to be feasible without the need for significant changes to their structure or function. For instance, informal workers face increased risks during economic downturns and crises because they lack formal employment contracts and access to social safety. There is evidence indicating that individuals living in poverty and vulnerability are unable to cope with the frequent hazards and shocks without external assistance (Ara Begum et al., 2021). According to Lund (2012), globally, the informal workforce is expanding, and for many of the poorer employees, these workspaces are a source of danger and illness due to changes in workplace environments and the global structure of employment. However, Lund (2012) further maintains that informal employees are not eligible for employment-related social security.

Notwithstanding their limited or nonexistent access to reliable statutory or formal social protection, workers in the informal sector endure significant occupational hazards (Lund, 2012). Hence, understanding the challenges faced by informal sector workers illustrates the importance of developing effective social policies and interventions.

2.13 Social Policies and Interventions

Applying resilience theory to the world of informal employment provides knowledge for creating effective social policies and interventions. For instance, to increase resilience among informal workers, policymakers might focus on providing social safety nets, access

to training and skill development programmes and support for entrepreneurial endeavours (Chen et al., 2002). Cho et al. (2016) further support the argument and assert that more than half of the global workforce is engaged in self-employment; yet a significant proportion of these self-employed individuals operate as subsistence entrepreneurs with low productivity. Nevertheless, one may argue that the objective of entrepreneurship initiatives targeting low-income self-employed persons is not to promote innovative practises and business expansion but rather to enhance their standard of living. As a result, it emphasises the significance of tailoring solutions to the specific conditions of informal workers while also acknowledging the presence of subsistence-level businesses among them. This can be further improved by prioritising resilience-building measures such as social safety nets, skills development, and livelihood enhancement, and policymakers can pave the way for a more secure and empowered informal workforce. Furthermore, social protection serves as a pivotal government investment and a social policy intervention, fostering economic expansion and rendering it more equitable for the impoverished.

This can be achieved through the direct eradication of poverty (Ara Begum et al., 2021). According to van Ginneken (1999), informal sector workers should establish health and social insurance schemes tailored to their specific needs and their ability to contribute. This call can be extended to other areas of development, as informal sector workers, such as car guards themselves, can rally together to bring about the change they want.

2.14 Research Gaps and Future Directions

Despite the increasing attention given to resilience theory and informal sector work, the existing body of research still contains several deficiencies. Addressing these gaps in research is crucial for improving one's grasp of resilience dynamics and for informing effective policy measures aimed at bolstering resilience in both formal and informal

sectors amidst ongoing economic and social challenges. Therefore, in the future, researchers should investigate how gender and culture affect resilience, how the formal and informal sectors relate to each other in the bigger picture of the economy, and how interventions that build resilience have long-lasting effects. Subsequently, an enhanced comprehension of the informal sector may result in the design of policies and programmes that can effectively cater to the requirements of individuals involved in informal sector activities (Canagarajah & Raju, 2001).

Existing research on informal labour underscores the general vulnerabilities that workers in this sector worldwide face, including poor compensation, exclusion from labour rights, and exposure to hazardous working conditions (Chen, 2012; ILO, 2017). Informal workers, including street vendors, scrap metal collectors, and domestic workers, frequently operate in precarious conditions that are characterized by economic insecurity, social marginalization, and restricted access to healthcare and social safety nets (Benach et al. 2014; Benavides and Delclos 2005; Salmivaara 2021).

Within this broader context, research on car guarding in South Africa (Bothma & Blaauw, 2003; Steyn et al., 2015) emphasizes that this activity serves as a survival strategy for the unemployed and a method of dissuading informal crime in urban areas.

Additionally, these workers face occupational hazards like weather exposure, violence, long hours, and irregular wages, but their labour is not recognised in formal economic frameworks. The literature emphasises the profound interconnection between informal economies and urban poverty cycles, as individuals are forced to engage in activities that provide basic but essential urgent income due to desperation (Bonnet, Chacaltana, and Leung 2019; Mazumdar 1976).

Although extensive research on informal labour has identified common themes, there are substantial gaps in our comprehension of context-specific resilience strategies and localised socioeconomic dynamics that influence the lived experiences of Namibian car guards. Thus far, there has been no research conducted on car guards in the CBD of Windhoek, a distinctive urban environment that has been influenced by Namibia's postcolonial economic policies, significant youth unemployment (38.4 percent in 2023), and fast rural-urban migration (NPC 2017; NSA 2023).

Despite the increasing presence of car guards in Windhoek's Central Business District (CBD), there are still numerous key questions that remain unaddressed regarding their socio-economic reality and resilience methods.

First and foremost, the regulatory framework presents substantial obstacles since car guards are required to negotiate a complex array of municipal by-laws, privatisation of public areas, and intensified competition for informal employment.

Key restrictive bylaws in Windhoek include, among others:

1. Street Trading and Public Amenities By-Law (2004) (City of Windhoek 2004a).

- **Restriction:** Forbids informal trading in public areas that are not designated for such activities without obtaining a permit.
- **Impact:** Car guards frequently operate in parking areas that are not officially designated for informal work, which renders their actions “illegal”. This leads to the imposition of fines, the confiscation of personal property, or harassment by municipal officers.

2. Public Roads and Transport By-Law (2004) (City of Windhoek 2004b).

- **Restriction:** Regulates activities on public roads, such as the prohibition of “obstruction of traffic” or “loitering”.

- **Impact:** Although car guards provide a service, they are at risk of being penalised for "obstructing" vehicular movement when they are working in busy parking zones or near roadsides.

3. Public Health By-Law (2004) (City of Windhoek 2004c).

- **Restriction:** Prohibits "nuisance activities" in public spaces, which are broadly defined to encompass informal workers who lack fixed structures.
- **Impact:** Authorities frequently disassemble the makeshift shelters of car guards (such as tents or boxes) in accordance with this bylaw.

Thus, as private entities, including KPI, assume responsibility for parking management, the displacement of these workers, and their ability to sustain livelihoods in an urban environment that is becoming increasingly regulated is a cause for concern.

This privatisation of parking management with private entities like KeyPlot Investments grants exclusive parking rights in Windhoek's CBD, displacing car guards and criminalising informal workers to maintain control over revenue-generating spaces (Larsen and Augustus n.d.; Metsola 2022).

Secondly, the role of cultural traditions, kinship networks, and social solidarity in strengthening resilience among car guards is still not fully understood. These workers' coping mechanisms in the face of economic insecurity could be more profoundly understood by examining how they utilise community ties and informal support systems (Giovanis and Ozdamar 2024). According to Aditya and Amri (2023), to navigate the challenges, they frequently rely on community ties and informal support systems. For instance, studies have indicated that informal workers often pool resources to create communal savings, providing financial assistance during times of need (Komesuor, Manu,

and Meyer-Weitz 2024; Wango 2024). Additionally, social support networks have been identified as crucial coping mechanisms, offering emotional support and enhancing resilience among workers facing work-related challenges (Giovanis and Ozdamar 2024). Recognizing and strengthening these informal support systems is essential for developing policies that effectively address the vulnerabilities faced by informal workers (Wango 2024).

Lastly, additional research is necessary to examine the gender dynamics within this male-dominated sector. The existing discourse is largely devoid of the experiences of women in car guarding, including their strategies for negotiating gendered labour divisions, safety concerns, and access to work opportunities. It is imperative to address these gaps to foster a more refined understanding of urban informality and resilience among the car guards of Windhoek.

The field of car guarding in Windhoek is primarily male-dominated, and there is a significant dearth of research that examines the experiences of women in this industry. Examining the gender dynamics is crucial to understanding how women navigate challenges related to gendered labour divisions, safety concerns, and access to work opportunities (Kozak 2017; Lendelvo, Munyebvu - Chambara, and Suich 2012; Nickanor, Crush, and Pendleton 2016). Addressing these gaps will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of urban informality and resilience among car guards in Windhoek.

Additionally, although resilience theory has been implemented in informal sectors in other contexts (e.g., street vendors in India or motorcycle taxi drivers in Kenya) (Bhattacharya 1998; Ombati & Ombati 2016), no research has focused on the specific ways in which car guards employ resilience to mitigate risks such as income volatility, homelessness, or

health emergencies. Consequently, the scarcity of localised data obscures the lived realities of these car guards, thereby restricting the capacity of policymakers to develop inclusive and more responsive initiatives.

This study addresses these gaps by investigating three core dimensions of resilience among Windhoek's car guards:

1. **Lived Experiences:** What is the perception of the roles of car guards in the informal economy of Windhoek? What are the daily obstacles that influence their survival strategies, such as nonpayment by clients, harassment by authorities, or a lack of shelter? Windhoek's CBD car guards' resilience is influenced by their lived experiences within specific social, economic, and cultural contexts, underscoring the dynamic interplay between environmental influences and individual adaptation. Ungar (2011b) underscores the influence of lived experiences within particular social, economic, and cultural contexts on resilience. He contends that resilience is not solely a result of individual perseverance but rather a result of the interactions between individuals and their environments. This trend of thought can be beneficial for illustrating the ways in which the resilience strategies of car guards are influenced by their daily realities, such as homelessness and discrimination. Furthermore, Masten (2014b) emphasises that resilience is generated by everyday adaptive processes, even in high-risk environments. This concept is consistent with the documentation of the routine survival strategies of car guards (e.g., negotiating with clients, managing income instability). Theron (2016) advocates for context-specific understandings that should incorporate case studies from African informal settlements, and she strongly criticises the use of western-centric resilience models.

This, in conjunction with the perspective, illustrates the way the distinctive urban dynamics influence the lived experiences of the car guards in the CBD of Windhoek.

2. **Coping Mechanisms:** To endure adversity, what tangible and intangible resources (e.g., entrepreneurial diversification, religious beliefs, peer networks) do car guards utilise? What distinguishes these strategies from those documented in other cities?

The coping strategies of car guards can be interpreted through the lenses of problem-focused and emotion-focused coping, which emphasises their adaptation to economic and social challenges using adaptive mechanisms, social capital, and peer networks. The basic idea from Folkman and Lazarus (1988) that separates emotion-focused coping (which means dealing with problems directly, like building peer networks or finding resources) and problem-focused coping (which involves handling stress through things like spiritual practises or substance use) can help us understand how car guards manage their challenges. This framework serves as a foundation for the examination of the manner in which car guards devise coping strategies in response to economic and social challenges. Kabeer (2014) broadens this perspective by investigating ways in which informal workers, particularly women, navigate economic exclusion using informal collectives and social capital. Consequently, her research sheds light on the gendered coping strategies of marginalised groups, emphasising the importance of the formation of support systems to increase resilience, although car guarding is a male-dominated profession. By exploring these perspectives, we can understand how car guards utilise problem-focused coping mechanisms and adaptive mechanisms to manage economic insecurity and social exclusion.

3. **Resilience in Practice:** How does resilience translate into long-term results? For instance, does car guarding facilitate upward mobility, or does it perpetuate cycles of poverty?

Resilience is a collective strategy for overcoming adversity and an individual capacity. A framework for resilience as an actionable capacity, which can be applied to the community-level resilience of car guards, is provided by Norris et al. (2008). This framework encompasses social support and economic development. Their informal strategies, such as shared security efforts or savings groups, can be interpreted as practical mechanisms that foster resilience and reduce economic instability and social exclusion. Further to that, Patel and Kleinman (2003) established a correlation between structural poverty and mental health challenges, underscoring that resilience is not solely about overcoming adversity but also about navigating systemic difficulties. It can thus be said that resilience is an essential practise for car guards to maintain mental well-being in the face of limited opportunities, as they frequently encounter chronic stress, social stigma, and financial insecurity. Blessin et al. (2022) emphasise the importance of culturally tailored resilience interventions, which illustrate that resilience is influenced by context-specific coping mechanisms. This perspective helps us understand how car guards adapt resilience strategies to their unique socio-economic and cultural environments by utilising faith-based support, peer networks, and local mental health practices. Collectively, these sources demonstrate that resilience among car guards is a psychological process characterised by both a community-driven response to economic hardship and an individual approach to managing stress and maintaining hope.

This research endeavours to redefine resilience as a collective, context-dependent process that is influenced by structural inequities and cultural agency, rather than solely as individual perseverance. This is achieved by emphasizing the voices of car guards. These

findings will be used to inform policies that address the underlying causes of informality, such as the formalization of informal roles, the establishment of urban safety nets, or the expansion of social protections.

Additionally, the resilience strategies that are already embedded within these communities will be boosted. This study aims to address these gaps by examining the lived experiences of car guards, their coping mechanisms, and the ways in which resilience is demonstrated in the informal economy.

2.15 Chapter Summary

Chapter 2, which covers the literature review of the study, enlightens the reader on the living and working conditions of informal sector workers. This study primarily focused on car guards and drew literature mainly from the South African context, as the number of studies undertaken in Namibia and other regions of the world is limited. It was found that the informal sector dates to the 20th century and that the International Labour Organisation (ILO) was at the core of its foundation, as it played a key role in its development. Furthermore, it was found that there are distinct differences between the informal and formal sectors. However, the literature further shows that the two will continue to coexist and thus be referred to as ‘dualism’. The chapter also highlights the informal sector in the Namibian context, along with the Namibian economic situational analysis. It was revealed that the Namibian informal economy is fueled mainly by the high unemployment rate and that informal sector workers remain underserved and unprotected due to a lack of social protection. Despite Namibia's status as an upper-middle-income country, it struggles to address the socioeconomic needs of its citizens. This defect negatively influences the living and working conditions of those working in the informal sector because of limited employment in the formal economy. This chapter focuses on

resilience theory and how it can be used in the social sciences to understand the day-to-day living and working conditions of informal sector workers such as car guards.

Moreover, the existing literature suggests that sociology, as a social science discipline, does not widely embrace resilience theory. embraced within sociology as a social science discipline. However, the literature illustrated how resilience is used in sociology from a functionalist perspective to understand the roles of car guards as a social entity that contributes to societal stability. Furthermore, the literature showed that resiliency can help individuals and groups overcome hardships by deploying various survival strategies, individually and as a group.

Providing a structured approach to the analysis of car guards' strategies and their impact, resilience theory is a critical foundation for this study. The study provides valuable insights into the cultivation of resilience at the individual, community, and institutional levels by utilising this theoretical framework. Ultimately, these insights inform policies and practises that support sustainable informal employment in Namibia.

The literature review also emphasizes the significant gaps in our understanding of the resilience and lived experiences of car guards in the CBD of Windhoek. Although global research on informal labour has identified common vulnerabilities, including poor compensation, exclusion from labour rights, and hazardous working conditions, there is a lack of localised studies that concentrate on Namibian car guards.

Additionally, although research has investigated the informal economy and the working conditions of street-level informal workers in a variety of African contexts (Roever and Skinner 2016; Skinner 2008), there is a significant gap in the literature regarding the manner in which these actors exercise agency in relation to urban spatial and regulatory

frameworks. The majority of studies focus on the informal survival strategies or the socio-economic marginalisation of these persons, without thoroughly investigating how these individuals, particularly car guards, change urban functionality through everyday actions. Accordingly, this study contributes to the bridging of this theoretical divide by repositioning car guards as active agents within the city, rather than passive victims of exclusion, in accordance with Simone's (2004, p.407) conceptual framing of “people as infrastructure”.

In the context of Southern Africa, particularly within the distinctive socio-political fabric of Namibia, there are also a limited number of studies that investigate the intersection between urban informality and resilience theory. Consequently, this study contributes to a more dynamic comprehension of informal agency in hazardous urban environments by using Simone (2004) idea of urban piracy and (Ungar 2008) culturally distinguished model of resilience. To further show how the study was conducted, the methodology is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study explored the living and working conditions of car guards operating as informal sector workers in Windhoek (CBD). According to Neuman (2006), exploratory studies focus on investigating new topics or issues to uncover new insights. Consequently, the living and working conditions of car guards in Namibia, specifically in Windhoek (CBD), were identified as an under-researched area with limited available literature. Moreover, exploratory researchers examine new domains to develop specific research questions for future studies (Neuman, 2006). Therefore, this chapter presents various qualitative research methods and instruments, outlining the overall research design, research population, sample size, and data collection instruments.

3.2 Research Design

This qualitative research study sought to question the interpretations and understandings of car guards regarding their experiences and environment. The researcher selected ethnography as the study design because it provides a comprehensive and profound understanding of the intricate reality of the car guards' everyday lives and social interactions. Ethnography entails the researcher fully immersing himself or herself in the study environment, typically for a prolonged duration, to observe and engage with the participants in their authentic context (Caulfield, 2020). Denzin and Lincoln's (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) definition of qualitative research, as cited by Jindal, Singh, and Pandya (2015), aligns with this technique. It highlights the researcher's profound involvement in the research setting and the interpretive aspect of the investigation.

Hence, employing ethnography in this study enables a comprehensive and intricate investigation into the car guards' experiences and the significance they attribute to them, thus illuminating their worldview from their own perspective. Therefore, we selected the research design based on its suitability for the specific objectives and context of the investigation.

As such, the researcher immersed himself in the world of car guards to observe how they perceive their living and working conditions. According to a definition cited in Angrosino (2009), observation is the process of documenting an event for scientific reasons by observing it with instruments. The significance of observation in social research has been recognised for many decades (Angrosino, 2009). This is mainly due to the inherent human capacity to perceive and analyse the environment, which serves as the foundation for the tendency to make rational assessments of matters (Angrosino, 2009). Hence, the researcher conducted observations of the living and working conditions, as well as other external factors affecting the car guards, to contribute to the empirical research findings outlined in this study.

3.3 Population

The population consisted of car guards operating in the Windhoek CBD. The term “population” in the research context is defined as the temporal bounds of the population, the unit being sampled, and its geographical location (Neuman, 2006). Subsequently, the population was sampled along the main streets of the (CBD), i.e., Independence Avenue, Lüderitz Street, and Werner List Street, which cover major shopping complexes and parking lots. Preliminary observation indicated that there is a high prevalence of mainly male car guards in this geographical area, as depicted in the figure below.



Figure (2) Geographical area of study © google maps

3.4 Population Sampling

In this study, a combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques was employed to select participants, aligning with the qualitative research design and the study's objectives.

The openness and flexibility of the purposive and snowball sampling techniques are ideal attributes for qualitative research (Flick, 2007). These techniques are particularly useful in qualitative research because, first, when conducting fieldwork, the researcher is guided by expert judgement based on the study's objectives, which are to select the right participants. Second, snowball sampling was especially effective in locating participants whom the researcher might not identify through judgement alone, but rather through the existing interconnected network (Neuman, 2006).

Purposive sampling, also referred to as judgmental or selective sampling, is a non-probability sampling technique in which researchers intentionally choose individuals based on specific characteristics or knowledge that is relevant to the research question.

This method guarantees that the selected participants can provide pertinent and comprehensive information, thereby enriching the data that is gathered. (Etikan, Musa, and Alkassim 2016). This study implemented purposive sampling to identify participants who possessed a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter and had firsthand experience. This strategic selection ensured that the data collected was both relevant and insightful, directly contributing to the research objectives.

Snowball sampling, also known as chain-referral sampling, is a non-probability sampling technique where existing study participants recruit future participants from among their acquaintances. This method is deemed by (Naderifar, Goli, and Ghaljaie 2017) to be particularly effective for accessing hard-to-reach or marginalized populations, as it leverages the social networks of initial participants to identify others who meet the study's eligibility criteria

In this study, snowball sampling complemented purposive sampling by facilitating access to individuals who might not have been readily identifiable through direct recruitment methods. Initial participants referred others within their networks who met the study's criteria, thereby expanding the participant pool in a manner consistent with the research objectives. In addition, the integration of purposive and snowball sampling techniques enabled a comprehensive approach to participant selection. A total of 13 participants were successfully recruited and interviewed using this combined sampling strategy, thereby enhancing the credibility and rigor of the research findings.

3.5 Research Instruments

In accordance with the research design, the study employed an observation checklist as a tool to facilitate the process and ensure comprehensive coverage of all aspects of the observation. Furthermore, the study utilised a semi-structured interview guide, a commonly applied method in the social sciences, to gather qualitative data or clinical information. Semi-structured interviews are characterised by their exploratory nature (Magaldi & Berler, 2020). Therefore, the researcher created an interview guide that was thematically consistent with the study's aims, containing essential questions to gather data. Furthermore, the researcher meticulously captured the replies from the semi-structured interviews using a recording device for subsequent analysis. Ultimately, the researcher employed a camera to document the unfolding events in the field, capturing the participants' perspectives with their explicit permission. The researcher employed a semi-structured interview as the primary approach for collecting data in the study. Semi-structured interviews, although qualitative in nature, involve a predetermined topic context and a set of questions (George, 2022). Exploratory tools are frequently utilised in diverse research fields such as marketing, social science, survey methodologies, and others (George, 2022). Furthermore, the researcher employed photography to accurately document the living and working situations of the car guards. The interviews and observations yielded distinct themes since participants played a significant role in crafting the outcome based on their subjective perception of reality.

In addition, as stated by Kingsley (2010), combining a graphic approach with other qualitative research methods might provide distinctive insights that would remain hidden if only one method was used in isolation.

This can be achieved by using the intrinsic characteristics of each method. Furthermore, this claim might be supported by the age-old saying, “a picture is worth a thousand words” (Balwin, 2020, para. 1). Thus, it can be argued that imagery possesses considerably more depth in its shades and subject matter than a thousand words could possibly express. Therefore, the research employed the efficacy of photography to illuminate elements of a study that may otherwise remain overlooked within a concentrated account of written text and voice-recorded data (Kingsley, 2010).

3.6 Procedures

The researcher informed the participants about their intentions prior to the scheduled interviews. This involved building rapport and getting to know the participants and the environment better. According to Zakaria & Musta’amal (n.d.), rapport enables the researcher to connect with participants in a manner that creates an atmosphere of trust and indulgence.

Therefore, this not only made the sampling easier but also encouraged openness in the responses to the interview questions from the participating individuals. All the interviews were in English except one, which was conducted in Khoe-khoegowab (Damara Nama). Photographs were taken randomly with the participants' consent. Finally, the interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder following the signing of consent forms. The procedure was customised to fulfill the requirements and availability of the participants and was flexible; for instance, the recording was paused every time they had to attend to their clients. A specific and mainly observable criterion was used to sample the participants. Having pre-established criteria is said to be of importance in social research as it helps the researcher study a very specific or narrow sample that can be aligned with the objectives of the study (Taller, n. d.).

Furthermore, Burns and Grove (2001), cited in Taller (n.d), stated that for a sample to be representative, its features must be like those of the target population.

The sampling criteria for selection included:

- Must be a car guard operating in the geographical area in question.
- Must not appear to be under the influence of any substance.
- Must be willing to provide consent and be able to respond to questions.

Accessing participants, establishing rapport, and adhering to ethical standards are among the numerous obstacles that researchers encounter in the field. Sevelius et al. (2020) maintain that accessing participants in qualitative research can be challenging, particularly when dealing with sensitive topics or marginalized communities. Fear of consequences or mistrust may cause potential participants to be hesitant. To address these concerns, the study implemented purposive and snowball sampling methods, which capitalized on existing networks to identify and contact car guards who qualified. As alluded to above, in order to address these concerns, the study implemented purposive and snowball sampling methods, which capitalized on existing networks to identify and contact car guards who qualified. Purposive sampling and snowball sampling are ways to choose people for research that help meet goals and increase participation by using trusted contacts (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981; Sharp 2003). This approach made it easy to access the appropriate participants and, above all, those that were keen to engage.

However, the researcher had to ensure that there was trust from the participants. It is essential to establish trust and rapport to obtain comprehensive and authentic data (Pashak and Heron 2022). Consequently, the researcher built a rapport with the participants over time, exhibiting genuine empathy and interest to create a welcoming atmosphere.

This process further entailed the maintenance of consistent communication, the respect of participants' perspectives, and active listening, which facilitated openness and enhanced the quality of the data. To Guillemin and Gillam (2004), reflexivity, or the researcher's awareness of their influence on the study, is essential for navigating power disparities and ensuring ethical engagement.

The researcher encountered obstacles during the data collection process, particularly when interviewing car guards. For example, the scarcity of legal parking spaces necessitated that car owners park in unauthorized areas, resulting in brief stays to avoid penalties from city traffic officers. As a result, car guards were frequently preoccupied, which required frequent breaks during interviews to assist clients. This necessitated the researcher pausing and resuming interviews on numerous occasions, necessitating patience and adaptability to accommodate the participants' work schedules. The demanding nature of car guarding is reflected in the challenges that workers encounter, as they frequently encounter unpredictable and strenuous working conditions (Kee-Tui and Walsh 2022).

By proactively addressing these challenges, the study upheld ethical standards and enhanced the credibility and reliability of the findings. As outlined in the section below, ethical diligence was maintained throughout the research process.

3.7 Data Analysis

As discussed in the previous headings, thematic analysis was utilized for making sense of the data gathered through semi-structured interviews. Data analysis in qualitative research is referred to as a process for the reduction and organization of data to generate findings that necessitate the researcher's interpretation (Burns & Grove 2003), as cited in (Mamabolo, 2009).

However, before the analysis, researchers transcribed the recordings gathered from the semi-structured interviews by converting speech to text word for word (Streefkerk, 2019). Following a rigorous process of recording transcription, the researcher analyzed the data collected during face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. Further analysis was performed on the array of thematic photographs captured during the field research. This analysis looked at general patterns, similarities, and differences in the car guard's narratives, drawing from their perceptions of their realities. Systematically, a brief analysis of the findings is presented under each thematic area, and key findings are further discussed in the following chapters.

3.8 Research Ethics

The researcher applied for a full ethics review and certification from UREC to acquire ethical clearance and research permission. To ensure that participation is voluntary, participants received a written consent form explaining the aims of the research and discussing confidentiality issues. Interview information was strictly confidential and accessible solely to the researcher and supervisor. Furthermore, research participants were informed of their rights to withdraw at any time during the process. The researcher did not use the real names of the participants; instead, pseudonyms were used to ensure anonymity. Participants gave consent by providing their signature to provide permission for the use of their visuals in the project. All data, including visual and audio recordings, will be kept safe for the required 5-year period.

3.9 Chapter Summary

Chapter 3 of the research project focuses on the methods employed in the research, which aimed to investigate the living and working conditions of car guards in Windhoek's CBD,

Namibia. The exploratory scope of the study, which seeks to unveil novel insights within an area that has received less attention thus far, is introduced in the chapter. Qualitative research methods were employed to investigate the experiences and perceptions of car guards.

The research design was a qualitative exploratory case study, emphasizing the understanding of car guards' interpretations of their lives and surroundings. Techniques such as observation, semi-structured interviews, and photography were used. Observations helped in understanding the external factors influencing car guards, while semi-structured interviews provided in-depth insights. Photography, aligned with interview themes, captured the nuanced realities of the participants.

To discover recurring patterns and themes in the gathered data, a thematic analysis approach was implemented. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to select 15 participants from car guards operating in Windhoek. The research instruments included an observation checklist, semi-structured interview guide, and photography. Participants were approached with respect and transparency, ensuring voluntary participation and confidentiality. Transcribed interviews and thematic analysis of both interview data and photographs were conducted to extract meaningful findings.

Ethical considerations were paramount. Ethical clearance and research permission were obtained, and the participants provided written consent. Participant withdrawal was voluntary, and anonymity was preserved through the use of pseudonyms.

All data, including visual and audio recordings, was securely stored and will remain as such for the mandated 5-year period. The next chapter showcases the findings and presents an all-inclusive discussion.

CHAPTER 4

ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the ethnographic data gathered during the field study is analysed, presented, and interpreted. The researcher analysed the semi-structured interviews prudently in order to verify that the results mirror the perceptions of the car guards. In addition, basic demographic information about participants, tables, and photographs support the findings. The pictures function as portrayals of the actual conditions that informal sector workers, specifically car guards, encounter on a daily basis in Windhoek's (CBD), as observed by the researcher and guided by thematic findings. As alluded to in Chapter 3 (3.7) on data analysis, the researcher employed thematic analysis as a method to comprehend the ethnographic material, which entails the identification of themes by following the patterns and coding for coherence of the data. Ethnography is defined by Angrosino (2009) as the scientific and artistic description of a human group with an emphasis on its beliefs, institutions, and interpersonal behaviors. Furthermore, a comprehensive discussion of the emerging themes from which conclusions and recommendations are drawn is outlined in this chapter.

4.2 Demographic characteristics of the participants

Demographic data provides critical information about the research participants. Lee and Schuele (2010) stated that these data are important for the representativeness of the participants in the population sample of the study. As a standard practice, this information is typically included in the later chapters of the research methodology (specifically, Chapter 3). These demographic variables serve as independent factors in the research

design and are not influenced by the researcher (Alghatas, Fathalla M., n.d.; M. Lee & Schuele, 2010). Therefore, as per the sampling method presented in Chapter 3, all participants were selected from Windhoek (CBD) through the use of the purposive sampling technique.

Key demographic findings point to the fact that only one of the 13 participants who responded to the interviews was female. It is worth noting that the researcher came across another female car guard who refused to participate in the study. Another significant characteristic is that the age range of participants, which is 25-44 years of age, indicates that they are relatively young and mainly of youth age. The table further shows that only 4 of the participants are originally from the Khomas Region, Windhoek City, and that the majority have migrated from mainly rural areas to Windhoek City. Additionally, among the 13 participants, nine have experienced the loss of one or both parents during childhood. Hence, it can be concluded that the majority of them were raised in broken homes.

In addition, 7 of the participants had at least 1 child, whereas 7 was the maximum number of children among them. This chapter discusses these findings and other thematic areas.

The table below indicates the demographic characteristics of the participants.

Pseudonyms	Age	Sex	Place of birth	Parents	Children
Out of Heart	36	Male	Windhoek	Deceased	1
Gray	40	Male	Mariental	Single parent / Mather	3
Frank	39	Male	Keetmanshoop	Deceased	2
Sacky	27	Male	Windhoek	Deceased	0
Lucky	37	Male	Rundu	Deceased	0
Small boy	25	Male	Outjo	Deceased	0
Alah	28	Male	Maltahöe	Single parent/ Father deceased	0
Lotto	31	Male	Rehoboth	Single parent	1
Spandu	26	Male	Okahandja	Both parents	0
Solokoto	29	Male	Windhoek	Single parent/ father deceased	0
Deco	40	Male	Lüderitz	Single Parent/ Mother deceased	7
Era	32	Male	Windhock	Deceased	6
Maggie	44	Female	Onishiko Village	Both parents	4

Figure. 3 Demographic data © Dawid Gawaseb

4.3 Thematic Analysis

As defined in the previous chapter, thematic analysis is descriptive and provides an interpretation of various aspects of the research topic. As such, descriptive analysis is a procedure for disintegrating a data stream into its essential data points (Angrosino, 2009). These data points may include patterns, regularities, or themes that emerge from the data. Hence, the emerging themes are herewith discussed in relation to the above context and the literature reviewed to present a coherent understanding of the findings. The research analysed the gathered data in accordance with the interpretive paradigm, which is consistent with the more inter-subjective epistemology and ontological beliefs that reality is formed socially (Fuchs, 1976). Congruently, Aikenhead (1997) states that the interpretive paradigm is centred on observation and interpretation, where a researcher can

use observation to collect evidence about the participants' dealings and equally interpret that evidence by making meaning of it. This is achieved through deriving conclusions or assessing the correspondence between the data and a conceptual framework (Aikenhead, 1997). Furthermore, this analysis endeavours to comprehend the findings through the meanings assigned by the participants as they perceive them (Deetz, 1996).

Interpretations were drawn from participants' subjective perceptions of the world around them and as they experienced it on a day-to-day basis. Subsequently, the field research, through a process of thematic analysis, generated seven major themes, substantiated by an array of subthemes. To uncover and study patterns of relevance, themes, and concepts, thematic analysis is utilised as a qualitative research method to examine and interpret textual or visual data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). The process entails a systematic analysis of the data to recognise repeated concepts, subjects, or patterns and to arrange them into significant groupings or themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The table and photo (1) below outline the thematic analysis of the study.

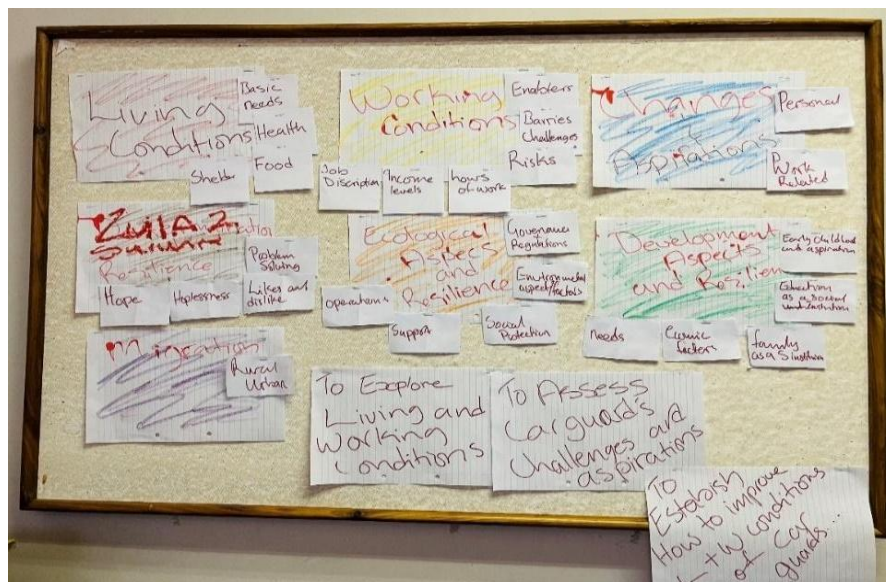


Photo (1) Thematic analysis © Dawid Gawaseb

No	Major themes	Sub themes	Description
1	Living conditions	Basic needs, health, food and shelter. Support in kind and social protection	This theme looks into the basic living conditions of the car guards focusing on their standard of living.
2	Working conditions	Employment conditions, tasks, income, hours and days of work, barriers/ challenges, risk and enablers. Need for social protection	Covers the working environment the car guards are exposed to. It Focuses on the key factors that influence their working conditions and the circumstances under which they operate. Explores the need for access to social protection for car guards
3	Changes and aspiration	Personal changes Work related changes	Explores both personal and work related changes the car guards wish to see.
4	Zula to survive: A resilience perspective	Determination, hope, hopelessness, likes and dislikes and problem solving	It looks at the resilience strategies the car guards deploy to overcome the challenges they face. It also explores their attitudes towards their living and working conditions.
5	Ecological aspects and resilience	Environmental, Health and safety	It explores the environmental hazards the car guards are exposed to and their resiliency.
6	Developmental aspect and resilience	Family, socialization, parenting Education, early childhood development Support and social protection	It looks at the role of the family and education as social institution. It also draws on their functions and what role they played in the lives of the participants.
7	Migration: Rural urban Migration and the informal sector	Pull factors of rural urban migration	It explores the reasons why car guards moved to Windhoek city. Role of urbanization and on the informal economy.

Figure 4. Thematic Table © Dawid Gawaseb

4.4 Theme 1: Living Conditions

4.4.1 Subtheme 1: Basic Needs

This section of the study delves into the theme of “living conditions” and focuses on the sub-theme of “basic needs” among car guards in the informal sector. Basic needs encompass healthcare, nourishment, schooling, access to clean water, housing, transportation, and basic household items (Streeten, 1981).

Hence, these aspects are crucial for the day-to-day survival of car guards and provide insight into their quality of life. The basic needs approach outlined by Streeten (1981) outlines the tangible requirements of individuals and includes intangible needs such as involvement in society, cultural identity, and finding meaning in both life and one's occupation. While the theme mainly covers tangible or material needs, as presented below, it should be noted that non-material needs are interconnected with material needs.

Health and Shelter

Health care is essential for all humans, and this study aimed to explore how car guards access medical services. The participants' responses indicated a level of awareness of health care facilities and their ability to access medical services, often at minimal or no cost. Quotes from participants shed light on their experiences:

- **Out of heart:** Mentioned going to the Khomasdal clinic for medical assistance.
- **Small boy:** Referred to the Robert Mugabe Clinic and mentioned that they do not pay for medicine, emphasising its affordability.
- **Frank:** Highlighted the importance of resourcefulness, stating that individuals must make their own plans for healthcare, including going to Katutura Hospital or the Robert Mugabe Clinic.
- **Sacky:** Confirmed the accessibility of healthcare, mentioning visits to clinics or hospitals.

These responses indicate that car guards are aware of nearby healthcare facilities and have established strategies for accessing medical care when necessary. However, it is essential to explore further whether their health care needs are adequately met and whether they face any barriers to access.

According to Muiya (2013), appropriate budgetary expenditures for health care ensure not just access to but also the consumption of important health services by nations. Thus, it may be argued that the existence of health care services is likewise influenced by a responsive health finance system. In 2005, Namibia, along with a significant number of other member nations of the World Health Organization (WHO), made a commitment to acknowledge this fact (Muiya, 2013). Consequently, the member states pledged to improve their health funding systems so that all individuals can afford to pay for treatments and have access to health care services (WHO, 2010), as cited in Muiya (2013). According to Van Weel & Kidd (2018), primary health care is not only crucial but also cost-effective. Consequently, the implementation of primary health care as a means to attain universal health coverage remains a significant and ongoing undertaking in the realm of global health policy (Van Weel & Kidd, 2018). Therefore, understanding the living and working conditions of car guards is critical for identifying potential areas of improvement in their quality of life, of which health care is the most critical aspect. Overall, this research aims to have a direct influence on the lives of car guards as an advocacy tool by pushing for improved policies, boosting their health and safety, fostering community support, and empowering them with valuable skills. The ultimate goal is to provide a fair and helpful atmosphere for car guards in Windhoek's CBD.



Photo (2) Access to Quality Healthcare: © Dawid Gawaseb

Photo (2) shows that car guards possess prescription tablets issued by health care facilities in Windhoek City. However, while they claim to be able to access basic healthcare, the presence of prescription medication may indicate underlying health issues. It also seems apparent that they may not have access to high-quality medical care for major injuries or ailments that they encounter while working. This indicates a potential gap between basic healthcare access and the quality of healthcare received, highlighting the need for further investigation.

In addition, health care disparities stem from unequal access, experiences, and receipt of health care among different population groups, indicating an inequitable health care delivery system (Agency for Health Care Research and Quality, 2021). Social, economic, environmental, and other obstacles also affect health care inequities (Agency for Health Care Research and Quality, 2021). Hence, based on the findings, it can be concluded that car guards experience a wide range of health-related issues due to the various factors mentioned above.



Photo (3) Health Hazards on the Job © Dawid Gawaseb

Photo (3) depicts a car guard's bare hands affected by the chemicals used for washing vehicles. This observation highlights the occupational hazards that they face in their line of work. This further indicates that exposure to harsh chemicals without proper protective gear can lead to adverse health conditions over time. Generally, it is imperative to avoid skin contact when working with chemical substances. While the skin may develop resistance to the material to avoid absorption in certain instances, contact with it often results in skin diseases (Chemical Industry Association, 1991). Therefore, the absence of protective clothing can be deemed a significant concern since it places car guards at risk of preventable health issues, and this aspect should be considered when examining their living and working conditions.

Inadequate Shelter and Basic Amenities:

Regarding access to shelter, the research findings indicate that none of the participants had a decent place to stay or call home. They live in illegal informal structures, homeless shelters, or simply on the streets. As stated by the participants, this lack of secure housing hinders their access to essential services such as electricity and water.

- **Solokoto:** Describes staying around town and sleeping there when not working, indicating a lack of permanent residence.
- **Lucky:** Mentions staying in Katutura at a homeless shelter, emphasising the absence of a stable home.
- **Alah:** Indicates staying in Havana, where there is no electricity, highlighting inadequate living conditions.
- **Lotto:** Mentions residing in Okahandja Park and buying water and electricity using prepaid cards, indicating the need to pay for essential utilities.

While these living conditions are far from ideal, the absence of basic amenities such as water and electricity further compounds the challenges faced by car guards in Windhoek's CBD. Their living conditions are substandard and require attention from policymakers and relevant stakeholders in order to enhance their overall standard of living. Hence, the study's exploration of car guards' living conditions in Windhoek's (CBD) reveals significant challenges related to health care access, occupational hazards, and inadequate shelter. The research confirms the study's objectives and underscores the urgent need for measures to improve the well-being of car guards in the Windhoek area.



Photo (4) Typical Tented Makeshift Shelter © Dawid Gawaseb

This photograph illustrates a typical tented, makeshift shelter used by one of the car guards. The car guard shares this shelter with his girlfriend and their two children. The existence of such a shelter underscores the difficult living conditions experienced by car guards in Windhoek's (CBD), with the makeshift tent representing their residence, highlighting the absence of secure and suitable housing. Furthermore, it is notable that they are not alone in facing these circumstances, as they share their living space with family members. This situation raises concerns about the well-being and safety of children living in such conditions. In addition, it stresses the pressing need for improved housing solutions for car guards and their families.

The migration of individuals to urban areas has resulted in the expansion of informal settlements in many Namibian towns, leading to heightened demand for urban services and deteriorating housing conditions (Indongo, 2015). Additionally, those with low-income or no income are more likely to reside in informal settlements, whereas young people with moderate to low-paying employment are more likely to rent (Indongo, 2015).

The poor housing condition in Windhoek City is attributed to the influx of people to urban areas (Indongo, 2015; Umenne et al., 2021). While urban housing conditions are generally considered satisfactory, those residing in makeshift housing units, such as car guards, lack essential amenities such as toilets and electricity (Indongo, 2015). Therefore, it can be asserted that there is a need for formal housing to accommodate low-income earners.



Photo (5) Open-Air Bedding Made with Boxes © Dawid Gawaseb

In contrast to the tented shelter, photograph (5) shows an open-air bedding arrangement made with boxes sourced from nearby shop dustbins. Benefactors donated the neatly folded blankets seen in the photo. This improvised bedding indicates the resourcefulness of car guards in adapting to challenging circumstances. According to Zona et al. (2020), communities or countries with ample resources exhibit greater resilience when facing disasters because of their enhanced capacity to devise solutions. Furthermore, understanding the existing level of resourcefulness is beneficial for identifying areas that require improvement more effectively.

The mention that donors allocated tents during the COVID-19 epidemic in 2020 highlights the significance of external assistance in providing relief to car guards during critical times. These tents have proven useful, particularly during cold and rainy seasons, offering some protection from the elements. Nevertheless, the presence of makeshift bedding arrangements, as depicted in the photo, implies that not all car guards were able to obtain tents, leaving some exposed to harsh weather conditions.

It is essential to acknowledge the support provided by donor organisations and other sympathisers during the COVID-19 pandemic. There are ongoing challenges faced by car guards who did not receive tents, resulting in exposure to unforgiving weather conditions. As such, there is a need for sustained assistance and long-term solutions to improve their living conditions.

Furthermore, these photographs provide visual evidence of the living conditions of car guards in Windhoek. More specifically, they highlight the need for comprehensive efforts to address housing and shelter issues faced by car guards and their families and the importance of ongoing support from donors and organisations to alleviate their hardships.

Necessities such as food, clothing, and sanitary items

Food

Another crucial aspect of car guards' basic needs is access to nutritious food, suitable clothing, and sanitary items. This section highlights the challenges they face in meeting these essential requirements for their health and well-being.

The evidence indicates that car guards frequently lack access to an assortment of nutritious foods, as their dietary choices are limited by their work circumstances and financial constraints.

Some key points from the participants' responses regarding their food consumption patterns are outlined below.

- **Lotto:** Indicates that he eats only twice a day due to financial constraints, often relying on affordable and quick options like "*Malas*" (cheap items) or takeout when available.
- **Era:** Prefers to eat porridge but does not specify the frequency of meals.
- **Lucky:** Faces limitations in cooking due to the lack of a stove, leading to a diet primarily consisting of bread and simple items.
- **Small boy:** Eats three times a day, with a preference for pap (maize meal).
- **Deco:** Does not have a fixed meal schedule and eats porridge in the morning and bread in the afternoon.
- **Gray:** Consumes meals between two and three times a day, featuring dishes such as pap and soup with meat, bread, and coffee.

These responses collectively illustrate that car guards often have limited access to a balanced and nutritious diet. Hence, they rely on quick, affordable, and easily accessible food options, which may not always be the healthiest choices. Financial constraints and limited cooking facilities further restrict dietary options. While the participants indicated that they managed to secure some food, the variety and nutritional quality of their meals may have been limited due to financial constraints and the nature of their work. This further indicates the importance of examining their access to nutritious food and addressing potential gaps in meeting their dietary needs. In addition, further investigation into their clothing and sanitary needs would provide a more comprehensive understanding of their living conditions.



Photo (6) ‘*Malas*’ “Cheap and free food items” © Dawid Gawaseb

Photo (6) showcases off-market vegetables obtained by one of the car guards from a supermarket in the CBD. This image again symbolises their resourcefulness in sourcing food through various means. The ability to solicit vegetables from a supermarket indicates that car guards employ creative strategies to meet their dietary needs. They may rely on surplus or discarded food items to supplement their meals.



Photo (7) “I like to eat porridge” ©Dawid Gawaseb

Photo (7) reveals a heartwarming scene of three car guards sharing a pot of porridge with “chicken-neck” stew they cooked in a public toilet in a parking lot. This image portrays their sense of community and mutual support in preparing and sharing meals. Cooking together in challenging circumstances demonstrates resilience and cooperation in addressing dietary requirements. The research findings indicate that car guards have devised strategies to meet their dietary needs through their daily hustles.

They may rely on a combination of purchased, donated, and creatively sourced food items to ensure that they have enough food.

Clothing and Sanitary Needs

The participants’ responses shed light on how they allocate their income to meet various needs, including clothing and sanitary items.

Clothing

The discussion did not delve deeply into clothing needs, but it implied that car guards may face challenges in obtaining suitable clothing, particularly for adverse weather conditions. This aspect of their living conditions may warrant further investigation to assess whether they have adequate clothing to stay comfortable and protected while working.

Sanitary Needs

The discussion does not specifically address sanitary needs, but access to personal hygiene and sanitation facilities may also be a concern for car guards who lack stable housing. However, it would be beneficial for future research to investigate how they manage their sanitary needs and whether there are any challenges in this regard.

- **Maggie:** Allots money for food, cosmetics, and school fees for her children, including their cosmetics.
- **Deco:** Expresses spending his income on alcohol, indicating a personal struggle with addiction.
- **Sackies:** Buys food, T-shirts, trousers, and sandals from "PEP" with his earnings.
- **Out of the heart:** Uses income for cosmetics, dress codes, transportation (taxi fees), sugar, tea, and repaying borrowed money.

These responses imply that car guards prioritise essential items such as food, clothing, cosmetics, and transportation with their income. While some car guards may allocate their earnings responsibly, others may face challenges related to addiction, as in Deco's case. The findings further indicate that, to a significant extent, the income enables car guards to provide for the fundamental clothes and hygienic requirements they receive from their work.

However, the study also highlights their reliance on support in kind from sympathisers by means of donations. This assistance is of critical importance in supplementing their resources and improving their living conditions.



Photos (8) and (9): Meeting Basic Human Needs © Dawid Gawaseb

Photos (8) and (9) capture the essence of meeting some of the most fundamental human needs, i.e., sanitary items and clean clothing. These items, including bar soap, roll-on deodorant, lotion, toothpaste, and toothbrushes, represent essential hygiene products that are crucial for maintaining personal cleanliness and well-being. The car guards' ability to access and afford these items demonstrates their determination to meet basic human needs despite the challenges they face.

In addition, one of the car guards proudly displayed his clean clothing, which was hanging on a wire after being washed. This act signifies the importance of clean and well-maintained clothing for personal hygiene and dignity. It also reflects the car guards' commitment to maintaining a level of cleanliness and self-respect, even in challenging circumstances.

These photographs further highlight the resilience and resourcefulness of car guards in ensuring that they have access to basic hygiene and clothing essentials. What is rather significant is that despite their modest earnings, they prioritise these fundamental aspects of daily life, emphasising their determination to practise self-care and live a dignified life. In summary, basic needs include essential aspects such as healthcare, nourishment, and schooling; access to clean water; housing; transportation; and basic household items. These components are essential for the car guards' daily survival and offer valuable insight into their entire existence. The study also emphasises the importance of both tangible and intangible needs, including societal involvement, cultural identity, and finding meaning in life and occupation.

Furthermore, shelter and access to health care are fundamental for car guards, and the study indicates that they are generally aware of nearby health care facilities and can access medical services, often at minimal or no cost. However, further investigation is required to assess whether their health care needs are fully met and whether they encounter any barriers to access.

The study also highlights the occupational hazards that car guard's face, including exposure to harsh chemicals without proper protective gear, which can lead to health issues over time. Inadequate shelter is another pressing concern, as none of the participants had decent housing, and they lived in illegal informal structures, homeless shelters, or on the streets. This lack of decent housing affects the availability of fundamental services like electricity and water. Finally, the findings on necessities such as food, clothing, and sanitary items were discussed. Hence, as expected, access to nutritious food is limited for car guards because of financial constraints and the nature of their work, leading to dietary restrictions and reliance on quick, affordable options.

Although clothing and sanitary needs are not extensively discussed, it is implied that car guards may face challenges in obtaining suitable clothing and maintaining personal hygiene. The study emphasises the resourcefulness of car guards in sourcing food and managing their clothing and sanitary needs, often relying on donations and creative strategies, which portrays their resilience.

4.4.2 Subtheme 2: Access to Social Protection and Support

The conditions observed during the fieldwork underline the importance of car guards receiving diverse support, both individually and as a group. Participants were questioned about the assistance they currently receive and their thoughts on ways to enhance their living conditions. Below are a few of their responses:

- **Out of the heart:** Expresses the need for government assistance, including training and support for car guards. He emphasises the desire for someone to come and look after them.
- **Gray:** Desires assistance from anyone willing to help, particularly a place to live. Secure housing is a primary concern for improving the patient's living conditions.
- **Frank:** Shares an experience with the Ministry of Gender Equality and mentions the president's involvement in the past. However, he expresses skepticism about whether promised aid effectively reaches car guards.
- **Lucky:** Advocates for government support suggested that parking areas with car guards should receive higher compensation, such as N\$10 instead of the current N\$1. This proposal seeks to address the financial struggles faced by car guards.

- **Alah:** Highlights support received from the Roads Authority, including blankets, clothing, and shoes during the winter. He also mentions assistance from the City of Windhoek during the COVID-19 pandemic,
- **Alah:** Emphasised the role of faith and belief in divine intervention.
- **Deco:** Discusses a promise of government assistance that has not been fulfilled, including a monthly payment of N\$500.

This assertion aligns with the advocacy efforts of the Basic Income Grant Coalition of Namibia, which strongly urges the government to implement a universal basic income grant (BIG). The overarching goal is to alleviate poverty, enhance financial security, and promote social well-being (Basic Income Grant Coalition - Namibia, 2020). Under this proposed programme, eligible individuals aged 19 to 59 would receive a monthly cash payment of N\$500 (Tjitemisa, 2020). Organisations like the Basic Income Grant Coalition can play a crucial role in advancing policies that prioritise citizens' welfare.

- **Maggie:** Calls for intervention from the municipality, indicate that car guards could be employed or provided with job opportunities to enhance their circumstances. She emphasises the long years of struggle and the need for meaningful assistance.

These responses collectively underscore the importance of various forms of support for car guards. Their requests range from secure housing to increased financial compensation, access to job opportunities, and reliable government assistance. Therefore, it is apparent that car guards are actively pursuing sustainable alternatives in an endeavour to enhance their standard of living and advance towards greater economic security and stability. The findings further indicate a willingness among car guards to collaborate with governmental and non-governmental entities to create meaningful change in their lives.

By attending to their needs and offering responsive aid, society can substantially improve their holistic welfare and standard of living.



Photos 10 and 11: Social Protection and Support © Dawid Gawaseb

Photo 10 effectively communicates a strong advocacy message from the homeowner. The makeshift dwelling is marked with the (GRN) mark, which symbolises the Government of the Republic of Namibia. This serves as a sad reminder to the government to not overlook car guards and their families. The illustration highlights the need of social protection and governmental assistance in enhancing the well-being of car guards, who frequently encounter difficult circumstances. It emphasises the necessity for continuous focus and support from government authorities to improve the standard of living for workers in the informal sector and their families.

Photo 11 provides a visual representation of the support received by a participant from a sympathetic member of the community. The items shown in the photo, presumably donated by the sympathiser, signify the significance of social support and solidarity.

The provision of car guards with immediate necessities and the supplementation of their resources are both facilitated by these acts of generosity and contributions from the community. In summary, car guards express a need for various forms of support, both individually and collectively. They seek government assistance, secure housing, increased financial compensation, job opportunities, and reliable aid to improve their living conditions. It was also found that car guards are willing to collaborate with governmental and non-governmental entities to create meaningful change in their lives.

This study emphasises the significance of community and government support and social safeguards in enhancing the quality of life for car guards and their families. Donations and acts of kindness from sympathisers play a crucial role in supplementing their resources and addressing their immediate needs.

4.5 Theme 2: Working Conditions: The Informal Nature of Car Guarding

This second theme delves into the working conditions experienced by car guards in Windhoek (CBD), focusing on their employment status, income sources, and working hours. Car guarding, as revealed through the study's findings, is a primary source of income for the participants, driven by a lack of alternative employment opportunities. Despite the inherent challenges and precarious nature of their work, car guards find themselves navigating this informal and unregulated sector.

4.5.1 Subtheme 1: Employment Status

The research emphasises that the current working conditions of car guards in the CBD cannot be classified as formal employment. Instead, car guards operate within an informal, unregulated framework. Their employment status is largely self-defined, relying on interpersonal interactions, peer networks, socialisation and experiential learning.

Experiential approaches are considered fundamental to meaningful learning and are referred to as the acquisition of knowledge through direct experience or through practical engagement and hands-on activities (Williams, 1989). Car guards acquire their skills through hands-on experience and learning by doing.

In accordance with the literature review above, as a result of the insecure nature of their occupation, car guards do not have access to traditional social protections, workplace safety regulations, minimum wage standards, or the legal safeguards typically afforded to formal employees. Instead, they can be regarded as self-account workers, individuals working on their own account, as defined by the International Labour Organisation (ILO, n. d.).

The responses from the participants shed light on their working and employment conditions:

- **Out of the heart:** Expresses a willingness to engage in various income-generating activities to ensure daily sustenance, emphasising the importance of earning a livelihood.
- **Gray:** Stated a lack of alternative job opportunities and highlighted that his work primarily involves watching and washing cars.
- **Lotto:** Mentions occasional opportunities, such as tenders, for other income-generating tasks.
- **Solokoto:** Engages in various entrepreneurial activities, including selling hangers and firewood to supplement car guarding income.
- **Era:** Indicates a side job of cleaning yards on Saturdays.
- **Maggie:** Mentions past involvement in selling various items, including sweets, snacks, bread, and phone recharges.

These responses collectively highlight that car guards are constrained by limited employment opportunities in the formal sector.

In response, they engage in entrepreneurial activities as complementary income streams. Car guarding remains a central income source, underscoring the necessity of this informal work despite its challenges.



Photo (12) and photo (13) All in a day's work © Dawid Gawaseb

These two photographs, Photo (12) and Photo (13), provide a visual representation of the primary activities undertaken by car guards in their daily routines. Photo (12) captures a car guard engaged in the act of washing a vehicle he is responsible for guarding. In contrast, Photo (13) depicts a car guard diligently overseeing a group of vehicles parked under his watchful eye. Notably, this task requires him to remain exposed to the elements, including the scorching sun, as he remains vigilant and attentive to the cars in his care. These images offer a glimpse into the physical demands and environmental challenges faced by car guards as they perform their duties.

Additionally, the research findings underscore the absence of a specific job description for car guards, leaving them to operate in a highly unregulated and precarious environment.

Without predefined tasks, car guards assume socially defined roles to earn their income. They characterise their approach as learning by doing, acquiring essential skills and knowledge from their peers as part of their survival tactics.

The tasks performed by car guards extend beyond car guarding itself and may include activities such as car washing, aimed at generating additional income. The informality and lack of clear guidelines in the car guarding sector are evident, allowing individuals to come and go as they please, further emphasising the unregulated and fluid nature of their work.

Despite the informality and lawlessness observed in the car guarding industry, there are hints of self-regulation driven by discipline and motivation to work. Car guards display resilience in adapting to challenging circumstances, seeking to earn a livelihood in an environment marked by uncertainty and informality.

In summary, these findings illuminate the informal nature of car guarding as a primary income source for participants. The lack of alternatives in the formal job market drives them to seek supplemental income through entrepreneurial ventures. As alluded to in the previous theme, while their working conditions may be precarious, car guards display resilience in their determination to secure their livelihoods and navigate the informal sector.

4.5.2 Subtheme 2: Income - Financial Realities of Car Guards

This sub-theme delves into the income earned by car guards, shedding light on the financial aspects of their occupation. While income is a central factor driving individuals to take up car guarding, the findings indicate that financial compensation falls short of

meeting their basic needs. Here are some insights from the participants regarding their income, preferred wages, and the challenges they face.

- **Era:** Shares that he earns income by offering to wash cars, typically charging around N\$30 to N\$40 per car. He emphasises that he takes whatever amount is offered because he has limited bargaining power.
 - **Spandu:** Notes that their daily earnings can vary widely, from N\$30 to N\$100 or N\$150 on days when they work hard. However, he points out that much of their income goes towards transportation costs.
 - **Gray:** Provides insight into the fee charged for parking cars, indicating it is around N\$4 or slightly higher.
 - **Solokoto:** Expresses contentment with a monthly salary of N\$1200, implying that a steady income source, even if modest, is preferable.
 - **Lotto:** Aspire to earn higher incomes, indicating that N\$1500 or N\$2000 would be more manageable for their needs.
 - **Small boy:** Highlights the variability in daily earnings, sometimes receiving N\$70 and other times just N\$50. He emphasises the challenging nature of estimating daily income due to fluctuations.
 - **Lucky:** Laments receiving as little as N\$1 per car, making it hard to sustain himself. He highlights the rising cost of living and the insufficiency of such low earnings.
- These responses collectively capture the financial struggles faced by car guards. Many of them earn less than N\$100 per day, with some receive as little as N\$1 per car. Transportation costs and the rising prices of essential goods further strain their ability to meet basic needs.

However, despite these challenges, car guard's express aspirations for higher incomes through alternative income streams. They recognise the limitations of their current earnings and aspire to improve their financial well-being.



Photo 14 Maggie's Sales Station © Dawid Gawaseb

Photo 14 provides a glimpse into Maggie's sales station, where she offers various goods to the public near the parking lot. The items available for sale include cigarettes, assorted candies, and other appetisers. Maggie's sales station operates as both a supplementary means of subsistence for Maggie and a convenience for those who frequent the parking area. This image exemplifies the resourcefulness and entrepreneurship of car guards like Maggie, who, in addition to their primary role, explore other income-generating opportunities. It also highlights their adaptability and determination to make the most of their circumstances by catering to the needs of the surrounding community.

Maggie's sales station affirms the multifaceted resilience of car guards' livelihoods as they navigate the challenges of the informal sector while seeking to improve their financial well-being.

In summary, these findings reveal the financial realities of car guards, who often earn meagre incomes that fall short of covering their basic needs. Furthermore, it was found that the variability in daily earnings adds to the uncertainty of the participants' financial situation. Hence, the participants' aspirations for higher incomes and the need for alternative income streams highlight the financial vulnerabilities of car guards in Windhoek (CBD).

4.5.3 Subtheme 3: Working Hours: Endless Hours of Car Guarding

The discussion on working hours within the context of car guarding reveals the challenging reality faced by these informal sector workers. This is mainly because car guards find themselves working long hours, often without designated breaks, holidays, or the ability to negotiate their work hours. In addition, their employment arrangements are extremely informal, adhering to the principle of 'pay as you work' where absenteeism results in lost earnings. The Labour Act (2007) summarises employment conditions as follows: Employers are forbidden from requiring or authorising an employee to do so, except in cases of urgent work, to work for more than 12 hours. In addition, no employer is allowed to schedule work for an employee without providing a minimum weekly break of 36 consecutive hours, unless it involves urgent work. The standard weekly working hours are set at 45, with a daily limit of 9 hours for employees working 5 days or less per week. If an employee works six days, the daily maximum of eight hours of work each day is permitted.

Here are some responses from the participants regarding their typical work hours:

- **Lucky:** Expresses the unpredictable nature of car guarding, emphasising that he operates on a ‘work anytime’ basis. He mentions working from 08:00 to 19:00.
- **Alah:** Describes the variability in work hours, starting at 08:00 and sometimes continuing until 22:00, depending on the need to earn money.
- **Gray:** Indicates that they work from Monday to Saturday, highlighting the consistent demand for their services.
- **Frank:** Reveals the absence of breaks during their workday, noting that they must leave their food to assist customers.
- **Out of the heart:** Describes a typical workday starting at 06:00 or 07:00 and lasting until 21:00. These long hours are seen as the norm.

Participants explain that the lack of specific working hours is a result of the intense competition for cars to guard. As such, starting early and working late allows them to secure more opportunities and consequently earn more income. These diverse experiences shared by otherwise self-employed car guards illustrate the challenging realities of working in the informal sector. Lucky’s acknowledgement of operating on a ‘work anytime’ basis highlights the inherent unpredictability and irregularity of self-employment, creating obstacles to maintaining a healthy work– life balance. Alah’s fluctuating work hours shed light on the immense pressure faced by self-employed workers to extend their working hours, emphasising the economic vulnerability prevalent in the informal sector. Gray’s consistent work demands underline the lack of control that self-employed individuals have over their schedules, showcasing the challenges in managing personal time.

Frank's absence of breaks during the workday underscores the need for continuous work to secure income, emphasising the lack of legal obligations for breaks in the informal sector. Out of the Heart's exceptionally long work hours become normalised in the absence of regulations, showcasing the lengths to which self-employed individuals go to seize every income-generating opportunity. These narratives collectively paint a vivid picture of the complex and often harsh realities faced by those navigating the unregulated landscape of informal self-employment.



Photo 15 Morning Routine © Dawid Gawaseb

In Photo 15, the researcher captures a poignant moment in the lives of the car guards as they engage in their early morning warm-up ritual. Gathered around an open fire, they await the boiling water for their early morning cup of tea. This image not only showcases their resilience but also offers a glimpse into the daily struggles and informal lifestyle of car guards in Windhoek's CBD.

In summary, car guards endure endless working hours without formal breaks or designated holidays. Long and irregular hours mark their daily routines, reflecting the highly competitive and informal nature of their occupation. The need to maximise income in a challenging and unpredictable working environment drives the extension of work hours. However, these working hours are not in compliance with the above working hours proclaimed by the Namibia Labour Act of 2007.

4.5.4 Subtheme 4: Risks and Challenges: Navigating Perils

The sub-theme of risks and challenges brings to the forefront the multitude of difficulties encountered on a daily basis by car guards. The research found that, operating in an informal and often unregulated sector, car guards confront a range of risks and challenges that significantly impact their working and living conditions. Hence, these challenges encompass various dimensions, including legal constraints, uncooperative clients, conflicts, criminal activities, and issues related to substance abuse. The following are the challenges highlighted by the participants:

- **Gray:** Describes conflicts among car guards when claiming responsibility for a car. Competition for clients can lead to disputes, but he emphasises the importance of understanding and resolving these conflicts.
- **Frank:** Points out that car guards have faced confrontations with homeless individuals from Klein Windhoek. These altercations often involve drunk and drug-using individuals, and territorial disputes arise as a result. Frank also highlights incidents where clients fail to pay for their car guarding services, leading to financial losses for the car guards.

- **Deco:** Notes that confrontations mainly occur when intoxicated individuals target car guards with verbal abuse. However, car guards avoid physical altercations in such situations.
- **Maggie:** Acknowledges the presence of criminals, referred to as "tjotjies," who pose a threat to their safety and security.

The participants' narratives reveal a host of risks and challenges faced by car guards, stemming from their precarious working conditions and the informality of their profession. These challenges encompass both interpersonal conflicts among car guards and external threats from individuals engaged in criminal activities. The presence of these risks stresses the need for a comprehensive understanding of the car guarding sector's vulnerabilities, as it can inform policy makers and stakeholders in developing responsive policies and providing social protection for car guards and others working in the informal economy.



Photo 16 Consequences of Conflict: The Scar © Dawid Gawaseb

In Photo 16, one of the car guards reveals a scar on his face, which is a vivid reminder of a physical altercation that occurred during a confrontation with another car guard after consuming alcohol. In addition, this image serves as a poignant illustration of one of the major challenges faced by car guards: alcohol and substance abuse, which leads to unruly behaviour and physical conflicts.

The scar not only signifies the physical consequences of these confrontations but also highlights the vulnerability of car guards to such situations due to the presence of alcohol and substance abuse in their environment. Furthermore, it serves as a stark reminder of the risks they face and the need for interventions to address the underlying issues contributing to these challenges. This photo also highlights the significance of comprehending social dynamics and vulnerabilities within the car guarding community, shedding light on the complex interplay of factors that impact their daily lives.

In summary, the risks and difficulties encountered by car guards in their informal and unregulated profession are multifaceted. This sub-theme explores the difficulties they encounter, including legal constraints, conflicts with other car guards, confrontations with homeless and intoxicated individuals, non-payment by clients, and threats from criminals. These challenges not only affect their work but also their overall living conditions. The participants' narratives highlight the need for a deep understanding of these vulnerabilities, both internal conflicts among car guards and external threats, to inform policymakers and stakeholders. The accompanying photo, depicting a car guard's scar from a physical altercation fuelled by alcohol symbolises the consequences of such challenges and emphasises the urgent need for interventions addressing the underlying issues faced by car guards.

4.5.5 Subtheme 5 Impact of Risks and Challenges on Car Guards

The outcomes of the study illuminate the profound impact of the various dangers and obstacles encountered by car guards, which hinder their ability to fully benefit from their labour. These challenges encompass conflicts among car guards themselves, confrontations with delinquent individuals, and the perceived indifference of car owners.

1. **Internal Conflicts:** Conflicts among car guards, often arising from disputes over access to cars to guard, create a disadvantage for those who may be less physically assertive or strong-willed. In the absence of clear rules governing the assignment of cars to guard, disputes can lead to tensions and physical altercations within the car guarding community. This internal strife further complicates their work environment.

2. **Confrontations with Delinquent Individuals:** Car guards also find themselves at odds with delinquent individuals, typically intoxicated troublemakers, who encroach on their territory. These encounters can escalate into physical confrontations, resulting in severe bodily injuries for some car guards. The presence of such external subgroups from other areas adds to the risks they face in their daily work.

3. **Perceived Indifference of Car Owners:** Car owners who park their vehicles without acknowledging the car guards are seen as inconsiderate and non-supportive. Car guards perceive that car owners view them as mere street kids causing trouble rather than recognising their role in safeguarding vehicles.

These challenges collectively underline the complexity of the car guarding profession and the vulnerabilities faced by car guards. The absence of clear regulations, coupled with confrontations both within and outside their community, compounds the difficulties they

encounter. Moreover, the perceived indifference of car owners further accentuates their struggle to be recognised and supported in their roles.

Hence, it is imperative to confront these obstacles, as they pertain not only to the welfare of car guards but also to the formulation of policies and interventions that seek to enhance the labour conditions and social protection of these individuals in the informal sector. In summary, this subtheme outlines the complex and dangerous nature of the car guarding profession. Internal disputes, confrontations with external individuals, and the perceived indifference of car owners compounding the challenges faced by car guards. Addressing these challenges is not only vital for the well-being of car guards but also in order to support the formulation of policies and initiatives that aim to enhance the working conditions of these informal sector employees and ensure they have access to social protection.

4.5.6 Subtheme 6: Enablers - The Positive Aspects of Car Guarding

While the challenges and risks of car guarding are undeniable, the study reveals that car guards also recognise several positive attributes and enablers associated with their line of work. Ironically, despite the hardships they face, some car guards view car guarding as a lifesaving opportunity, especially in the absence of full-time formal employment. These enablers have allowed them to sustain themselves and provide for their families over the years. Following are some positive aspects highlighted by the participants.

- **Out of the heart:** Reflects on the years he spent as a car guard, emphasising that car guarding is his primary source of livelihood, and he does not see another viable option.
- **Deco:** Expresses contentment with car guarding, as it has enabled him to survive and make a living.

- **Era:** Views car guarding positively, citing the opportunity to learn and adapt to various aspects of life on the streets. He highlights his hardworking nature and his intention to transition from street life to car guarding.
- **Solokoto:** Compares car guarding to car washing, favouring the latter as it brings in more income.
- **Lucky:** Acknowledges the importance of car guarding in helping him survive. In the absence of other job opportunities, car guarding serves as a vital means of livelihood. These insights demonstrate that some car guards find value in their profession and recognise it as a means of survival and support for their families. For many, car guarding has become a long-term endeavour, emphasising its importance in their lives. While challenges may mark it, it also serves as an enabler that allows them to sustain themselves and their loved ones.

Understanding these positive aspects and enablers sheds light on the complex relationship car guards have with their occupation, highlighting their resilience and adaptability despite adversity.



Photo 17 Contentment in Daily Bread © Dawid Gawaseb

In Photo 17, a car guard proudly displays his 'daily bread', representing the modest but consistent income he earns from his car guarding work. His contented demeanour reflects a sense of satisfaction in being a car guard, as it ensures that he does not go hungry and can provide for himself on a day-to-day basis.

This image further encapsulates the resilience and resourcefulness of car guards who, despite the challenges they face, find a sense of security in their ability to secure their daily sustenance through their work. It further, acts as an important reminder of their will to maximise their circumstances and achieve contentment despite hardship.

Photo 17 highlights the importance of recognising individual stories and experiences within the car guarding community, highlighting their ability to find value and contentment in their daily labour.

In summary, despite the undisputable challenges and risks associated with their profession, the study reveals that many car guards see several positive elements that enable them to sustain their livelihoods and support their families. These positive aspects have allowed them to persevere in their occupation, particularly in the absence of full-time formal employment. Understanding these positive aspects and enablers sheds light on the unique storeys and experiences within the car guarding community, emphasising their determination to find contentment and value in their daily labour. Furthermore, participants shared specific recommendations for enhancing their circumstances, such as the necessity of formal recognition, access to basic services, and health support. These insights emphasize that car guards are not passive victims, but rather active agents who are striving for change in a hostile urban environment. In order to ensure that all informal workers are treated with dignity, protection, and opportunity, inclusive urban planning and policy development should be informed by their voices.

4.6 Themes 3: Changes and Aspirations: Car Guards' Hope for a Brighter Future

Exploring the aspirations and desires of car guards in Windhoek's CBD reveals a blend of personal and collective yearnings. However, while some car guards appear content with their circumstances, others express a deep desire for change and improve, both in their personal lives and their working conditions.

4.6.1 Subtheme 1: Personal Aspirations for Change

Various car guards have ambitions of securing formal employment, which they perceive as a way of gaining job security and increased income. They also envision a future where they can enjoy guaranteed minimum wages, access medical aid, and benefit from other social security measures.

- **Deco:** Expresses his desire for formal employment, specifically in the field of plumbing. His aspirations align with his quest for job security and improved working conditions.
- **Solokoto:** Demonstrates self-motivation and determination to escape the challenging life of a car guard. He envisions starting his own business with the assistance he receives, striving for a better future.
- **Spandu:** Seeks to change his life by obtaining a driver's license. He sees it as a precursor to securing a formal job, possibly as a taxi driver or in a formal company.
- **Lotto:** Plans to leave the car guarding behind and return to his family farm in Rehoboth after the birth of his child, believing it offers a better future.

Car guards express their personal aspirations for change, highlighting their desire to transition to formal employment. Many car guards dream of securing stable jobs, anticipating increased income, job security, and improved working conditions.

Their aspirations include guaranteed minimum wages, access to medical aid, and other social security benefits.

Deco, for instance, aims for formal employment in plumbing, seeking stability and better conditions. Solokoto showcases determination, aspiring to establish his own business with the help he receives and aiming for a brighter future beyond car guarding. Spandu plans to acquire a driver's license, viewing it as a gateway to formal employment, possibly as a taxi driver or in a company. Lotto intends to leave car guarding and return to his family farm in Rehoboth after his child's birth, believing that it offers a more promising future.

These aspirations reflect their hopes for improved livelihoods, emphasising the importance of supportive measures and opportunities in order to facilitate their shift from informal to formal employment. In summary, this sub-theme indicates that car guards have personal aspirations for change and are primarily focussed on transitioning to formal employment. They long for stable jobs, higher incomes, and better working conditions, envisioning guaranteed minimum wages, medical benefits, and social security. In essence, these aspirations underline the need for support and opportunities to help them move from informal to formal employment, emphasising their hopes for better lives.

4.6.2 Subtheme 2: Desires for Changes in Working Conditions

While some car guards long for personal change, others focus on improving their working conditions. Hence, the findings indicate that they seek better interpersonal relations, social cohesion with colleagues, and positive perceptions from clients. In addition, they wish for changes in bylaws that currently hinder their operations.

- **Gray:** Envisions formal registration and the allocation of more designated parking spaces. He firmly believes that these changes would not only bolster recognition but also enhance credibility among clients and the community.
- **Lucky:** Advocates for increased earnings, proposing a minimum payment of \$10 to \$20 per car. He underscores the risks inherent in car guarding and laments the lack of respect from both clients and law enforcement officers.
- **Lotto:** Echoes concerns about car guards engaging in alcohol consumption while on duty and proposes stringent measures to curb such behaviour. His objective is to enhance safety and professionalism in the workplace.

Within the space of car guarding, varied desires exist for change, ranging from personal aspirations to enhancements in working conditions. The findings reveal a common thread: a shared desire among car guards for better interpersonal relationships, social harmony with colleagues, and positive perceptions from clients. In addition, their aspirations extend to revisions in existing bylaws that currently hinder their operations. As per the Windhoek City Police Service (2023), the establishment of local authorities is mandated by the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia. In contrast, local administrations have been established in Namibia for several decades in accordance with the Municipal Ordinance, 1963 (Ordinance 13 of 1963), which has since been superseded by the Local Authorities Act 23 of 1992 (Windhoek City Police Service, 2023). As such, these municipal bylaws are regulations that are publicly enforced within a specific municipal area. Individuals designated as peace officers employed by the local authority, including municipal police officers, traffic officers, and Namibian police officers, can uphold the bylaws. The reasons for enforcing these bylaws include:

1. Maintaining community standards.
2. Enhancing the overall quality of life of all residents of the city.
3. Cultivating a harmonious living environment within the city.
4. Ensuring public safety.

Some regulations under question may be those related to: 1. Zoning and Land Use: Bylaws governing how land can be used, including residential, commercial, and industrial zones. 2. Waste Management: Bylaws related to garbage disposal, recycling, and keeping public areas clean. 3. Environmental Protection: Bylaws aimed at protecting the environment, including restrictions on pollution and conservation efforts.

4. Public Health and Safety: Regulations related to public health, safety standards for restaurants and public spaces, and pest control. 5. Traffic and Parking: Rules for traffic flow, parking regulations, and road safety.

Drawing from the literature review chapter and applying the functionalist perspective, car guards can be seen as a vital social entity within the urban landscape. Functionalist sociological theory emphasises the interdependence of social institutions and how they contribute to the overall stability and functioning of society (Bell, 2013; Kimberly & Lesley, 2003; Mishra, 1977). In this context, car guards serve as an essential component of the urban social structure, contributing to various societal functions. Furthermore, the challenges faced by car guards, such as hindered working conditions due to restrictive bylaws, disrupt the smooth functioning of this social entity. Hence, addressing these challenges is essential not only for the well-being of car guards as individuals but also for the overall stability and harmony of the urban social structure.

In summary, these findings present aspirations and desires that reflect the complexity of car guards' day-to-day experiences. Furthermore, it was noted that the aspirations and desires voiced by car guards are multifaceted and intricate, reflecting the diversity of their experiences and dreams. This is correct in that some aspire to escape their current circumstances, while others seek change within the informal sector. However, their collective voice calls for recognition, formalisation and improvements in working conditions, showing their determination and resiliency in the face of adversity. Understanding these hopes for a brighter future among car guards is pivotal in shaping policies and interventions that can enhance their lives and livelihoods.

Acknowledging their aspirations is the first step towards addressing their needs and fostering positive changes within the car guarding community, ultimately contributing to their well-being and future prospects.

The existing municipal bylaws further complicate the aspirations of these car guards.

These regulations although designed to maintain community standards, inadvertently hinder the functioning of car guards. The functionalist perspective sheds light on the vital role that car guards play within the urban social structure. They contribute significantly to public safety and social cohesion by acting as informal social agents within the community.

Addressing the challenges faced by car guards due to restrictive bylaws is not merely a matter of personal convenience; it is a crucial step towards preserving the stability and harmony of the urban social structure. By revisiting and revising these regulations, society can create an environment where car guards are not only respected but also empowered to fulfil their roles effectively.

Therefore, recognising and accommodating the desires for change expressed by car guards is not just an act of social goodwill; it is an investment in the well-being and stability of the entire Windhoek's CBD. Upholding the dignity of car guards, addressing their concerns, and revising obstructive bylaws are steps towards fostering a more inclusive, respectful, and harmonious urban environment.

4.7 Theme 4: 'Zula' to Survive: A Resilience Perspective

The concept of 'Zula' to survive emerges as a central theme in understanding the resilience of car guards in Windhoek's CBD. This term, coined on the streets, encapsulates the cultural dimensions of their struggles and signifies their unwavering determination to endure and overcome harsh conditions. 'Zula' serves as a representation of their resilience despite vulnerability and risks brought about by the challenging living and working conditions they confront daily.

Participants offer various definitions of 'Zula,' shedding light on its multifaceted meaning:

- **Sackies:** Describes 'Zula' as a form of hustling and suffering, capturing the essence of their daily struggles.
- **Lucky:** Equates 'Zula' with hustling, highlighting their relentless efforts to make ends meet.
- **Small boy:** Links 'Zula' to obtaining food through hard work, emphasising the necessity of hustling for survival.
- **Solokoto:** Views 'Zula' as the act of earning one's livelihood and sustenance, making a living from one's efforts. Shares his personal experience of staying in town while on 'Zula,' underscoring the challenges he faces. When successful, he can return home; otherwise, he sleeps on the streets.

4.7.1 Sub Theme 1: 'Zula' as Resilience

The term 'Zula' encapsulates the resilience of car guards as they navigate challenging circumstances. Subsequently, it can be stated that this represents their determination to obtain fundamental necessities, including sustenance and housing, by means of persistent effort and hustling.

This is evident as, despite facing adversity and uncertain conditions, car guards exhibit a strong spirit of resilience, as reflected in the term 'Zula'. As such, the resilience expressed by the participants testifies to their capacity to endure and adapt, making the best of their situation.

Furthermore, understanding 'Zula' is crucial for appreciating the persistence of car guards and the cultural dimensions that shape their experiences. It also underscores the need for policies and support mechanisms that recognise and enhance their resilience, ultimately improving their quality of life and livelihoods.



Photo 18 “Zula” © Dawid Gawaseb

This image vividly captures the essence of "Zula" as two car guards chase after a car. The photo reflects the relentless hustle and hard work that car guards engage in as they strive to make ends meet. Their physical and emotional endurance is on full display as they pursue potential clients with determination and persistence.



Photo 19 “I ask Them” © Dawid Gawaseb

In this image, two car guards are seen scouting the streets, actively searching for potential clients who own cars. Their proactive approach is evident, as they identify opportunities to offer their services. The caption “I ask them” suggests that the car guards in the image are utilizing impressive negotiation skills, coupled with a confident and persuasive demeanour, as they try to convince car owners. This is evident as the researcher observed their sophisticated negotiation skills and a confident demeanour when engaging the car owners. Hence, this photo exemplifies their resilience and initiative despite challenging circumstances. The following are some of the participants’ insights into the use of the Zula strategy.

- **Solokoto:** Highlights the importance of understanding clients’ needs and preferences. They approach potential clients by asking or convincing them, adapting their approach to each situation.

- **Out of the heart:** Expresses their proactive nature by taking the initiative to approach potential clients.
- **Gray:** Describes how he interacts with potential clients, offering them the opportunity to watch and/or wash their cars. He proceeds if they agree and only watches over the car if they decline to wash.
- **Spandu:** Acknowledges that client responses vary, with some agreeing to have their cars washed and others declining. This variability underscores the unpredictable nature of their work.

These insights from the participants illustrate their resilience in the informal car-guarding sector. Thus, it can be stated that they are resourceful and adaptable, responding to client interactions with determination and flexibility. The proactive and innovative behaviour of employees is important for their survival in a challenging and competitive environment (Unsworth & Parker, 2003). Therefore, this proactive approach to their work is essential for their survival in a challenging and competitive environment.

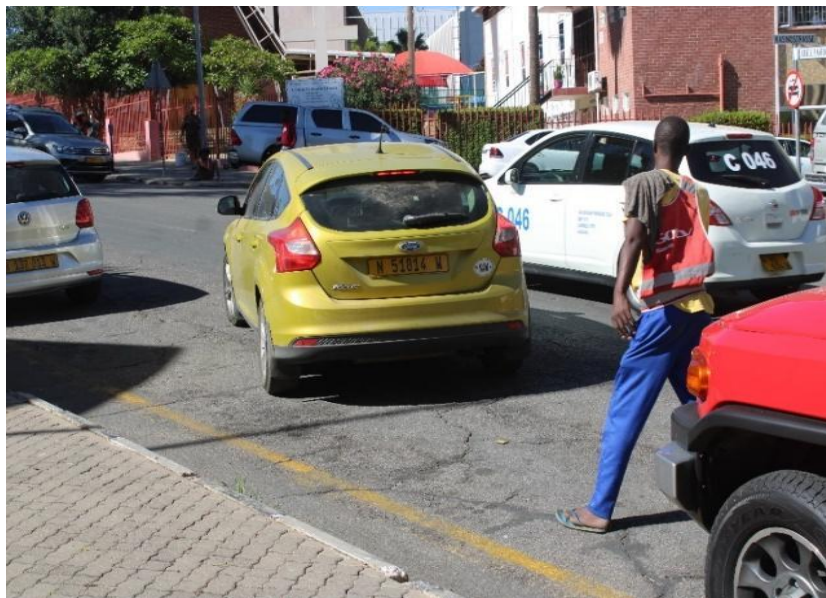


Photo (20) “It’s a skill” © Dawid Gawaseb

Photo 20 portrays the expertise and determination of car guards as they persuade car owners to park in spaces that might be considered illegal. It showcases their salesmanship and persuasive talents as they make a concerted effort to attract customers by offering guarding and car washing services.



Photo 21 “Just Park Bosa”

In this photo, a car is parked in a no-parking zone despite clear regulatory signage. This illustrates the challenge faced by car guards when trying to persuade car owners to park in certain areas. The persuasive nature of car guards highlights their resilience as they strive to gain the approval of clients, even in situations where their actions may be considered illegal.

4.7.2 Subtheme 2: Problem Solving and Resilience

The participants shared insights into how they navigate the challenges they face on a regular basis in the workplace. They demonstrated problem-solving skills and resilience in handling various challenges, including conflicts with colleagues and clients.

According to Almaqfirah (2016), informal sector workers achieve stability despite the challenges they face. Therefore, the findings indicate that the car guards in question demonstrate a strong sense of problem-solving skills when dealing with challenges that jeopardise their stability. Furthermore, their responses highlight their ability to navigate difficult situations and find solutions.

- **Era:** Chooses to avoid conflicts with other car guards over clients' payments, preferring to maintain peace and secure his job for the following day.
- **Deco:** Deals with intoxicated individuals who may become confrontational by walking away from potential conflicts, prioritising personal safety.
- **Solokoto:** When faced with conflicts over guarding or washing a car, Solokoto advises withdrawing from the situation to prevent physical altercations.
- **Gray:** Emphasises the importance of understanding and maintaining good relations with colleagues to avoid conflicts. He opts for a non-confrontational approach.

These responses demonstrate the participants' problem identification and resolution skills, which contribute to their resilience in a challenging work environment. According to Deno (2005), problem-solving can be defined as the cognitive process by which humans attempt to reconcile the disparity between the situations they presently perceive as the norm and the ones they prefer as an alternative. Moreover, it is possible to apply the phrase to denote the measures individuals undertake in an endeavour to reduce the disparity between their desired results and the actual experiences they have. Hence, problem solving occurs when individuals endeavour to align their desires with their actual outcomes. For example, if a car guard desires to be safe at the workplace, he or she should use any of the array of problem-solving techniques to ensure that safety is realized.

Evidently, the findings indicate that the car guards are making great strides in their attempt to realise this alignment.

It is rather captivating to note the different techniques deployed by the car guards in their effort to not only ensure personal safety but also manage workplace relationships. One such technique is the use of conflict avoidance. Avoiding conflicts is a common strategy for conflict management and is generally effective, except in situations where conflicts are not particularly severe (Depa et al., 2015). As such, it can be maintained that the problem-solving techniques used by the car guards range from conflict avoidance, withdrawal from potentially harmful situations, and proactive relationship management to navigate the challenges in their working environment.

In summary, the concept of 'Zula' encapsulates the remarkable resilience of car guards facing difficult circumstances. It represents their determination to fulfil basic needs through hard work despite adversity. Despite uncertain conditions, car guards exhibit strong resilience, adaptability, and enduring ability, evident in their persistent pursuit of clients. Understanding 'Zula' is essential to appreciating their persistence and cultural context. Photos vividly capture their relentless efforts, showcasing their proactive approach, negotiation skills, and adaptability in engaging potential clients. Car guards demonstrate resourcefulness and flexibility, which are crucial traits for survival in a challenging work environment. Their persuasive talents are showcased as they navigate difficult situations to attract clients, reflecting their remarkable resilience despite adversity.

4.7.3 Subtheme 3: Hope and Hopelessness in Resilience

Hope emerges as a vital concept among car guards, providing them with motivation for the future and contributing to their mental and physical resilience. Hope “helps individuals cope with different situations, provides motivation for the future, and contributes to mental and physical resilience despite difficulties” (Doğruyol & Tayınmak, 2023, p. 240). Hernandez & Overholser (2021); Özmen et al. (2008), as cited in Doğruyol & Tayınmak (2023), hold that hope is an instrument that sets the trend for persons to have self-confidence. Given this situation, it can be affirmed that almost all car guards who took part in the field research expressed their hope for a better future, indicating a desire for positive change. For instance, participants like “Small Boy” and “Lucky” expressed hope that their situations would improve, and they actively sought opportunities for change. It can thus be asserted that this optimism enhances their self-assurance and positive outlook.

- **Small boy:** Takes small steps to address his problems and believes that tomorrow will bring solutions.
- **Lucky:** Aspires to find proper employment. He does not see himself as a car guard in the future. He mentioned that car guarding is not the right job for him and that there is nothing substantial in it for him.
- **Lucky:** Expresses his desire to find formal employment and actively submits job applications, driven by hope for a better future.

These individuals demonstrate how hope can empower resilience and inspire proactive efforts towards change (Nemeth & Olivier, 2017). Hence, it can be reasoned that in the often challenging and precarious world of car guarding, hope acts as a driving force, instilling a sense of purpose and determination in these individuals.

Given that hope empowers resilience, car guards acquire the mental and emotional strength necessary to withstand adversity. This is primarily because it enables them to rebound from challenging situations, confront uncertainties, and manage the daily struggles inherent in their work.

In contrast to the earlier notion of hopefulness, certain participants conveyed a sense of hopelessness, which can be counterproductive and harmful to resilience. In this context, hopelessness is defined as a conviction that one lacks influence over the results (*helplessness*) and an anticipation of a negative future (*pessimism*) (Gidron, 2020). Hence, contextually, it can be reasoned that there is a general defiance of the fore-mentioned definition of hope, which is based on an individual having a sense of purpose and determination.

In summary, hope plays a crucial role among car guards, motivating them and enhancing their mental and physical resilience. Many participants, like "Small Boy" and "Lucky," express hope for a better future, actively seeking change. This optimism boosts their confidence and positive outlook, empowering them to take proactive steps. Hope acts as a driving force, instilling purpose and determination in car guards, enabling them to withstand challenges and confront uncertainties. However, some participants also experienced hopelessness, which was characterised by a belief in lacking control over outcomes and expecting a negative future. This sense of hopelessness can be counterproductive and harmful to resilience, contrasting the empowering effect of hope despite adversity among car guards.

4.7.4 Subtheme 4: Contentment and Resilience

Conversely, participants like "Lotto" and "Sackie" claim to have no challenges and express contentment with their roles as car guards. Despite facing harsh living conditions and the demands of their work, they have managed to find a profound sense of contentment. These diverse responses shed light on the complex interplay between hope, hopelessness, contentment, and resilience among car guards, highlighting the significance of social and psychological aspects in their capacity to manage their situations. These factors may include personal, familial, cultural, and contextual protective factors that promote resiliency (Lam et al., 2004).

According to Thistlethwaite (2018), resilience is an ever-changing ability that empowers individuals to flourish despite difficulties. As such, this form of resilience is based on their ability to not only accept but also embrace their current circumstances.

In summary, some car guards, such as "Lotto" and "Sackie," express contentment despite challenging living conditions and demanding work. Their satisfaction reveals a unique form of resilience rooted in accepting and embracing their current circumstances. This contentment, alongside hope and hopelessness, showcases the intricate relationship between these emotions and resilience among car guards. It emphasises the role of various social and psychological factors, including personal, familial, cultural, and contextual elements, in enabling car guards to cope effectively with challenging situations. In this context, resilience becomes a dynamic quality that allows these individuals to thrive during difficulties.

Furthermore, the exploration of the experiences of car guards provides insight into the complex and diverse aspects of resilience when they are confronted with difficult situations. For instance, through the lens of 'Zula,' car guards exhibit remarkable determination, embodying the spirit of resilience as they relentlessly pursue their livelihoods. This resilience, which is rooted in the pursuit of basic needs, manifests in their persistent efforts, adaptability, and proactive approaches to securing clients. The concept of 'Zula' encapsulates not just their struggle but also their endurance, adaptability, and capacity to navigate adversity, making the best of their situation.

4.8 Theme 5: Ecological Aspects and Resilience

This theme sheds light on the ecological factors and environmental problems that car guards encounter on a regular basis. However, the participants, while exposed to various ecological elements, often lack awareness of potential environmental hazards and the resources and means to mitigate these risks. This lack of safety and health standards is a concerning aspect of their work environment. The concept of ecological resilience is particularly relevant in urban systems (Pickett et al., 2014). Therefore, considering the extensive and ongoing nature of the changes and difficulties faced by car guards as informal sector workers, this remains central to ecological resilience thinking.

Hence, they should become aware of and be responsive to the potential harm that ecological factors can have now and in the future.

4.8.1 Sub theme 1. Ecological Aspects Encountered by Car Guards

This sub-theme presents some of the ecological obstacles encountered by car guards on a daily basis. These challenges include extreme exposure and unconducive road conditions.

1. **Sun Exposure:** Many car guards highlighted their exposure to harsh sunlight as a significant challenge. Standing under the scorching sun for extended periods can pose a risk to their health and well-being. Subsequently, prolonged exposure to the sun carries widely acknowledged risks and adverse effects, with solar radiation being the foremost environmental factor associated with skin cancer (Queirós & Freitas, 2019).

- **Out of the heart:** Expressed concerns about the effects of running around in the sun.

- **Gray:** Highlighted the challenge of dealing with both rain and strong wind while working.

2. **Road Conditions:** Car guards operate in an urban environment with varied road conditions. Some car guards mentioned the hardness of the streets, and there were discussions about the impact of road damage.

- **Frank:** He emphasised the difficulties associated with the hardness of the streets.

- **Small boy:** Voiced frustration about being blamed for road damage, arguing that it was not solely caused by car guards but also by natural factors such as rain and sun.

The aforementioned responses serve to emphasise the environmental challenges that car guards deal with on a daily basis. The adverse effects of environmental factors, such as severe weather and poor road conditions, endanger their health.

In addition to the challenges of extreme exposure and uncondusive road conditions mentioned above, the study uncovered a concerning ecological aspect experienced by car guards. Photo 22 vividly illustrates a car guard resorting to using semi-purified water, initially meant for horticultural irrigation, to wash his hands and face. Shockingly, he was even observed drinking from the same questionable water source.

This finding underscores the desperate circumstances faced by car guards in their pursuit of basic hygiene.



Photo (22) A drink of water © Dawid Gawaseb

This theme highlights the need for increased awareness, support, and resources to improve the working conditions and overall well-being of car guards. One significant finding is the lack of awareness among car guards about potential hazards in their environment. Hence, their inability to recognise and address these hazards due to limited resources and knowledge raises concerns about their safety and health.

Addressing ecological challenges and providing training on environmental hazards and safety measures can enhance the resilience of this vulnerable group.

In summary, theme 5 explores the ecological obstacles encountered by car guards in their urban work environment. Participants highlighted exposure to harsh sunlight, enduring extreme weather conditions, and dealing with various road conditions. Prolonged sun exposure poses significant health risks, including skin cancer, while the hardness of streets and damage caused by natural factors such as rain and sun add to their challenges. Despite these difficulties, car guards often lack awareness of these hazards and resources to mitigate risks, emphasising the need for increased awareness, support, and resources to improve their working conditions and overall well-being. Addressing these ecological challenges and providing training on environmental hazards and safety measures are crucial steps towards enhancing the resilience of this vulnerable group.

4.9 Theme 6: Developmental Aspects and Resilience

The study explores the developmental aspects and resilience of car guards, shedding light on how their upbringing, family backgrounds, and education have influenced their current living and working conditions. The following key findings emerged:

4.9.1 Subtheme 1. Family and Early Childhood Development

- **Loss of Parents:** Many car guards shared experiences of losing one or both parents, which had a profound impact on their upbringing and future prospects. This loss often left them without vital emotional and financial support, forcing them to fend for themselves.

- **Broken Households:** Broken families in which parents were absent or unable to provide stability and guidance were prevalent among the participants. The absence of a complete family structure contributed to their challenging circumstances.
- **Homelessness:** In some cases, the loss of parents resulted in homelessness, as seen in Frank's example, where the family lost their home after his mother's death.

In summary, Sub Theme 1 focuses on the family and early childhood development of car guards.

Many participants experienced the loss of one or both parents, leaving them without crucial emotional and financial support, compelling them to fend for themselves. Broken families, in which parents were absent or unable to offer stability and guidance, were common, further complicating their situations. In some cases, parental loss led to homelessness, emphasising the profound impact of family instability on the lives of car guards.

4.9.2 Subtheme 2. Parenting

- **Parenting Challenges:** Some car guards became parents themselves but faced significant challenges in providing for their children due to their precarious economic situations. They often rely on extended family or other caregivers to support and care for their children.
- **Economic Struggles:** The harsh realities of car guarding, including low income and unstable living conditions, made it difficult for these individuals to create stable home environments for their children. This situation, as highlighted by Era and Maggie, led to difficult decisions about their children's living arrangements.

In summary, Sub Theme 2 delves into the parenting challenges faced by car guards. Despite becoming parents, they struggled due to their unstable economic circumstances. Providing for their children proved difficult, leading some to rely on extended family or other caregivers for support. The low income and precarious living conditions resulting from car guarding made it challenging for them to establish stable homes for their children, forcing them to make difficult decisions about their living arrangements, as illustrated by Era and Maggie.

4.9.3 Subtheme 3. Education

- **Barriers to Education:** Several participants recounted barriers to accessing education, with factors such as family issues, parental loss, and economic challenges impeding their educational progress.
- **Early School dropout:** Some car guards, such as Frank, Deco, and Spandu, had to drop out of school prematurely due to a combination of family problems, financial constraints, and the need to support themselves.

In summary, in relation to education, car guards faced significant challenges. Many participants encountered barriers to education, including family issues, parental loss, and economic challenges, which hindered their progress in school. Additionally, some participants, such as Frank, Deco, and Spandu, had to drop out of school prematurely due to a mix of family problems, financial constraints, and the necessity to support themselves, highlighting the obstacles they faced in pursuing their education.

According to Budiyono (2020), parents play a dual role, not only serving as catalysts for unlocking their children's potential but also serving as the initial context for early learning, which can significantly influence other factors such as school and the surrounding

environment. While families remain the core social institution for early child development, instability within a family directly impacts children's development (D. Lee & McLanahan, 2015). "The family performs four important functions: 1. the function of population growth; 2. the educational function; 3. The economic function; 4. The recreational function; and 5. Socialization" (GaniYeva, 2022). Therefore, it can be argued that the aforementioned findings illustrate the impact of dysfunctional family units as perceived by the car guards.

Moreover, the results demonstrate the substantial impact that the family, as a social institution, has on the fabric of society. Furthermore, emphasising the importance of early childhood development and education in the lives of car guards.

Subsequently, the findings highlight the challenges these individuals faced in these critical areas and how these challenges influenced their career choices and life trajectories.

However, despite these obstacles, the car guards displayed resilience in navigating their circumstances. Their ability to adapt, find solutions to problems, and maintain hope for the future despite adversity affirms their resilience despite challenging developmental conditions. They exemplify this resilience through their determination to make ends meet through car guarding and their aspirations for a better future, as discussed in previous themes.

4.10 Theme 7: Migration: Rural-Urban Migration and the Informal Sector

This theme delves into the experiences of rural-urban migration among the car guards, exploring the reasons why they and their families relocated from rural regions to the City of Windhoek (COW). The process of rural-to-urban migration is a prevalent demographic trend in developing nations such as Namibia (Marta et al., 2020).

Additionally, Brigg (1971) indicated that young adults are more inclined to migrate to urban areas, a pattern observed in most cases among participants and their parents. This study highlights the pull factors that have historically driven this migration, as well as the challenges faced by migrants in urban areas.

4.10.1 Subtheme 1. Pull Factors of Rural-Urban Migration

1. **Employment Opportunities:** A significant pull factor for rural-urban migration is the promise of employment and earning opportunities in urban areas. Many participants mentioned that they or their families moved to the COW in search of better job prospects and economic stability. Mukhtar et al. (2018) found that urban migration provides rural residents with new, productive employment opportunities. Hence, most participants' families migrated to Windhoek due to pull factors such as employment opportunities, which drew them away from their rural homes.

- **Gray:** Shared that his parents came to Windhoek from Keetmanshoop and Kavango, driven by attracting employment opportunities.
- **Alah:** Highlighted the scarcity of job opportunities and the relative ease of finding work in the COW compared with the South.
- **Maggie:** She revealed that she moved to Windhoek in 1999 to search for employment, reflecting the importance of job prospects in urban migration.

2. **Escape from Rural Hardship:** Participants mentioned that life in rural areas, marked by poverty and hunger, was a motivating factor for their migration. Hope for a better life and improved living conditions in the city acted as a strong pull factor.

- **Lotto:** Described the challenging circumstances in Rehoboth as a reason for his migration to seek opportunities in Windhoek.

- **Small boy:** Recollected that his family relocated from Outjo to Rehoboth, reflecting his desire to escape difficulties in rural settings.

These responses align with established pull factors of rural-urban migration, emphasising the perceived glamour of urban regions that provide enhanced living circumstances and career prospects. Ironically, the findings indicate that these perceived greener pastures and hope for a better life in urban spaces come with an array of challenges.

In summary, the pull factors driving rural-urban migration among participants are primarily centred on employment opportunities and the aspiration for a better life. Many families moved to the City of Windhoek (COW) in search of jobs and economic stability. Participants such as Gray, Alah, and Maggie highlight how the allure of employment prospects drew their families from rural areas to the city. Additionally, escaping rural hardships, including poverty and hunger, motivated others like Lotto and Small Boy to relocate. Despite the appeal of urban opportunities, this study reveals that the endeavour to improve one's life in the city presents a unique array of obstacles.

4.10.2 Subtheme 2. Challenges of Rural-Urban Migration

The theme also touches upon the challenges faced by migrants in urban areas. While the city holds the promise of a better life, the findings indicate that it can also bring difficulties due to the rapid influx of people and inadequate services. Moreover, this research provides valuable insights into the intricate processes of rural-urban migration and the repercussions it has on families and individuals.

For instance, it shows that car guards and their families migrated to urban areas (COW) seeking improved economic prospects and an escape from rural hardships.

However, the urban environment presents its own set of challenges, including access to housing, healthcare, and education, which require careful consideration by policymakers and researchers.

Rapid urban growth has led to more informal settlements in Windhoek, Namibia (Newaya, 2010). As highlighted in the earlier findings regarding living conditions, a significant number of urban migrants find themselves residing in informal settlements, enduring harsh living conditions in deteriorating shelters that are unsuitable for human habitation. According to Nickanor et al. (2016), most migrant families are impoverished, lacking food security, and often headed by females. However, to address their food insecurity, they employ diverse strategies, such as receiving food aid, sourcing food from informal markets, and using other informal means (Nickanor et al., 2016). This reasoning is consistent with the findings of the research, as car guards similarly employ an assortment of resilience-building techniques to overcome their obstacles. Furthermore, the housing challenges highlighted above, which are faced by many migrants relocating to urban areas, including most participants in this study, indicate the difficulties experienced by rural-urban migrants. Another significant challenge for these migrants is accessing adequate health care services.

One of the prominent hurdles faced by these migrants is the difficulty in accessing sufficient health care services, a challenge that significantly impacts their overall well-being and quality of life. Migrant labourers encounter two forms of health care access barriers at work: one stems from financial constraints due to their income levels, and the other arises from social isolation caused by their limited social connexions in the city (Milcent, 2010). According to Hiam et al. (2019), migrants encounter numerous obstacles in accessing healthcare, including structural and political challenges, resulting in

unfulfilled health care needs and inadequate services. Migrants often encounter additional challenges in accessing healthcare, such as HIV prevention and treatment, compared to individuals who have been residing in a place for a longer duration (Young et al., 2023). Furthermore, migration is becoming more prevalent in Africa, particularly for employment (Young et al., 2023). Similarly, the car guards in question also revealed that they migrated to Windhoek City primarily for employment. Despite global efforts by various stakeholders to achieve universal access to healthcare, many developing countries, particularly in rural areas, still grapple with significant challenges in delivering health care services (Chinyakata et al., 2021). Seeling et al. (2014) maintained that Namibia faced comparable challenges to those evident in other African nations. However, these barriers are not insurmountable and can be addressed. Therefore, based on this literature and the previously discussed thematic areas concerning living and working conditions, it can be inferred that car guards operating in Windhoek's CBD also encounter similar challenges regarding health care access. In addition to the health care challenges faced by rural-urban migrants, education also poses significant hurdles, forming a complex web of obstacles that impact their overall well-being and access to essential services.

Navigating the education system poses unique challenges for rural-urban migrants, affecting their educational opportunities and future prospects. According to Kiran and Priyamvada (2010), urbanisation offers many opportunities, including access to entertainment, employment, education, healthcare, and housing. However, when rural migrants transition to urban areas, they encounter substantial challenges that encompass social, economic, cultural, psychological, and political aspects.

Therefore, it can be deduced that these difficulties significantly hinder rural-urban migrants' ability to access quality education.

Consequently, they frequently face restricted entry to high-quality educational facilities in urban areas, resulting in compromised learning environments and diminished educational prospects. Kiran and Priyamvada (2010) suggested that teachers should play a vital role in helping rural students adapt to urban life. This may include establishing after-school adult literacy classes, computer labs, and counselling centres for psychosocial support specifically for rural students.

In summary, sub-theme 2 shows the difficulties encountered by rural-urban migrants in urban areas, highlighting the difficulties arising from rapid urbanisation. While urban migration promises economic opportunities, migrants often encounter inadequate housing, healthcare, and education facilities. Many end up in informal settlements, enduring harsh living conditions. The struggle to access health care is particularly significant because of financial constraints and limited social connexions. Migrants also face barriers in education, restricting their access to quality learning environments. Teachers could play a crucial role in helping rural students adapt by establishing supportive resources tailored for them, such as communication labs and counseling centers. These challenges underscore the pressing need for policymakers to address the complexities of rural–urban migration and provide essential services to improve the well-being of migrants.

In Namibia, rural-to-urban migration, particularly to Windhoek, continues to significantly influence urban informal labor markets, including car guarding. According to the most recent census projections, Windhoek's population increased from approximately 147,000 in 1991 to over 486,000 by 2023, with a projected population of approximately 737,000 by 2030 (NSA 2023).

This study reformulates migration theories by examining the migration aspirations and experiences of car guards, who often desire formal employment or return to rural areas under better economic conditions. Their narratives demonstrate a profound awareness of urban precarity and aspirational urbanism, which contributes to a more in-depth comprehension of urban migration patterns (Pickett et al. 2014; Rossi 2024). This is consistent with the research conducted by Frayne (2007) and Kazembe, Tawodzera, & Nickanor (2025), which underscores the fact that urban migrants frequently balance dual urban-rural livelihoods in a circular migration model.

Although generic push-pull frameworks are frequently employed to analyze rural-urban migration (Mabogunje 1970; Todaro 1969), this study transcends these macro-level explanations by emphasizing the subjective lived experiences and migration aspirations of Windhoek's car guards. Therefore, this chapter approaches migration as a motivational force that is intertwined with the individual pursuits of opportunity, dignity, and survival within the informal economy, rather than as an external variable.

In addition to the hardships of rural life, participants frequently described their relocation to the city as a strategic act of agency that was motivated by the potential for social mobility and income generation in urban areas. The initial objective of many participants was not to become a car guard; rather, it was an adaptive response to the limited options available in the formal labor market. Their narratives demonstrate how migration is a component of a broader resilience pathway, which is influenced by the ongoing negotiation between aspiration and reality, as well as by hope and risk-taking (Gough, Tipple, and Napier 2003; de Haas 2014).

This pattern is consistent with the broader trends in Namibia, where the spatial legacies and structural inequalities of apartheid continue to influence urban informal employment and migration (Pendleton, Crush, and Nickanor 2014; Tvedten 2004). Thus, it can be inferred that the rural-to-urban migration of car guards is a response to the scarcity of employment opportunities in rural areas and a livelihood strategy, as evidenced by research on Namibia's informal sector (Frayne 2007). In this manner, migration becomes a central theme that informs the coping mechanisms, urban integration, and long-term strategies for survival and belonging of car guards in Windhoek's informal sector, rather than a side issue.

Consequently, the qualitative findings in this study emphasize the resilience strategies and socio-economic negotiations that rural migrants engaged in informal work, such as car guarding, undertake, despite the statistical trends that confirm Windhoek's status as a migration hub. This method adds a more grounded and actor-oriented dimension to Namibia's migration discourse and emphasizes the necessity of targeted policy interventions that simultaneously address rural development and urban integration.

4.11 New Emerging Themes: Impact of KPI's Takeover on Car Guards

The recent transfer of parking management in Windhoek's Central Business District (CBD) from public to private control, carried out by the company KeyPlot Investments (Pty) Ltd (KPI) a Namibian property and parking Management Company has had a significant impact on the incomes and employment prospects of car guards operating in the area. The aim is to create a smart city eco-system in the area of mobility, public transportation and digital payments.

However, these mechanisation including a structured parking marshal system and zone-based pricing to balance parking demand and space utilization has further displaced the car guards. The privatisation of public places is a significant concern in the field of urban sociology. Privatisation, as defined by Taghavi (2020), is the process of transferring public places to private entities, typically motivated by the pursuit of financial gain. Although this practise is recognised to degrade the social aspects of these public spaces, it can be asserted that local governments occasionally lease public spaces, such as parking lots, to businesses in order to generate essential revenue for city administration. Public spaces, which are frequently referred to as "urban commons" and encompass parks, plazas, walkways, and community centres may be regarded as accessible to all and promote freedom of access; however, this privatisation frequently undermines the fundamental principles of civic and democratic life (Singh & Sood, n.d., para. 2). Therefore, it can be said that car guards, who frequently work in privatised parking lots, encounter distinct difficulties as a result of the commercialization of these locations, since their livelihoods rely on the presence of parking spots.

Tittenbrun (2013) emphasises the susceptibility of public places to privatisation, which impacts both the financial earnings and social inclusion of car guards. Hence, it can be asserted that this circumstance not only impacts their financial earnings but also their feeling of integration inside the metropolitan framework. Jabareen & Eizenberg (2021) argued that cities should serve as hubs of social diversity, where different socioeconomic strata coexist together. However, the growing trend of privatisation may lead to internal divisions within cities. Hence, it can be maintained that it is essential for urban sociology and planning to acknowledge the complex nature of public spaces and their susceptibility to privatisation.

According to the Literature analysis of this study, resilience theory can provide insight into the difficulties and ingenuity of car guards in overcoming these hurdles (Singh & Sood, n.d.).

Consequently, the researcher performed a semi-structured interview to further investigate the substantial changes experienced by these car guards. The aim was to further examine the effects of the new system on their earnings, job stability, interactions within the community, and future goals. Car guards articulated their worries, coping strategies, and appeals for support, providing a comprehensive depiction of the difficulties they encounter following KPI's acquisition. Despite these challenges, a consistent theme of resilience emerged as car guards adapt and strive to recover despite the existing hardship. After conducting a semi-structured interview follow-up, several emerging themes demonstrate the influence of the takeover has on the Living and working conditions.

4.11.1 Decrease in Income

Car guards have reported a substantial decline in their daily earnings. A number of individuals have had a significant decrease in their income, which has led to substantial financial difficulties.

- **Frank:** Reported a huge decline in his earnings, plummeting from \$400 to \$100, resulting in serious financial hardships. Consequently, he lacks the financial means to purchase essential food products like bread, maize meal, or meat.
- **Paul:** Reported a substantial decrease in his income, stating that he now earns significantly less than he did previously, resulting in serious financial difficulties.

He articulated the negative effects of the acquisition on himself and his children, asserting that they are currently in a more disadvantageous predicament than ever before.

Both Frank and Paul underscored the gravity of this economic downturn, which has ensued in significant hardship.

4.11.2 Uncertainty over Job Stability and Limited Availability of Employment Prospects

The lack of job security and limited employment opportunities have created uncertainty for car guards, as KPI has not offered them any job positions, exacerbating their financial and professional instability.

- **Frank:** Stated that KPI did not provide job prospects for current car guards and unilaterally assumed control without any consultation.
- **Small boy:** Verified that KPI did not give any work opportunities to the car guards, leaving them with no other possibilities for employment.

Both individuals stated that the acquisition has led to intensified rivalry and greater volatility, marked by a decrease in the number of clients and a less reliable source of income.

4.11.3 Adverse Effects on Community and Interpersonal Relations

The acquisition has negatively impacted the sense of community among car guards, leading to increased tension and conflicts over limited resources.

Social Displacement: As their traditional responsibilities gradually diminish, car guards express a sense of displacement and a decrease in community togetherness.

- **Frank:** Stated that the escalation in rivalry for scarce resources has resulted in disagreements and physical altercations among car guards.

Notably, the local car guarding community expressed dissatisfaction with the management of KPI, leading to complaints and a negative perception.

- **Paul:** Stated that the displacement of car guards has a detrimental impact on the neighbourhood, leading to a more widespread sense of discontent.
- **Small boy:** Noticed a detrimental effect on the dynamics of the neighbourhood due to the presence of car guards, leading to increased stress and unhappiness.

4.11.4 Coping Strategies and Resilience: Overcoming Challenges

The follow-up interviews further found that car guards are encountering increasingly formidable challenges in dealing with the financial impediments posed by the takeover. As such, notably certain individuals employ alcohol as a coping mechanism for managing challenges. Exploring alternate incomes: It was found that some individuals possess a strong inclination to seek out alternate sources of income, even when they believe that there are limited, realistic options available. Several car guards are considering moving away from the city or pursuing other job opportunities in the informal sector.

- **Paul:** Stated his intention to pursue a job elsewhere if feasible, contemplating relocating to find more favourable prospects.

4.11.5 Future Aspirations amidst Uncertainty

Uncertain Future Intentions: Following the feedback from the participants, it became evident that the takeover has left many car guards feeling unsure about their future plans. Drawing attention to the notion that other employment possibilities or government intervention are required.

- **Paul:** Indicated that while he needs another job, he is now only operating as a car guard simply to keep busy.
- **Small boy:** Explained that they are forced to share the little they have until the situation changes.

- **Frank:** Called for aid from the government and said that the City of Windhoek should relook at their decision to exclude them from the new system.

Car guards demonstrate persistence and a strong inclination for stability and security, despite the challenges they encounter. It is clear that their objective is to attain a future that is more solid and secure, whether it is within or outside the car guarding practice.



Photo (23) KPI Information Board © Dawid Gawaseb

Photo 23 provides a clear representation of KPI's information, including the zones, rates, time slots, and payment procedures for parking. The signage prominently displays a disclaimer that absolves KeyPlot Investments (Pty) Ltd. of any legal liability or obligation for any harm, loss, theft, or damage to individuals or property that may arise during the use of the parking facilities. Owners assume full responsibility for the parking of their vehicles and any items inside. Furthermore, the warning cautions that noncompliance with

the payment obligations for parking could lead to penalties imposed by the city police. This method differs significantly from the protection provided by informal car guards, who have stated that they are accountable for ensuring the safety of the cars.

These unpaid car guards, who operate in an informal capacity, demonstrate a strong dedication to vehicle safety and customer service, regardless of whether they are compensated at the end of the day. This devotion exceeds the obligations outlined in legal disclaimers.

The themes highlight the substantial impact of KPI's acquisition on the well-being, social interactions, and future aspirations of car guards in Windhoek's Central Business District. Hence, it can be said that in order to address these issues, it is necessary to develop a holistic approach that takes into account both immediate aid and long-term initiatives aimed at improving the economic and social conditions of car guards.

4.11.6 Theoretical Engagement: Resilience, Functionalism, and the Informal Economy

This section utilizes resilience theory and relevant sociological frameworks, including functionalism, to interpret the manner in which Windhoek's car guards navigate socio-economic adversity, thereby providing a more profound analytical understanding of the findings.

The capacity of individuals or systems to adapt, endure, and recover from disruptions or stressors is a concept of resilience theory that is frequently employed in the study of informal economies (Patel et al., 2017). As a result, it is evident that car guards in this study demonstrate resilience not only as a reactive trait but also as an active process that is influenced by environmental pressures, institutional exclusions, and everyday survival practices. This interpretation is further enriched by the perspective of functionalism,

which holds that every social role and structure contributes to the stability and functioning of society (Durkheim, 1895/1982).

Therefore, it can be asserted that car guarding, despite its informal and precarious nature, functions as a stabilizing tool in urban economies by addressing the gap between formal employment and car guarding as security.

This is even more profound because car guards perform latent functions, including informal surveillance, maintaining order in public spaces, and facilitating parking management, all of which contribute to the broader social equilibrium (Parsons, 1951).

As a result, the findings of this study challenge the conventional narratives that depict informal workers as marginal or deviant actors. In contrast, they illustrate how car guards strategically leverage social networks, cultural capital, and spiritual beliefs to reduce risks such as income instability, housing insecurity, and police harassment. In contexts ranging from street vending in India (Bhowmik, 2012) to motorcycle taxi drivers in Kenya, these strategies echo global trends in informal resilience (Mutiso & Behrens, 2011). The findings further contribute to the expanding body of literature on informality, labor precarity, and adaptive resilience in African urban contexts by connecting these localized lived experiences of the car guards in Windhoek's (CBD) to broader scholarly debates (Meagher, 2016; Simone, 2004).

It also emphasizes the significance of context-specific resilience strategies that are driven by necessity rather than institutional support, which is clearly emerging from below.

4.11.7 Addressing the Structural Challenges: Car Guards' Perspectives on Improving Their Living and Working Conditions

In order to effectively address the ways to improve the living and working conditions of car guards, it is essential to prioritize the perspectives of the participants. Thus, the research highlights the importance of municipal bylaws recognizing car guarding as a legitimate occupation. For example, Lucky stated, “We need laws to protect us from harassment by city officials.” This is consistent with Chen's (2012) argument for the inclusion of informal workers in legal frameworks to mitigate precarity. Furthermore, it is imperative to acknowledge informal workers in order to achieve a minimum wage for all. For instance, Jauch (2013) suggested advocating for the inclusion of informal workers in Namibia's Labour Act (2007), which would guarantee minimum wages (ILO 2017).

Additionally, the provision of basic amenities appears to be a critical factor in the amicable resolution of the living and working conditions of car guards. Car guards like Alah and Maggie highlighted the lack of shelters and sanitation as key challenges they are faced with. In this context, it is possible to propose partnerships with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Namibia Homeless Federation to construct communal shelters, drawing inspiration from successful models in South Africa (Mitlin 2008). Another point of contention is the ongoing importance of healthcare and safety as critical human factors in the context of the participants' living and working conditions.

Hence, most of the participants reported that they were frequently exposed to chemical hazards and weather extremes.

In response to this there should be the implementation of municipal-funded health camps and the distribution of protective gear, as was implemented for street vendors in India (Bhowmik 2005).

In conclusion, the findings not only enhance our comprehension of informal urban livelihoods but also emphasizes the pressing necessity for inclusive policy interventions that recognize and expand upon everyday practices of adaptability and survival by situating the lived experiences of Windhoek's car guards within both resilience theory and a broader sociological framework.

4.12 Chapter Summary

Chapter 4 examined the lived experiences of Windhoek's car guards from the perspective of resilience theory, demonstrating how individuals employ a variety of coping mechanisms to navigate daily precarity. The socio-economic significance of these frequently disregarded actors is emphasized in the chapter by connecting empirical findings to broader sociological and theoretical debates, including functionalism and the adaptive functions of informal labor. In conclusion, it advocates for a more comprehensive examination of the resilience practices that support informal workers in urban Namibia from an academic and policy perspective.

The chapter examines the challenges, aspirations, and needs of these car guards and finds ways to enhance their living and working conditions. The research highlights the importance of addressing car guards' basic needs, such as healthcare, nourishment, schooling, housing, clean water, transportation, and essential household items.

These elements are vital for their daily survival and overall quality of life. This study underscores both tangible and intangible needs, including societal involvement, cultural identity, and the search for meaning in life and occupation.

Health care access is identified as fundamental, with most car guards being aware of nearby facilities. However, further investigation is required to determine whether their

health care needs are fully met. The study also sheds light on occupational hazards, such as exposure to harsh chemicals without protective gear and the pressing issue of inadequate shelter. Notably, none of the participants had decent housing, which affected access to fundamental comforts. Regarding basic needs, including food, clothing, and sanitary items, car guards face limitations due to financial constraints and the demands of their work.

The study emphasises their resourcefulness in sourcing food and managing clothing and hygiene needs, often relying on donations and creative strategies.

Car guards express a need for various forms of support, both individually and collectively. They seek government assistance, secure housing, increased financial compensation, job opportunities, and reliable aid to improve their living conditions. Hence, this research emphasises the significance of social safeguards and community and government support in an effort to better the circumstances of car guard families. The research further illuminates the informal nature of car guarding as a primary income source, driven by the lack of formal job alternatives. Despite precarious working conditions, car guards display resilience in their determination to secure their livelihoods and navigate the informal sector. Financial vulnerabilities are also evident, as car guards often earn meagre incomes that fall short of their basic needs.

Variability in daily earnings adds to financial uncertainty. This study emphasises the need for higher incomes and alternative income streams to address these financial challenges.

Car guards work long and irregular hours, reflecting the highly competitive and informal nature of their occupation. The need to maximise income in a challenging and unpredictable working environment drives the extension of work hours. These hours do

not comply with the Namibian Labour Act. The risks and encounters faced by car guards in their informal and unregulated profession are multifaceted. Difficulties that car guards encounter include legal constraints, conflicts with other car guards, confrontations with homeless and intoxicated individuals, non-payment by clients, and threats from criminals. Addressing these challenges is vital for improving their working conditions and overall well-being. However, despite these challenges, many car guards find positive aspects in their work that enable them to sustain their livelihoods and support their families. These positive elements have allowed them to persevere in their occupation. As such, understanding these positive aspects sheds light on the unique experiences within the car guarding community and their determination to find contentment and value in their daily labour.

The chapter also looked into the repercussions of KeyPlot Investments (KPI) assuming control over parking management in Windhoek's Central Business District (CBD). It was found that the transition from public to private management significantly affected car guards operating in the area. To explore these effects, the researcher conducted follow-up, semi-structured interviews with car guards, aiming to understand changes in their earnings, job stability, community interactions, and future prospects. Findings point to the fact that KeyPlot Investments' takeover has significantly impacted car guards, leading to difficulties in income, job stability, and community interactions.

As such, car guards are facing financial hardships and social dislocation, leading them to resort to drinking and exploring alternative income sources. To address these issues and improve the economic and social circumstances of car guards, a comprehensive approach is necessary. Despite the difficulties they face, car guards exhibit resilience and a strong desire for stability and security, striving to achieve a more stable and secure future,

whether within or outside the car guarding profession. In order to tackle these problems, it is essential to adopt a comprehensive approach that considers both short-term assistance and long-term strategies focused on enhancing the economic and social circumstances of car guards.

The study also reveals car guards' aspirations for change, with many aiming for formal employment to secure stable jobs, increased income, job security, and improved working conditions. These aspirations emphasise the importance of supportive measures and opportunities to facilitate their entry into the formal realm.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

In conclusion, the study aimed to explore the lived experiences of car guards in Windhoek's Central Business District (CBD), assess their challenges and aspirations, and establish ways to improve their living and working conditions, all within the framework of resilience theory. By thoroughly addressing the objectives, the study provided valuable insights into the lived experiences of car guards and contributed to a deeper understanding of resilience in the face of adversity. It attempted to evaluate the difficulties and aspirations they face and identify strategies to enhance their living and working conditions, using the framework of resilience theory.

The study effectively addressed the objectives and yielded unique insights into the experiences of car guards, thereby enhancing the understanding of resilience under challenging circumstances. The study clarifies the complex and diverse challenges faced by car guards, emphasising not only their hardships but also their ingenuity, perseverance, and remarkable ability to bounce back despite formidable barriers. The car guards' dreams encompass their intricate circumstances, including their desires for official acknowledgment, enhanced labour conditions, and a more promising future for their families. Furthermore, their aspirations, along with their proven resiliency, are a compelling testament to their fortitude and determination.

Importantly, the study highlights the interdependence of several themes, emphasising the necessity for comprehensive, multidimensional interventions. These interventions should focus on addressing pressing issues like healthcare accessibility, shelter, and

environmental dangers. Additionally, they should acknowledge the crucial role of hope and optimism in strengthening the resilience of car guards.

Moreover, the study emphasises that the combination of hope and problem-solving abilities has a substantial impact on the car guards' capacity to confront and overcome problems. The study emphasises the strengths, coping methods, and goals of a marginalised population, showcasing their voices and emphasising the need to acknowledge and encourage their ability to take action.

Furthermore, it is clear that there is a requirement for comprehensive interventions that tackle interconnected issues ranging from economic stability to social inclusion. As such, the study also highlights the influence of stringent municipal regulations, indicating that their modification is not simply a matter of convenience but a crucial measure towards safeguarding social stability and harmony. Fostering an atmosphere in which car guards are valued, assisted, and empowered is not only a gesture of humanitarian goodwill but also a strategic investment in the welfare and cohesion of the entire urban population. Therefore, based on the results, it is clear that any significant transformation must be all-inclusive and require cooperative endeavours among the government, communities, and policymakers.

The investigation yielded several significant findings. For example, the exploration into the living and working conditions of car guards uncovered the complex nature of their difficulties, which included economic struggles, uncertain employment, and social conflicts.

Following the initial inquiry, it was found that these challenges were intensified by external factors, such as the transfer of parking management to KeyPlot Investments (Pty) Ltd. (KPI) by the City of Windhoek. Hence, the study employed follow-up semi-structured interviews to further examine the significant transformations encountered by the car guards as a result of the above takeover of (KPI). The objective was to analyse the impact of the new system on their income, employment security, social relationships, and long-term aspirations. Car guards expressed their concerns, techniques for dealing with challenges, and requests for assistance, offering a detailed portrayal of the obstacles they face after KPI's takeover. It was found that the objective of the acquisition was to establish a smart city ecosystem focusing on mobility, public transport, and digital payments. However, the implementation of this mechanisation, such as a structured parking marshal system and zone-based charging, has led to the displacement of car guards by effectively managing parking demand and optimising space utilisation.

Although the system was introduced to promote efficiency through structured marshals and digital payment systems, it has marginalized an entire group of urban workers operating at the fringes of legality and policy. Namibia's position within the global context of the Fourth and Fifth Industrial Revolutions (4IR/5IR) underscores a more universal concern: the critical need to recognize informal systems as alternative urban infrastructure. Namibia's position within the global context of the Fourth and Fifth Industrial Revolutions (4IR/5IR) underscores a more universal concern: the critical need to recognize informal systems as alternative urban infrastructure (The Brief 2023). Car guards, who are informal workers and are not included in formal digital platforms, operate within analog, trust-based networks that satisfy fundamental urban demands.

Not only does their displacement indicate a policy vacuum, but it also indicates a more profound misalignment between social realities and innovation ambitions that necessitates analysis (ILO 2023).

Ungar (2012) defines resilient systems as those that implement a diverse array of pathways to well-being, including informal, culturally embedded responses to adversity. For this reason, Namibia must devise strategies to integrate the dualistic structure of informal and formal sectors. In the same vein, as accounted for in the literature review the concept of “people as infrastructure” Simone (2004, p. 407) underscores the critical role that informal actors play in the development of urban life. Consequently, it can be stated that the adoption of this dualism is not merely an issue of inclusiveness; it is a pragmatic need for the proper management of the complexity of modern African towns and cities like Windhoek City. In addition, to prevent urban transformation from further marginalizing the communities it is supposed to empower, future digital governance solutions to bridge the gap between state-led innovation and grassroots survival economies (Hart 1973; IOL 2018; Roever and Skinner 2016).

Nevertheless, car guards continue to show resilience by employing adaptive coping mechanisms and relying on collective support networks, despite the new and emerging difficulties they face. It can thus be said that their dreams reflect their difficult circumstances, highlighting their desires for official acknowledgment, enhanced labour conditions, and a more promising future for their children. The study shows that enhancing the lives of car guards, strengthening their resilience, and cultivating a feeling of dignity and hope within this resilient community can be achieved through the implementation of focused legislation, awareness campaigns, and community projects.

Through the final recognition and embodiment of their determination and resilience, society can develop a more equitable and impartial environment that provides benefits to all individuals. However, it is crucial to recognise the constraints of this research. Initially, the research was carried out in a particular environment and may not be completely applicable to other contexts. Moreover, the dependence on qualitative methods restricted the extent of quantitative analysis and could have induced biases in the interpretation of data. Additionally, the study encountered difficulties in obtaining information about specific features of car guards' encounters, notably in relation to their interactions with municipal officials and other private entities.

The primary significance of this study rests in its clarification of the resilience exhibited by car guards in the face of difficult conditions. Therefore, the study offers new insights into how marginalised populations can effectively manage and overcome adversity by emphasising their adaptive tactics and the key components that contribute to their resilience.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

This research demonstrated that car guards in the Windhoek (CBD) experience a variety of socio-economic obstacles that are attributed to systemic neglect, inadequate service provision, and a lack of legal recognition. Car guards continue to contribute to the urban economy and exhibit resilience in the face of adversity, despite these obstacles. A multifaceted approach is necessary to enhance the living and working conditions of these car guards.

The recommendations that follow are based on the study's findings and the lived experiences of participants, and they are intended to address both immediate needs and structural challenges.

1. **Revise municipal bylaws to formally acknowledge car guarding as a legitimate form of informal work:** This measure will safeguard car guards from harassment and legal insecurity, as several participants have emphasized. Legal recognition would provide a foundation for enhanced labor protections and access to municipal support services. For instance, simplify permit procedures and designate parking areas for informal car guards.
2. **Create basic service infrastructure at car guarding sites:** Shelters, sanitation facilities, and clean drinking water should be established in partnership with local authorities and NGOs. This would directly address the lack of amenities identified by car guards and enhance their productivity and dignity.
3. **Develop vocational training and adult education programs that are specifically designed for informal workers:** Numerous participants expressed a desire to enhance their literacy or acquire new skills. These programs would enhance their employability

and provide alternative income-generating opportunities, particularly for those who are transitioning to more formal employment.

4. **Create inclusive social protection programs and microfinance schemes for informal workers.** As demonstrated in other informal sectors, access to small loans, savings groups, and social security benefits would assist in stabilizing their income and enhancing their capacity to withstand economic shocks.
5. **Implement campaigns to increase public awareness and community engagement:** These campaigns should prioritize the reduction of stigma, the cultivation of public empathy, and the promotion of citizen support for car guards, particularly through local community and business partnerships.
6. **Offer protective equipment and training to improve workplace health and safety:** Participants disclosed exposure to hazardous chemicals and severe weather conditions. Regular safety training and access to weather-resistant clothing and equipment would enhance working conditions and mitigate health risks.
7. **Provide psychosocial support services, such as peer support groups and counseling:** Mental health support must be incorporated into community-based services due to the mental stress and social isolation that many car guards experience.
8. **Encourage the involvement of car guards in urban planning and informal labor dialogues.** By encouraging the establishment of associations or cooperatives, their voices will be amplified in decision-making processes, and they will be able to more effectively advocate for their rights.
9. **Develop a framework for the monitoring and evaluation of interventions in the informal sector.** Continuous research and stakeholder engagement are needed to assess

the impact of support programmes and ensure that strategies remain responsive to the evolving needs of car guards and other informal sector workers.

- 10. Reduce the Effects of Privatization (KPI Case Study):** This can be accomplished by advocating for KPI and other stakeholders in the supply chain to allocate a portion of parking fees to the welfare funds of car guards and negotiating inclusion. Furthermore, advocate for the inclusion of clauses in private contracts that allocate employment opportunities to informal car guards.

By implementing these targeted and evidence-based recommendations, stakeholders can contribute to a more just and inclusive urban environment one that recognises the role of informal workers and actively invests in their social and economic well-being.

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8. APPENDICES

8.1 APPENDIX A: Ethical Clearance Certificate



ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Ethical Clearance Reference Number: SHS 0044 Date: 29 July 2022

This Ethical Clearance Certificate is issued by the University of Namibia Decentralized Ethics Committee (DEC) in accordance with the University of Namibia's Research Ethics Policy and Guidelines. Ethical approval is given in respect of undertakings contained in the Research Project outlined below. This Certificate is issued on the recommendations of the ethical evaluation done by the School of Humanities, Society & Development Decentralized Ethics Committee.

Title of Project: An exploratory study of the living and working conditions of car guards in the Windhoek Central Business District Namibia

Researcher: Dawid Gawaseb

Student Number: 2008004448

Supervisor(s): Dr Ellison Tjirera & Ms. Ndeshi Namupala

Centre for Research Services

Take note of the following:

1. Any significant changes in the conditions or undertakings outlined in the approved Proposal must be communicated to the ethics committee. An application to make amendments may be necessary.
2. Any breaches of ethical undertakings or practices that have an impact on ethical conduct of the research must be reported to the ethics committee
3. The Principal Researcher must report issues of ethical compliance to the ethics committee (through the Chairperson) at the end of the Project or as may be requested by the ethics committee
4. The ethics committee retains the right to:
 - i) Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance if any unethical practices (as outlined in the Research Ethics Policy) have been detected or suspected,
 - ii) Request for an ethical compliance report at any point during the course of the research.

The ethics committee wishes you the best in your research.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Trywell Kalusopa".

Prof. Trywell Kalusopa (Chairperson, Decentralized Ethics Committee)

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Davis Mumbengegwi".

Prof. Davis Mumbengegwi (Head, Multidisciplinary Research)

8.2 APPENDIX B: Participant Consent Form

ANNEX 5F

INFORMED CONSENT FOR QUALITATIVE STUDIES

Informed Consent for Car Guards operating in the Windhoek Central Business District who I am inviting to participate in research, titled

“EXPLORATORY STUDY OF LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS AMONG CAR GUARDS IN WINDHOEK CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT (CBD), NAMIBIA: RESILIENCE THEORY PERSPECTIVE”

Name of Principal Investigator:	Dawid Gawaseb
Name of Sponsor:	NA

This Informed Consent Form has two parts:

- **Information Sheet (this section, to share information about the study with you)**
- **Certificate of Consent (for signatures if you choose to participate)**

You will be given a copy of the full Informed Consent Form.

PART I: INFORMATION SHEET

Introduction

I am Dawid Gawaseb, pursuing a Master's degree at the University of Namibia. I am doing research on the Living and Working conditions of car guards in the (CBD) Central Business District of Windhoek City. I am going to give you information and invite you to be part of this research. You do not have to decide today whether or not you will participate in the research. Before you decide, you can talk to anyone you feel comfortable with about the research. This consent form may contain words that you do not understand. Please ask me to stop as we go through the information and I will take time to explain. If you have questions later, you can ask them of me or of another researcher.

Purpose of the Research

Informal sector workers like yourself (car guards) have been working under difficult conditions for years without any form of protection and support. With this research I want to find out about how you work and survive under such difficult conditions. I believe that you are the best person to tell me exactly what you are going through on a daily basis. As such I want to learn what car guards are faced with and what plans they have for the future. I also want to learn about the different tactics car guards use to overcome their challenges. I also want to know about your living condition as these information can help inform society what your needs are.

Type of Research Intervention

This research will involve a face to face interview with you in person and it will take about 15 minutes. I will also take some pictures of your surrounding areas and will happen as we are talking.

Participant Selection

You are being invited to take part in this research because I feel that your experience as a car guard can contribute much to my understanding and knowledge of the living and working conditions of car guards.

Do you know why we are asking you to take part in this study? Do you know what the study is about?

Voluntary Participation

Please note that your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. You may change your mind later and stop participating even if you agreed earlier. The choice that you make will have no bearing on your job.

If you decide not to take part in this research study, do you know what your options are? Do you know that you do not have to take part in this research study, if you do not wish to? Do you have any questions?

Procedures

I am asking you to help me learn more about car guarding. If you accept, you will be asked to answer few questions about your personal experience as a car guard. The questions will focus on what you do here on a day to day basis, how you respond to your challenges and what your future plans are.

I will participate in an interview with the name (Bonchilies).

During the interview, I or another interviewer will sit down with you in a comfortable place at around your work station (parking lot). If it is better for you, the interview can take place in your home or a friend's home. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions during the interview, you may say so and I will move on to the next question. No one else but me (Bonchilies) interviewer will be present unless you would like someone else to be there. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except me (Bonchilies) will have access to the information documented during your interview. The entire interview will be recorded, but no-one will be identified by name in the recording. The recording will be kept save on my computer and also on the internet (Google Drive). The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except me (Bonchilies) will have access to the recordings. The recordings will be destroyed after 5 years.

Duration

Include a statement about the time commitments of the research for the participant including both the duration of the research and follow-up, if relevant.

The research will take place over (14) days. During that time, I will be around here interviewing 19 other car guards like you. Each interview will last for about 15 minutes. I will also be taking some pictures around the parking lot and any other places and things you allow me to. *If you decide to take part in the study, do you know how much time will the interview take? Where will it take place? If you agree to take part, do you know if you can stop participating? Do you know that you may not respond to the questions that you do not wish to respond to? Etc. Do you have any more questions?*

Risks

I will be asking you to share with me some very personal and confidential information, and you may feel uncomfortable talking about some of the topics. However, please note that you do not have to answer any question or take part in the interview if you don't wish to do so, and that is also fine. Please also note that you do not have to give me any reason for not responding to any question, or for refusing to take part in the interview.

There may also be risk that you may share some personal or confidential information by chance, or that you may feel uncomfortable talking about some of the topics. However, I do not wish for this to happen. Again you do not have to answer any question or take part in the interview if you feel the question(s) are too personal or if talking about them makes you uncomfortable.)

Benefits

There will be no direct benefit to you, but your participation is likely to help me find out more about car guarding.

Reimbursements

You will not be provided with any incentive to take part in the research. However, I appreciate your willingness to voluntarily participate in this very important research. *Can you tell me if you have understood correctly that there are no benefits if you if you take part in the study? Do you have any other questions?*

Confidentiality

The research being done in the community may draw attention and if you participate you may be asked questions by other people in the community. I will not be sharing information about you to anyone. The information that I collect from this research project will be kept private. Any information about you will have a number on it instead of your name. I will be the only to know what your number is and I will lock that information up with a lock and key. It will not be shared with or given to anyone except (My supervisors and other authorised University personnel)

If illiterate

I have witnessed the accurate reading of the consent form to the potential participant, and the individual has had the opportunity to ask questions. I confirm that the individual has given consent freely.

.....

Name of Witness (print)

.....

Signature of Witness

.....

Date (day/month/year)

Statement by the Researcher/Person taking Consent

I have accurately read out the information sheet to the potential participant, and to the best of my ability made sure that the participant understands that the following will be done:

1. A set of interview questions will be asked
2. Photographs will be taken with the him or her consent

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability.

I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

A copy of this ICF has been provided to the participant.

.....

.....

Name of Researcher/Person taking Consent (print)

Signature

.....

Date (day/month/year)

8.3 APPENDIX C: Interview Schedule

Interview schedule

Good day can you kindly tell me about your work here.

Demographic	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What name do you prefer? You do not need to tell me your real name; you can just tell me the name you prefer for confidentiality purpose. 2. How old are you? 3. Where do you leave? 4. Do you have children? If yes, how many? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Are there people you support financially? 6. Did you go to school? 7. If yes, what is your highest grade or qualification? 8. Are you Originally from Windhoek City? If not what brought you here?
Work	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is it that you do here? 2. What does your work entail? 3. Can anyone come and work were? 4. What do you need to become a car guard? 5. What is your job title? 6. Are there ranks among the car guards? 7. What is your rank if yes? 8. What do you like most about being a car guard? 9. What don't you like about being a car guard? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. When did you start working here? 11. What are your working hours? 12. Which days and how many hours in a day do you usually work? 13. Do you take breaks or lunch time? When? 14. Do you have a specific area to cover or can you work anywhere? 15. Can another car guard work in your place (area) ? If yes – how are they organized?

Relationships	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do you have friends that you work with? 2. How is your working relationship with your friends? 3. Does it help to have friends working in the same area as you? If yes –why /if no – why not? 4. Do you have family members that you work with? 5. How is your working relationship with your family members who are also your coworkers? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Does it help to have family working in the same area as you? If yes –why /if no – why not? 7. Besides your friends and Family how is your work relationship with your other co-workers? 8. How are you experiencing your work so far? How are you finding your job so far? 9. What is your work relation with your co-workers? 10. What is your work relation with your clients?
Day to day Experiences	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is your normal working day like? 2. Are there any positive (good) things you can tell me about your work? 3. If yes... what are those? 4. Please tell me more about them. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Are there any challenges (bad) things that you face working here? 6. If yes... what are those? 7. Please tell me more about them.
Survival strategies	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How do you try to deal the challenges? 2. Is there someone you can talk to about your challenges? 	

Work arrangements and conflict	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. So do you only work in this street or this space or can you work somewhere else? 2. Can you only work here on this area or can you move around? 3. How do you know where to work and where not to work? 4. How do your other co-workers get to know that this is your area? 5. What would happen if you decide to move to other areas? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Has it ever happened that someone moved into other persons area? What happened then? 7. Did you choose to work in this area or is there someone who decides who should work where? 8. If you chose, why did you particularly choose this area? 9. If allocated by someone, how does that make you feel and how does their decision impact on you? 10. What is the reaction of city police and security guards to the car guards working here?
Clients	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. So who usually parks their cars here? 2. Do you select cars to park in your parking area? 3. If yes, why do you do that? And how do you select the cars to park in your parking space? 4. How do people who park their cars here react to you? How do they treat you? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. What is your relationship with them? 10. Have you ever lost a frequent client to another co-worker? 11. If yes, tell me more about what happened 12. Has it ever happened that a client's car gets scratched, broken into or stolen in your presence? 13. If yes, what really happened? And how was the situation dealt with?

<p>5. Amongst the people who park their cars here, who do you usually get tips from?</p> <p>6. Do you have any established relationship with the people who park here?</p> <p>7. Do you have frequent clients?</p> <p>8. Do you know who your frequent clients are?</p>	<p>14. Are you satisfied with the amount of tips you get from working here?</p> <p>15. What is the most you received as tip? And what is the least?</p> <p>16. Except for the tips you get here, do you have any other form of income?</p>
Ambition	
<p>1. What are your future work plans?</p> <p>2. Do you plan to continue working here or do you have anything you plan to do in the future?</p>	
Previous car guarding experience	
<p>1. Besides working here, have you worked as a car guard somewhere else?</p> <p>2. If yes...</p> <p>3. Where were you working and how long were you working there?</p> <p>4. Why is it that you left there?</p> <p>5. How was working there similar or different from working here?</p>	<p>6. So how did you find out about car guarding here? How were you introduced to car guarding here? Is there someone who told you about it?</p>

Other work experience besides car guarding	
<p>1. Have you been employed previously?</p> <p>2. If yes</p> <p>3. Where were you working?</p> <p>4. What did you do there?</p> <p>5. For how long were you employed?</p>	<p>6. Why did you leave the job?</p> <p>7. What skills did you acquire from working there?</p> <p>8. How was it working there?</p> <p>9. Why is it that you chose car guarding after you left the job?</p>

Thanks very much for your time and participation!!!

8.4 APPENDIX D: Follow-up Interview Schedule

Follow -up Schedule

Employment Status and Transition
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Can you describe how the takeover by KPI has affected your employment as a car guard? 2. Were you offered employment by KPI after the takeover? If so, what are your current duties and responsibilities? 3. For those who were not employed by KPI, how did you transition out of car guarding? What challenges did you face?
Income and Financial Impact
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How has the takeover by KPI influenced your income and earnings as a car guard? 2. Have you experienced any changes in the amount of money you are able to collect since the takeover? If so, can you describe these changes? 3. How are you currently coping with any financial challenges resulting from the takeover and loss of income?
Work Conditions and Job Satisfaction
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How do your current work conditions compare to your experience as a car guard before the takeover by KPI? 2. What aspects of your current employment do you find satisfying, and what aspects do you find challenging? 3. Have you noticed any changes in your job security or stability since the takeover?
Community Impact
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How has the takeover by KPI affected the wider community of car guards in the CBD of Windhoek? 2. Have you observed any changes in the dynamics or relationships among car guards since the takeover? 3. How do you think the displacement of car guards from their work has impacted the local community more broadly?
Future Prospects and Adaptation
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are your plans for the future in light of the changes brought about by the takeover by KPI? 2. Have you considered pursuing alternative sources of income or employment? If so, what opportunities are available to you? 3. How do you envision adapting to the evolving landscape of informal employment in the CBD of Windhoek?

Thank you very much for your time and participation!!!