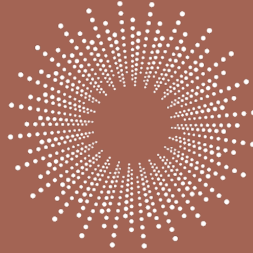


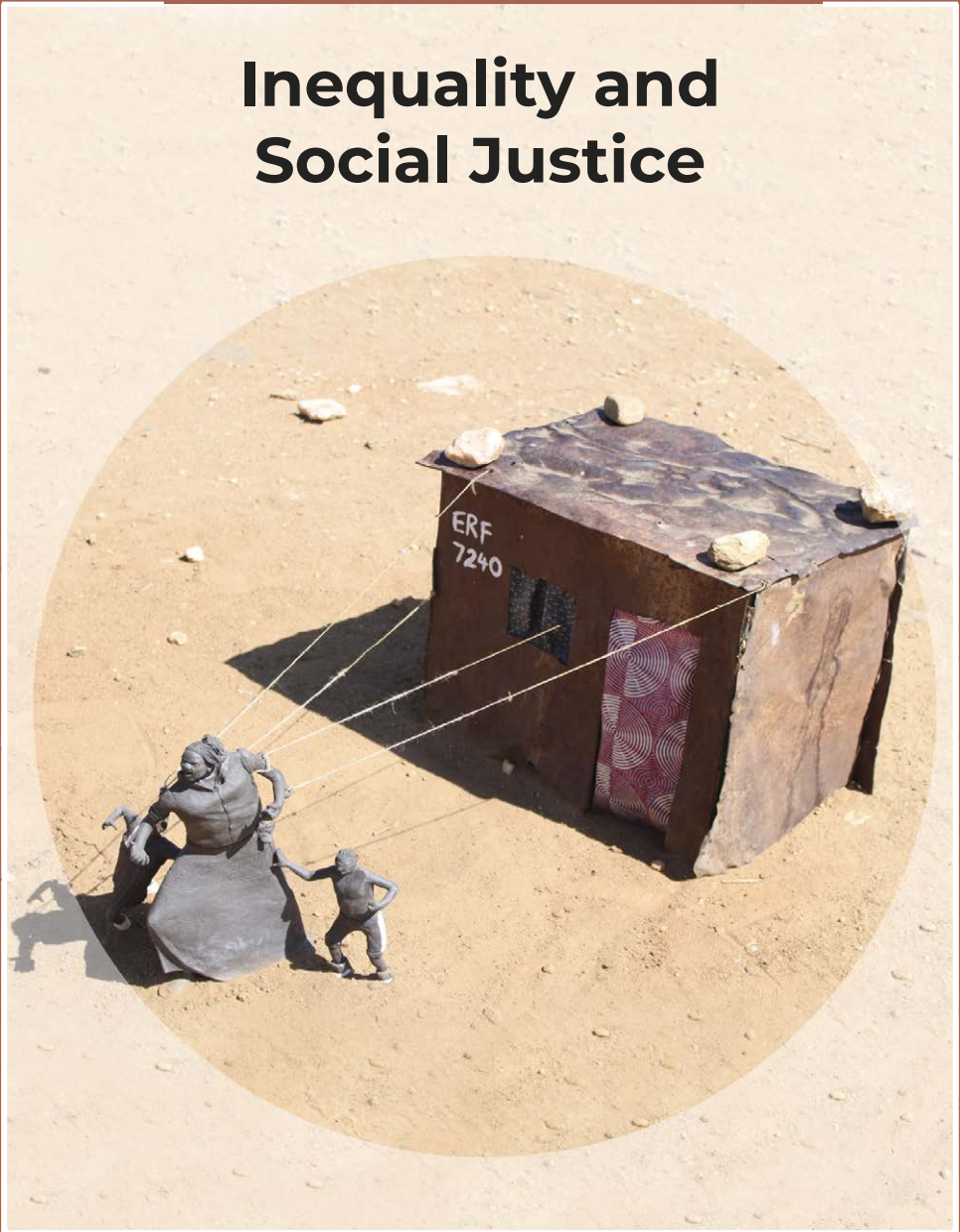
Volume 2

November 2022



Namibian
Journal
of Social
Justice

Inequality and Social Justice



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Artwork on the cover: “Pulling into Tomorrow” by Mitchell M. Gatsi

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**FRIEDRICH
EBERT
STIFTUNG**
Namibia Office

Acronyms and Initialisms

AMCU	Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union
BEPS	base-erosion profit shifting
BIEN	Basic Income Earth Network
BIG	basic income grant
CCN	Council of Churches in Namibia
CEDAW	UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSOs	civil society organisations
DSD	Differences of Sexual Development
ELCN	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia
ELCRN	Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Republic of Namibia
ESOP	Employee Share Ownership Plan
FMS	Finnish Missionary Society
GBV	gender-based violence
GDP	gross domestic product
GEWE	gender equality and women's empowerment
GRB	gender-responsive budgeting
GRN	Government of the Republic of Namibia
HDI	Human Development Index
HTA	Hai om Traditional Authority
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICT	information and communication technology
IFFs	illicit financial flows
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMR	International Mineral Resources
IOC	International Olympic Committee

LMS	London Missionary Society
MAWLR	Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Land Reform
MGEPEWSW	Ministry of Gender Equality, Poverty Eradication and Social Welfare
MGEPEWSW	Ministry of Gender Equality, Poverty Eradication and Social Welfare
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
MPUCT	Madhya Pradesh Unconditional Cash Transfer
MTEF	Medium-Term Expenditure Framework
NLF	Namibia Labour Force
NNSCH	Namibian Senior Secondary Certificate Higher-level
NPC	National Planning Commission
NSA	Namibia Statistics Agency
NSSCH	Namibian Senior Secondary Certificate Higher
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PDS	Public Distribution System
PIT	personal income tax
RMS	Rhenish Missionary Society
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SEM	structural equation modelling
SEWA	Self-Employed Women’s Association
TAA	Traditional Authorities Act (No. 25 of 2000)
TVUCT	Tribal Village Unconditional Cash Transfer
UCT	unconditional cash transfer
VAT	value added tax
WHO	World Health Organization
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
WSWB	willing-seller-willing-buyer

Editorial

In this edition of the Namibian Journal of Social Justice, we grapple with Namibia's most urgent social justice question, namely inequality. Despite being classified as a higher middle-income country, levels of marginalisation and exclusion in Namibia remain very high. The Human Development Index (HDI) for 2019 was 0.646, ranking at 130 out of 189 countries. The IHDI (inequality-adjusted HDI) falls to 0.418, however, a loss of 35.3% (cf. an average loss for medium HDI countries of 26.3%). This profound level of inequality is consistent with Namibia's unflattering Gini coefficient ranking (a measure of income inequality) of second-highest in the world (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2022; World Bank Group, 2021; Human Development Report, 2020).

Namibia, like most of southern Africa, is still trapped in an unequal economic development model, and hence displays persistently high levels of inequality. This inequality affects groups differentially, depending on their social class, race, gender, ethnicity and geographic location. The multi-dimensional nature of inequality is revealed in unequal access to productive resources, particularly arable land; unequal wealth ownership; highly skewed levels of income; unequal access

to housing, education, health care and other services; a lack of comprehensive social security coverage; high levels of unemployment, informal employment, and wage inequality; differential and unequal access to labour rights; and persistent racism (World Bank Group, 2021; Martin, 2022; Stiglitz, 2015).

There are additional trends that impact on inequality, for example the growing technological and digital divides that polarise labour markets and exacerbate wage inequalities. Technological advancements in digital innovation, artificial intelligence, robotics, biotechnologies, and satellite technologies find applications in agriculture and manufacturing, and can facilitate mass access to services. However, unequal ownership, access to, and control over such technologies currently exacerbate inequalities (UN, 2020). Poverty and inequalities are also increased by climate change and environmental destruction. Those who contribute least to ecological destruction suffer the greatest losses in livelihoods, incomes, health, education, nutrition, and infrastructure during adverse climate events. Climate change also exacerbates the inter-generational transfer of poverty and inequality (United Nations, 2020). Inequality also affects the resilience of poor and

marginalised groups to mitigate and adapt to climate change (Ahmed et al., 2022).

Through scholarly articles, case studies, opinion pieces, and visual art, various contributors explore different aspects of inequality to comprehend its multiplicity and intersectionality. An overarching theme that emerges out of many of the articles is indifference. As inequality widens, those in power and those who benefit from the status quo remain largely indifferent to it. There is a reluctance to adopt redistributive measures that would promote social and economic justice and that could significantly alter the growing gap between rich and poor.

This volume does not comprehensively cover all aspects of inequality in Namibia. Central themes of racism, climate change, digital divides, unequal technological access, reproductive justice, and the psychological and sociological impacts of various forms of inequality are not fully covered in this edition. These omissions are not by design. Despite appeals, articles on these topics were not submitted. This underscores the need for more research and greater public and policy discourse on the various aspects of inequality. We hope that future editions can overcome such shortcomings and plug the obvious gaps.

Background

Globally, inequality has risen since the 1980. Although much of the focus is on income inequality, inequalities in wealth ownership are much greater. The poorest half of the world's population own only around 2% of the world's wealth, while the top 10% own 76% of all wealth (Chancel et al., 2021). Discussions about inequality by agencies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have intensified in recent years, after their neoliberal structural adjustment programmes increased inequalities. Their great concern is the systemic risks inequalities hold for the global economic order (Nunn & White, 2016) – the same order that is responsible for many of the inequalities. Despite the acknowledgement of inequalities, national governments and international institutions make deliberate political choices to pursue economic policies that intensify inequalities (Chancel et al., 2021) and often lead to the net transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich.

Income inequality in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region can be linked to the extractivist colonial nature of the economies. Most SADC economies rely on reservoirs of cheap raw materials and cheap labour. Despite formal political independence, the erstwhile liberation movements that

currently govern the region have not decolonised the economic structures of the region. The intensification of inequalities and wealth concentration has resulted in the richest 10% earning 60% or more of national income in eight SADC countries. In all SADC countries, the top 1% earn from 14% to 25% of national income. The data also show that between 1990 and 2019, the share of income of the top 1% and the top 10% increased (Martin, 2022), while the share of the bottom 50% fell by more than half, to 5.9%. This raises fundamental questions about the social economic justice commitments of SADC governments and the role they play in the continuance of the colonial and neo-colonial economic structure of the region. The region's greatest inequalities stem from inequalities in wealth ownership, particularly, the ownership of productive assets. Key economic activities gravitate around the minerals-energy complex, which is overwhelmingly foreign-owned and in the hands of transnational companies. In Namibia, for example, the mining industry is 88% foreign-owned (Republic of Namibia, 2021).

Extreme levels of inequality intersect with fiscal austerity (Martin, 2022). There is a danger that cuts in social spending will reverse post-independence social and developmental gains. The government's failure to address inequalities comes at

very high social, economic, ecological and psychological costs that are seldom enumerated. Inequality is a form of structural violence that causes thousands of preventable deaths due to hunger, disease, inadequate health care, crime, interpersonal violence, and gender-based violence (Ahmed et al., 2022).

Articles in this Volume

Intersectionalities: Race, Class, Gender, Ethnicity, Sexuality and Geographic Location

Multiple forms of inequality and discrimination intersect. These include race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, disability and geographical location. In combination, they produce intersectional identities that, in turn, result in a web of oppression, exclusion, disadvantage and marginalisation of certain population groups. Addressing the complexity and multiplicity of inequalities requires a paradigm shift to an intersectional analysis that describes and accounts for how power and resources are distributed in any given society (Hurtado, 2019; Yuval-Davis, 2015). This section presents four articles that provide insights into how various power matrixes intersect. The discussions explore intersectional relations between social class, geographic location and education; race and gender in sport; and gender and budgetary processes.

Education, Class and Inequality

Historically, Namibia inherited a fragmented education system with vast disparities in quality and resource distribution along racial ethnic lines, a legacy that is still being felt today in post-independence Namibia. Segregated education, whether by class, wealth, ethnicity, gender, region, resources or other forms of privilege and exclusion, is detrimental as it drives a wedge between the haves and the have-nots. For this reason, this chapter on education and inequality is of vital importance.

Taking Namibia's education history into account, in the article "*The Effect of Educational Reform on Inequity Eradication and the Regional Economy in Namibia*", Sartorius von Bach and August Nuppenau analyse Namibian education reform. They focus on the Namibian Senior Secondary Certificate Higher (NSSCH) education level to assess whether it has yielded positive impacts on social justice and regional economic development. The authors unravel the complex relationships of economic development and secondary education. They compare longitudinal NSSCH educational data with economic data to test the nature and strength of the relationship between educational access and socioeconomic variables.

The authors acknowledge the role that education can play in bringing about equity and social justice, but caution that the relationship between education and socioeconomic factors is not linear and monocausal, for it depends on certain historical variables. Their findings show the unparalleled power of education in contributing towards human capital formation and economic development in Namibia. However, the economic impacts at regional level are a mixed bag. The findings disprove the hypothesis that Namibia's education reform improved NSSCH education outcomes and closed the education divides between the historically educationally disadvantaged regions and the historically advantaged regions. This finding, perhaps, calls for ongoing education policy review/reforms and reinvention to align them to the context and situation on the ground. Reducing education inequality is a deliberate political choice and commitment governments should make (Lawson & Martin, 2018). To do this, the authors argue, the government should invest in education and adopt pertinent, binding policy. Funding and political will are needed to achieve and sustain the social justice and equality outcomes that investment in education can yield. Quality education liberates individuals, builds communities, and levels the playing field within society (Walker, 2019), and it follows that investment in quality education will help Namibia close its growing inequality gap.

COVID-19 and Inequality

The COVID-19 pandemic amplified pre-existing global and local inequalities. Globally the pandemic resulted in thousands of preventable deaths due to unequal access to health services and vaccines. Across the globe, poor communities, women and racialised groups were most adversely affected by COVID-19-related income losses, job losses, prolonged illness, and death (Ahmed, et al., 2022). COVID-19 increased the levels of poverty and inequality (Martin, 2022). The great paradox is that in the midst of all this human suffering, the COVID-19 pandemic also created the biggest surge of wealth for a very few. While the pandemic left 99% of humanity worse off, the wealth of the 10 richest men in the world doubled (Oxfam, 2022). In the United States of America, billionaire wealth surged by 70%. Between March 2020 and May 2022, for example, the wealth of billionaire Elon Musk, surged from US\$25 billion to US\$255 billion (Collins, C., 2022).

In Namibia, COVID-19 job and income losses intensified pre-existing poverty and inequality. In his article *The Changing Landscape of Inequality and Poverty in Namibia and the Implications of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) Pandemic*, Blessing Bule Chiripanhura traces the linkages between poverty and inequality. He provides a theoretical and historical overview of the two

concepts and argues that the twin problems tend to reinforce each other. Chiripanhura points out that unequal and limited ownership of resources, information, and political power, and the lack of institutional capacity result in inequality, and that inequality indicates the presence of poverty and deprivation of human development. Poverty and inequality therefore co-exist and are self- and cross-reinforcing. He shows how Namibia, mainly through growth in social expenditure on education, health and social transfers, was able to reduce headcount poverty, but was less successful in reducing inequality. He argues that there was a gradual decrease in income inequality between 2003 and 2015 and that this benefited the second, third and fourth quintiles, who had growing income proportions. Chiripanhura concludes that redistributive measures, mainly income transfers, reduced poverty but failed to reduce inequality to the same degree, and recommends the redistribution of productive resources such as land to address both inequality and poverty.

The linkages between COVID-19, poverty and inequality are further explored by Bruno Venditto, Ndumba Kamwanyah and Christian Nekare. In their article *COVID-19 and Inequality in Namibia: A Vicious Syndemic?*, they argue for a holistic view of COVID-19 and its recognition as a syndemic.

The term ‘syndemic’ alludes to the intersection between biological and sociological factors in all pandemics. The classification of COVID-19 as a syndemic allows for the exploration of interlinkages between health, environmental factors, lifestyles, and genetic factors in determining individual susceptibility to it. The authors link the spread, effects and impacts of COVID-19 to conditions of poverty and inequality, as lockdowns disproportionately impacted on the incomes and livelihoods of informal sector workers and other vulnerable populations. They argue that the gap between rich and poor became more pronounced in Namibia’s third phase of the syndemic when due to inequalities, poor people died because they lacked access to oxygen. The class bias of the State was further exposed by the plethora of task forces instituted to revive the economy. The Task Force on Businesses, the Task Force on the Fourth Industrial Revolution, and the Task Force on Economic Recovery all focused on the formal sector, to the exclusion of the majority of the labour force that are in informal employment. The article concludes that measures introduced to mitigate the impact of COVID-19 were all short-term, and that there is a need for a proactive social protection system to mitigate poverty and inequality in preparation for future pandemics.

Mining and Social Justice: Extractivism and the Colonial Trajectory

Extractivism was central to the colonial project. Its aim was to extract cheap raw materials and cheap labour from territories subjected to colonial conquest. This resulted in centuries of uneven development and under-development that persists to the present. Extraction represents an unequal development model where raw materials are exported from the colonies to feed the colonial centres. For the colonies it meant dispossession for the benefit of mainly transnational corporations from the global North (Randriamaro, 2018). Countries that have an abundance of natural resources are often trapped in the resource curse, or what some call the “paradox of plenty”: despite their natural wealth, they are unable to develop because their economies are based on primary exports. This primary export model distorts the economy due to a lack of vertical and horizontal integration (Acosta, 2013; Randriamaro, 2018). World market price fluctuations also mean that such economies face recurrent balance of payments and fiscal deficit problems (Acosta, 2013). Despite the exploitation and inequalities inherent in the extractivist model, governments, bilateral and multilateral agencies, local and global elites, and the media continue to

propagate false narratives about its developmental benefits when most of Africa bears testimony to the contrary.

Extractivism is often linked to illicit financial flows (IFFs) and environmental destruction. The case study by Jaco Oelofson and an opinion piece by Rinaani Musutua and Rob Parker exemplify both aspects of extractivism. IFFs can be defined as the illicit earning, transfer or utilisation of finance across international borders. This could be as a result of corruption, money laundering, or tax evasion/avoidance. Transnational corporations are often able to perpetrate these financial crimes with the collusion of local partners. Tax evasion and avoidance are often done through transfer pricing, inflated costs of goods and services, under-reporting of production volumes, and underestimation of the value of raw materials extracted. In so doing, companies can shift profits and avoid taxation in countries where such profits are made. IFFs flourish in countries that lack the necessary legal and regulatory frameworks and enforcement mechanisms, have weak governance systems, and operate as secrecy jurisdictions and tax havens (Lemaître, 2018). IFFs deny governments foreign exchange reserves and tax receipts, divert resources from public spending, and deepen inequality (Thiao, 2020; International Monetary Fund, 2021).

In the article *Chrome Miners and Corporate Crocodiles: Illicit Financial Flows, Profit Shifting, and Samancor Chrome*, Jaco Oelofson provides a detailed case study of how IFFs and base-erosion profit shifting (BEPS) increase company profits, deprive the state of much-needed tax revenue, deny workers wage increases, deny communities their share of income, and provide a justification for retrenchments. The case study shows the linkages between IFFs and inequality. It focuses on the legal action a South African trade union, the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU), took against Samancor Chrome. Although the case study is based in South Africa, the practices described occur globally. According to AMCU, the company used mis-invoicing to shift profits from South Africa to tax havens and secrecy jurisdictions to avoid the payment of the 28% corporate income tax rate applicable in South Africa. This profit shifting allowed the company to increase its profits while creating artificial unprofitability to deny workers and surrounding communities their share of income.

An opinion piece by Rinaani Musutua and Rob Parker exposes practices of the Canadian transnational corporation, ReconAfrica in the course of oil drilling operations in Namibia's Kavango Delta. The

authors see ReconAfrica's presence in the area as part of a process of re-colonisation and dispossession as the company is occupying the land of small-scale, indigenous farmers. In their view, the community was denied the internationally recognised right to free, informed prior consent before oil drilling operations commenced. The authors are of the opinion that the company may have failed to get permission to occupy the land from the Communal Land Board, as required by Namibian law. The authors also reference other possible violations of Namibian law, for example, on casual employment, work permits and environmental compliance. In addition to a loss of land, communities are faced with possible contamination of water sources and the destruction of their homes. The authors argue that these practices have largely been ignored by Namibian authorities, while ReconAfrica was hailed as a "life saver" by the Namibian President, despite the company's alleged legal infractions and the negative impacts of its drilling operations on the environment and local indigenous communities.

Gender, Sexuality and Women's Rights

Nashilongweshipe Mushaandja and Ndeshi Namupala critically take on World Athletics and the western ethos of athletics "for their sustained systemic

exclusion of women, and particularly black women athletes." In their article "*A Feminist Critique of Institutional Racism and Gender Essentialism: In Defence of Christine Mboma and Beatrice Masilingi*," the authors employ a feminist lens to argue that the removal of Namibian athletes Christine Mboma and Beatrice Masilingi from the 400 meter race in the 2021 Olympics in Tokyo, Japan "due to the World Athletics testosterone rule" is nothing but a form of institutional racism and sexism and a long-standing strategy of sports institutions such as World Athletics to subject women athletes, especial black women, to "scientific racism and gender essentialism."

The authors seek to expose the dubious pseudoscientific discourses used to develop very partial stereotypical rules to justify exclusions. They argue that the biological essentialisation of sex has no place in the modern sports arena. Despite recent developments in representation, diversity and equality, longstanding patterns of exclusion-based racism, sexism, stereotypes and other signifiers of exclusion still remain in the sports space (Cunningham et al., 2019; Hindman & Walker, 2020; Wells et al., 2020). Explanations and speculation that distinct physiques and biological advantages allow black sports athletes to excel, and that black athletes rely on animal-like physical strength rather than

intellect and a work ethic are amongst the many examples that confirm the bias against and stereotyping of non-white and non-western sportsmen and -women. According to the authors, the stereotypes reinforce notions of white superiority and black inferiority. They argue that reliance on biased and discriminatory testing regulations have dire consequences beyond sports, for it has the potential to reverse the gains made towards gender equality and non-racism. The golden thread emanating from this article is the critical questioning of the assumption that higher testosterone levels place some women at a competitive advantage similar to men competing against women, and that testosterone is the sole key to athletic success. The rules are demeaning and particularly target black women from the southern hemisphere. The authors see this as a throwback to both the racist colonial history and modern forms of colonisation of black women's bodies. They recommend that sports associations promote transnationalism, transboundary solidarity, social cohesion, and global inclusion.

Gender-responsive Budgeting and Gender Equality

Budgets are not class-, gender- or ideology-neutral. They are an outcome of political choices and reflect the government's key priorities. Gender-

responsive budgeting (GRB) ensures that public revenue and expenditure address gender inequality (Elson, 2003). Government expenditure and revenue generation impact on women, and current austerity budgets have the potential to increase women's workloads and time poverty, and affect the living standards of already poor and marginalised women. In her article *Gender-responsive Budgeting, Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women*, Lucy Edwards-Jauch reviews the Namibian central government's budgetary allocations towards gender equality and women's empowerment.

The author provides a brief synopsis of gender inequalities in Namibia, particularly multidimensional poverty; access to employment; ownership of productive assets; differences in incomes and wealth; access to social protection; levels of gender-based violence; sexual and reproductive health and rights; and the differential impacts of COVID-19. The author places emphasis on the intersections between gender, race and class by focusing on unemployed women, women in informal employment, and rural women. Through a review of budgetary allocations and revenue generation between 2014 and 2021, the author demonstrates that less than 0.05% of total expenditure was allocated to the programme Promotion of Gender Equality and

the Empowerment of Women in the Ministry of Gender Equality, Poverty Eradication and Social Welfare (MGEPEWSW). The author concludes that the Namibian Government's stated commitment to GRB has not cascaded down to most organisations, ministries and agencies that benefit from central government budgetary allocations. The author points out that although women benefit more than men from the public sector wage bill, funds allocated to various gender-related programmes do not suffice to bring about the structural changes that could ensure substantive equality between women and men.

Religion and Social Justice

Influenced by liberation theology and basic humanistic principles, Namibian faith-based organisations, particularly churches, during various periods supported the struggles of the oppressed and exploited. Their pursuit of social justice and opposition to inequality date back to the colonial era. Churches mirrored the apartheid racial divisions in society, and their societal engagements were consequently split along the lines of racial politics. The white churches primarily abided by the colonial ethos of oppression and demonstrated minimal involvement in challenging colonial injustices meted out to the black majority. Most of the black churches aligned themselves with the national liberation ethos

and were therefore viewed as moral agents against oppression, exploitation and human rights violations (Isaak, 2013; Nangolo, 2022). They publicly denounced colonialism, human rights violations, discrimination and the inhumane socioeconomic conditions in which the majority of Namibians found themselves, provided humanitarian assistance to oppressed groups, and supported community development activities in these communities.

Since political independence was attained in 1990 and despite persistent injustices and inequalities, the church has retreated from the public space, primarily due to its historical relationship with the liberation movement (now the governing party, SWAPO) (Horn, 2008; Groop, 2012). Two articles explore this theme from a religious and theological perspective. Both articles implore the faith-based community, and Namibians in general, to intercede in the cause of social justice in Namibia. In *Social Justice as Praxis: A Socio-Religious and Ethical Analysis*, Basilius M. Kasera explores ways in which independent Namibia could concretise social justice to rearrange its social order. The author argues that social injustice "is neither morally neutral nor occurring in a social vacuum." In other words, whether an injustice takes the form of oppression, exclusion, discrimination or direct violence, there is always a

moral context that enables it to happen. Furthermore, the prevailing contextual factors that facilitate injustice must be engaged in practical and tangible ways, in a kind of theological praxis. The author further recommends practical and sustainable safety nets that affirm human worth and true liberty. These include: 1) a guaranteed minimum wage set at a living wage to enable decent living for the least advantaged; 2) quality public healthcare to elevate the human worth of the least advantaged; 3) decent and affordable housing to promote a sense of belonging and safety; 4) skill-producing education to promote self-reliance and productivity; and 5) a universal basic income grant as a key aspect of radically changing socioeconomic fortunes in Namibia.

In the article “The Church and Social Justice in Contemporary Namibia”, Emma N. Nangolo takes the faith-based response to injustice further and implores Namibian churches to reflect on their role and moral responsibility toward the Namibian public, and to reclaim the agential power and moral voice they displayed during the national liberation struggle. She implores the church “to walk in solidarity with the suffering masses and to publicly denounce all forces that perpetuate inequalities and injustice.” Challenging injustice and inequality is the church’s moral and prophetic “mission for the healing of communities.” The author

argues that growing poverty, huge income discrepancies, skyrocketing unemployment, the housing crisis, gender-based violence, and economic mismanagement and corruption are not primers of a good society and are therefore inimical to the church’s teachings of a social justice-driven society. She contends that in the face of all forms of social and economic sufferings affecting the Namibian masses, the church cannot remain silent by relegating its moral obligation to the mere spiritual realm. It is against this backdrop that the article makes a call to action and argues that the church’s involvement in the public space is not only timely, but justifiable.

Case Studies

Land Distribution and Inequality

Colonial land dispossession, genocide, epistemicide and socialcultural and economic dislocation still shape inequalities in Namibia. Unfortunately, land dispossession did not end with the declaration of political independence. Marginalised and excluded communities continue to experience land dispossession at the hands of local elites and transnational corporations.

In the case study *Inequality and Land in Namibia: White Indifference, Elite Capture and Policy Inadequacies*, Ellison Tjirera argues that after 30

years of independence, colonial land ownership patterns remain undisturbed. Despite two land reform conferences, the land question in Namibia remains largely unresolved. From the statistics he presents, he concludes that voluntary redistributive mechanisms have only served to entrench indifference to persistent inequalities in land ownership. The case study shows that the willing-buyer-willing-seller mechanism for land redistribution has failed.

Resettlement has been the cornerstone of Namibia's land redistribution programme. The government generally purchases land for resettlement purposes through the willing-buyer-willing-seller approach. It also has the option of expropriation (Republic of Namibia, 2020), which it rarely uses. Resettlement was meant to benefit poor, landless people who are not in formal employment (Republic of Namibia, 1998) but, at times, the process has been subjected to elite capture to the benefit of top government officials and politicians (Iikela, 2018). The pace of resettlement is also very slow, and in over 28 years leading up to 2020, the government was only able to resettle 5 338 households out of the 243 000 households initially targeted. This is due to limited budgets and inflated land prices (Mandimika, 2020). Resettled farmers also face overcrowding and a lack of post-resettlement support.

To overcome shortcomings in the resettlement programme, the Namibian Government developed a Draft National Resettlement Policy that proposes four post-resettlement support packages. These include a start-up grant; an infrastructure development and rehabilitation grant; technical support provision; and limited credit facility provision (Republic of Namibia, 2020).

Despite its shortcomings, there are very positive signs that land resettlement can have redistributive effects and positive impacts on the livelihoods and incomes of landless people, the unemployed and other disenfranchised groups. Ellen Albertz in her article *From Farm Workers to Farm Owners: Case Studies from the South* presents two cases of resettlement that benefited former farm workers. The Tani-Huigu Farmers' Cooperative and the Aroab Small Farmers Cooperative both received land and post-resettlement support from the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Land Reform (MAWLR). As individual farmers, they battled hostile farming conditions in Namibia's arid south, and therefore formed agricultural cooperatives to benefit from their collective knowledge and resources. With regulatory changes they were able access land and post-resettlement support from the MAWLR, which had previously not been available to cooperatives. Land ownership

and cooperative enterprise brought benefits beyond improved livelihoods. The MAWLR demonstrated political will and responsiveness to the needs of landless people. The case studies demonstrate that land resettlement can bring about wealth redistribution and social justice if it can be freed from elite capture.

The restitution and reparations for ancestral land that was dispossessed in the course of colonial conquest have not been addressed through comprehensive law reform to ensure restorative justice. Willem Odendaal's case study on the legal battles for redress of the Hai||om people focus on these questions. In his article *The Tsumib Judgments and their Implications for Asserting Ancestral Land Rights in Namibia*, Odendaal raises the incisive question of whether the current law and interpretations of the law can bring about justice and redress. Odendaal traces the impact of settler colonial encroachment on Hai||om livelihoods and their subsequent displacement, relocation and expulsion from what is now Etosha National Park. Namibia's political independence failed to bring about the restitution of their ancestral land rights. On the contrary, the current government negates such rights and has therefore not enacted the necessary statutory laws to affirm them. The Hai||om approached the courts to seek relief. Their six claims dealt with the ownership, occupation

and use of ancestral land. Due to the lack of enabling legislation, the court ruled that the applicants lacked *locus standi*. The court did not engage in the merits of the case and an opportunity to deliver substantive judgement on ancestral land rights, that could have set legal precedence, was foregone.

Measures for Fighting Inequality: Basic Income Grant

In case studies from three countries, Nkululeko Majozi surveys the impact of the basic income grant (BIG), an unconditional and permanent grant paid to all individuals in society with the aim of closing the inequality gap, by drawing lessons from India, Kenya and Namibia's BIG pilot project experiments. The three countries under the microscope in this chapter all to a certain degree share a longstanding history of grappling with high levels of poverty and income inequality, making the comparison befitting. Basic information and knowledge about the different implementation processes and impacts of the three experiments are not only essential in shaping the ongoing debate about how to fight global poverty effectively but also necessary for the practical and viable implementation of a BIG initiative, especially in countries like Namibia, whose inequalities are deeply rooted in the history of colonialism and oppression.

In his article *Fighting Inequality through Basic Income Support: Lessons from India, Kenya and Namibia*, the author concludes that the BIG pilot studies in all three countries in question yielded positive outcomes in reducing inequality. Some key potentials identified in the study are the increased sense of dignity, self-worth and well-being resulting from having a basic income, including the opportunity and ability to afford and respond to one's monthly basic needs, thus enhancing basic security.

The key lessons and impacts drawn from the three case studies include a sense of being in control of one's life; a drop in household poverty; an increase in economic activity through income-generating initiatives; a reduction in child malnutrition; an increase in household income; positive health outcomes, especially amongst those with chronic diseases; increased school enrolment; a reduction in household debt; a reduction in criminal activities; and a reduction in women's dependency on men for handouts for their economic and social survival.

The evidence from the case studies shows that the implementation of a BIG could offer new opportunities, not only through reducing economic, health, food, and environmental insecurity, but also for global exchange

through collaboration and the sharing of knowledge and ideas, and a shared commitment to fighting inequality and meeting human needs, globally.

Eswatini

SADC governments have signed numerous human rights instruments, but often fall short when they or fellow member states fail to adhere to such human rights obligations or domesticate them (Beyani, 2015). Eswatini, till 2018 known as Swaziland, remains a member of the SADC regional block while its autocratic government continues to violate the most fundamental human rights of its citizens. One year after a brutal crackdown on legitimate political expression, Helen Vale, in her case study *Autocracy and Inequality in the Kingdom of Eswatini*, reflects on the pattern of resistance and repression that has characterised the country's most recent history. The Mass Democratic Movement has appealed to the SADC to intervene to end the repression and to facilitate a transition to democracy. This has not occurred. The majority of SADC citizens and governments remain indifferent or seek to placate the absolute monarch ruling the country. So far, the tragic loss of life and suffering experienced by the citizens of Eswatini has not yielded the desired democratic outcomes.

Opinion Piece

Labour Rights and Inequality

Labour's share of national income refers to how national income is distributed between workers (wages) and capital (profits). Declines in labour's share of income directly increases income inequality (Erauskin, 2020). The protection of labour rights is central to overcoming wage inequality. Despite progressive labour law, high levels of unemployment, underemployment and informal employment undermine labour rights granted in law. This affects wage inequality (Martin, 2022). High levels of unemployment and power imbalances between capital and labour also undermine the bargaining position of individual workers. It is through collective bargaining that workers are able to assert their labour rights and engage in industrial action to improve their working and living conditions. The right to strike is an essential aspect of collective bargaining and is legally protected. Where this right is violated, workers have recourse to the courts and the Office of the Labour Commissioner to seek relief.

In his opinion piece *From Collective Bargaining to Collective Begging: Namibia's Supreme Court Undermines*

the Right to Strike, Nixon Marcus details how a recent judgement by the Namibian Supreme Court rendered the right to strike meaningless. The article demonstrates how ideological persuasions and biases of judicial officers are reflected in the interpretation of the law. In the case of the Shoprite workers strike of 2020, different courts came to different conclusions about how the use of scab labour undermines the right to strike. Markus argues that the Supreme Court demonstrated indifference to power differentials by assuming that non-striking workers acted "autonomously" when they performed the work of striking workers. The court was of the opinion that non-striking workers "volunteered" to do the work of strikers, without considering the coercive effects of economic power. Markus maintains that the court's imperviousness to power imbalances resulted in a ruling that undermines collective bargaining. Since there is no higher court, only a revision of the law that explicitly and unambiguously protects the right to strike from the use of scab labour can effectively restore the right to strike.

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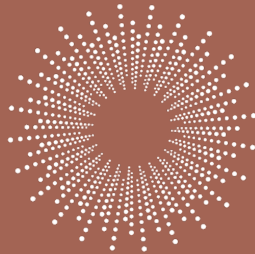
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