The Labour of Home

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Declaration

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Abstract

The city of Cape Town's history of designed inequality has continued to maintain and extend barriers to accessing affordable housing for poor and working-class families. This work explores the emergence of occupation as a working-class housing and survival strategy that innovatively addresses these barriers to accommodation. Through intimate one on one conversations and shared experiences, this research unpacks the home-making journeys of a small group of residents at Cissie Gool House in Woodstock, investigating their grapplings with citizenship, past pursuits of home, and the rebuilding and reimagining of space undertaken as they continue to transform a hospital into a home. This thesis has found that occupied spaces such as Cissie Gool House have empowered residents to create fulfilling, central, home spaces for themselves that innovatively address the shortcomings of state housing schemes, while additionally developing social networks and programs that uplift, educate and support residents.

Glossary of terms

<u>Acronyms</u>

CBD – Central Business District
CGH – Cissie Gool House
RTC – Reclaim the City

<u>General terms</u>

Agency – The capacity of an individual to affect change
Apartheid – A governance system in South Africa that separated residents based on racial
      classification and created separate communities, roles, privileges and spaces for each racial
      group, with white individuals being overwhelmingly advantaged and black individuals being
      disadvantaged.
Bachelor – A single roomed apartment
Capitalism – An economic system in which the means of production are privately owned, and
      decisions around production and the prices of products are led by the free market
Colonialism –acquiring full or partial political control over another territory, occupying it with
      settlers, and exploiting it economically
Contested – Something that is being questioned or tussled with
Covid-19 – A flu pandemic that surfaced in late 2019
Displaced – when someone has been moved from their original home or community, often forcibly
Gentrification – A situation in which the character of a low-income urban area is altered by wealthier
      people moving into the space, often shifting economic characteristics of the area as well
Global South – Refers to the regions of Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Oceania – generally regions
      that have in some way been colonised by countries of the Global North
Informal housing – housing that is either not regulated by the government, is not legal, or is not
      protected by the government
Kaapse Klopse (previously referred to as coons) – Groups of musicians, singers and dancers who
      perform in troupes in Cape Town, particularly for the Tweede Nuwe Jaar celebrations
Livelihood – A means to meet one's basic needs
Lockdown – When the state mandates that its citizens remain in their homes apart from partaking in a
      few essential activities
Peripheral – Existing on the edge or fringe of something
Permaculture – the work of developing agricultural ecosystems that aim to be more sustainable and
      self-sufficient
Post-Colonial – Refers to regions or nations that were under colonial rule, are now independent, but
      continue to experience effects of their colonial history
Precarity – Experiencing persistent uncertainty or insecurity
Southern City – A city found in a country within the Global South, generally a post-colonial city
Urban – Relating to the city

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1. Introduction

Background/ context

"And lest we forget, the minimum requirement for a dream is a safe place to lay your head" -

OluTimehin Adegbeye

...

"Home is where our story begins…" – Anonymous

...

When each of us hears the word home, we conjure up a place, a feeling, a moment or a group of people that is entirely unique to us as individuals. It is not as simple as a house or a driveway or a bedroom of one's own (Mallett, 2004). It is a place of foundations, where space and time are steered and structured in a way that is "functionally, economically, aesthetically and morally" reflective of the community of people who share that space (Rapport and Dawson, 1998: 6; Douglas, 1991; Mallett, 2004): a place where we find a sense of belonging, safety and history (Mallett, 2004); a place where we are known, and *the* place that forms our launchpad into the world every single day.

In post-colonial nations the environment of the home has been continuously disrupted, dislocated and displaced, through phenomena such as slavery, segregation and migrant labour (Mbeki & van Rossum, 2017; Ngwane, 2003; Hall & Posel, 2019). For black families in South Africa this attack on their home spaces was further extended and exacerbated by the Apartheid regime (Hall & Posel, 2019). Through legislation such as the Group Areas Act (The Union of South Africa, 1950), over 860 000 families of colour were forcibly removed from homes they had lived in for generations (Michigan State University, 2022), and placed in under-resourced peripheral areas. However, across South Africa, a handful of neighbourhoods managed to resist the displacement that the incumbent regime tried to enforce. One of these neighbourhoods was the racially mixed and economically diverse suburb of Woodstock in Cape Town. Originally an agricultural settlement, in the late 1800s industry began to develop in Woodstock

in the form of textile factories and food processing plants (Wenz, 2012). Community resistance through movements such as the "Open Woodstock" campaign fought against the classification of the suburb as a coloured* area, enabling Woodstock to retain its truly *colourful* heritage (Garside, 1993).

However, in the present day, this Woodstock that was so fiercely fought for is crumbling in the face of a new foe. The combination of Woodstock's central location, its legacy of creative industry, and its designation as an Urban Development Zone have attracted a myriad of upmarket developments to the area, causing rapid gentrification, and driving up the cost of living in the area (Carls, 2016; Douglas, 2021; Garside, 1993). As a result, many of the families and businesses that made up this unique suburb and fought to sustain its character throughout the Apartheid era, have been forced to leave (Carls, 2016; Douglas, 2021; Garside, 1993). With no decent and affordable alternative accommodation for these families in the city, they are faced with the prospect of having to move to peripheral communities, far from the spaces and networks that have formed them, to rebuild home somewhere new (Carls, 2016; Douglas, 2021; Levenson, 2018; Garside, 1993).

In March of 2017 an organization called Reclaim The City (RTC) orchestrated the occupation of several government owned unused inner city buildings (Reclaim The City, 2018; Abdool Karim, 2019). One of the key sites that was occupied was the former Woodstock Hospital, now known as Cissie Gool House. Cissie Gool House became a place of refuge for many Woodstock residents evicted by accelerating gentrification, and allowed them to partially preserve their community connections, heritage, traditions and links to the city, while also providing a safe, affordable and nurturing home for these families. Cissie Gool House now houses families from across Cape Town, South Africa and Africa more broadly, and gives them access to affordable, serviced, central housing in the absence of any state or market alternatives.

This research seeks to explore the ways that occupying residents within Cissie Gool House have experienced and do experience home, with particular attention to the novel, inventive and instructive ways that they have come to construct and cultivate home within the former Woodstock Hospital building. Through an examination of the layers that form Cape Town's housing landscape, and the transformative modes of citizenship that are emerging from the city's peripheral populations, this

research sets out to understand the personal and political labour required to pursue home, and further, hopes to uncover the forms of insurgent imagination emerging at Cissie Gool House that step up to challenge the persistently exclusionary forms of place-making at play in the City of Cape Town.

Problem Statement

In Cape Town there is an urgent and pressing need for safe, affordable, empowering, serviced and central housing, with many Capetonians battling homelessness or living in cramped housing shared with multiple family members in poorly serviced, distant and dangerous suburbs with few significant earning opportunities (Makhulu, 2015; Wafer, 2012; Adebayo, 2010; Pieterse, 2004; Turok, 2001). Rooted in South Africa's broad history of discriminative spatial design during the Colonial and Apartheid eras, this lack disproportionately affects the populations of colour disadvantaged and dispossessed under these regimes (Robertson, 2017; Berrisford, 2011 Makhulu, 2015; Wafer, 2012; Adebayo, 2010; Pieterse, 2004; Turok, 2001). While the state has attempted to address the skewed and racialised housing landscape post-apartheid through the provision of state housing, there is a limit to the number of houses that they have been able to deliver, leaving many households waiting in limbo for housing. In cases where the state has been able to deliver housing to those who had been disadvantaged and dispossessed under past regimes, these buildings have been built cheaply on low-cost land far on the periphery of the city, entrenching the unequal spatial patterns that were the brainchild of the Colonial and Apartheid regimes, and continuing to exclude non-white and poor citizens from the city space (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015; Makhulu, 2015; Wafer, 2012; Adebayo, 2010; Pieterse, 2004; Turok, 2001). Through Reclaim the City's occupation and reimagining of a central state building, it is demonstrating new sustainable, empowering, malleable and people-focused ways to house the poor, and create not just houses, but homes, where these families can put down roots, be uplifted, protected and build lasting community with one another. This thesis recognises the powerful and innovative home-making work that has been done through Cissie Gool House and seeks to understand more about the formation of this space, and the housing and home-making experiences that inform and make up the context for this moment and practice of occupation. These experiences

not only form the foundations for the kind of home that Cissie Gool House has become, but also demonstrate the missing pieces and traumas of past homes, the holes that their new home needed to begin to fill. In creating the kind of home that endeavours to respond to the needs of residents, Cissie Gool House has started to transform not only the living circumstances of its residents, but the people themselves. This thesis goes on to explore the unique ways that the broader Cissie Gool House community has unpacked and understood the relationship between citizen and state in a way that empowers and emboldens citizens to increasingly claim ownership over and participate in their country's spaces and to engage more intentionally with the running of the state. In many ways this newly developed sense of citizenship is expressed through the continuous recreation, maintenance and reimagining of home happening within Cissie Gool House. In unpacking the various infrastructures, both human and material, that have been put into place this thesis starts to uncover what citizen-led housing solutions look like and begins to outline the innovative and emancipatory strategies that the urban poor mobilise in order to create a home that empowers and protects.

Aims and Objectives

Aim:

To cultivate a deep understanding of the ongoing journey towards home within the housing landscape

of Cape Town, with a particular focus on occupation as a practice of inclusionary place-making.

Objectives:

Objective 1

To trace the occupiers' former pursuits of home, in order to understand what contexts and encounters

they carry into this present moment of constructing and cultivating home in the city.

Objective 2

To unpack the occupiers' encounters with and remaking of their citizenship

Objective 3

To understand what the labour of home-making and place-making looks like in an occupied space that

was not materially designed as a home.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. The Politics of housing

2.1.1. South Africa's unequal landscape

The scarred, skewed and fundamentally unequal physical landscape of South Africa, has been well documented by authors such as Lemanski (2019, 2009, 2007); Levenson (2018); Oldfield and Greyling (2015); Miraftab (2012a) and McDonald (2012) to name a few. In moving to understand the mechanisms of this unequal landscape, McFarlane (2013) emphasizes the importance of paying attention to "process geographies" as mentioned by Schindler (2017), particularly within the context of Southern urban spaces. McFarlane goes on to propose the use of a metabolic lens as a means to better highlight and recognize the processes that form the urban character (2013; Schindler, 2017). Multiple authors extend this idea by proposing a focus on the ways in which objects might mediate or facilitate relations between people within these urban processes (Collier, 2011; Coward, 2012; Lancione, 2013; Schindler, 2017) and the ways in which the influence of these objects may cause the unlocking or foreclosure of particular modes of human interactions (Collier, 2011; Coward, 2012; Lancione, 2013; Schindler, 2017). Rodgers and O'Neill assert that the impact of this materiality is particularly prominent in the urban infrastructure of the Global South, as it demarcates "literally and figuratively… the kinds of people and goods that can and should circulate easily", as well as "who can and should be integrated within the city, and who should be left outside of it"(p.402, 2012; see also McFarlane 2008; McFarlane and Rutherford 2008; Larkin 2013; Meth 2013; Fredericks 2014; Silver 2014; Criqui 2015; Trovalla and Trovalla 2015; Lee 2015).

In the case of cities of the Global South, complex layers of State and Capital exist in tandem with complicated histories of exclusion. Many of these cities were designed and conceived under Colonialism, for colonial goals and ideals (Marschall, 2016; Demissie, 2012; Roy, 2011). Post-independence, these cities had to rediscover their identities and begin the process of rewriting a city that had been built to accommodate only certain identities and narratives (Marschall, 2016). What

makes this process even more complicated is that many of these colonial narratives are embodied in buildings, in objects or in public spaces, and so constructing a new identity for these cities comes up against an obduracy influenced by thoughts and ideas of the past (Schindler, 2017; Collier, 2011; Coward, 2012; Lancione, 2013).

The abolition of slavery in the Cape in 1808 led to a flow of significant financial compensation to former slave owners who then used this money to create the high-rise buildings we now know as the core of Cape Town's CBD (Miraftab, 2012a). At the same time that this investment in the city was taking place, former slave owners also began to build hostel-style accommodation on the city's outskirts for former slaves who would now become a part of the bussed in wage labour force (Miraftab, 2012a), essentially re-establishing people of colour, and in particular, the black population as those who would serve but not benefit from the city, and constructing a city center that still held ideologies of slavery and overt racism. During the Apartheid era, the Black Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970 (Union of South Africa) declared that black people of colour were to be firmly understood as aliens in urban areas. If they wanted to enter the city, non-white individuals had to prove some kind of usefulness for white city-dwellers or businesses in order to be granted special permission to enter into the city during daylight hours (Black Homeland Citizenship Act, No. 26 of 1970).

Apartheid era laws created the mechanism for politicians and other citizens in power to structure, enact, and enforce their vision of a racially segregated South Africa. Notorious legislation such as the Group Areas Act (The Union of South Africa, 1950) drew lines over existing communities and fragmented the landscape into a series of zones for each racial category. These new designated group areas overwhelmingly saw communities of colour being allocated small parcels of poorly serviced peripheral land while white communities were designated large prime spaces that were central and well-serviced (Makhulu, 2015). Additionally, within this framework, laws prohibited the development of or use of land for commercial or industrial purposes in dedicated non-white areas (Berrisford, 2011), effectively preventing non-white communities from transforming these challenging spaces into

liveable ones and trapping these families in a role of servitude for urban white spaces in order to survive (Makhulu, 2015). According to Robertson, the thinking that guided Apartheid spatial planning continues to have a commanding influence over housing delivery and urban planning efforts today (2017). Berrisford goes on to point out that many of the laws that enabled the implementation of Apartheid spatial planning remain in place today (2011), while Strauss and Liebenberg (2014) assert that those judicial frameworks that have been implemented to address spatial injustice are insufficient and lack impact.

In the present day, the physical relics of these laws and ideologies have remained shockingly intact through the consistently unequal distribution of infrastructure, services and accessibility (Berrisford, 2011; Makhulu, 2015), economic inequality and social polarisation (Hamann & Horn, 2015; Makhulu, 2015; Wilkinson, 1998). Robertson (2017), Huchzermeyer (2001) and Wilkinson (1998) all suggest that post-apartheid approaches to spatial transformation and housing delivery have fortified and exacerbated these effects as opposed to addressing them, causing families of colour to remain excluded from the city space (Makhulu, 2015). Initially, in their efforts to pursue segregation, those planning South Africa's towns and cities created unsustainable, low density, sprawling settlements (Adebayo, 2010; Robertson, 2017). In a democratic South Africa, these settlement patterns make the cost of developing housing and maintaining service infrastructure and transport systems in former non-white areas incredibly high, slowing the spatial transformation of South African towns and cities and disproportionately impacting on poor, peripheral and previously disadvantaged families (Robertson, 2017; Berrisford, 2011; Osman, Arvanitakis and Sebake, 2013; Pieterse, 2004; Tonkin, 2008). Strauss and Liebenberg (2014) express a sense that the human element of housing is not being translated enough into legislation, causing a focus on the material aspects of housing delivery. According to Robertson (2017), this focus on material structures in addressing spatial inequality can cause the creation of unsustainable communities, which do not have the social, educational and economic infrastructures necessary to ensure that these state houses become equalising vehicles of empowerment. In order to truly produce adequate housing that contributes to addressing these

inequalities, state bodies need to consider the human and material aspects of the home in equal part, and work towards creating homes that empower, within sustainable communities (Robertson, 2017).

2.1.2. Waiting for housing and make-shift urbanism

In post-Apartheid South Africa, the country's backdrop of dispossession makes housing an important symbol of democracy and a post-Apartheid society, particularly for those South Africans of colour who were historically excluded from the full privileges of citizenship (Millstein, 2020; Oldfield & Greyling, 2015). In Cape Town, and in South Africa as a whole, people continue to aspire to owning their own homes, and registering on the state's housing database is overwhelmingly the most significant way that many previously disadvantaged citizens are able to achieve this goal (Millstein, 2020; Oldfield and Greyling, 2015). This despite the fact that the receipt of this state housing can take decades (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015). According to McGaffin, the City of Cape Town funds between 8000 and 10000 housing units a year (2018), however, this remains insufficient, with over 450 000 citizens on the waiting list (Benson and Meyer, 2015), despite the construction and handing over of over a million state homes post-1994 (Ngwenya and Cirolia, 2021), the number of citizens living in precarious informal housing has continued to increase (Levenson, 2008). No urban municipalities have succeeded with any significance at reducing their housing backlog (Levenson, 2008).

The bill of rights entitles each South African citizen to adequate shelter, a right actualized by the state's housing program, however, for a large majority of South Africans, this right is encountered through a prolonged and indefinite experience of waiting (Oldfield & Greyling, 2015). Residents are expected to wait for an unknown amount of time, with no real end in sight, relying on a housing allocation system that has become increasingly convoluted and opaque (Levenson, 2008). The work of Greyling (2022) suggests that this opacity and the apparent technical process behind housing allocation is an appearance constructed by the state in order to foster trust in a process that is in fact

incredibly nuanced, with a significant amount of intricate and personal labour involved. However, despite the apparent intent to foster trust, one resulting effect of this strategy of technicality and opacity is that citizens have to live day to day, with no real control over their future, and very little ability to properly plan and inhabit a long-term vision (Oldfield & Greyling, 2015). The recent global pandemic has brought us all to a uniquely personal understanding of this experience of limbo, and the ways that it can inhibit and impact.

This sense of limbo is normalised by the state, and despite the necessity of waiting within this current housing regime, the government has not provided a legal and legitimate way to do so (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015). This guaranteed waiting state is also not viewed by the state as adversely affecting citizens or their ability to plan, dream and flourish in a post-Apartheid South Africa (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015; Ndebele, 2003). This "permanent temporariness" (Yiftachel, 2009) leaves families without roots or foundations, stuck in the painful position of having to continually hope in a system that may never deliver (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015), perpetually a child of the state (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015), all the while mobilising coping mechanisms that can have damaging long-term effects on families and individuals in order to survive from one day to the next (Patel, Chaker and Singh, 2021).

This constant experience of waiting necessitates the invention and adoption of unconventional modes of living in and developing homes to cope with this lack of permanence (Bayat, 2013). While the condition of a family's access to a state home may remain unchanged, that family does not: children grow up and may start families of their own, and family members may become ill or frail and need care. Through modes of quiet encroachment (Bayat, 2013), the creation of combined multigenerational households (Keene & Batson, 2010) and the sharing of responsibilities, families manage to build the solid ground and shelter to hold them and house them in the in between.

One of the forms that these sheltering processes can take is described by Bayat as "quiet encroachment": actions that are taken by a wide collection of people independently of one another to

provide for their basic needs in a "quiet, unassuming and illegal fashion" (p. 45, 2013; Oldfield & Greyling, 2015). In practice, this may take the form of shacks being erected on an unused piece of land, families cautiously and gradually moving into abandoned spaces or citizens negotiating for space in someone's backyard to erect shelter for themselves (Bayat, 2013; Oldfield & Greyling, 2015). These "quiet encroachments" are mediated by neighbourhood or family networks, and community knowledge, exhibiting agency in a way that is autonomous of both the state and the Capitalist private property framework within which most city spaces find themselves (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015; Bayat, 2013), but can these practices, birthed from a perpetual limbo, have lasting generative cultural and political effects (Jeffrey, 2008)? Jeffrey goes on to suggest that the discomfort caused by the waiting state actually provides the energy and impetus to cause new and bold relationships to form between community members, people and spaces, and citizens and the state (2008). Benson and Meyer's careful account of an occupation at Kapteinsklip train station traces the emergence of this boldness (2015). When a group of individuals who had encroached on this land had their homes and belongings broken and confiscated by law enforcement representatives, this experience began to sew unity amongst them, leading Meyer to remark "Why should we be quiet and small? We need to be big and be heard… after all we are fighting the same battle" (p.68-70, 2015). Subsequently the group of occupiers moved forward with their defense of their homes as a collective, no longer invisibilised and instead fighting to be seen and heard (Benson and Meyer, 2015).

These encroachments and notions of emergent sheltering strategies echo Caldeira's conceptualizations of peripheral citizens and spaces and the possibilities they represent for reimagining how we think of building a more inclusive urban (Caldeira, 2017). Through encroachment, citizens make visible and tangible the realities of living in waiting, and in so doing, compel the state to see them and come to terms with compromising and reconsidering their urban vision (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015). In doing so, they also rewrite the ways that rights and citizenship can be claimed, forging new ways to amplify peripheral voices in the ongoing project of fostering the development of inclusive and thriving cities (Jeffrey, 2008; Oldfield and Greyling, 2015)

2.2. (Re)claiming citizenship

Citizenship, very simply, refers to the relationship between a nation state and the members of its society (Lemanski, 2017, 2020; Millstein, 2020; Holston 2009; 2011; Roy, 2009). As a concept, citizenship both "structures and institutionalizes" (Millstein, 2020) the state-society relationship through the development of rights, responsibilities and behavioural expectations that feed into the relationship contract between citizen and state (Miraftab + Wills, 2005; Robins et al. 2008; Holston, 2009; Staeheli et al. 2012). The commitments encapsulated in these citizenships not only serve to channel and control the actions of citizen and state, but also move to build a platform through which residents are able to find belonging in a shared community, and in so doing, feel empowered to make claims on the state, and act as empowered, equal partners in this state-society contract (Millstein, 2020; Miraftab & Wills, 2005; Robins et al. 2008; Holston, 2009; Staeheli et al. 2012). Embodied in and demonstrated through the dynamics of everyday interactions and transactions between citizens and state bodies, we start to see tangible citizenships take shape (Lemanski, 2020; Millstein, 2020). When we pay attention to these everyday interactions and transactions, we can start to see that they tell a story about the quality, integrity and atmosphere of these citizenships, and help us to unpack the nuances of these everydays in order to gain a fuller understanding of how well citizenships are functioning (Lemanski, 2019). Levels of belonging and influence in this relationship often depend on the ways in which citizens affirm and conform to state-prescribed ways of practicing citizenship, and antagonizing or challenging these patterns of engaging with the state can influence the measure of citizenship cordialities and services that are extended to you (Anand, 2011; Mahadevan & Naqvi, 2017; Lemanski, 2017, 2020; Millstein, 2020; Holston, 2008). This section aims to unpack the modes of citizenship being mobilized, contested, and created by the urban poor as they seek to become a part of the city; and this section hopes to explore how both citizen and city are transformed in these processes (Lefebvre, 1991, 1968; Brenner et al., 2012).

2.2.1. Infrastructural Citizenship

Lemanski's infrastructural citizenship concept argues that, for both the citizen and the state, the citizenship relationship is embodied in infrastructure (2019, 2020; Anand, 2012; Benjamin, 2008; Kooy & Bakker, 2008; McFarlane & Rutherford, 2008; Mahadevan & Naqvi, 2017; Das, 2011; Harvey 2008). Citizens tangibly see and understand the state based on their access to public infrastructure. A public toilet in a moment of need speaks of a state that cares, that understands your needs, and that knows how to provide for you. A roof over one's head built and provided by the state emphatically more so, speaking of a state that rescues, redresses, protects and builds foundations for fresh starts. Through the creation and maintenance of these kinds of infrastructures, the state means to connect with its citizens, and so, as Baptista suggests, this citizenship is "always in the making" (p. 2019) as these buildings, pipes, parks and electrical sockets that speak of a state presence appear, decay and are repaired (Das, 2011; Mahadevan & Naqvi, 2017).

In South Africa, where universal citizenship has only been a reality for roughly 25 years, the influence of infrastructure over society's conceptualization of citizenship is enormous (Lemanski, 2019, 2020, 2018). This is particularly so in the context of the country's history. The Apartheid regime cultivated differentiated citizenships through the creation and maintenance of unequal infrastructures- dispossessing and evicting some while building up the material access and rights of others (Lemanski, 2019, 2020, 2018; Rodina & Harris, 2016). Therefore, in the dawn of a post-Apartheid democracy, one of the key ways that the new government sought to connect with and restore citizens was through the provision of equalizing infrastructures, such as housing, electricity, roads, railways and parks (Lemanski, 2019, 2020, 2018; Das, 2011; Mahadevan & Naqvi, 2017). For many previously disadvantaged citizens, the most personal, significant and empowering of these state infrastructural interventions is the receipt of a state house. A new political identity comes with this house, replacing the old one that was rooted in dispossession and exclusion (Lemanski, 2019, 2020, 2018). For many residents, the freedom of South Africa's new democracy, and their ability to share equally in this as citizens, is something that is embodied in the permanence and physicality of a home built for them by

the state (Rodina & Harris, 2016; Lemanski, 2019, 2020, 2018). However, in many ways, for those who have yet to acquire access to their full material and infrastructural rights, their citizenship remains incomplete (Millstein, 2020). The centrality of state infrastructure in South African citizenship is possibly best affirmed by the persistent and ongoing service delivery protests, often emanating from informal settlement communities who have yet to receive the full tangible benefits of their post-Apartheid citizenship (Millstein, 2020). Many South African citizens currently live in state-sponsored Temporary Relocation Areas, which consist of rows and rows of identical corrugated iron shacks, located roughly 30km outside of the city centre. For these residents, the infrastructure extended to them by the state communicates something very different about their citizenship, their value and their belonging (Millstein, 2020; Levenson, 2018). Furthermore, on a policy level, categories such as "backyarders" or "informal settlement dwellers" differentiate citizenships from above, denoting what can and can't be received by certain categories of people (Millstein, 2020). Therefore, despite the intent of the post-Apartheid state to mobilise infrastructure in an equalising and empowering way, the continually shifting material provision of the state continues to build differentiated and unequal citizenships (Parnell, 2008; Tissington, 2011; Dugard et al., 2016; Millstein, 2020). It is consequently impossible to understand infrastructure in the post-Apartheid city outside of its deeply personal and political associations and its foundational entanglement with the formation of new South African citizenships (Amin & Cirolia, 2018; Lemanski, 2019, 2020; Millstein, 2020).

When we bring these infrastructures into the realm of lived-in reality, surrounded by groups of citizens with varied agencies and imaginations, we start to see how citizens take ownership of the infrastructures they now have access to, by reimagining, adapting and maintaining them in new ways that reflect who they are, and what they need (Lemanski, 2019, 2020). These adaptations are an active expression of new-found modes of citizenship, and a demonstration of investment into the infrastructure that the state has provided (Robins, 2002; Lemanski, 2009; Charlton 2018a+b; Lemanski 2019, 2020). By adapting homes or electricity systems, citizens see themselves as co-labouring with the state, appropriating objects and infrastructural systems for their own unique needs,

and transforming a building such as a state house, that can feel quite impersonal, into a home that can serve as a permanent safe space and launch pad for generations of family to come (Robins, 2002; Lemanski, 2009; Charlton 2018a+b; Lemanski 2019, 2020). In transforming these state-built houses and public spaces, citizens see themselves as adding value to the state's investment in them, honouring what has been given by widening its usability and impact (Lemanski; Robins, 2002; Caldeira, 2017). However, as these citizens transform these spaces, they build hybridized, complex, heterogenous networks, which operate outside of the state's homogenous, universalized vision (Lemanski, 2020; 2019). From the perspective of the state, this re-informalizes an area which the state sought to structure and formalize, and ignites a frustration within the state at what it deems transgressive and inappropriate citizenship (Robins, 2002; Lemanski, 2009; Charlton 2018a+b; Lemanski, 2019). This breakdown in collaboration between citizen and state leaves behind an unfulfilling and somewhat broken relationship for both parties-leading some to invent and develop new citizenships that imagine the state-society contract in new ways.

In order to access the housing that for so many tangibly legitimizes them as equal citizens of a post-Apartheid South Africa (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015; Wafer, 2012; Lalloo, 1999), individuals and families are virtually forced to turn to illegitimate, informal, illegal, precarious housing solutions to keep their heads above water as they wait (Oldfield & Greyling, 2015). However, these solutions are understood and interpreted as criminal and threatening to both the state's autonomy and its housing and city visions (Enright et al., 2018; Levenson, 2018). Sihlongonyane's work demonstrates how fear based rhetorics have been dominant in understandings of occupations in South Africa (2005). Both the state and fellow residents in waiting often understand these citizens as queue-jumpers, implying that the sole reasoning behind engaging in these kinds of housing practices is to get ahead in the state housing queue, thereby disadvantaging others and undermining the system (Levenson, 2018; Thorn & Oldfield, 2011). As a result, these citizens need to continually patch together housing for themselves, while making sure these practices remain invisibilised and subtle enough not to anger other peripheral residents or disqualify them from state help (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015; Auyero, 2012; Gupta, 2005), remaining simultaneously "contentious and legitimate" (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015).

However, as more and more people begin to turn to more informal housing solutions, taking up space in unconventional and autonomous ways, these practices start to be seen differently, legitimized by the growing consensus of the urban poor (Bayat 2013; Oldfield and Greyling, 2015).

Some of these informal housing solutions include arrangements like multigenerational households, where many generations of the same family take up residence in one house and share space and resources in order to survive (Keene & Batson, 2010). This kind of response is common in families facing economic hardship, but is traditionally understood and mobilised as a temporary measure, and not as a coping mechanism that spans years (Keene & Batson, 2010). In other cases, family members who have lost their source of income come to rely on the income of elderly parents or grandparents who receive a government pension, as described by Button (2018). Thabethe (2011) identifies a similar pattern in situations where a family member is in need of care due to injury, illness or age, in which case, the family member in need often moves into the home of others to be cared for. In both the case described by Button (2018) and the case outlined by Thabethe (2011) it is overwhelmingly women who take on these roles of support, care and provision.

While improvisatory urban survival takes place on the fringes of Southern cities, the middle classes and wealthy put up walls and fences around their spaces and belongings, enlisting privatized security forces to protect their interests from the crime and difference of the city's peripheral residents (Lemanski & Oldfield, 2009). This process of gating is a result of the tension that comes from Southern cities' brewing inequality and is as much a feature of the urban South as its inventive periphery (Lemanski & Oldfield, 2009; Graham and Marvin, 2001; Beall, Parnell & Crankshaw, 2014; Turok, 2001).

While their socioeconomic backgrounds may differ widely, citizens and developers who are gating spaces and those who are invading and occupying spaces have remarkably similar motives for taking charge of space in the way that they do (Lemanski & Oldfield, 2009). In both cases, their action is catalyzed by a perceived inability on the part of the state to provide secure homes and spaces for their

households (Lemanski & Oldfield, 2009). However, despite their similarities, these two groups of citizens are understood very differently by the state (Lemanski & Oldfield, 2009). The residents of gated communities are painted as rational, even proactive members of society by the state, while citizens who invade pieces of land or occupy existing structures are seen as illegitimate and illegal (Lemanski & Oldfield, 2009; Thorn & Oldfield, 2011). This all, despite the fact that gated communities and their residents actually reinforce the fractured city landscape that South Africa's Apartheid Regime engineered, while land invaders and occupiers do the complex and uncomfortable work of reintegrating into spaces from which they had previously been excluded (Lemanski & Oldfield, 2009).

2.2.2. Insurgent Citizenship

Lemanski recognises that citizenship is contested and remade (2019), and this interest is also evident in allied scholarship, such as Holston's work on insurgent citizenships (2009). Similarly to Lemanski (2019), Miraftab (2012b) highlights the fact that citizenship and its meanings have historically been subject to constant change. Through Holston's insurgent citizenships, we are able to unpack some of the ways that citizens propose and make these changes (2009). Holston defines insurgent citizenships as forms of citizenship that move against entrenched state-defined ideas about what it means to be a citizen (2009). Instead, poor, and peripheral urban citizens who may traditionally have been excluded or underserved by the established and approved modes of citizenship develop and design ways of understanding and enacting citizenship that reflect their own experiences (Holston, 2009). While a country's constitution assigns rights, these rights often need to be continually claimed in order for them to become what Miraftab refers to as "substantive" (p.36, 2009). Insurgent citizenships take up this claim-making and initiate an empowered and equalizing relationship with the state that demands accountability and iteration, destabilizing inequalities, and addressing areas where substantive citizenship is not reflecting the ideals set out in formal citizenship policy (Miraftab, 2009).

Chatterjee divides society into two factions: civil society and political society (1997). Chatterjee's civil society refers to the city elites, who have settled and secure claims on property, and therefore,

settled, secure and indisputable claims on urban citizenship (1997). These are citizens whose private property or business ownership stakes claims on the urban space on their behalf, with no bodies or personal livelihoods on the line. According to Chatterjee, political society consists of urban poor without settled claims on property, whose urban rights are consistently uncertain (1997). This faction of society has to open up negotiations and contestations in order to access fragments of urban rights and are often forced to move outside of the formal legislative and transactional frameworks of urban citizenship, which overtly or not, are often constructed with property owners definitively in mind. Civil society is actively sought out by the state to participate and consult in the imagining of the city, while political society must pursue and petition the state in order to be considered (Ellis, 2012; Raman, 2013; Weinstein, 2021; Mahadevan & Naqvi, 2017).

As Miraftab suggests, currently in our cities we see the emergence of two distinct categories of citizenship space, namely invited spaces, created and managed by the state, and invented spaces, built from the ground up by the citizenry (2004). While invited citizenship spaces reflect "official democracies", they also continue to embed existing policy ideas of citizenship into their discourse, squeezing out ideas that challenge the status quo (Holston, 2008; 2011; Miraftab, 2004). These modes of citizenship, policing and leading the development of the city centre, move in a way that amplifies the opinions and values of the urban elite and silences the voices of the urban poor (Holston, 2008; 2011; Miraftab, 2004). This leads to the development of an insurgent mode of inventive citizenship that cultivates new, inclusive, and authentically reflective citizenship spaces and ideas on the urban fringe and elevates the everyday experiences of these poor and peripheral neighbourhoods to expertise, that now informs and builds refreshed conceptualizations of citizenship. It is therefore not in these city centre public spaces that invented citizenships are most clearly articulated by their inventors, but rather in the spaces and actions of their everyday lives, as it is this struggle to have an everyday life that is dignified that forms the core of these new formulations of citizenship. This struggle for basic dignity is why these new insurgent citizenships are chiefly framed in terms of housing, property, plumbing, day-care, security or other aspects of residential life, echoing Lemanski's notion of infrastructural citizenship (2019).

Materially, as citizens build and defend their right to build, they build a new citizenship and a new way of city making, constructing their own monuments to peripheral thinking. However, while much of what these insurgent citizenships produce is organic and original, they also take hold of and appropriate older, more central and established fragments of citizenship, producing a complex entanglement of official democracies and more organic, marginal democracies. This blend of strategies produces something that has difficulty fitting in with existing conceptual frameworks, and resists simplistic analysis, possibly because it is so very different from the urban planning models which have guided policy and rational state thought for so long.

Holston identifies three ways that these new urban citizenships are grown, firstly, through the creation and nurturing of new publics, secondly through the reimagining of rights, and thirdly, through the altered relationship between citizen and state, which is initiated and maintained through new participatory institutions and legal frameworks (2008). One of the clearest and most important things that these new urban citizenships have been transforming has been the methods of engaging others, ensuring deep participation.

Mahadevan and Naqvi expand on the ways that citizens engage with the state, categorizing modes of engagement as either formal or informal; antagonistic or transactional (2017). Mahadevan and Naqvi's work gives us an idea not only of the varied ways that low-income urban citizens engage with the state, but further, how these modes of engagement have evolved and how it is often through a collection of methods, layered and interwoven with one another, that these citizens are heard (2017).

Informal antagonistic modes of engagement tend to be used almost exclusively as a last resort, when other resources and avenues are closed off and unavailable. In the housing sphere these methods are often used in instances of unexpected evictions or in settlements that are still establishing themselves and tend to take the form of mass protests or agitations (Naqvi; Harris, 2006) or even Benjamin's Occupancy urbanism (2006). Informal transactional modes of engagement require community members to build social connections with the political parties or organizations in power, in order to contest for and arrange concessions for their communities. In these modes of engagement, citizens do not challenge the way that they are viewed by the state, instead submitting to the authority and

formality of decision-making structures, and in so doing, attempting to demonstrate their potential as sensible and non-threatening collaborators. These kinds of engagement can take the form of community members joining and serving within political parties or other forums and can result in phenomena like Rao's tolerated encroachment (2013).

Formal antagonistic modes of engagement see citizens mobilizing the channels of engagement created and offered by the state to challenge the way they are seen and understood. They seek to use legislative strategies or other official democratic processes to recognize as legitimate the informal spaces and ways that they inhabit. For example, through petitioning for the provision of utilities in an informal settlement, the government, in installing these services, enters into a customer- service-provider relationship with the state. In acquiring this kind of recognition, these citizens also unlock a new level of citizenship, and new realms of consultation with the state. Formal transactional modes of engagement make use of these same official channels of engagement, but without attempting to challenge the way that they function. Instead, residents make use of accepted formats such as community organisations to engage with the state in a way that mimics the functioning of Chatterjee's civil society (1997).

In Herold and De Barros's work on the long-term occupation movement, Reclaim the City, these authors theorise that as a result of the fact that Reclaim the City is an occupation-based movement, much of its focus has become internal, investing energy in the maintenance of the spaces that RTC has created, such as Cissie Gool House (Herold and De Barros, 2020). They go on to suggest that in this case it is everyday life which makes up the bulk of the labour and impact of the movement (2020). Herold and De Barros's view (2020) therefore distinguishes the political agenda of RTC from Chatterjee's modes of engagement (1997), which are chiefly framed in terms of external impact and influence. However, Herold and De Barros additionally point out that running an occupation movement in this way with members living in close proximity has complex challenges that can reduce the movement's effectiveness and can lead to the withdrawal of members (2020). Overall though, the Reclaim the City movement and the Cissie Gool House space that it occupies offer a unique example

of both Miraftab's invented spaces (2004), and Holston's new publics (2008), which have exciting

implications for the development of novel citizenships.

2.3. Transforming fragments

"To look into the city is not to look into a complex mechanical entity such as a clock that, once opened and scrutinized with the rules of timekeeping machines, becomes transparent in all its workings and, for this, fixable. Instead, it is to look into a constellation of entities, networks, and systems with their own logics and dynamics that are only ever partially visible and always emergent in their combinations" (Amin, 2013: 206)

In becoming more comfortable with this urban indefiniteness, perhaps it becomes possible to be more open to conceive of a city imagined by the poor and peripheral, with ideas like Benjamin's notion of "occupancy urbanism" (2003) which unseat and unsettle the property claims of the elite and centre the place-making practices of the poor (Davidson and Iveson, 2015; Schindler, 2017; Amin, 2013; Pieterse, 2011).

Even as we acknowledge the significant influence of Capitalism and the state over our systems and spaces, Holloway reminds us that Capitalism's subsumption of our societies is not always complete (in Enright et al., 2018). There are often pockets of space and society that Capitalism is unable to completely comprehend or negotiate, which therefore remain somewhat outside of its authority (Holloway in Enright et al., 2018). Paying attention to these pockets, spaces and movements (Enright et al., 2018), begins to give us the building blocks we need to comprehend, cultivate and imagine an urban that works differently.

In many ways the world of the slum and its associated industry, society and social movements are some of the primary places we can look to for guidance in imagining spaces outside of the market and more fully and deeply engaging in our right to the city (Roy, 2011; Enwezor, 2003). As McFarlane attests to, it is the poor, peripheral, slum residents who take ownership of the fragments created and discarded by Capitalism and innovate with them, performing a kind of infrastructure recycling and reimagining (2018). Solomon Benjamin recognizes this ingenuity in the urban poor, but also acknowledges that

without holding political clout, through civil society positions, or being able to induce influence financially, the only mode of urbanism available is a kind of "occupancy urbanism" (2008; McFarlane, 2018; Roy, 2011). This mode of urbanism stakes claims on land, buildings and services in the city, enforcing the legitimacy of people's citizenship, engaging the state and calling attention to the infrastructural absences felt by these residents while remaining autonomous and independent from the state's logics (Benjamin, 2008). This mode of urbanism moves past the invisibilised strategies of Bayat's quiet encroachment (2013) and instead declare perspectives in ways that cannot be ignored or overlooked by the state. This occupancy urbanism is an active claiming of a citizenship role of shaping and transforming the city in the absence of a sincere and palpable invitation into this conversation from the state (Benjamin, 2008).

Caldeira makes important strides in theorizing and understanding the peripheral urban of Southern cities, not only in terms of location, but also in terms of strategy, and the character of the strategies undertaken in these spaces (2017). The urban periphery is a space and a mode of operating that has enabled poor metropolitan residents to create alternative markets and modes of living as they remain excluded from the dominant inner-city circle (Caldeira, 2017; McFarlane, 2018). These spaces produce and offer precarious yet affordable livelihoods, livelihoods dominated by irregularity and illegality, yet with unaffordable formal housing and insufficient public housing, this kind of urban existence remains all that is available to the poor (Caldeira, 2017; McFarlane, 2018). In Caldeira's paper on peripheral urbanization, she unpacks the different ways that peripheral populations produce urban space. She argues that these modes of production are particular in their agency and temporality, reiterating the assertions made by Echanove & Srivastava (2009) and Roy (2011) about the initiative and enthusiasm of peripheral citizens, and the ownership they take of their spaces and their improvement and upliftment. McFarlane explores the materiality of this reproduction of urban space by focusing on the broken fragments of city systems, buildings, or policies, and investigating how these broken pieces come alive in new ways in the hands of peripheral citizens (2018). He asserts that urbanization itself is a process of fracture, and that therefore, much of the current urban reality is formed by citizens and governments

grappling with these material and political fragments (McFarlane, 2018). This is particularly true in Southern cities, where systems and infrastructure are more broken than most (McFarlane, 2018).

Caldeira identifies a tendency, in the peripheral poor, to operate in a way that cuts across official systems of urbanization, choosing to engage with state modes of space production from a completely unexpected point of entry that boldly places the poor and peripheral perspective level with the official one (2017). Peripheral citizens don't simply disagree with the logics put forward by the state, they take ownership of them, redefine them, and operate with them in entirely new ways (Caldeira, 2017). McFarlane identifies this same pattern in the way that these residents inhabit broken fragments, recognizing the latent potential and innovating ability of the peripheral poor to reimagine them and improvise within and around these material fragments to create new livable spaces and strategies (2018; Roy, 2011; Caldeira, 2017; Enwezor, 2003). Crerar (2010) marvels at this same tangible ability of the poor to thrive as he writes about his experiences in Dharavi. When speaking of Lagos, Koolhaas is awed by the "ingenious, critical alternative systems" (p.8-9, Godlewski, 2010) that have been birthed from the self-organisation of the city, and its native "culture of make-do" (Enwezor, 2003).

Cirolia et al. (2021) explore the different ways that residents in an occupied building in Cape Town have transformed their space, and identify distinct three distinct modes of transformation within this occupation, namely retrofitting – material reworkings of existing infrastructures – repurposing – reimagining the ways spaces can be used and introducing new activities into them, and re-placing – the creation of new places and cultivation of new meaning within these spaces that translates past experiences, losses, disappointments or hopes into something tangible and vital in the present. This practice of "re-placing" is echoed in Tolia-Kelly's work on home-making in migrant families, which describes the ways that these families carry and recreate their heritage in new spaces (2004). Hillier et al. (1976) and Alitajer & Nojoumi (2016) describe the development of these new modes of spatial transformation as something akin to the development of a new spatial language or spatial syntax. It is these modes of transformation that are additionally acknowledged as key forces in the forging of new spatial forms in post-colonial cities (Cirolia et al., 2021; Ghertner, 2011; Padawangi, Marolt &

Douglass, 2014), and in working towards an urban outside of Capitalist practices (Katz & Mayer, 1985; Cirolia et al., 2021).

In essence, authors argue that the future of the urban is being created in Southern cities, in peripheral spaces; the urban future is in the minds and actions of poor citizens grappling with and transforming fragments (McFarlane, 2018; Roy, 2011; Caldeira, 2017). These residents are key "agents of urbanization" and do not passively consume spaces created and designed by others (Caldeira, 2017). As neighbourhoods envisioned by the poor and peripheral grow and develop, and state provision follows the citizens' lead, they retroactively begin to provide water and electricity to homes constructed outside of official logics and housing schemes, they pave roads shaped by residents' daily errands; the government catches up with the vision of the poor (Caldeira, 2017).

3. Research Design and Methodology

3.1. Case Study: Cissie Gool House

In March of 2017, in Cape Town, South Africa, an organization called Reclaim The City (RTC) orchestrated the occupation of several unused inner city state buildings (Reclaim The City, 2018; Abdool Karim, 2019). The organization believes that land should be mobilized for the benefit of the country's people, not for profit, and fights for the provision of well-located affordable housing in Cape Town (Reclaim The City, 2018). The occupations were initiated in response to the sale of well-located public land to a private buyer when there had been significant opposition to this by the general public, and plenty of counter proposals to use this land for affordable housing (Reclaim The City, 2018). One of the buildings occupied by RTC was Cissie Gool House, formerly known as the Woodstock Hospital (Reclaim The City, 2018). As of August 2019 there were roughly 900 people living within this occupation, many of them evictees either as a result of the state removing them from their encroached spaces, or because of unaffordable rentals (Washinyira, 2019). The space is now a thriving home for many (Cirolia et al., 2021; Washinyira, 2019; Abdool Karim, 2019). Residents run businesses from their rooms, access central public transport networks, grow their own food in the shared community garden space, run childcare and homework supervision facilities, and facilitate and engage in many diverse educational workshops (Washinyira, 2019; Abdool Karim, 2019; Cirolia et al., 2021). It is also a space that empowers residents to self-organise, with multiple levels of responsibilities, and a layered yet horizontal leadership structure (Reclaim The City, 2018).

Inside Cissie Gool House, there is a tangible difference in the way decisions are made. The values of the Reclaim the City movement include the equal treatment of all residents, and collaboration for the wellbeing of the whole (Reclaim The City, 2018). The House also actively engages with its surrounding community, supporting the rehabilitation of homeless communities in Woodstock and surrounds and providing a venue for community events and engagements (Kuaho, 2019; Reclaim The City, 2018).

Residents within this space are putting down roots here, actively transforming their surroundings to reflect their identities, and are beginning to feel the freedom that comes from living in a *home*.

In this thesis I explore the occupation practices at Cissie Gool House, enquiring into the labour of home, as well as the insights that these practices may offer into constructing inclusive equitable and fulfilling housing solutions for South Africa's poor and dispossessed. I pay attention to the materiality and making of the space, and the stories and struggles of its residents.

3.2. Data Collection

3.2.1. Encountering Cissie Gool House

I entered into the CGH space for the first time through an event called the Festival of Commons. It was an event that brought together individuals with a political interest, and combined teachings from more traditional teachers, such as academics or official movement leaders, with teachings and experiences from less traditional sources, such as occupiers themselves. This environment of mutual respect between holders of different kinds of knowledges that at times contradicted one another and at times dovetailed, was really wonderful. There was absolutely no hierarchy between the different kinds of knowledges and the audience members and speakers responded to each speaker with the same level of enthusiasm and respect, and additionally, engaged with the speaker in the way that the speaker engaged with them, in the sense that, no one forced the speaker to meet them where they were at, instead adjusting themselves to meet the speaker where they were at. I found this atmosphere immensely striking and stimulating, and, at that point, could not recall a time where I had been in a learning environment where people were not treated equally, but equitably, not identically, but in a way that was responsive to each unique situation and knowledge, in a way that afforded the same amount of effort to be uniquely responsive to each speaker. It is this bold prioritising of understanding, and wholehearted abandoning of defensiveness or offense or a need to maintain status that truly set this space apart for me. In this initial encounter, I began to imagine what it might look like should this kind of ethos exist across the CGH community - if this ethos had to be translated into a home environment.

While walking around the building during the deeper parts of Covid-19 lockdown, in an attempt to reconnect with the space, and spark some inspiration for the research phase of this thesis, myself and a friend met an occupier, an older man, through the fence, while he was gardening in the CGH food garden. This encounter, which for the most part followed the traditional patterns of a conversation between young and old, was the start of my involvement in a permaculture course at Cissie Gool House. With very little context, we showed up at CGH after an invitation from our gardening uncle, and were swept into participating in a permaculture course alongside people who I now consider to be some of my best friends.

3.2.2. Gardening

The Permaculture Course taking place at Cissie Gool House entailed attending two full days of classes and activities a week over a period of roughly two months, leading up to two key days, one where we would present our plans for the garden to CGH leadership, and the second where we would put the approved plans into action through a collaborative workshop day. At times during this period, we would also come in on off days to follow up on gardening projects that had been started or that needed maintenance.

During these two months, learning and working alongside occupiers, I began to gain some insight into the ways that occupiers navigated collaborative projects, how broader CGH-wide decisions were made and what kinds of systems and strategies were in place to support the wellbeing of the House as a whole. In working shoulder to shoulder with occupiers as fellow students of this Permaculture Course we built close friendships and gained a deep understanding of the kinds of obstacles one another were facing, crying together on hard days and rejoicing together on good days. As the Permaculture Course drew to a close these friendships continued as we set aside times on Saturday mornings to work together. These Saturday morning gardening sessions happened consistently well into 2021, and even included an educational trip out to the Philippi Horticultural Area. Since then we

have gathered together to celebrate the wedding of one of our fellow students, rallied together to collect stationery for each other's children for their first days at school, held Easter Egg hunts and enjoyed multiple birthdays together. These days our cohort of Permaculture students continues to be involved in gardening projects, even as we each take on new phases in our lives.

Figure 1: The Gardening team with some harvested produce

Figure 2: Permaculture students starting the day with a group activity

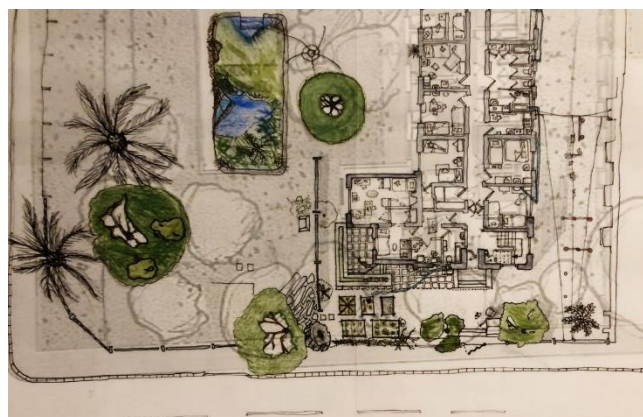*Figure 3: A permaculture instructor delivering an outdoor lesson in the CGH garden*

Figure 4: An image of garden designs that were being developed during the Permaculture Course

3.2.3. CGH Events

In being present and involved at Cissie Gool House during the Permaculture Course and through becoming known to leadership as a researcher, I began to be invited to attend events such as the house's weekly monitor's meetings and upcoming protests or demonstrations that Reclaim The City was championing.

Through attending monitor's meetings, often alongside my supervisor and fellow researcher, I gained invaluable insights into the organisation, management and leadership of this immensely intricate home. I was able to witness how decisions were made, how issues were brought forward and how solutions were formulated. Beyond this, I also witnessed the relationships between the CGH monitors and the organisations that support and work alongside CGH, such as Ndifuna Ukwazi, who support residents with legal knowledge, while advancing the case for others navigating housing instability. Through attending and participating in Reclaim the City demonstrations I gained a deeper understanding of what this movement fights for, what it takes to continue to rally in defence of the rights of the urban poor and housing insecure.

When CGH began to enter into a Co-design process, developing and presenting their visions of how their current building might best be developed by the city, myself and some of my fellow researchers were included in the central working group that put together workshops designed to give residents the opportunity to share their ideas. We lent our skills and time to help elevate and support the ideas being shared by CGH residents and we continue to be involved as this process moves forward and engages with various consultants and state representatives. We also had the privilege of being a part of CGH's annual Elderly Appreciation Day, which honours the role that the elderly continue to play in the life of the occupation and amongst other things gives the elderly a platform to address any areas of particular concern to them. It was a joyous event that many look forward to yearly, and being able to experience it alongside some of the residents in attendance helped me to understand the role that events like these play in cultivating a home.

Through being a part of some group discussion workshops hosted by my supervisor and fellow researcher I was exposed to some insightful resident stories and discussions which aided my understanding and insight as I moved towards beginning my interview process.

Towards the end of my research process I had the privilege of being a part of the CGH gardening team that facilitated a workshop with visiting UCT Honours students. Led by occupying residents, these students engaged in gardening processes, such as composting, and planting key vegetables which would go on to support the feeding of the Cissie Gool House community.

Figure 1: Residents at a Co-design workshop

Figure 2: A scale model of Cissie Gool House created within the Co-design workshops

Figure 3: A recent Reclaim the City demonstration

Figure 8: A resident couple arrives for their wedding reception at the CGH Hall

Figure 10: UCT students at work in the garden

Figure 9: UCT students share a meal with members of the gardening team

3.2.4. Participant Observation

Figure 11: A resident couple exchange marriage vows

Through each unique opportunity I had to enter into the

CGH space or to spend time with residents outside of the occupation, I was able to observe and learn

more and more about the livelihoods that are being cultivated there. In visiting occupiers when they

were ill, I was able to witness the modes of care being employed by their neighbours, fellow

occupiers, to look after them. As we worked in the garden, I witnessed interactions between children

and security guards, exchanges between one occupier and another, activities such as laundry days or

soccer games and was granted more and more insight into what makes this space home for so many.

While I did not set out to make observation a key part of my methodology, I feel as though the time I

spent at Cissie Gool House simply soaking in and absorbing the space, being present but not

necessarily catalysing anything, was essential to me building an understanding of CGH that was authentic and that elevated the small everyday movements and interactions to key guideposts in my learning.

3.2.5. Semi structured interviews

After having spent time participating in more public activities and gatherings at CGH I wanted to be able to delve more into the individual lives, contexts, stories and experiences of residents, and so arranged to interview residents. Some of these residents I already had relationships with through the Permaculture Course, others I was acquainted with through my presence in the space, and one participant I was introduced to just prior to our interview.

I chose to conduct interviews that were semi structured, as, while I had particular themes that I wanted to understand more about, I was aware that my questions could only ever partially reflect the experiences of occupiers, and I wanted to allow the space for participants to take the lead and share experiences and thoughts that they felt were important. This approach meant that participants were able to bring to light issues that I wasn't aware of that aided my understanding and helped me to reprioritise in order to put together research that was a truer reflection of the CGH space and its dynamics.

Technical Details

Each interview was audio recorded – with the permission of the participant, and notes were taken by myself, the interviewer, throughout the interview. The interviews were then transcribed with details about the context of the interview and any non-verbal cues given by the participant, informed by the researchers' notes and memory of the interview. Care was taken that the transcriptions happen as close to the occurrence of the actual interview as possible.

Covid protocols were observed, and most interviews were conducted in large space with airflow, through open windows and doors. When interviews were conducted in smaller spaces, such as within

occupiers' rooms, social distancing, mask wearing and sanitising were all employed as means of reducing the risks as much as possible for participant and researcher.

Participants

Throughout my research process I had the privilege of interviewing eight current residents of Cissie Gool House. This section will give a brief background on each participant. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of these residents.

Sarah classifies herself as coloured, and is a wife, grandmother and small business owner

Faeza classifies herself as coloured, is a divorced entrepreneurial single mother of sons, and is the daughter of Sarah

Daniel classifies himself as coloured, is a former resident of Woodstock and Walmer Estate and runs a laundry business

Eve classifies herself as black, is a mother of two, and supports and cares for many of the elderly in her section, while running a small business selling drinks and snacks

Maria classifies herself as black and is an elderly mother of two who is invested in the Cissie Gool House Garden and is a staunch animal lover

Melanie classifies herself as coloured, and is a newlywed mother of one who is active in her church community and in the Cissie Gool House Garden

James classifies himself as coloured, is a hands-on father of three, and is active in the leadership structures of Cissie Gool House

Sheila classifies herself as coloured, is a divorced single mother, and is a key part of both the kitchen team structures and the broader leadership structures

3.2.6. Feedback and honouring events

Langtafel

As a way to conclude the research process, and honour and celebrate those who had contributed to it, myself, my supervisor and my fellow researcher arranged for us all to share a sit-down meal together, known at Cissie Gool House as a Langtafel. At this event participants shared about what the research process had been like for them and what their highlights had been, and us as researchers shared in return. It was a wonderful way for research participants to connect with one another and to start to see the bigger picture of what they had created.

Zine and documentary launch

One of the projects taken on by my supervisor, fellow researcher, and other members of the City Occupied team was to create a zine of the stories of occupiers living in CGH, as a way to challenge preconceptions about who this community is. Another of these projects was a documentary which traced and depicted occupation life and once again aimed to give the general public a greater understanding of what the CGH space truly represents. An event was held to showcase these two projects to interested CGH residents as well as to those who participated in their creation.

Across both of these feedback events, the intent was not only to honour the invaluable role of CGH residents in bringing these research projects to life, but also to hold ourselves accountable to CGH residents for what has been produced so that we can be sure that we represent them well.
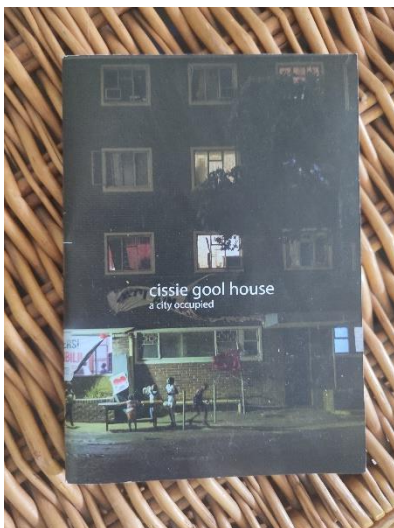

Figure 4: Cissie Gool House Zine

Figure 5: A resident speaks before the documentary is screened

3.3. Data Analysis

The collected data was analysed through the following processes:

Once the interview had been conducted and transcribed, these transcriptions were loaded onto an ethnographic research software called NVIVO. NVIVO enables researchers to flag certain portions of an interview by theme, so that the researcher is able to gather data across interviews on emerging themes and garner how these different accounts inform the theme more broadly. I used NVIVO to gradually develop a clear idea of the themes that were emerging from the interviews as a whole and tag moments in each interview that spoke to the emerging themes. I also used NVIVO's capabilities to identify themes that were unexpected, leading me to realign my objectives to what the most pertinent themes and issues were. These themes and findings are then presented in Chapter 4.

3.4. Ethical Considerations

3.4.1. Positionality and journey as a researcher

Through the process of becoming classmates and friends, and growing shoulder to shoulder with some of the occupiers of CGH, I began to understand the true labour of creating and maintaining a space like this. Through protests, demonstrations, continuous alterations of physical space to bring them to the point of working, relational work, healing, cooking, gardening, caring for children, caring for adults, caring for yourself, one slowly started to see the immense capacity and strength of these individuals. In growing to better understand who they are and what they carry on a daily basis, I increasingly held them in awe, and struggled to view myself as worthy of telling this story, or even more simply, of being a part of it.

As my friendships within the space of the gardening group grew, I battled with the duality of my role, as both friend and student, classmate and researcher. I also battled with the different things that these roles might ask of me, and the moments when these roles contradicted one another, and I had to choose in any one instance to be either researcher or friend, and not both. I struggled to know when it

was okay to use things that I had learnt as a friend within my research, and at times I couldn't tell which parts of my time spent in friendship were relevant to the research, and whether it was even okay to use those moments in my research.

Many times, people would trust me with things in the context of friendship that undeniably aided my understanding of particular dynamics within CGH, and I had to navigate the process of simultaneously allowing that information to make my storytelling better, more accurate and authentic and protecting my friendship with that individual, by withholding certain pieces of information from the research itself.

Most of the people that I approached for interviews were people that I built a rapport with slowly, over time, by being present in the CGH space consistently. We didn't necessarily have an explosive conversation initially, and sometimes in the beginning we didn't even speak, we just nodded or waved at one another, but gradually, my consistent presence made me appear as someone who was worth a conversation or a laugh, and I gradually became someone trustworthy and familiar. I think too often there can be pressure as a researcher to have these big moments of connection with those you hope to learn from, there can be pressure to have a sense of ease between yourself and the community quite quickly, but I found that showing up as your genuine self, on bad days and good is a much more honest way to be within and build towards relationships. It isn't always possible, but when you can build those relationships slowly, you have a deeper opportunity to be transformed by them, and you have a deeper understanding of what might be necessary to share, within and outside of your research, to shift the narratives that cluster around this group of people.

As a privileged white South African female with a car, who went to a Model C school, and is now attending the University of Cape Town, there are many things about the experiences of CGH residents, and interview participants in particular, that I am still working to understand, that someone else with a different background might understand a lot more seamlessly. While positive in the sense that it reduces the extent to which my own perspectives influence the story being told, it also means

that research participants are experiencing telling a story to someone who isn't immediately able to relate to their experiences, which shifts the kind of story telling taking place.

The moment one walks into Cissie Gool House, as a young well-dressed, white female, there is an assumption that you a) don't belong here, and you are visiting, and b) that you're visiting as some kind of learned person, either as a researcher or a journalist or someone coming to teach a workshop. This perception undoubtedly influenced the way that people spoke to me, and what they chose to share.

3.4.2. Ethics and limitations

The occupation of the Cissie Gool House space is contested, and lawyers and activists have been in and out of the courts trying to legitimise the occupation throughout its now 6-year tenure. Anonymity of participants or at least the option of anonymity for participants is key in making sure that the publishing of the research doesn't negatively impact on individuals or expose them to potential prosecution. We also want to make sure that, while the research will go some way to unpack the way that CGH functions as a home and a community, it will not be put together in a way that could aid in the eviction or dismantling of this community. Each piece of information within this document needs to be thought about critically so as to ensure that it in no way exposes ideas, thoughts or practices that may enable or cause any further housing insecurity or trauma for this community.

Most, if not all participants do not have the financial capacity to pay for rent, electricity, water, and transport as well as feed, clothe and educate their families. While many do have some income, it is not enough to take care of all of these responsibilities simultaneously. Doing anything with this research that may put these individuals at risk to being moved from Cissie Gool House not only leaves them without a home, but puts them in a position where they may now need to weigh up taking care of their family's food, clothing and educational needs against providing shelter, electricity and water, and divide the small amount of income they have available in an increased number of directions.

The financial vulnerability of these occupiers additionally meant that if direct compensation were offered, the integrity of the participant's free will would have been eroded, because they may not be able to afford to say no to an offer of extra resources. For this reason, we did not offer any direct monetary compensation for interviews. For the interviews that were conducted I brought along tea, coffee, milk and a variety of biscuits (different packs for each interview to adhere to covid precautions). For the most part I left some of the groceries behind after each interview as a way to add something to the pantry without it being an overt exchange. In one instance, after proposing to interview one individual, they declined to be a part of the research process. Despite this I left behind some groceries to thank the family for their time. It is my hope that doing so not only left the door open for future interactions, outside of research, but also affirmed the family's agency. Sharing food and coffee throughout the interview also made it all seem a lot more like a conversation between friends and a lot less formal and structured. This seemed to free up participants to share anecdotes and stories that were significant to them regardless of whether they were directly related to the questions I was asking, and as a result the research process felt a lot more like co-labouring and a lot less hierarchical.

In all cases, this research is dealing with vulnerable people who have lost their homes or have been actively displaced, leaving behind scars and trauma that is closely entwined with housing, homes and the meeting of their basic needs. When asking questions around these themes, which are almost certainly tied in, in some way, with pain, it is important to give occupiers the space to explore the themes in ways that they feel comfortable. This allows participants to set the terms and boundaries around the kind of conversation that they are willing to have, the kinds of topics that they wish to explore, and the ways in which these topics will be explored. Initially, when one asks a question, a participant's response may seem off topic or irrelevant, but it hardly ever is. Resisting the urge to steer the conversation and allowing participants to unpack in the way and order that feels most natural to them not only helps them to be at their most comfortable, but also teaches the researcher something about their trauma and the way that they are coping with it in the present. How they unpack it shows the researcher to what extent it's packed away, and to what extent it's on display in their spaces.

Allowing participants the space to lead the conversation also produces more honouring and authentic research, and is more respectful and considerate of the chaotic and amorphous nature of pain that stems from experiences that the researcher does not share.

One of the most important ethical issues that we wanted to address and handle well within this research was the issue of research feeling and being extractive. We wanted there to be a tangible, felt benefit of the research within the occupation - too often participants invest their time and personal insights for very little return from the research and researchers themselves. In order to actively work against this, our research team came up with a few ideas to properly ensure that the CGH community benefits from our time with them, that we serve the community well and that we give thorough accessible feedback on the research done. These are the ideas that were implemented:

- Ensuring that when participants needed to engage with researchers through text messages or phone calls, they were given airtime/data vouchers so that they didn't need to incur this cost themselves.
- Using a portion of the allocated research fund to donate to the CGH kitchen. The kitchen cooks hot meals once a week for the entire occupation and also caters for workshops and other events at CGH. The work of the kitchen helps to feed CGH's most vulnerable families and is consistent provision that families can rely on.
- Using a portion of the research funds to hold a Langtafel dinner event for all research participants that celebrated what had been achieved and allowed the participants to connect with one another and be served and celebrated by us. This was also an opportunity to exchange feedback with participants on the research process.
- Having portrait photos taken of participants to be used in a short "zine" publication, alongside quotes and other written pieces which could also be used to creatively engage the public into rethinking and humanising the occupation.
- Using some of the research funding to invest in the occupation's garden, which is used to grow food, herbs and medicinal plants that serve the kitchens and the broader

CGH community, and engaging fellow students in doing active work within the CGH garden to serve occupiers

- Continuing to spend time as an individual, working in the CGH gardens on weekends and serving the community in that way

We hope to implement the following idea once the research of our broader team is finalised

- Using a portion of the research funds to run an exhibition for interested parties in the CGH community and in the broader Cape Town community of the work that has been produced across the research project. This would be a fantastic tool for shifting the narrative on this occupation and would invite outsiders in to gain a greater understanding of the beauty and strength of the stories within this space, and the true ingenuity, labour and care involved in imagining, creating and maintaining CGH as a home. It would also hopefully sow into the efforts to shift public opinion on occupations, and would assist with drawing in more public support for reclaiming the city as a space that is inclusive of all.

4. Findings and Discussion

4.1 Making and unmaking "home"

This section explores the forces acting on occupiers' past and present homes and seeks to unpack the ways that occupiers have had to innovate within this landscape of forces to continue to cultivate and maintain home.

4.1.1. The wait for housing

The wait for a permanent home, one that they indisputably own, has been a frustrating, heart-breaking, opaque and disempowering process for many of the occupiers I interviewed. For these individuals, this sense of waiting has been a dominant theme throughout their pursuit of a home. Below, participants give some insight into their experiences of the wait for housing:

> *"last year I did go and check and they say no, its still on your application, we're still waiting… when we talk I say, I did apply 2008, and then I meet a man and he say he did apply 2010, but he's already getting a house but in Nyanga, I say, how? Because I did apply first" - Eve*

Eve's account demonstrates the perplexing nature of the state housing system, and the multitude of different, and at times contradictory, messages citizens receive on the functioning of the housing waiting list. Below Sarah, Faeza and Maria share further on their experiences:

> *"Faeza: I'm on the waiting list 28 years, in 2021 it will be 29 years. My mother is also longer than me actually on the waiting list, but they only caught up her record again now for 16 years. Ja, 16 years*

Sarah: I was 40 years on there"

"I actually applied 1993 to go on the housing list, and then when we got here we were told to go and check whether our names are there, and then they couldn't find my name anywhere, and I had to reapply, and I asked them, are you going to backdate this then to 1993, because that's when I exactly came to apply to be on the housing list… the woman said she's not sure, now its pushing me down then its pushing me back up how many years now" – Maria

Sarah and Maria, who are now pensioners, both experienced a mishandling or loss of their records on the housing waiting list, causing a need to re-register in both cases, and resulting in a restarting of Sarah's waiting clock. At this stage, Maria is still unsure of the impact that the loss of her records has had on her standing on the housing waiting list. Sarah and Maria's experience of lost registration documents has been outlined as a challenge in Tissington et al.'s work (2013) on housing waiting lists in South Africa and is theorised to be linked with the handover from pre-1994 housing allocation systems to post-1994 systems (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015). The stories of Sarah and Maria extend the work of these authors by demonstrating that those who have been registered on the housing database for the longest, and who are therefore now entering into the vulnerability of old age, are disproportionately affected by the loss of housing registration documents, causing a resultant delay in their receipt of a house.

Both Maria and Eve's experiences, powerfully echo Oldfield and Greyling's assertion about the persistent indefiniteness and inaccessibility of the housing waiting list procedure (2015), which is additionally corroborated by Levenson (2008). Further, as Tissington et al. explain, in the Western Cape and in South Africa more broadly, there isn't currently an "all-encompassing housing waiting list that operates in a fair and rational manner to allocate houses on a first come, first served basis" (p.56, 2013; Oldfield & Greyling, 2015), so there remains no way to grant citizens that are on the

housing waiting list more clarity on when they may feasibly gain access to a house. All the while, the apparent differential treatment of those on the list, as described by Eve, and corroborated by accusations of irregular allocations covered in Bailey (2017), leaves those who have been on the list for longer periods understandably anxious and mistrustful as they live in limbo.

4.1.1.1. The wait for housing and its impact on household potential, families and opportunity

As households continue to grapple with their unpredictable and seemingly endless wait for housing, they experience impacts on their ability to grow and connect as a family and live out their potential as individuals.

> *"it take a long time, and I know people who's now on the waiting list 30 years, 40 years, and they're still on the waiting list. Then I question myself, why, how can that be… I was thinking then the other day, how long must we wait on the housing list to be helped. Cause you see that you qualify for that – what's the system? All they say is that you have to wait, and then we're gonna die still waiting for a house for my family"* – James

> *"Faeza: for me, the city is taking too long, they told me when I went there I must wait for another 3 years, that was now last month, last month, another 3 years I told them I will be 50 at that time*
>
> *Sarah: I will be passed away then"*

James echoes the sense of the housing system's lack of transparency, expressed and explored in the previous section, but he puts forward a new and sobering concern – the fact that this dream of having a house of his own may never truly become a reality that his family can benefit from. There is a very real fear in the accounts of James, Faeza and Sarah, that this life of permanent temporariness described by Yiftachel (2009), this life of permanently negotiating the inbetween to keep one's head above water, will be all their families will ever know; that they will pass away before ever having a stable home of their own.

For Faeza, who has been on the housing waiting list since she was 20 years old, next year will mark the 30th year that she has been on the list. These 30 years between the ages of 20 and 50 constitute the bulk of an individual's working life, the time period that people are most able to build up careers, finances and households. The fact that, for this occupier, this period has passed without her ever having a stable home to call her own is significant. She has spent these thirty years navigating the uncertainty of waiting on the state for a home, while attempting to develop herself and her impact without a solid home to launch from. The absence of a stable home can also have impacts on the development of family relationships, as attested to by Eve's account below:

"I want to be with my children, they must be next to me, they must grow together, they must know, this is my brother, and this is my sister, they must be in one room… now they are not with me because I don't have even an income, so that is why they are by his daddy… they come sometimes, maybe for a weekend… but I think if I can find my house, neh? I can do business the way I want, to extend me all that thing, the bungalows at the back, foreigners, for the people who want it, to get more money, I can do that"- Eve

The freedoms and breathing room that owning a house gives can allow for families and individuals to pursue new opportunities and invest finances in items or experiences beyond simply those needed to

survive. Eve gives us insight into the kinds of benefits that a home might offer her, through opportunities to start new business ventures and develop new earning channels. Further, for Eve, whose children currently do not stay with her, owning her own home would give her children the opportunity to move back in with her, and would allow her to become a much more active parent in her children's lives. For this mother, every month, each year that passes without her having access to her own home impacts heavily on the quality of the relationships between her and her children in irrevocable and significant ways.

The anxieties of James, Sarah and Faeza around what they and their families might lose out on by not being able to own their own home are shared by contributors to Oldfield and Greyling's paper (2015), however, while Oldfield and Greyling explore some of the strategies households use to navigate these periods of waiting, they do not unpack the ways that these waiting periods impact on the growth, educational, economic and relational potential of these families. Eve's experience gives us insight into this gap, by demonstrating the relational impact this mother is experiencing by not having a home of her own to raise her children within, and by not being able to use this home to cultivate new earning channels to provide her family with a better life (Boehm and Schlottmann, 1999).

4.1.1.2. Mental health and the wait for housing

Wanting to care for and protect your family, while navigating and experiencing the uncertainty of waiting for housing, is incredibly taxing on individuals who are working through this process. Melanie and Daniel share some of the thoughts and scenarios that run through their minds as they continue to live in waiting.

"Remember there's a lot of people on the waiting list, so Kathryn is… maybe waiting 30 years already, so then, I know I'm not gonna be from the first privileges, or I told myself that, so if they come, are they gonna do it equally, there's a lot of questions around this, like I told myself the other

day when I'm laying down… I'm thinking about under what I'm going to fall into (in terms of housing

categories) …" - Melanie

"as we speak, this is weighing on our minds, each and every person that lives here it's on their mind,

when are we getting a house, I'm telling you, it is, its very difficult to plan your future… You don't

know is it gonna be this year, in five years' time, so if you're gonna ask me where I'm gonna be in 10

years' time, I can't answer you, I can't"- Daniel

As Melanie talks through the various housing allocation scenarios she can envisage, and Daniel

speaks to the weight of this experience, we get a glimpse of the constant whirring thoughts that spin in

the back of the minds of those who are waiting for a state house, and the toll that this takes. Melanie

describes thinking through these different scenarios while lying down, leading us to wonder whether

these thoughts interfere with her ability to sleep and rest. Through Melanie's account we can see her

launching an attempt to at least partially give herself the ability to plan and work towards enacting and

enabling her imagined future. However, despite Melanie's attempts, through Daniel's account we are

made to understand how impossible and futile it feels to try and build towards a life for yourself under

these limbo housing conditions.

While the general health impacts and in particular, the mental health impacts of housing instability

have been well documented, by authors such as Downing (2016), Vásquez-Vera et al. (2017), Carrere

et al. (2022) and Bentley et al. (2019), the literature on this overwhelmingly focuses on situations

where households have been impacted by evictions or foreclosures, and does not explore the mental

health impacts of making do indefinitely through makeshift housing arrangements, encroachment or

occupation while waiting on a state home. Further, these studies are rooted in contexts outside of

Africa, and are therefore less able to account for the South African context of generational, racialised

housing insecurity. The accounts of Melanie and Daniel, therefore, build on this existing literature by demonstrating the consistent low-grade background mental and emotional strain that citizens experience as a result of their perpetual wait for housing, and the paralysis they experience in relation to the construction of their futures.

4.1.2. The dynamics influencing this wait for housing

4.1.2.1. Exclusion from the city

When speaking with occupiers about their relationship with Cape Town and the possibility of pursuing home within the city, they spoke about the city space with noticeable distance. There was a sense that their presence in the city space was an exception, that they were visitors in the space, welcome to pass through, but not pause, rest or settle there.

One occupier, who is now entering her eighties, and who spent a majority of her childhood and adult life under the Apartheid regime, shared about her relationship with the city:

> *"We went to Cape Town when we went to watch the Klopse… my brother and them they were also in the coons and stuff… and then my parents took me, when we were small, they took us to look at the lights and to see the Klopse" (Translated from Afrikaans) – Sarah*

This occupier's daughter, who is entering her fifties shared the following about her relationship with the city:

> *"… very seldom I went to Cape Town… Only when I became a big girl, all grown up and that, I went to Cape Town, I had to go see the museum… the school will have the activity to go to the museum or the gardens or to the kasteel (castle)… but for being with family and that, going to the city, very seldom because (of) being busy at all times… my mother made jerseys and stuff, so that time it's cleaning time on a Friday… so Kensington was the only place I knew" – Faeza*

In speaking with both mother and daughter, one can see that there is a distance between this family and the city that has remained consistent over roughly 80 years of their time in Cape Town. In the case of Sarah, this distance would've been rooted in Apartheid laws such as the Black Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970, that declared that non-white South Africans were not allowed in city spaces without special permissions, such as those granted during an event like the Kaapse Klopse Festival. In the case of her daughter, Faeza, while the distance experienced between herself and the city was slightly reduced, she still identifies that they did not spend time in the city as a family. The reasoning for this, however, appears to be more to do with the pressures to keep the family financially afloat. Instead of having the residual time and finances to go on recreational, social or business trips to the city, this family needed to spend their time contributing to the family business and household work. While the legal barriers to the city had started to fall away, financial barriers, inherited from the economic restructuring under Apartheid, came in their place.

Many other occupiers that I interviewed shared stories of family members or friends who had never been to the city, despite living relatively close by, echoing the sense that barriers continue to exist that prevent access to the city for some.

> *"for some people that stay here on the outskirts of the city – they were never in the city yet, that is something I found a little bit disturbing, because when you stay so close to the city but you were never there, and I can't understand why not, because this is their city at the end of the day" – James*

> *"that's the thing… my sister's never been to Cape Town, she's now 18, she's pregnant, but she's never been to Cape Town"- Melanie*

James and Melanie's accounts demonstrate starkly how, despite the short physical distance between the city and those on its periphery there remain non-physical barriers in the present day that prevent a

portion of residents on the periphery from accessing the city. In all of these cases, these participants spoke of this dynamic with distress and urgency, demonstrating the fact that there is a very real felt impact on those unable to access the city.

These accounts from participants echo Makhulu's assertion of the social and physical inaccessibility of South African cities to South Africans of colour (2015). Through their stories and experiences, we are also able to see the influence of the material city over these citizens, and how it limits the kinds of interactions and experiences that they feel comfortable engaging in within the urban space, as observed by Rogers and O'Neill (2012), amongst others (McFarlane 2008; McFarlane and Rutherford 2008; Larkin 2013; Meth 2013; Fredericks 2014; Silver 2014; Criqui 2015; Trovalla and Trovalla 2015; Lee 2015). In both Makhulu's work and these accounts from participants, one is able to see a tight mirroring, in the present day, of the relationship that people of colour would have had with the city during the colonial and Apartheid eras, when the urban space was explicitly and legally designated and designed as a white space (Berrisford, 2011; Hamann & Horn, 2015; Makhulu, 2015; Wilkinson, 1998; Robertson, 2017; Huchzermeyer, 2001; Wilkinson, 1998). The accounts from Sarah, Faeza and Melanie build on this literature by demonstrating that this exclusion is cyclical and consistently re-manufactured through economic pressures.

4.1.2.2. The precarity of citizens of colour within the urban space

The exclusionary landscape of Cape Town, and the challenges facing those pursuing home within this city, are further exacerbated by the dynamics of foreign investment and the transformation of Cape Town into an increasingly Global City. One occupier shares below about how, in his view, the presence of foreign finance and ideas are increasingly buying out the space and influence of locals.

> *"business is booming in South Africa, the investors are waiting, so get rid of these people, lets offer them money, get investors in, let's get some money in and let's get rid of these current*

people living here, push them out, offer, give them money, give them homes and they'll be

happy out there (on the periphery)"- Daniel

What Daniel expresses is a sense that private local and foreign investors are looking to stake their own claim on spaces in the city, at the cost of the urban poor and the spaces that they own, rent or occupy. There is a desire to push "these people", the urban poor, out of the city space, into areas on the periphery in order to make space for new money-making ventures.

Daniel goes on to describe how a place he used to call home in the central suburb of Sea Point has been transformed:

"I don't think I would be able to go live in Dorchester in Sea Point now again just because it's expensive… I mean, that R700 I was paying in 1990… those places was redone up and they got foreign students living there, we were two, two, three bachelors at the back... and they put our place down and they built eight, so they got now 8 bachelors at the back… and they're getting more money in now for them too" – Daniel

Daniel shares that pockets of space in the city that previously served lower income people - such as the servants' quarters in Dorchester Court have now been subsumed by the housing market in a way that redefines the group of people that the space serves and claims the area for the highest bidder, leaving low income people with very few paths to accessing home in the city, a phenomenon described by Madden (2020).

These accounts from Daniel echo McDonald's writing on the impacts of Cape Town's pursuit of "Global City" status on the urban poor (2012). In particular we see McDonald's sentiments (2012) about the spaces historically lived in by the black urban poor being reflected in Daniel's experiences.

As McDonald (2012) explains and Daniel confirms, it is the spaces of the black urban poor that do not fit into, and are therefore being used to create, the new "World City" reality that Cape Town aspires to. While the state holds a responsibility to take measures to ensure the progressive realisation of the right to adequate housing – in particular for those who were disadvantaged under the Apartheid regime – they have failed to protect the rare spaces, such as the community of Woodstock, and the servants' quarters of Dorchester Court, described by Daniel, that have historically provided this adequate housing for South Africans of colour, instead partnering with the market to expel black citizens from their homes in the city, in service of foreign interests and visions, as described by Caldiera (2017), Madden (2020) and Levenson (2008).

While the foreign influences over Cape Town increasingly pull more and more central space outside of the reach of the poor, those spaces that are financially accessible can fall victim to the deliberately racialised tenancy systems of some landlords in Cape Town. In past interactions with landlords, some occupiers that I spoke to shared experiences of being excluded from renting a space or of being evicted from a space explicitly due to race, concurring with the experiences of black renters in Lloyd et al.'s survey (2021).

One occupier, who was married to a man from another African country, shared the following about her experience with tenancy and race:

> *"it was foreigners mostly (who were staying there), the (black, African) foreigners don't want to pay, so it was a white man, the landlord, so he say you guys you gonna need to move out because some of the tenants they don't want to… pay the rent" – Eve*

In this case, due to the behaviour of other tenants of a similar racial grouping to them, Eve and her husband were evicted, despite them being in good standing with their rental payments.

The experiences of Eve resonate somewhat with the argument made by Rosen et al. (2021), that landlords tend to select and manage tenants based on the extent to which they conform to the

stereotypes and "cultural narratives" associated with their racial grouping, meaning that potential tenants have to clearly distinguish themselves from narratives associated with their racial grouping in order to be seen and understood apart from those portrayals (Rosen et al. 2021). However, as seen in Eve's case, at times, despite distinguishing themselves from the non-paying behaviour that their landlord associated with tenants of their race, they were still evicted. This barrier to people of colour accessing and maintaining consistent access to housing in the city exists regardless of capacity to pay and personal conduct, and when combined with the already significant historical barriers, creates an increasingly insurmountable wall between citizens of colour and their pursuit of home within and access to the city.

4.1.3. The strategies and impacts of coping

In order to navigate daily life within the landscapes of exclusion and precarity described above, while living in a perpetual waiting state, citizens of colour have had to develop personal and practical means of coping. These coping mechanisms and strategies simultaneously rescue and wear down these citizens, leaving lasting impacts as much as they enable these individuals to make it from one day to the next.

4.1.3.1. Protecting from exclusion through pursuing racially homogenous neighbourhoods

In being persistently excluded from Cape Town, through the dynamics described above, many black citizens now choose to cling to spaces where they are surrounded by other households of their own racial grouping, in order to find and hold onto a sense of acceptance and belonging. Therefore, racialised peripheral neighbourhoods, designed and manufactured by the Apartheid government, continue to have serious longevity in Cape Town (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015). When discussing the possibility of receiving a state house one day and the neighbourhoods where this property might be, one occupier clearly identified different potential residential areas by the racial group that lives there, referring to an area as a coloured area or a black area. She expressed a desire that she would one day

live in a neighbourhood surrounded by people like her, of the same race, so that she might feel as though she belongs and feel able to build community there. She shares the following:

"they were busy in Gugulethu, Philippi and Nyanga (the state was building houses there)… if I look at Westlake, there's a lot of coloured people staying there, there's a lot of African people staying there, and there's a lot of white people also staying there, not too much, but a few… but they stay nice, its convenient, its quite fine, they do have a fight or two by the shebeen or whatever, but they are, the neighbours are nice, coloured people, they're mixed race people (in that area, it's a mix) but um, just uh, going to Gugulethu, you don't find a coloured person in Gugulethu… You don't get a coloured person in Nyanga" –*Faeza*[KB1]

Faeza's desire to live amongst other "coloured" people practically demonstrates Bock's assertion that race remains a primary marker of identity in post-Apartheid South Africa (2014; Lefko-Everett 2012, Seeking 2008), and while it is completely valid for this occupier to want to live in this kind of community, it means that on a practical level, she is unwilling to live in an area where the majority of the people who live there are of a different race than her. While she expressed a willingness to move to a neighbourhood that was thoroughly mixed race, she felt that it was important that a decent portion of the neighbourhood's make-up reflect her own race. This case demonstrates just how closely entwined race and belonging have become in South Africa (Bock, 2014; Lefko-Everett, 2012; Seeking, 2008), and how difficult it is for many to conceive of truly belonging somewhere where citizens are not surrounded by others of their own race.

Through Faeza's perspectives, we are able to see how she intends to use racial homogeny in her neighbourhood as a strategy to protect herself from the exclusion she has witnessed and experienced in more central, previously white areas of Cape Town. The perspectives shared by Faeza build on Oldfield and Greyling's observations about the persistent presence of racialised neighbourhoods in South Africa (2015), by presenting another contributing factor, a desire for belonging, and an

association of racial homogeny with that belonging, that may influence the ongoing racial character of these neighbourhoods. In this instance then, despite the intention of black citizens to uplift their communities and cultivate belonging and the restorative and transformative intent of the right to housing, the combination of these two elements would likely lead to the maintaining of Apartheid residential patterns, therefore simultaneously maintaining the attached inequalities that people of colour have been battling against for generations.

4.1.3.2. Networks and burdens of care

For many occupiers, family networks, interdependence and household extension are presently and have historically been a big part of their lives, serving as key coping mechanisms when navigating exclusionary and discriminatory systems (Brown, 2011; Cohen and Casper, 2002; Jarrett 1994; Trent and Harlan 1994). In addition to this, a part of these coping mechanisms would oftentimes entail a household's children taking on unconventional care responsibilities. In many cases, the burden of financial provision became something occupiers shared with their parents while they were still children, contributing through chores, odd jobs and attempts to minimise their financial needs.

> *"I didn't go to grade 12, I stop in grade 10, I came down here (Cape Town) to look for a job… I was still young that time" – Eve*

> *"And I said to my sister, don't tell my mom how we're being treated, otherwise she won't be able to make money and bring us beautiful things from Port Elizabeth… because I thought to myself, she has to go out and work so we can have things, you know?" – Maria*

In the case of Eve, a turbulent marriage between her mother and her husband along with the presence of younger siblings in need, meant that she had to drop out of school at 16 to help support her family. Her sacrifice here later meant that her youngest sister was able to finish matric. For Maria, she understood that being able to cope with a difficult living situation while staying with her uncle enabled her mother to work and earn enough to send financial support to them. Through hiding the needs and fears of herself and her sister she allowed her mother to feel comfortable enough to leave them in this living situation and pursue earning opportunities without the burden of having to care for two children as a single mother and sole breadwinner. Other occupiers I spoke to had worked in family clothing or retail businesses since they could remember, helping with sales and the making of products.

The childhood experiences of these occupiers, who shared the responsibility of taking care of their families, echo the observations of Bhan et al. (2020), who describe this collective mode of negotiating survival as a lifeline in low-income communities in the everyday and during a crisis. These experiences also reflect the views of Madden (2020), and Putnick and Bornstein (2016) who note that the precarity of a household often necessitates unconventional care arrangements. Eve's story, however, extends the arguments of the above authors by giving us insight into the outcomes of a care arrangement such as this, through the matriculation of her younger sister. By sacrificing a portion of her education, Eve helped to contribute financially to the income of her family allowing her younger sister to complete her education and potentially go on to earn a higher salary.

The entanglement of support and sacrifice experienced by occupiers throughout their childhoods can often mean that the familial responsibility of care work, household work and financial support continues to have a large influence over the decisions of some participants well into adulthood. This can lead to tensions between pursuing job opportunities and honouring their commitment to care, an

assertion outlined in Magubane's work on "black tax" in South Africa (2017). Some participants go on to share the following:

"when I was here in Cape Town, my mom get sick, so my sister, she phone me, she said I must go to help" – Eve

"because my uncle was – my aunty's husband, he's now the other side of the family, he wasn't also healthy, my cousin's father, so I help him with bath him, shave him, clip his hair, take him to his appointments and stuff like that, that was like, I wanted to do that for him, because like, I was very young, and they were always, my mother was always let them come stay by us and so, for a couple months, because they were people who always were not having stuff, so my bond with them, I know them from small already, so I like to pay back from myself to him, what they did for us and so"- James

When Faeza's parents began to ail, she made the decision to move into Cissie Gool House without her children, to support and care for her parents:

"I even said, okay, my children can stay where they are, and I will still move in here, reason being that whenever my mother gets sick or so, then I am here… You understand, I can phone and travel from here to there, to go check up there (where her children are), and then go there for a few days and come back again, but still be here, so when my mother gets sick"- Faeza

Interestingly, despite the formulation of these networks as a means to better navigate the everyday, and cope with experiences of exclusion and crisis as a low-income family, as Madden (2020)

describes, the impacts of commitments to these networks can simultaneously act as a hindrance to access and progress as well. These patterns of commitment to care echo those described by Magubane (2017) and appear to contribute to the apparent resistance to upward mobility for black urban poor households.

 In the account from Faeza, we see how her commitment to care for her own mother overrides her commitment to be present with her children. These experiences echo Hoffman's assertion that "the intergenerational contract is… *embedded* as a way of living in Africa" (p.173, 2003), despite other demands that compete for citizens' time and finances. As Magubane (2017) states, and the above accounts support, an individual's finances and personal capacity to serve, work or care are not entities purely under the control of the individual who has them, instead family members, parents, siblings, aunts, uncles or grandparents all feel as though they are entitled to access these, meaning that any accumulated resources or capacities are widely shared and dispersed and claims are made on these in unpredictable ways, leading to increase in or maintenance of the financial and social precarity of the individual in question.

4.1.3.3. The communal raising of children

As black parents pursue home for their children while navigating exclusionary employment and social landscapes, they often find that the best way to procure that home for their child is to place their child under another family member's care. A vast majority of occupiers shared that this had been their experience during childhood, with many stating that they had spent most of their childhood living away from their parents, growing up with cousins who became brothers and aunts who became mothers.

> "I grow up with my grandmother, because my mother was from childhood like at work, and so
>
> my mother was in Cape Town so my grandmother would look after us, me and my brother,
>
> cousins… from there on, my mother disappeared, and from then on things get hard, because
>
> there was no money sending home, I was growing up without my own father, so there was only
>
> an income for my aunt, my cousins' mother, and my grandfather was like working on the

farm… and then, we went to our father in Eersteriver, I went to school there, high school, things get difficult there with him, and I came back here to Woodstock, where I normally visit my aunt…, from there on, my grandfather passed away… and then I go stay with someone else… and then she (her aunt) asked because she was having cancer in her arm, she asked me to come, because she was having three young girls, so I could plait their hair and help them in the house" – Melanie

"I had a very, with my mother and father we had a very… a good life, but also there was problems and stuff, that's why I stayed with my aunty to get a stable life… the whole four was split… I went to my aunty… It's very hard, because we're four sisters, and you can't even go and sleep by your mother, because she only got the two youngest, she was more for that… my mom and dad was never mostly together and um, there was things that she didn't like, with his lifestyle and all of that, so she divorced him and he was inside prison for things that happened with him and his brother, because they both got the same issues both sides so the one took the other one's blame and it was too much for her to handle" – Sheila

In these accounts from Maria, Melanie and Sheila, we can see how their childhood experiences may feed into the depth and width of extended family care networks and contribute to the blurring and morphing of family boundaries and responsibilities described by Huebner et al. (2007). In the case of Melanie, her time spent within her aunt's household later leads her to take on a new role as a caregiver in this household, becoming an agent in the strategy of shared childcare that she benefitted from.

As evidenced by the above accounts, these childcare arrangements were distinct from situations where alternative caregivers stepped in as a result of a child being orphaned, the parents falling gravely ill or being deemed unfit, as described by Pinson-Millburn et al., 1996; the phenomenon of extended family members raising children who were not their own overwhelmingly happened as a response to

challenges in financial circumstances or living situation on the part of the black parent. As black or coloured workers, parents often formed a part of a "migrant" labour force who experienced mandatory separation from their families and co-living with fellow workers (Belknap, 1985). Parents responded to this situation by sending their children to spaces where there were enough resources to look after them, akin to the fostering practices of the Ovambo people described by Brown (2011). In both the fostering practices described by Brown (2011) and the experiences of Maria, Melanie and Sheila, childcare responsibilities would be shifted according to which family member had the most resources available to care for the child – this dynamic is particularly apparent in the case of Melanie, who moved regularly from household to household in response to shifting household situations.

We also see this shift in mode of care and social reproduction occur partially in response to the social and relational precarity of a household, somewhat reflecting the work done by Madden (2020). This is particularly apparent in the story of Maria, whose mother used a strategy of communal childcare to cope with the loss of her husband and her new role as the sole parent, and in the story of Sheila, where it was the precarity created by the turbulent and unstable relationship between parents that necessitated the shift in care arrangements. While Madden (2020) chiefly describes household precarity in material terms, Maria and Sheila's accounts expand on this, by demonstrating how households can draw on similar childcare strategies to cope with relational turbulence and precarity.

However, despite the well-intentioned, sophisticated and complex sharing of care responsibilities through family networks as described by Foster's work on orphan care in Africa (2000) and Brown's work on child fostering in sub-saharan Africa (2011), these arrangements were experienced by most participants as incredibly jarring, and dominated by fear, hurt or loss, dynamics illustrated in particular through the stories of Sheila above, and Maria below:

The following account from Maria builds on what Sheila shares about the relational and emotional impacts of this mode of childcare.

> *"when my father passed on... we were very very young, so my mum sent us to relatives... we*
>
> *were sent to my mom's brother, who we grew up calling dad, because he practically raised us...*

he had eight children of his own, his wife and himself, that's ten, my sister and myself, that's now twelve, and we all stayed in this, uh, could I call it a two bedroom?... the mother was like an iron stick... especially towards me, I had to learn to be strong... so, I've never really had a childhood... my dad's wife would say nasty things and shout at us and all those things, I had no one to go to, to talk to, you know, um, there was no one there for me... my mother used to come, every December, we would be so excited because she'd come in to visit, and then we had the best treatment because my mother is around, you know? And I would always give my sister surety that she will be back. After a good couple of years, her visitations stopped... and then she came with her husband one day, to visit, and we, there must have been a family thing, I remember, I remember vaguely, and she came with him, and she already had, they already had my brother (her mother and her new husband already had a son together)"- Maria

In the case of Maria, the already traumatic event of losing her father was augmented by the subsequent loss of her mother's presence in her life as well, whilst moving into a household with new care-givers and sibling-figures and adjusting to the harsh manner in which her aunt treated her. The relational and emotional distance between Maria and her mother, already present due to them only seeing one another once a year, shifted to a level akin to abandonment when her mother's visits stopped entirely, only for her to return with a whole new family. While this situation cannot be taken as representative of communal raising networks, it is not uncommon, and constitutes a significant experience of loss, loneliness and hurt.

The prolonged absence of their parents, and the dynamics of a new home with new carers forced many participants to become self-aware and self-reliant at a very young age as a means to foster their own resilience, a dynamic described by Samuels & Pryce (2008).

"I had to start learning to cook for a big family at the age of 10,11" – Maria

"And my father (her uncle) would call magodine – that's now the boys – get in! We're gonna go, we're gonna go cut some wood, and then we have to, they have to (get in) but these boys run away… He'll just give me one look and I'll jump into the bakkie – he'll just give me one look!" – Maria

"I had no one, I had no one. I only had the radio sometimes when the radio came on, and then at a certain time I would run home to listen, you know those small radios? When there's a service on, I'll sit next to the radio and listen… we weren't even allowed to have friends" – Maria

"It was challenging, although I was her sister's child, there was still competition in the house, because remember there's her children there… what she gave her children she would give me also when going to school, but there was still that insecurity… She'll always say yes I'm her child and whatever, but um, it's not 100% and there is a challenge, and now you have to feel sometimes when they go out and whatever, you can't always go with, you can't always share what they're having, because it's for them." – Sheila

"my aunty asked me to stay with her daughter, but her daughter she was lazy, so in the morning I must make the bed for her… I must make, uh, hot water for her to put in the bath, neh? But we're the same age with her, so my aunt, she never treat me like her daughter, you understand?" - Eve

In each of the above accounts we can see how these participants tangibly experienced a distinct difference between their role in their new households and the roles of the other children. For Maria,

there were new care and provision responsibilities that she took on, through cooking and assisting with the fetching and chopping of wood which would later be sold to support the family, similarly, for Eve, she was expected to serve her cousin, doing chores on her behalf. For Sheila, it was being reminded of her different status through not being able to attend some events with the rest of the family.

In speaking with participants, there was a sense across the board that they needed to continually maintain a sense of usefulness without letting it lapse in order to remain accepted in the household, echoing the experiences of earning inclusion that their parents were experiencing in the white city spaces (Makhulu, 2015). While parents intended to protect their children from the effects of an exclusionary economic system and broader society as described by Belknap (1985) by pursuing what they believed would be the best available home for them and sending them to be cared for elsewhere, it is clear that rather than avoiding these impacts, their children simply experienced them in alternative ways, through exclusion in their new households and extra chores or responsibilities. These isolating and exclusionary experiences appear to contrast starkly with the arguments put forth by many authors who describe these kinds of shared caring strategies as fundamentally generative (Brown, 2011; Bicego, Rutstein and Johnson, 2003; Ankrah, 1993; Monasch & Boerma, 2004).

4.1.3.4. Co-residence as a housing strategy

For many occupiers, prior to their stay at Cissie Gool House, co-residence with other family members was a key strategy for securing safe and adequate shelter for themselves and their families in the context of the lack of available affordable accommodation, a phenomenon described by Keene and Batson (2010). Due to some of the aforementioned barriers to accessing housing, and the burdens of care that many adults of colour carry, being able to rent or buy a home of one's own is often not a feasible possibility. Faeza shares the following about her experiences as a newlywed looking for accommodation:

"at that time, what was available, there was actually nothing available, so we weren't prepared by getting a place or whatever, we staying with our family at that time when I got married… with my husband's family"- Faeza

In the case that Faeza describes, living with her new husband's parents was the only way that they could both have a roof over their heads and live together. This case was further complicated by the fact that her husband was his family's chief breadwinner, and so co-residence was the only choice that enabled him to continue to support his parents financially, while still beginning a life with his new wife.

Newman argues in her work that "affluence loosens the ties that remain tight, even oppressive at times, in poor communities". It is these challengingly tight ties that one can start to see in multigenerational co-residing households, which often leave multiple generations living in a space that was designed for a single nuclear family. Through Daniel's account below we can start to understand the kinds of tensions and conflicts that could emerge from the "oppressively tight ties" that form in low-income families who employ co-residence as a housing strategy.

"at that time I was living with my sister and them, here in Argyle Street in Woodstock… and then she passed away and her husband and myself is living in the house, and one day he came to my work and he said to me, oh, you know, we got to sign these papers, its quite urgent… he told me to sign, and that was actually a letter, stated from my sister, who passed away, her shares (of the house) that we were signing away, that was given to us, our power of attorney we signed over to him… Her husband, he's so shrewd, he actually went to his lawyers to say, we're allowing, we are giving him it all back to him… We don't want this any longer, we don't want our shares of our house"- Daniel

"I never got anything, I walked in here with two bags of clothes, and I left everything behind, everything, my stove, my washing machine, my fridge, everything I worked for that was mine, my TV, everything I left there, so I moved in here 4 and a half years back, it was two bags of clothes"- Daniel

For Daniel, co-residing with his sister and her husband led to a heart-breaking betrayal in the wake of her death that left him homeless and destitute, with most of his belongings locked up in a house he was now barred from. A similar situation saw Sheila lose access to belongings of hers that were being stored by family due to tensions between her and them (not quoted). Her family members gave away or sold most of the belongings she had stored with them. In both cases these individuals lost useful items that could have aided in their homemaking process elsewhere, leaving them in incredibly vulnerable positions as they sought out new homes.

In the case of Maria, her pursuit of a university education for her son meant that both her and her son stayed with her mother for a time. The anxiety and resentment caused by their presence pushed their relationship to a tense state, eventually leading Maria to go door to door selling food and drink to try and bring in some more income to supplement her mother's pension.

"My son had his education here, he is a Capetonian through and through, but he couldn't get into the universities around here… so I thought, okay, let's go to Port Elizabeth, because I don't want him to have a wasted life, and we went to Port Elizabeth… but then, I suppose it was a bit heavy on my mother, so now she's got these two people that's she got to (support) out of her pension… My mother, she just said terrible things… and then I started, cause I thought I've got to start with something, I can't exactly remember how I started it, but selling amagwinyas, and I made stoney, ginger beer" – Maria

Note: Maria's son is currently finishing his studies in Port Elizabeth and continues to be sustained by both his grandmother and mother

In this account from Maria we can clearly see how co-residence was being mobilised as a means for her to secure further education and therefore upward mobility for her son. In her case it is not only being used as a means to survive, but as a means to improve her family's standard of living.

Keene and Batson (2010) outline a correlation between financial constraints and multi-generational homes in their work on co-residence, something which is seen in Faeza's account in particular but is a significant factor in each case described by our participants. Keene and Batson (2010) also assert that a lack of adequate housing supply, as described in 4.1.1. can lead to individuals mobilising co-residence as a housing strategy, a perspective echoed in Faeza's account where the newlyweds could find no available, adequate, affordable housing, and so turned to living with their parents. However, Maria's account expands on the work of Keene and Batson (2010) by offering another potential motive for co-residence. In the case of Maria, co-residence was not undertaken as a strategy because she was unable to access accommodation elsewhere, but rather because she was unable to access the resources and services she desired where she was currently staying. Moving in with her mother enabled her and her son to access the higher education services that they had hoped for, in so doing attempting to improve their quality of life, and his employability and education level. Instead of simply using co-residence as a survival strategy, Maria and her son used it as a strategy to overcome the barriers to advancement that they faced in Cape Town.

Cohen and Casper's work (2002) describes the delicate power dynamics within a multigenerational household. These authors outline how the imbalance of power between "hosts" of a household (those who own, rent or have a more informal claim to ownership over the home) and "guests" to that household (those who have joined the household, seeking accommodation) can leave "guests" in the

incredibly vulnerable position of having to rely on and maintain the strength of their relationships with "hosts" in order to preserve their tenure (Cohen and Casper, 2002). Daniel's account confirms the tenuousness of the tenure of "guests" in multigenerational households however, the experience that Daniel describes, of having his legitimate ownership of a house stolen from him by a co-owner of the house, rendering him homeless, is an outcome of co-residence that is not foreseen by Cohen and Casper (2002). While Feinauer, Lund and Miller's work (1987) acknowledges that it can sometimes become impossible for families to function and grow effectively while containing a myriad of different people, Daniel's story demonstrates with new clarity the challenges, burdens and strains of co-residence, and the measures that family members are sometimes willing to take to escape having to continue living in a multigenerational household. Unfortunately, when these co-residence arrangements become overstretched, they can reproduce the housing precarity that the multigenerational home aimed to shelter individuals from.

4.1.4. Conclusion

This section has explored the significant historical, geographical, structural, economic and social obstacles experienced by participants as they have journeyed to cultivate thriving and empowering spaces of home for themselves in the city. Through residents' experiences of exclusion, we have seen how Capetonian systems and infrastructures have unlocked and foreclosed certain interactions and freedoms, and continue to do so, reflecting the work of Collier (2011) and others (Coward, 2012; Lancione, 2013; Makhulu, 2015; Schindler, 2017). The experiences of residents expressed above echo the perspective expressed by Marschall (2016) about the intent of the city to accommodate only certain identities and narratives. As residents have encountered these obstacles, we have seen them innovate, developing unique strategies to navigate these barriers in ways that have fundamentally shaped and reimagined their home lives, even before becoming a part of Cissie Gool House. Through unpacking the networks of care and unconventional household formations that many participants have previously mobilised in order to navigate their housing obstacles, we have seen how these strategies can function as both burdens and safety nets. These unconventional forms of home, developed

through strategies such as co-residence and communal childcare, now come to contribute to the imagining, maintenance, and continual renewal of the home environment at Cissie Gool House.

While current occupiers and their families have previously had no choice but to do all that they can to hold together makeshift homes, as they wait on the state to deliver on the democratic promise of adequate, serviced housing, they have consequently experienced difficult and personal impacts as a result of these homemaking attempts, such as broken relationships, isolation, trauma, conflict, betrayal, and mental health impacts, at times leading them to turn to damaging coping mechanisms to get by, echoing perspectives expressed by Patel, Chaker and Singh (2021). This myriad of coping mechanisms, symptoms of living with and through housing instability, follow occupiers in through the doors of Cissie Gool House, also playing a role in the kind of home space CGH becomes and the capacity of these residents to contribute to its development. As they step into Cissie Gool House day after day residents carry these burdens, but concurrently, they also bring with them their experiences of make-do, innovative home-making arrangements that help to build CGH up and allow it to continually adapt to the needs of its residents and its surrounding community.

4.2. Contested citizenships

In the context of South Africa's history of legislated exclusion (Lemanski, 2019; 2018), the significance of citizenship for people of colour is enormous (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015; Wafer, 2012; Lalloo, 1999) and is tightly entwined with a sense of freedom and equality. The following section unpacks the various ways that residents of Cissie Gool House think about and conceptualise their citizenship, its present realities and future possibilities. Through exploring a series of encountered citizenships, this section then moves to better understand the uneven ways that many CGH residents have experienced citizenship, and how this has impacted on their relationship with the state. Finally, through investigating some of the practices within Cissie Gool House, this section delves into the novel and inventive ways that citizenship is being reclaimed and redeveloped within the CGH community.

4.2.1. (Re)imagining Citizenship

When speaking with occupiers about citizenship, one of the first associations that emerge is a sense of belonging. Below two participants share what citizenship means to them.

> *"so this is a country basically that I own, I'm from this country, so I own this country… I'm a citizen of this country, I was born and bred here, this is where I live…"- Daniel*

> *"Belonging, having your own space… Not being rattled all the time… having the option of being where you are, where you want to be, where you feel comfortable" – Maria*

For Daniel, a large part of what citizenship means to him is a sense that a person has roots in their place of citizenship and draws some aspect of their identity from the country, its spaces and its ideas. This perspective echoes Cooper's 1991 understanding of Citizenship, which centres around the

sharing of values, tradition, and consensus. Further, in the mind of Daniel, citizens are those who understand the land, have a history with the spaces of a country, and have a sense of ownership and therefore responsibility towards the space, alluding to Lund's assertion that citizenship and land remain heavily entwined (2011). However, Maria extends this association between citizenship and land by not only highlighting the importance of the spatial element of citizenship but emphasising the importance of freedom within this, the freedom to claim one's own space and have this claim be respected and maintained. The association, in the accounts of both participants, between having a space of one's own and holding South African citizenship is one previously identified by Rodina and Harris (2016) and Lemanski (2020; 2019; 2018), as they describe the strong association citizens feel between the receipt of a state house and their sense that their citizenship is fulfilled. Maria's perspective extends these ideas even further though, by suggesting that, to her what is meant by citizenship is this sense of her being able to have a valid claim on a space of her choosing, a space where she feels comfortable, and would like to make a home, not necessarily a space deemed valid for her by the state. This distinction demonstrates that Maria envisions the citizenship relationship not as one involving a passive receipt of a home from a benevolent state, but rather an active collaboration between citizen and state to together develop a home that best serves the citizen in question. We see Holston's reimagining of rights (2008) is demonstrated in this account from Maria, as she redefines what form her rights need to take in order for them to have tangible value in her life. As Maria reimagines these rights, she also exhibits one of the first signs of the emergence of new citizenships (Holston, 2008).

When speaking to occupiers about their vision for citizenship in the future - how they would like to see citizenship being mobilised within South Africa, Faeza shared the following:

> *"to make affordable places for everybody that is in need of one, to make jobs affordable for everybody, not only certain cultures" – Faeza*

Faeza's account reiterates the connection between a fulfilled citizenship and access to land or housing and demonstrates that the addressing of current housing gaps will be key to citizenship quality in the future. However, her response also suggests that citizens in the future should have a role to play in procuring access to land, housing and job opportunities for others. In this way, as Faeza looks to the future of citizenship, she envisions insurgent citizenships (Holston, 2008) moving beyond simply opposing state ideas of citizenship and towards practically altering the way the state and its citizenships operate, initiating a new kind of citizen-citizen relationship and responsibility.

Many occupiers shared a vision of seeing citizens increasingly involved and actively engaged in conversations around the provision of affordable housing, reflecting the kinds of empowered and participatory citizenship spoken about by authors such as Millstein (2020), Miraftab & Wills (2005) and Robins et al. (2008). Occupiers also had the following to say about how they'd like to see South Africans utilize and wield their citizenship in future:

> *"I would just like to see more unity amongst people, more tolerance, we have a lot of people coming from other countries, who are becoming citizens of our country who we don't know about and I think you as an actual citizen might not be able to make a change, but that person who's coming into your country could make a change"- Daniel*

> *"I think they must use it as a community and not that like your citizenship like, but in a community way, and not in a (singular way), because there's no answer if you're in a one man boat."- Melanie*

> *"people need to question what they (as the government) do, they need to stand firm and show that, show what they believe in, because this land is not for one person, its for everybody… people must stand together, that's the only way you're gonna get something is stand together" – James*

Through the above accounts from participants, we can see that inclusivity, tolerance, accountability, and unity are all key elements of the kinds of struggles over and future citizenships that these occupiers envisage. According to Ramjathan-Keogh (2022) and Sonke Gender Justice (2022), it is written in the constitution and has been confirmed by South African courts that refugees and asylum seekers alike have the right to work and to access basic social services, such as healthcare, additionally, South Africa is one of the few African countries whose refugee policy does not confine refugees to refugee camps and gives them the freedoms of the country. Daniel imagines a future where South African citizens recognise their immense capacity to assist these migrants and move to mobilise their citizenship in a way that includes and doesn't exclude, instead using their citizenship to challenge hierarchies and disentangle resources to help those most in need, regardless of their classification, extending the freedoms and benefits granted to this group of people by the constitution. James's account identifies the importance of harnessing boldness in future interactions with the state to ensure proper accountability, as discussed in works by Millstein (2020), Miraftab & Wills (2005), Robins et al. (2008), Holston (2009) and Staeheli et al. (2012) but James extends the views of these authors by focusing on the direct relationship between state and citizen as the site for this boldness. Both Melanie and James put forward a collective idea of future citizenship and emphasize that this collective mode of citizenship proves to be more impactful in garnering recognition and action from the state.

Despite these ideas and many others centering around unity and standing together as communities to address issues, some occupiers expressed a great despondency around the future of citizenship in South Africa. Eve shared the following:

"These days you can't change but if ever maybe there can be change, we can't be all equal, there must be rich, there must be struggling, there must be poor, there must be rich"- Eve

Eve's sense of the lasting inequality in South Africa has been demonstrated by Oldfield and Greyling (2015), Adebayo (2010), Amin and Cirolia (2018) and Lemanski (2007) to mention a few. Her vision for the future of South African citizenship is in line with what she has experienced and observed over her time in South Africa, asserting the fact that while some aspects of citizenship may shift and change, the continuing inequality associated with it will not.

4.2.2. Encountered Citizenship

Through observing the interactions of citizens with government agencies and infrastructures like SARS, occupiers identified differential responses, concessions, and negotiations which demonstrates a citizenship that is in fact skewed, layered, and not equally granted to all, and reveals a government with an apparent favouritism amongst its citizens (Lemanski, 2019). When asked about her encounters with citizenship, Melanie shared the following:

"I was thinking it was only for certain people to go and claim (money) at SARS" – Melanie

In the case of Melanie, she saw that certain citizens received money from the state through SARS and didn't understand why or how they were qualifying for this compensation while she was not. While this uneven treatment of different earners by SARS is legitimate and acts in order to protect lower earners and their income, some citizens being included in this state-citizen process while others are not does create two distinctly different experiences of citizenship, as described by Lemanski (2019). Faeza goes on to share her experiences of citizenship below:

"I've been in South Africa for all my life now, 47 years… the only thing is… our elderly people don't get jobs no more, only the youngsters" – Faeza

Faeza's account demonstrates the presence of an expectation that the government make room for each citizen to contribute and be employed, be productive and provide for their families. When asked about

her experiences of citizenship, Faeza highlights an absence of job opportunities, demonstrating a clear association in her mind between being included in the job market and the sense of belonging and freedom that citizenship is supposed to grant. Karst (1997), Forbath (1999), Schultz (2000) and Bosniak (2001) concur with this association of employment with citizenship quality as expressed by Faeza. They argue that enjoying the freedoms of full, equal citizenship must include access to decent work, and so when citizens are unemployed, underemployed or working under unfair conditions, it impacts on the quality of their citizenship. Through Faeza's account, we can see how interactions between the state and older citizens, and perceptions of these interactions shape the way that these older citizens understand themselves to be perceived by the state, again revealing a slanted set of unequal citizenships through encounters with state infrastructures, echoing arguments made by Lemanski (2019) and Miraftab (2009).

When discussing citizenship further with Faeza, violence and safety also emerged as concerns:

> *"living in South Africa, for me, its okay, just the violence that needs to be settled down a bit" –*
> *Faeza*

Faeza connecting the experience of her citizenship with the presence of violence in her country demonstrates the extent to which the presence of crime or a lack of safety acts as a direct attack on citizenship quality. It additionally concurs with Lemanski's proposition that for poor and peripheral residents, citizenship tends to be framed in terms of dignity-claiming factors such as shelter or security (2019). Section 12 of the Bill of Rights outlines the rights citizens have to Freedom and Security of Person, which encapsulates freedom from all forms of violence. However, as discussed by Jensen (1999), these rights to a community free from violence have not been realised in the poor, peripheral areas of Cape Town that low-income citizens have access to. Therefore, once again we see an example of differential citizenships within Cape Town, divided by the sense of safety that each is allowed to experience. While this case echoes the presence of differential citizenships outlined in Lemanski (2019), it extends Lemanski's arguments by suggesting that disparate experiences of

violence and safety create differential citizenships as well. Uneven experiences of violence and safety are perhaps no more starkly on display than in the lives of the homeless and the homed. Melanie, who has herself experienced homelessness, shares below about the experience of citizenship is altered when living in a homeless state.

> *"at the moment it seems like, if you're homeless and have your citizenship, you're standing alone, no one hears you."- Melanie*

As Melanie outlines, this difference in access to housing and land, in many ways a product of the differential citizenships of the past, appears to cause further unevenness in treatment by the state. As Melanie shares, "no one hears you" if you're a homeless citizen trying to express views or concerns about your own struggles or about the use of state land, despite the fact that it is your constitutional right to have access to that land (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). This dynamic can be seen reflected in Lund's work, in which he identifies the strong link between an individual's access to and ownership of land, and the agency, rights and dignity held by that individual (2011). This experience described above is also reflected in Chatterjee's work, which outlines two different classes of citizenship and of state-citizen engagement, with greater citizenship privileges being granted to "Civil Society": those who own or have settled claims on property (1997). When we explore Melanie's statement further, we are able to understand that the experience of not being heard as a homeless citizen, is also a product of these citizens acting outside of state-prescribed and approved forms of citizenship by making homes out of abandoned state or private spaces, a dynamic outlined by a number of authors (Anand, 2011; Mahadevan & Naqvi, 2017; Lemanski, 2017, 2020; Millstein, 2020; Holston, 2008).

For occupiers who are connected to foreigners through marriage, their experienced citizenship is markedly different from citizens who marry their own countrymen, as outlined here by Eve:

"sometimes its gonna be hectic for me someway somehow, because I was married with a foreigner, ne? the other day also my sister is sending the money in PEP stores, so when I use my ID they say no, this is not your surname, which is the surname for my husband… I say, but I am a South African, this is my ID, this is my face, you understand? But home affairs is such a struggle, even that time I was in Pretoria, he want to make a passport for (their son), so they, home affairs, say, no we can't make it not unless you come with your wife" – Eve

As Eve explains, as a result of her having been married to an African immigrant, her interactions with government, pseudo-government or market agencies like home affairs or PEP stores, are more convoluted, with more visits required, and more in-depth scrutiny needed, creating an impression that a connection with an African immigrant somehow makes one less trustworthy or in need of more investigation.

Receiving this kind of treatment from government agents leaves those with foreign connections feeling isolated and unwelcome and implies that they are engaging in a kind of citizenship that the state does not approve of (Anand, 2011; Mahadevan & Naqvi, 2017; Lemanski, 2017, 2020; Millstein, 2020; Holston, 2008). Through Eve's account we can see how your personal choice of who to marry can impact the quality of citizenship you experience. This assertion is echoed by Ekambaram's work (2019), which highlights the prominence of these kinds of discriminatory state practices in South Africa and points out conscious shifts in policy that extend the differentiation of foreign nationals and their spouses from citizens, actions she terms as "institutional xenophobia". In cases like these we see the individual choices of citizens and the unique qualities of these citizens influencing the degree to which they are granted citizenship rights and the ease with which they are able to access these rights, in some ways echoing the differentiated material and relational citizenships experienced during Apartheid (Lemanski, 2019; 2018; Rodina & Harris, 2016) in a new form.

Throughout these accounts from CGH residents it is clear that formal notions of citizenship are not being reflected in citizens' substantive experience (Miraftab, 2009) and therefore differential citizenships (Lemanski, 2019) have formed across multiple axes.

4.2.3. (Re)claiming Citizenship

At Cissie Gool House, there is a powerful sense that citizens should have a say in the running of their country and its lands.

"this land is not for one person, its for everybody, so if you're a citizen you need to act like it, you need to claim your land, because this is what belong to you"- James

James speaks apparently boldly here on the land of South Africa belonging to its citizens, but yet his understanding reflects the rights set out in Section 25 of the Constitution, which entitles all citizens to equitable access to land (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). However, the dissonance between this apparent sense of ownership and the lived reality of many South Africans' relationship with land is stark, as outlined by Moyo (2014). In James's account here, he references the importance of recognising these areas where lived citizenship is not reflecting constitutional imaginings of citizenship, echoing points made by Miraftab in her work on substantive and formal citizenship (2009). Further, James stresses the importance of moving to make claims in a way that re-establishes the truth of one's role in the country, ensuring that substantive citizenship properly reflects constitutional citizenship roles (Miraftab, 2009).

The work of Reclaim the City and Ndifuna Ukwazi (Cirolia et al., 2021) within the broader Cissie Gool House community has seen a detailed unpacking of the rights of citizens and responsibilities of government in South Africa. Below some CGH residents give some insight into their journey with citizenship since becoming a part of Cissie Gool House.

"I really didn't understand that before, citizenship is like… I'm from this country, and I have a say, like any other person have a say, its my right to do certain stuff" – Melanie

"I didn't understand the whole thing of citizenship, and I didn't understand also what comes with that, and what I can achieve in this time, in South Africa as a citizen of South Africa… now I know a lot more, I know about government and how to keep them accountable"- James

As Melanie and James share, before becoming a part of the Cissie Gool House community, they didn't know very much about how their citizenship could be mobilised and used in ways that practically altered their reality. As James highlights, knowledge of the kind of equality that he is entitled to has allowed him and other occupiers to start to identify the dissonance between their experienced citizenships and what the constitution requires of governments, igniting a fire to hold government accountable and chart a path forward. This elevated understanding of citizenship rights has influenced the landscape of power between the citizens in the occupation and their government officials, leading Melanie to say the following of government officials:

"my taxes pay your salary, don't waste my money" – Melanie

This passing comment demonstrates a growing comfort with holding officials accountable for their choices, both financial and otherwise. Lund (2011) describes citizenship as a synonym for agency, and it is this agency that is being reclaimed in the educational activism that takes place in CGH. Through the mindsets and accounts of James and Melanie we can see the presence and growth of the active and engaged citizenship that Bakker et al. (2012) amongst others (Heikkila & Isett, 2007) tout as an important strategy for improved governance. According to these authors, this kind of active citizenship, being cultivated within Cissie Gool House, breathes energy into the relationship between citizen and government, inducing more clear and dynamic communication, ensuring that citizen priorities are better understood and cared for. Now occupiers speak confidently about the fact that citizenship was in fact designed to be used as a tool to help citizens shift their own reality and take control of their lives, spaces and their country's trajectory. Within the occupation, the movement and the CGH space has also ignited a hunger in a lot of occupiers to understand and know more about their own rights, citizenship and governing processes.

"I was challenging myself to learn the process, the process of eviction, um, how to be able to help someone else if he face the same thing, so that's how I came to be a monitor and then a floor monitor and then leadership, so in leadership now, now I'm able to take that knowledge and be able to help the people if there be people that don't understand or whatever, I'm able to help them and guide them, you see? And secure the same what I secure for my family" – James

Through James's account we can see the impact being made by organisations like NU and RTC who are constantly making educational material available for occupiers to deepen their understanding of the legal and political structures that impact them. This resident is now able to equip and protect other citizens facing eviction with a knowledge of their rights. James's account also demonstrates the ways in which this access to education has empowered him as a leader, and has seen him move from an ordinary resident, to a key leader at Cissie Gool House. This empowering educational movement functions similarly to what Barbosa observed within the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) of Brazil (2017; Meszaros, 2000). Within the MST there is a belief that this education is the key element in transforming the peasantry into political actors with agency and impact, a view echoed within CGH (Barbosa, 2017; Meszaros, 2000).

Now that occupiers have been equipped with these tools, we see them accessing and mobilising the formal antagonistic modes of citizenship described by Mahadevan and Naqvi (2017), engaging directly with the apparatus of the state, such as policy development, that impact on their lives. In this way then, the work of RTC and NU has allowed for a new channel of state-citizen relations to open up for occupiers, who would traditionally only have access to methods within Mahadevan and Naqvi's informal antagonistic modes of citizenship (2017), such as protests or demonstrations. However, even beyond inhabiting and enlivening the kinds of active citizenship imagined by the state, residents of CGH take hold of these citizenship mechanisms and innovate with them, creating forms of citizenship that are entirely new (Holston, 2009).

"there where you're being involved in the protest oh my word… we did the zombie thing, a zombie march and (a leader at Cissie Gool House) was in the coffin… going to the golf club, we were chased out of the front, but we went in the back, and we got in… they also nominated me for the land and housing team, so I even learnt about that, it's challenging, but it's good… (we) had to do the newsletter, which I thought- oh my word I was stressing – how am I going to do a newsletter now, and it was so nice, I was telling (another occupier) the other day, we three did it, and it was so nice, I can't wait to do another one" – Sheila

What Sheila shares here highlights the novel modes of citizenship that are emerging through CGH. Since the 2017 occupation of Cissie Gool House, ideas about what citizenship could have been shifted amongst occupiers, partially through education, but also through the experiencing of marches, protests, committees, newsletters and other practical modes of activism, done in visceral and imaginative ways that paint the true reality of the working class. Marches depicting zombies moving through the streets of Cape Town, and the rising of old Apartheid leaders from coffins, brought to life the felt revival of unequal Apartheid-era policies and housing schemes (Washinyira, Yauger and Hendricks, 2019), and protests invading suburban golf courses have pierced illusions about spatial equality in Cape Town (Washinyira, 2019). Confronting and rewriting the perceived neutrality of upper and middle-class spaces such as these golf courses makes apparent in a novel way the role that middle and upper class Capetonians continue to play in the gating of space. Through these citizenship actions described by Sheila we see the development and design of new modes of citizenship that authentically reflect the realities experienced by this group of citizens, in the absence of adequate existing modes of citizenship. Through these actions occupiers are displaying clear insurgent citizenships, as described by Holston (2009) by demanding accountability and staking claims on rights that have not been sufficiently realised.

Despite the accounts given by Melanie, James and Sheila, four of the eight occupiers I interviewed didn't feel as though their sense of citizenship had changed much, or at all since they'd been staying at CGH, instead feeling as though it had stayed fairly consistent. For the most part, this group of

people has a smaller level of involvement in leadership and monitor structures and are not as involved in external RTC functions or events, concurring with observations made by Herold and De Barros (2020) surrounding a trend towards a more internal focus within RTC. While they are invested in the values of the occupation, and the need for affordable housing for all, they don't necessarily pursue political education, and are less likely to engage with the formal legal and participatory channels of the state described by Mahadevan and Naqvi (2017). For this group of people, based on my observations, it is their everyday actions, their everyday living and engaging within the occupation that help to continue to transform the CGH space and advance the Reclaim the City movement, echoing observations by Herold and De Barros (2020) about the role of the everyday in sustaining a movement like this. Through their quiet encroachment (Bayat, 2013; Oldfield and Greyling, 2015) within the occupation they gradually cultivate a home for themselves while remaining as non-confrontational as possible. They contribute enormously to the environment being created at CGH, but do so in a more practical, less conscious, every day, incremental way, as described by De Boeck & Baloji (2016) and Graham and McFarlane (2015).

4.2.3.1. Reclaim The City Movement

In contrast with their relationship with the South African government, some of the residents I spoke to attested to the trustworthiness and reliability of the Reclaim The City movement. Daniel and Melanie share further:

> *"Reclaim the City has done a lot, I must say, you know, they've proven themselves, over and over again… you can see these hours that these people are putting in"- Daniel*

> *"Melanie: when the movement go, then there's hope again, but like, that's for me like, and for me I trust that, the people's power yes, will talk*
> *Interviewer: so you trust that more than you trust the government to follow through?*

Melanie: Yes, because its we, we, we make the government actually, we we we, we are the

ones… this is a non-stoppable movement"- Melanie

Both Daniel and Melanie's accounts demonstrate the level of trust they have in the RTC movement and the faith that they have that this movement will continue to pull through for them. Melanie's admission that she trusts RTC, the broader movement, and the people's power more than she does the state is revealing in that it shows us that the broader RTC movement has been able to support her and make progress in ways that the state hasn't. As seen in Melanie's testimony, the presence of this movement fosters an enormous amount of hope for her that the circumstances of themselves and the broader population of poor and disenfranchised South Africans will ultimately shift for the better. Through these accounts from Daniel and Melanie we can see how the invented space (Miraftab, 2004) of the Reclaim The City Movement has created a space where CGH residents feel safe, connected and empowered.

In my interviews with Daniel and Sheila they shared the following regarding RTC,

"They are really really wow, actually they give you reason to go sleep at night" – Daniel

"I think being here you actually feel safe doing it with these people, because they stand

together with you, I would never talk out, I would never do these things (protests), but I feel

comfortable…" - Sheila

For Daniel and Sheila, alongside other occupiers that I interviewed, there is a real sense of safety that they find at Cissie Gool House. The right to safety and security described in Section 12 of the constitution (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996), that Faeza felt was missing in her experience of citizenship is something that is being actively worked towards at Cissie Gool House. Experiencing this rest, security and stability, as described in the Constitution, brings residents' substantive citizenship experience (Miraftab, 2009) closer to the constitutional vision, and lays

foundations that move beyond simply empowering citizens with information, instead equipping them with the stability and confidence to address issues and fight battles that are pertinent to them. The protest actions and empowering knowledge transfers undertaken in the CGH space have brought out a boldness and sowed a self-confidence in some occupiers that wasn't there before, as attested to by Sheila's account above. She goes on to share further about this below:

> *"this Cissie Gool has actually changed me from being shy and not talking out, from, it's made me talk more, it's made me active more, it's made me not keep things in… I'm stable here, and it's home" – Sheila*

While some may decorate their rooms with family photos or sentimental artwork, Sheila has adorned her walls with Reclaim the City ideas, posters, pamphlets and other materials, feeling actively energised and stabilised by being surrounded with these manifestos. It is the reminder of the presence of the RTC Movement and their infrastructures that makes her feel at home. The actions and words of this occupier demonstrate just how significant Reclaim the City and their actions have become, not only to her sense of self and her sense of home, but to her ability to become an active, empowered and engaged citizen.

Despite the multitude of positive associations and development that stems from the RTC movement, more than one occupier that I interviewed attested to the fact that some residents within the occupation have lost sight of what the movement is about and the broader fight that is encapsulated in this occupation, instead choosing to focus on their own needs and freedoms. Some of these challenges have been outlined by Herold and De Barros in their work on the RTC movement (2020). This choice from some residents to prioritise personal priorities over that of the collective has led to conflict within the movement:

"it just happened with 2,3 people that's fighting within the movement, and I think it's happening everywhere, but if we as people not gonna stand up, then this is going to continue, because you can't bite the thing that feeds you, you are fighting the movement that gives you electricity, that gives you water, you are safe here, doors been locked, but people feel just just that they mustn't lock the doors, why?... actually, when people fight here, they forget that it's about the movement, they forget totally about the movement and make it personal, and it IS about the movement here, and sometimes we forget that whatever you do its going to be in the eyes of the movement" – Melanie

(note: at CGH, for the sake of safety, rules have been established that the doors to each of the sections are locked by section monitors at 10pm, whether residents have arrived home or not)

As Melanie shares here, there is a conflict between more personal preferences and freedoms, such as wanting to come home late at night, and therefore wanting the doors to remain unlocked after lockdown hours, and the rules of the House as a whole, which act to protect the community at large. While the fight to take care of your own needs, and to understand and claim your own rights, is a core part of the RTC movement, as attested to by Herold and De Barros (2020), the commitment to do the same for others and to maintain an awareness of the struggles and injustices experienced by the community at large, despite your own circumstances is arguably even more crucial in the eyes of Reclaim the City. This dissonance within internal and external focuses within the occupation has caused a lack of commitment to RTC activities and actions in some, as outlined by Herold and De Barros (2020), breeding conflict between those who show up to protect the interests of the movement as a whole and those who do not, but continue to benefit from these efforts.

4.2.3.2. Mobilisation and maintenance

Cissie Gool House makes use of many different strategies to mobilise and maintain the occupation, including protests and court action, but perhaps one of the most important spaces that occupiers use to

do this is the monitor's meeting space. Monitors are residents who are elected as representatives and leaders from each of the various sections within Cissie Gool House, and they act as part of the intricate and layered leadership structure of the house. It is within this space that grievances are raised, solutions are formulated, court outcomes are shared and explained, training opportunities are presented, and learnings are built upon. Through being present in this space, I have observed how the monitors' meeting structure prepares the ground for the development of new citizenships and governance structures through the creation and nurturing of a new public, something Holston (2009) identifies as a key factor in fostering the development of new citizenships.

Through bringing citizens together in a space where they get to reimagine and embody afresh what a governing space looks like, new ways of governing and leading are pioneered, and new kinds of citizens are developed. Elected monitors manage and report conflict or misconduct within their sections, and also act as conduits for the knowledge shared in the monitor's meetings. As a result of this knowledge, monitors are able to teach and counsel fellow occupiers on topics such as evictions, their rights, interacting with the state, and legal procedures. Monitors also ensure that discipline is maintained, and rules are enforced in order to protect the sense of safety and home being cultivated here. Below, Sheila shares a little about her experience being a monitor:

> *"as a monitor also you can't take sides. You have to see two sides to a story, no one is your favourite, no one is your enemy, so with me as well that works with all these people and groups and stuff, if there's a problem on my floor I do report it, I have to do that, if there's a problem on ground floor, or third floor, there's also issues that I have to deal with, whether you like it or not, it's my duty it's my job" – Sheila*

There is a clear sense of duty and fairness displayed in elected monitors, and a tangible sense of ownership over the space and the quality of community being created there. Monitors understand that the culture and community that has been created at CGH requires maintenance, intervention and

protection, and that managing and communicating the material and social needs of those who have elected them forms a key part of this maintenance.

Through being present at these monitors meetings I learnt about systems that occupiers had put in place to clean and maintain their space, with each occupier giving small contributions to pay other occupiers to clean common spaces, to manage the occupation's rubbish bins or to fix common infrastructures. In this way occupiers are acting as citizens who own land even before that constitutional reality has truly hit the ground. Reflecting ideas shared by Robins (2002), Lemanski (2009) and Charlton (2018a+b), these actions of investment into state spaces are expressions of newly developing citizenships. Financial contributions made by occupiers also help to cover transport costs to and from court when there are hearings, so that occupiers are able to go to court and show their support during legal cases involving CGH, but also so that they are able to hear directly what the lawyer's feedback is when legal representatives come out of the court. This shared financial responsibility for ensuring a presence in these legal spaces reveals a kind of webbed mode of active citizenship, an example of one of the new forms of citizenship emerging at Cissie Gool House, once again practically demonstrating the insurgency described and theorised by Holston (2009). Here, the actions of one set of occupiers secure opportunities for another set of occupiers to not only present their perspectives before courts and central city spaces, but also to be connected to the processes that govern their lives. We see one set of occupiers, perhaps at best partially liberated from their own struggles for housing and services, securing and widening opportunities for others to become liberated and fulfilled in their citizenship rights, in a selfless mode of citizenship fostered so well in the CGH space. After these court hearings, there is usually a mass meeting in the grounds outside the CGH building where those who were present at the court share the outcomes with other occupiers. In this moment those who share have the opportunity to empower others with their learnings, with enlarged understandings of their rights and with a more intimate understanding of the legal system and its persons that hold or withhold justice. CGH residents are making claims not only on their own behalf, but on behalf of others in the CGH community, other homeless or housing insecure citizens of South Africa, and poor and peripheral residents globally.

As occupiers solidify their ability to engage on equal ground with the state through a presence in the courts – which are traditionally a space where the state experiences a level of comfort, we see a deliberate orchestration of an encounter between insurgent and entrenched state citizenships (Holston, 2009), an encounter between the invited and invented spaces described by Miraftab (2004). This orchestrated encounter serves as another display of insurgent citizenship, as it challenges traditional forms of citizenship and lives out newly created forms, however, simultaneously, in this encounter between different forms of citizenship, a new public is created (Holston, 2009), a new space is invented (Miraftab, 2004) laying the foundations once again for new collaborative citizenships between state and occupying citizen.

During one of the monitor's meetings we attended, the leadership of CGH shared about a family in nearby Essex Street whose landlord had started to remove the roof from over their heads in an effort to evict and extract them from the building. In response, the assembled group of monitors resolved to abandon the meeting and instead walk down to the family in question to lend their support. When walking down through the streets there was a palpable sense of unity and safety as we moved through spaces at night that normally wouldn't have felt safe, echoing Sheila's experience of safety in section 4.2.3.1.

When we arrived at the house in Essex Street, we were welcomed in by the families living there and taken through the building to see the damage that had been done, amongst our group were representatives from the Woodstock Residents Association and Ndifuna Ukwazi who were recording as a member of the Essex Street household shared stories of their interactions and experiences with the landlord. Transforming this monitor's meeting into an action meant that a unique set of people with a particular set of connections and skills were being brought into the room. The representative of Ndifuna Ukwazi was able to take the recorded information back to legal professionals at her office for advice, while the representative of the Woodstock Residents Association was able to bring these perspectives into conversations with other property owners, and the university students in the room

were able to take the experiences shared, learn from them, interrogate them and place them in conversation with other texts and pieces of literature to grant these stories a larger voice. Again here, the creation of this new public, new insurgent citizenship space, as described by Holston (2009) and new way of moving as a leadership group gives rise to the development of new modes of citizenship and new kinds of engagement across factions of society that might otherwise not intersect.

After listening to the experiences of this household, representatives from CGH walked household members through the rights they hold in their situation and advised them on how they should respond should the landlord arrive the next day to attempt to continue the removal of the building's roof. Representatives also set up a WhatsApp group with household members and key CGH representatives so that they could be alerted should the landlord arrive and could come down to support and actively prevent further steps towards evicting the families. At this point, leaders in the group led us to the police station to inform the police of the situation, in order to ensure that they were held to account for their obligation to uphold the law and to protect this family. Throughout this experience, CGH residents acted as agents for the equipping and protection of vulnerable citizens, taking on what should, in many ways, be the roles of government in caring for its citizens. Through protecting this household's right to freedom and security of person, right to privacy, right to dignity and right to live in an environment not harmful to their wellbeing (Constitution), this citizenry is ensuring rights are equally bestowed on poor citizens in the absence of any such action by the state.

The following day when the landlord and his men arrived, the WhatsApp network was informed, the police were called in and men and women from CGH walked down pushing prams and carrying children to stand watch for this family and their home. As a result of the actions of the citizens from CGH, these families remained safely in their home that day, and were more fully equipped to navigate future interactions with their landlord.

Through the monitor's meeting space, and the new encounters and spaces it births, we are seeing the creation of new publics, as Holston (2009) describes, and new invented spaces, as spoken of by

Miraftab (2004). These new publics and invented spaces lay the groundwork for the creation of new citizenships, derived from the perspectives, needs and stories of Cape Town's urban poor, practicing and inhabiting the principles described by Holston in his work on insurgent citizenship (2009). We see through the actions of the CGH community how they pursue and petition the state to include them in their imagining of the city and what it could be to its citizens, enacting the role of Political Society described by Chatterjee (1997). Through the sense of safety embodied in these spaces it becomes possible for more and more citizens to be included. As the worn down and fragile increasingly feel protected and seen, they become more and more a part of spaces such as the monitors' meeting or the late-night walk to Essex Street to protect vulnerable tenants. As more and more citizens feel safe enough to participate in these spaces, CGH and RTC cultivate spaces that produce citizenships that are more reflective of the citizenry as a whole, are more connected with their needs and are led by the marginalised. Through my observations at the Essex Street actions I identified something beyond the new citizenships, publics and spaces described by Holston (2009) and Miraftab (2004). In their actions CGH residents and leaders embody the kind of state that they envision for themselves, a state that shows up for its citizens, protects its citizens, listens to them, seeks understanding, and acts immediately, prioritising people over plans. Not only do CGH residents and leaders act as new kinds of citizens, they move beyond the theories of Holston (2009) and Miraftab (2004) by standing in the gaps that they wish the state would fill, acting as the state, and fulfilling constitutional imaginings of citizenship.

4.2.3.3. Activist gardening

At face value, gardening in itself may not seem like an activity that is in any way connected to citizenship, but in the case of Cissie Gool House residents, gardening is being mobilised as another mode of claim-making akin to occupation. Paul Gough describes "planting as a form of protest" while Certoma and Tornaghi present gardening as a "form of political agency" that "contests, transforms and resignifies the urban" (p.1123, 2015). While occupation claims housing, shelter and space for families in situations where this is actively being denied by those in power or those holding ownership, gardening moves in a similar way to claim a right to a certain kind of life.

Gardening and food insecurity

The buildings which now make up Cissie Gool House have a small perimeter of land which encircles them. Through the efforts of a small group of occupiers, this perimeter has seen the planting of vegetables, herbs, flowers, medicinal plants and trees. In becoming a part of this gardening group I grew to understand that there were multiple different motivations for cultivating a space such as this. For many, the garden serves its purpose through providing a supplementary source of food for CGH residents who often experience food insecurity. It does this both through providing vegetables and herbs that residents can draw from for their own personal kitchens, and through providing a source of food for the CGH kitchen, which cooks hot meals for many vulnerable families across CGH once a week. As Lal (2020) and Carney et al. (2012) assert, home gardening is an important strategy to protect against food insecurity, particularly in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has heavily disrupted the food supply chain (Lal, 2020). For families at Cissie Gool House, who often have an incredibly limited income, gardening can be a way to reduce their food expenditure, while simultaneously ensuring that their families are able to include more vegetables in their diets, not only procuring financial relief, but improving the health of households as well.

Figure 14: A meal being prepared in the CGH kitchen

Figure 15: Potatoes harvested from the CGH garden

Gardening and environmentalism

While the gardening team at CGH began with a focus on planting, it quickly evolved to include activities such as composting, recycling and upcycling. During the CGH Permaculture Course in particular, a large amount of time was spent understanding the ways that plants could be fertilised, and soils regenerated using kitchen and garden waste. As permaculture students, we were taught various composting methods that made use of spaces and waste already being produced within the occupation. During this course we also worked towards identifying areas where there was wastewater runoff or collection and formulated plans to manage and use this water productively to nourish plants. In the process of gathering food waste from the CGH kitchen and from households within the occupation, residents were made more aware of these more sustainable waste management practices, and in many cases, have continued to separate out and contribute their waste to the garden.

These practices described above work to care for the environment in a sustainable way and minimise the burden of our living on the environment, through the productive use of waste. In a context where our futures are more and more being claimed by governments and corporations who appear unwilling to take the necessary steps to protect our societies against climate change (Hornsey & Fielding, 2020), occupiers who engage in these practices to redirect and reimagine waste help Cissie Gool House to act to repair its surrounding environment and enhance this environment's resilience so that occupiers are able to, in turn, rely on the environment for sustenance in an increasingly unstable biophysical environment.

While environmentalism is often the domain of the affluent, containing logics and practices responsive to this context (Duroy, 2008; Morrison & Dunlap, 1986; Kennedy & Horne, 2020; Inglehart, 1995), through its grassroots efforts, the CGH gardening team is beginning to emulate the logics of working-class environmental movements, mobilised by bodies such as Mazzocchi's Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers union (Gottlieb, 1993) who have made significant strides in addressing environmental issues in ways that are accessible for the urban poor (Barca, 2012). In staying on par with advances in the greening movement in affluent spaces and mobilising the

strategies and principles developed by marginalised groups described by Gottlieb (1993) and Barca

(2012), occupiers are in turn staking claims and securing their own futures by igniting effective land,

soil and space management that translates into sustainable, flourishing food systems, and ensuring that

the environmental inequalities of the past and present do not travel into the future. Here again we see

residents cultivating new publics, preparing the grounds for the development of new insurgent

citizenships, and enacting these new forms of citizenship and claim making as Holston (2009) speaks

of, but this time within the gardening space, standing in defense of a right to benefit from and guide

the future development of this country's land.

Figure 16: The gardening team setting up a hot compost pile

Figure 17: Members of the gardening team turning this compost pile

Gardening as political

Through growing vegetables, fruits and herbs occupiers claim a right to re-establish a connection with

their food system and move outside of their reliance on the Capitalist production of food sources,

countering neoliberal ways of envisioning the city and constructing alternatives to Capitalist food

systems, enacting the power of gardening described by Certoma and Tornaghi (2015). The choice to

garden, described above, also sees occupiers reclaim their citizenship right to land, and their right to

make decisions about what happens on that land and how it is used. In a way, through making the

move to garden within this space, residents are living out Certoma and Tornaghi's proposition that the

cultivation of gardens creates space for the launch and unpacking of a new "urban land question"

(p.1126, 2015). As CGH gardeners plant and nurture a garden that serves their community's interests

and needs they propose new ways of using and commoning land in the urban space, initiating thoughts of new possibilities for land in their immediate and surrounding communities. Once again, in the actions of gardening occupiers we see Holston's insurgent citizenship reflected (2009) as occupiers invent and display new ways of articulating their rights and freedoms to the state, to one another, and to citizens passing by.

Gardening, rest and play

While working alongside occupiers towards new designs for Cissie Gool House's Garden spaces I learnt that occupiers attributed value to garden spaces based on much more than what the garden could produce for them, a sentiment echoed in work by Cirolia et al. (2021). Fellow gardeners, residents at CGH, spoke of the garden as being a sanctuary, a place to relax and reset, and for one more elderly occupier, his place to seek and find purpose. Beyond simply gardening for sustenance, when occupiers cultivate a garden space they retrieve their right to a place of rest, peace, beauty and play in a context where a lot of these kinds of spaces within cities have become increasingly enclosed and "paid for" spaces (Landman, 2006; Arvanitakis, 2006; Spocter, 2007). Melanie shares the following on the importance of spaces of play:

> *"its not that the children can play where (wherever) they want to, but at least like children, they actually need a play area (within the garden)... that's one of the things (that makes a) home" – Melanie*

One of the ways that this desire for spaces of play was enacted was through the painting of a hopscotch area within the garden, and, more recently, through the erection of netball poles in other open spaces within CGH. This account from Melanie and the developments within the outdoor garden spaces at CGH confirm the views shared in Cirolia et al., that at CGH indoor and outdoor spaces are being reimagined and repurposed not only for survival but for enjoyment as well (2021), shifting the narrative on adequate housing and making a claim that enjoyment and fulfilment in home spaces should be a part of what adequate housing encapsulates. The use of the CGH grounds to create garden

spaces of rest, peace, natural beauty, and play that specifically serve the poor moves against the monetised and gated nature of some of Cape Town's green spaces and goes some way to redress some of the green space poverty created in part by Colonial and Apartheid spatial planning (Venter et al., 2020; Spocter, 2007). Beyond this, the gardening movement within CGH gives occupiers the freedom to choose the kind of life they want for themselves, to shape and create the kinds of spaces they want to live in and raise children in, and to reclaim access to a lifestyle that past powers had withheld from their grasp.

Figure 18: A child learns through play in the garden

Figure 19: A toddler explores the outdoors alongside gardeners

Gardening, entrepreneurship, and community building

Through day-to-day discussions with Melanie as we learnt together through the Permaculture Course, I grew to understand that she developed an interest in gardening as a means to financially support herself and was exploring the possibility of starting a business selling the produce that she grows, along with worm farms and compost amongst other things. She hoped to be able to use gardening as a way to supplement her family income, pursue her own financial independence and better provide for her household. In the following account from our interview she shares a vision of holding a community market space on CGH grounds:

"I was also thinking on Saturday here (in the front kitchen garden) – if they could have that (a market). And they used to have that, (at the) House, every Saturday, or every month, I'm not sure, where they have their own stalls, and then from the people in the House are selling donuts, because they want the community to see that there's not what you say is happening here, there's decent people" – Melanie

If Melanie were to use state land to garden, and therefore support herself financially, she would once again be staking a claim on her and her household's right to land, human dignity, life, food and social security (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). In the apparent absence of a state that is willing and able to holistically fulfil its own constitution, Melanie would be taking it upon herself to reclaim and enact her constitutional rights. These actions by Melanie reflect the reimagining of citizenship rights that Holston (2009) describes as a key part of creating new citizenships, but they also echo the emergent form of citizenship identified in 4.2.3.2., in which we see citizens enacting the kind of state that they envision.

In the extract from Melanie's interview above we can see how important it is to this resident that the surrounding community is able to view CGH residents as good, decent people. Through media depictions and policy changes (Human, 2021), occupiers have been painted as violent, entitled, lazy and destructive (Arderne, 2022), and in turn, as these narratives remain dominant in the public, the public's perception of occupiers and their actions continues to be highly influential over decisions that are made about the future of occupations like Cissie Gool House (Arderne. 2022). During many discussions with this occupier and other gardeners, I learnt how heartsore it made them to be understood as criminals or as dangers to the surrounding community. In one instance, on a trip to the Phillipi Horticultural Area, Melanie shared this concern with the broader group, and an individual that was on this trip advised that the garden could be a powerful tool for shifting the opinions of the public. Moving forward, this became one of the most important roles that the garden would play, particularly in the eyes of Melanie and James, as to them, it felt like the garden empowered them to influence perceptions of their home that they had previously felt as though they had no control over.

On one gardening day Melanie led the planting of flowers on the lower corner of Mountain Rd and Earl Street, an area with lots of pedestrian and vehicle traffic, on another gardening day, with the assistance of students from the University of Cape Town, the gardening team painted large tire planting beds, at the suggestion of gardening occupiers, who felt that this would brighten up the space and leave a positive impression for passers-by. Tending and expanding the garden within the CGH grounds creates a powerful counter narrative of productivity, sustainability, and vision. While few members of the public will ever set foot inside the building at CGH, many will pass by its gates, and may have their negative assumptions about occupations challenged by a flourishing vegetable garden or a carefully curated flowerbed. Through the construction of alternative narratives, gardeners help the general public to conceive of a different kind of citizen, someone who is simultaneously transgressive and productive. In creating this narrative through gardening, CGH residents are once again pioneering new modes of insurgent citizenship (Holston, 2009) and demonstrating that within their walls lies a new kind of citizen.

Despite the multifaceted broader political and practical long-term value of investing in a garden space within an occupation context, it can be a struggle to maintain consistency within the space. As I developed closer friendships with CGH residents through my presence at the site, I discovered more and more that an overwhelming majority of occupiers live on the edge financially. These individuals work exceptionally hard to make ends meet and need to be able to maintain the flexibility to take up opportunities to earn money where they can. This means that, because there is no compensation for working in the garden, oftentimes those caring for the garden space have to abandon their gardening responsibilities here and there to attend to urgent family needs, financial or otherwise, which can leave the garden lacking the consistency it requires to flourish, undermining the messages of productivity spoken about above. Gardeners at CGH are attempting to grapple with this dynamic but it currently remains a challenge, and most recently the garden has fallen into dormancy. One can see Herold and De Barros's assertion about the impact of everyday life on some of the collective aspects of the RTC movement illustrated through these struggles to maintain the garden (2020).

Figure 20: The gardening team painting the tire on the corner of Mountain Rd alongside students from UCT

4.2.4. Conclusion

This section has outlined the reimagining, encountering, and reclaiming of citizenship undertaken by

residents of Cissie Gool House. Through its examination of residents' encounters with citizenship, we

have seen how the intent of structured citizenships, as described by Millstein (2020) to build a

platform through which residents feel empowered to make claims on the state, and act as empowered,

equal partners in this state-society contract, has not been fulfilled in residents' interactions and

engagements with the state. Instead, state-society interactions have culminated in the creation of a

series of differential citizenships, as described and outlined by Lemanski (2017). In response to these

skewed and uneven experiences of citizenship, residents have been empowered to move in a new

direction with their citizenship. The work of the Reclaim The City movement has created safe spaces

for residents to learn more about their constitutional rights, and through these safe spaces, has

liberated residents to take bold ownership of these rights in new and increasingly inventive ways. In the actions of occupiers, we see the creation of new publics, the reimagining of rights, and the altering of the relationship between citizen and state, all of which are described by Holston (2009) as key strategies for the cultivation of new urban citizenships. The Monitors' Meeting Space and Gardening structures powerfully live out Miraftab's theory of invented spaces (2004), and not only produce new citizenship roles for occupiers, in the form of monitors and gardeners, but allows those within these roles to put together systems of maintenance that are uniquely responsive to the needs of the poor through the use of cross-cutting peripheral urbanisation strategies as described by Caldeira (2017). Beyond the citizenship modes described by Holston (2009) and Miraftab (2004) the citizenship practices at Cissie Gool House move to stand in the gaps they see being left by the state, acting as the constitutional state that they envision and more and more bringing the society imagined by the writers of our constitution to life in the lives of other occupiers, and in the lives of Cape Town's urban poor.

4.3. Reimagining, Reinventing and Revitalising fragments of home

"Any space you have can become livable ... it's how you use the space around you and what you

occupy in that space"- Daniel

Transforming a hospital into a home as a group of ordinary citizens is a somewhat unprecedented and truly immense task. Weaving something like this together not only requires enormous vision, boldness and unity, but also a huge amount of planning, strategy and structure. While in the past policies and laws prohibited the shaping of cities, towns and homes by people of colour (Berrisford, 2011), in the present day, through the occupation of buildings like Cissie Gool House, the vision and ingenuity of this group of people is being demonstrated. This section unpacks the different practices, strategies and systems that constitute the labour of home-making and place-making in an occupied hospital building.

4.3.1. The human infrastructures of Cissie Gool House

Strauss and Liebenberg (2014) make the case that there is a lack of focus in South African policy on the human aspect of housing, Robertson (2017) extends this assertion by suggesting that the deprioritising of the human when attempting to address inequality results in unsustainable communities that do not function in the equalising and empowering way that was intended. This section aims to unpack the human infrastructures that form and maintain Cissie Gool House and in so doing highlight the significant role that these infrastructures play in cultivating home.

The human infrastructures within Cissie Gool House demonstrate a sophistication and defined structure that distinguish this space and the movement that formed it from common conceptions of volatility, criminality and opportunism associated with land or building occupations, such as those described by Sihlongonyane (2005). The process of moving into Cissie Gool House is clearly structured into stages that protect both potential residents, the broader movement and the CGH community. The first stage of the process is attending Reclaim The City meetings at Cissie Gool

House in order to gain a better understanding of the movement's ethos, their values and their vision of affordable housing. James shares further about this stage of this process:

> *"four years ago now, round about that I secure me a place here. From work, I get off at Woodstock station, and then I, then I walk up here to the meeting room, and the meeting start at seven... and then around the end of it around 9 o clock at night I had to walk there by De Waal Drive (to where he was staying at the time) every Tuesday and Thursday" – James*

Following this, should potential residents resonate with the vision and ethos expressed in those meetings, they then have to formalise their request to move in in writing by filling in a form. Once this part of the process has been completed, the potential resident would then meet with the leadership team of CGH to be interviewed and to discuss in detail what the potential risks of living in this space might be, what the rules of the space are, and any other questions they may have about your application form. Should potential residents still want to move forward with moving into the building, knowing the rules and risks, they then need to sign consent forms and commit to an outlined code of conduct, that included things like not being allowed to drink alcohol on the premises and abiding by certain curfew hours to ensure the safety of the group as a whole. Daniel gives his thoughts on the consent form process below:

> *"when you moved in here you had to sign consent forms, that you know that if this and that happens you know, we are not (liable), how can I say now... you must be prepared basically for the worst... You must prepare yourself, are you prepared for that? You had to sign off for that, because otherwise you don't belong here"- Daniel*

From this point onwards, once you have signed these consent forms, you then have three days to move into your room – which is allocated based on availability and the needs of your particular household.

Throughout this highly structured moving in process the leadership team make every effort to ensure that potential residents are equipped with the full picture of what moving in to Cissie Gool House might mean for them, with complete transparency. When discussing this process with occupiers, they commented that these equitable and honest conversations with CGH leaders were dramatically different to the kind of leadership approaches that they had previously experienced in interactions with government officials and political leaders. Far from the fear-based constructions of occupation propagated by the media (Arderne, 2022), the organisation within Cissie Gool House instead echoes the strategic and thoughtful mobilising of Brazil's Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST) or Landless Workers Movement described by Maszaros (2000), by endeavouring to practically live out and demonstrate the kind of respectful, equitable and transparent governance that they feel citizens deserve. Far from becoming a space that incubates criminal or damaging behaviour, the structures within CGH take proactive steps to protect this community from this kind of conduct, through enforcing a commitment to a strict code of conduct. Beyond this, disciplinary hearings give those elected to leadership the power to protect families within the occupation from damaging behaviour, and to protect the occupation itself from becoming the space of illegality and danger that it was expected to become.

The structured application, interview and tenure processes are very similar to the tenant selection processes undertaken within the market as described by Fonseca et al. (2018) and Rosen (2014), with the exception of the financial affordability criteria imposed within the market. In both cases, potential tenants visit the space to determine suitability, submit applications, are interviewed, commit to respecting a certain code of conduct within the space and take on the responsibility of completing certain tasks (such as the management of electricity) as seen in Fonseca et al. (2018) and Rosen (2014). The level of care and organization held within this process from first meeting to move in day demonstrates the level of sophistication that this movement and space operates with and immediately acts to disprove any claim that this is in any way a volatile or criminal space. Cissie Gool House has distinguished itself from the chaotic and criminal conceptions of occupations (Arderne, 2022; Sihlongonyane, 2005) through a structured tenancy process, a clear code of conduct, a defined

leadership structure and clear disciplinary protocols, equal in sophistication and rigorousness to that of any market-based tenant selection processes as described by Fonseca et al. (2018) and Rosen (2014).

4.3.1.1. Behavioural legacies of housing instability

The fact that the CGH leadership team is composed of seasoned members of the poor and working class as acknowledged by Robins (2021) and confirmed through my discussions with various members of leadership and presence within meetings alongside them, means that this team has an intimate understanding of some of the damaging ways that people cope with poverty and systemic inequality. As such, the leadership team have been able to put in place structures that protect the CGH community from the negative impacts of these coping mechanisms, giving residents the opportunities and tools to manage and change their behaviour. For citizens living on the peripheries of society: citizens who are poor, previously disadvantaged or displaced, the use of alcohol, drugs and gang life as mechanisms of coping and survival is widespread (Mulia and Zemore, 2012; Contenta, Powell and Rankin, 2008; Hill and Angel, 2005; Pearlin and Radabaugh, 1976). The CGH leadership team were realistic in their understanding that many of those who would seek shelter at Cissie Gool House may be grappling with one or more of these coping mechanisms, having come from poor and peripheral backgrounds. James shares below his experience of overcoming his own unhealthy coping mechanisms since becoming a resident at Cissie Gool House:

> *"those people (at CGH) man, they love you, more than your own family love you, like, because you a person, you see… that's just how it is in this house, that time I stopped drinking… and this is what I want man" – James*

Through James's account we see an emphasis placed on the people around him, and we see the radical way they care for him being positioned as a key factor in him being able to quit drinking. In conjunction with the rules and other disciplinary measures set up to protect the house from the

damage that coping behaviours such as excessive drinking could cause, occupiers and leadership have also gradually cultivated a community of care that has grown to offer broad and intimate support networks. It is this care and sense of family that James cites as having been significant in his journey to quit drinking. This community of care steps in powerfully to uplift occupiers and their children, and further, steps out to an enormous extent to prevent the legacies of inequality still held in the lives of adult occupiers from being passed on to the next generation. In the case of James, living at Cissie Gool House empowered him to be able to give up both drinking and smoking Marijuana and become a more active father, shifting the kinds of role models that his children have access to, and protecting them from the adverse effects of growing up with a parent who struggles with alcohol or drug abuse as described by Christoffersen and Soothill (2003).

Often in the absence of the kind of social support available at CGH, individuals struggling with drinking or drug habits may not be able to make lasting changes, as argued by Chen (2006) who characterises this kind of social support as key in being able to overcome these habits. In these actions we see occupiers undertaking the work of enacting a constitutional vision of a comprehensive freedom that liberates citizens from inherited inequalities, and their associated destructive behaviours and opens up choices and possibilities (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

4.3.1.2. Communal childcare networks within Cissie Gool House

"Everyone in this house is family and treats one another like so" – James

"there will always be a plate to my door, especially now that I have a child, like people always knocking at my door" – Melanie

Within Cissie Gool House, the children of the house are a shared responsibility. As James and Melanie express, there is a tangible sense of care support when raising children, demonstrated through Melanie's account of food regularly being brought to her door by neighbours, and shared with her child and family. Children are regularly supervised and looked after by occupiers who aren't their parents, and as one occupier regularly attests to *"the children are everyone's children"*.

During my interview with Daniel, he was simultaneously caring for a little girl of around 3 or 4 years of age from his section, he says that she comes to visit him every day and that a day for them is not complete unless they've seen one another. This level of closeness and trust is further confirmed as I watch him seamlessly rock her to sleep on his shoulder while we speak, and she sleeps silently there for the rest of our interview. Once she awoke again one could see how at ease the two of them were with one another, with Daniel feeling comfortable enough to correct and discipline the child when she overstepped.

While interviewing Sarah and Faeza on the other side of the occupation, I became aware that they were taking care of a girl from another family with special needs after her family had apparently disappeared from the occupation. As she helped herself to coffee and snacks from the kitchen, their immense care for her and their level of comfort with one another had me believing unquestioningly that she was part of the family.

Even though the occupation's children have a wide range of caretakers, one can clearly see that these children feel a deep sense of comfort with the occupiers who care for them. Children from the same sections within the occupation celebrate birthdays together, with occupiers working together to ensure the day is special for each child. This shared responsibility of care not only allows children to interact with a diverse range of role models, but also gives parents the flexibility to pursue learning and work opportunities without it having a negative impact on their children. The positive sentiments and experiences occupiers have regarding this childcare network affirm the arguments put forth by Sands, who attests to the value of this mode of childcare, and the beneficial possibilities of moving outside a

nuclear familial structure when bringing up children (1973). According to occupiers, the communal raising of children is a practice that was a key feature of growing up in Woodstock, Salt River, and the surrounding communities, and this shared sense of family was an important part of what made these neighbourhoods feel like home (Wenz, 2012; Douglas, 2021; Badham, 1987). Being able to preserve this practice as a piece of living Woodstock heritage has helped many to hold onto a sense of home despite their displacement.

4.3.1.3. Homegrown strategic educational and healthcare systems

Education

Occupiers cultivate home and equality for themselves by standing in the gap for government services and performing government functions themselves when their community is neglected. Sheila, whose son struggled with his schooling during the pandemic shares how Cissie Gool House residents have stepped in to support him:

> *"my son that's here now hasn't been to school since last year, cause he didn't do his finals, so he obviously failed, and it was making me sick, and now (another occupier), she's trying to do home school (with him), she's handling him now… I found out that he didn't want to go to school because he failed… but he can't sit inside the whole day and play Minecraft and things, so that was working on me, now she's helping me with that, the school talks to her and everything, because since I had covid, and everybody thought I was going to go, cause I had it bad, I think that was maybe scary for him (and that was a contributing factor in him not passing the year)" – Sheila*

For Sheila, who wasn't able to complete her own schooling and who doesn't have the resources to hire private tutors or facilitators to help her son catch up, there is very little she can do on her own to support her son in pursuing his schooling again. Without intervention from other occupiers, this moment of him failing a grade during the COVID-19 pandemic could've meant the end of his

schooling, severely hampering the kinds of opportunities he would be afforded as an adult. However, when children have struggled to flourish in mainstream schools, run by government departments as described by the following authors: Christie, 1998; Western Cape Government, 2020; Todd & Mason, 2005, we have seen other occupiers, one of them a former teacher, step up and use their skills to home school and tutor these children, liaising with their teachers, and keeping them on track with their schooling.

As Weiss et al. identify, for low-income parents and parents of colour there can be a significant power dynamic present between themselves and schools which acts as a barrier to effective collaboration between these parties as they work towards educational support for the child (2005; Sanders, 2008). This dynamic combined with other circumstantial challenges or individual learning challenges can cause an increased risk of children performing below their potential and being unfulfilled and unsuccessful in schools (Sanders, 2008), and so, as seen here through the story of Sheila, it is the ingenuity of former teachers and everyday citizens within the occupation that enables them to learn with tailored programs and workloads. In having an occupier with educational experience step in as a liaison between parent and school we see that the barriers to collaboration are dramatically reduced, concurring with the work of Sanders (2008).

This educational work is further enhanced by the actions of another occupier, who holds a homework club for kids of all ages on weekday afternoons. Her facilitation and assistance with daily homework and school projects once again stands in the gap for children whose parents aren't able to offer that kind of educational support, or who may not have the time or resources to research and assist their children. At times this homework club space has collaborated with external high school and university students, enabling more focused and individualised support. Overall, in collaborating and sharing skills in this way within the occupation, residents reduce the barriers to education experienced by poor people of colour and claim for their children an education that is increasingly free of the unequal legacies of the past.

Healthcare

For some of the more elderly members of the Cissie Gool House community, who suffer from ailments such as diabetes and high blood pressure amongst other things, it is their fellow occupiers that ensure that they are cared for. Eve, who has home-based care training, is relied upon by a few of the more elderly occupiers near her room. She makes sure that they are taking their medication regularly and correctly, that they are eating and taking good care of themselves, and that they have access to all necessary personal protective equipment to safeguard against covid infection.

> *"In 2018, I was in Robin Trust, nursing college… the course I was doing, home-based care… these elders they can't do nothing for them, so they are like a child, they are not according to their age… So if they say help me to maybe to tie up the shoelace I will help because I feel that, hmmm, my mother, she was like this before she die"- Eve*

Regularly during my time at CGH I have seen how the elderly members of her section rely on her for this and trust her. While conducting my interview with Eve, an elderly man in her section came in to inform her that he would be out with his family and left his keys with her for safekeeping – before leaving they went through a checklist together, making sure that all appliances are turned off, and that everything is in a safe state with him and within his room. Similarly, when visiting other elderly occupiers who have been sick, I have seen the way that other occupiers more broadly ensure there is a constant presence with them. Fellow occupiers take it in turns to do their daily tasks inside the room of the one who is ill, whether it be washing, cooking or more written work, so that they have constant company, and there's always someone to keep an eye on them should something go wrong.

In putting these kinds of plans in place to take care of the health of those within the occupation, illnesses, injuries, and other health developments can be picked up early and serious or long-term effects can be avoided (Hodkinson, Pigoga & Wallis, 2020; Van Rensburg & Benatar, 1993). Stiglitz et al. (2007) attest to the importance of this care work, calling it "indispensable" and go on to describe the role of this work in supporting productivity and economic activity. In ensuring that this network is

present and active, CGH ensures that residents are able to recover quickly and return to their productive, fulfilling lives quickly, protecting not only their physical health but their mental health and sense of purpose as well. This kind of consistent healthcare is often not accessible in poorer and more peripheral households, particular in instances where chronic care is required (Hodkinson, Pigoga & Wallis, 2020), and the combination of Cissie Gool House's structure, ethos and location makes it possible for those who live here to receive a much higher standard of healthcare than they might otherwise have. However, despite the benefits of this care network, one cannot ignore the fact that the burden of care falls predominantly on unemployed women within the occupation, echoing the patterns identified by Thabethe (2011) in her work on community home-based care.

4.3.1.4. The cultivation and maintenance of a sense of safety at Cissie Gool House

Residents collectively maintain an invaluable sense of safety within Cissie Gool House which sustains the foundations necessary to build a stable home.

Through conversations with residents and my own observations, I saw that while there are government employed security guards on duty at the gates of Cissie Gool House, who conduct patrols around the perimeter of the building, it is residents who ensure that children are indoors by the appointed time of 6pm, and that adults are inside before the lockdown hours of 10pm. Many residents patrol the perimeters during the night as well and engage in broader community neighbourhood watch efforts, an observation echoed by Cirolia et al. (2021). Further, through regular engagements with legal and activist organisations, and through discussions in the monitors and leaders' forums, residents ensure that their home is protected from evictions and unjust interference from the state, an observation echoed by Cirolia et al. (2021). Through discussions at the monitor's meetings I witnessed occupiers bring up concerns about the destructive behaviour of other residents, and the comfort they found in knowing that this behaviour would be addressed through disciplinary hearings. The presence of a structure to enforce the code of conduct within the CGH space is instrumental in

maintaining a sense of safety for occupiers. One occupier, Melanie, who is a mother, worries about the possibility of having to move away from this place one day. As excited as she is at the prospect of owning her own house, she is concerned about how safe she'll feel in this new space, when compared with the sense of security she has at CGH.

> *"You know the other night I asked myself, I'm ready, I fight for a house, but if they give me a house, will I be secure by myself? It's scary, because now I'm lying by myself with (my daughter), (my husband's) at work, will it be really safe for me?" – Melanie*

This perspective is particularly interesting in the context of the way that CGH has been represented in the media, as a place of decay and criminality (Arderne, 2022), and demonstrates the fact that a true sense of security is something that goes beyond the presence of a secure and functional house, and is also found in human infrastructures, networks and relationships.

Beyond a physical sense of safety, personal connections and relationships across CGH have made significant strides in establishing and restoring a sense of social safety, through consciously living out gender equality principles. The World Economic Forum measures gender inequality using four factors, namely: economic participation and opportunity; educational attainment; health and survival; and political empowerment (2020).

One occupier that I interviewed, with a history of abusive relationships with men shared the following encounter with a male leader:

> *"when we had meetings that um, like we'll set up the coffee and stuff like that, he said you don't make coffee for the men that's here, they are in a meeting, they must make themselves"- Sheila*

This encounter was incredibly significant for this occupier and helped her to start to shift the way she understood the power dynamics associated with gender, leading her to begin to take up more space as

a woman, to the point where she now serves as a leader within multiple CGH structures. Through this resident's journey we can see how CGH has enabled her to make strides towards closing the gender gap in her own life, particularly through the veins of political empowerment (World Economic Forum, 2020).

Occupiers feel a sense of safety and trust within this space, as outlined in 4.2.3.1.- for many who have been displaced, the relief of knowing that they now will not be removed without a clear process and fight, and that they are protected by a few layers of not only legal professionals, but knowledgeable activists and both local and international supporters as well allows them to feel truly safe and relaxed - something many cite as ground-breaking for their wellbeing and peace of mind (as seen in 4.2.3.1.). Through the actions of residents who look out for children and adults, ensuring they are safely inside, the patrols of residents both inside and outside the building, the consistent liaison with legal professionals, the adoption of an ethos of gender equality, and the disciplinary structures within CGH, residents cultivate and maintain a sense of safety that is invaluable to their home-making process at Cissie Gool House.

4.3.1.5. Crafting an atmosphere of tolerance at Cissie Gool House

An environment of tolerance has been fostered within Cissie Gool House which allows a diverse range of families to coexist and collaborate in close quarters with one another. As Jane Jacobs describes, tolerance is possible only when cities allow strangers to "dwell in peace together in civilized but essentially dignified and reserved terms" (p.72, 1961). Wessel goes on to state that "tolerance" is in fact "the extent to which people embrace diversity" (p.6, 2009). It is this sense of dignity and structure then, described by Jacobs (1961) that has been created within CGH through clear decision-making systems and resident rights and responsibilities, that starts to give rise to and enable a more tolerant citizenry within this community. When hundreds of people of different ages,

backgrounds, religions and languages are housed in a space where walls, bathrooms and kitchen spaces are often shared, tolerance becomes essential in ensuring its longevity.

At Cissie Gool House, the wide range of belief systems and faiths, and their traditions and gatherings, are catered for equitably and respectfully. The same hall that holds multiple church services on a Sunday receives Muslim children for Madrassah on a Monday. During the month of Ramadan, meeting times and the frequency of these meetings are adjusted to accommodate the shifted daily routines and commitments of Muslim families during fasting, reducing the workload of these individuals to give them the time and energy to devote to their faith. The fact that spaces are equally held for followers of different religions, without bias of any kind, lives out the dignity and respect Jacobs (1961) describes when she speaks of tolerance.

In discussions with Sheila, who follows Islam, she fondly shared memories of Christmas dinners shared with Christian occupiers and one got the sense that these shared celebratory days are something she looks forward to just as much as the holy days and festivals of Islam. The sharing of Christmas dinners between residents of different faiths illustrates a sense of not only tolerance and respect, but a sense of comfort and mutual affection, demonstrating the extent to which residents are truly embracing diversity, and therefore, living out Wessel's vision of tolerance (2009).

Outside of religious tolerance, living in a community like Cissie Gool House where facilities like toilets, baths and showers are generally shared across multiple households, requires tolerance of different lifestyles, different daily schedules, and different ways of doing and being in a shared space. The shared bathroom spaces are co-managed by a variety of different occupiers, each with their own upbringings, personalities, and ways of doing things, and although people do have occasional complaints about one another, overall, there is a harmony in the differences that rub up against one another that is, to me, entirely uncommon.

Melanie speaks directly to the difficulty that she has had with developing this tolerance and ability to share space with others:

> *"actually… you know, when I was learning to come here it was actually very hard for me to fit in, it was stressful… now I'm in someone else's space, and they need to do that, and then I take over and then there's conflict… cleanliness was one of my things, but now I must say, no, if Kathryn drinks coffee there, she's gonna leave it, I now have to make peace (with that)".* – Melanie

Through the experience of this resident, we can see the very real challenge associated with sharing spaces such as bathrooms with other households, and in Melanie's account we are brought to understand the hard work required to embrace and respect different ways of functioning in the shared spaces of the house. Through Melanie's account we can see both Jacobs'(1961) and Wessel's (2009) conceptualisations of tolerance demonstrated, as Melanie grants dignity to different ways of being in shared spaces, despite her personal opinions and convictions.

The sense of tolerance at Cissie Gool House despite differences can also be seen through the relationships between residents and the security guards hired by the state to manage access to the building. Security guards, hired to protect the building as a government asset, with the view that residents formed some kind of threat to the space (Magubane, 2021), now form as much a part of the community as residents, through playing with resident children, buying snacks, drinks and lunches from occupier-run businesses and developing deep relationships with occupiers.

 This sense of tolerance in multiple different facets of the Cissie Gool House community, while imperfect and in need of consistent patching up and maintenance, reflects the kind of South Africa that is outlined in the constitution, which seeks to "promote and develop peace, friendship, humanity, tolerance and national unity among cultural, religious and linguistic communities, on the basis of

equality, non-discrimination and free association" (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Once again, in Cissie Gool House, we see an embodiment of a constitutional vision , and we witness CGH residents mount attempts to begin the difficult work of shifting our country's relational make-up and learning to co-exist and flourish together (Rizvi et al., 2021).

Despite this fostering of diversity and tolerance, there are those within the occupation who tend more towards cultivating spaces that predominantly accommodate a certain ethnic, racial or interest group as opposed to a more mixed group of people. This moves in line with the homophily principle: "similarity breeds connection" discussed in McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook's 2001 paper. While this mode of connection building is central to the way that most people make friends, many occupiers are wary of or entirely against this kind of fragmentation, but for others, building home in this way strengthens their sense of belonging as much as it may be experienced as exclusionary or destructive.

4.3.1.6. Cissie Gool House as a space of healing, personal development and enhanced employability.

Cissie Gool House functions as a space of growth and healing, empowering residents to overcome the burdens of trauma, unequal education and poverty that they carry. Many of the people who have come to call Cissie Gool House home arrived here with burdens of trauma, bearing scars of unequal education and poverty, and in some cases unstable or fragmented family lives. These shared experiences of being displaced, hurt or discriminated against mean that there is a deep understanding of what one another have been through, and of what is needed to repair it. These similar experiences of trauma additionally help to cultivate connection (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001), which in turn contributes to healing and recovery (Schultz et al., 2016).

In my interview with Eve, she shares the following traumatic incident from her childhood:

"my mother, she was like this (unable to take care of herself) before she die… it was the light stroke because our step-dad, he was abuse her. He was drunk, and then he got too drunk, then he come maybe 1 o clock in the morning, and he say jyyy people wake up, this is my house, I want you must cook this beef meat, and by 8 o clock, we must be at school, so we can't sleep, we must wait for him… and he said don't lock this door, I can come even by 2 o clock, anytime I can come, because this is my house, and our mother, she was very quiet and he take a panga and he say I'm gonna choke you guys one by one. All of us we ran in our rooms, and then he took the axe, neh? And he chop the door until it was a half door, and then he get in, so I don't know how we jump over him to ran away. We survive." – Eve

Shockingly, experiences of this kind of abuse from parents or guardians were shared in 5 of the 7 interviews I conducted. Stories like these help us to understand how far removed some residents' households have been from a stable family home, and how significant it would be for them to have a safe and caring community to belong to, and a solid roof over their heads. In placing these individuals in a community like CGH with others who share and understand their experiences, they are able to cultivate the kind of connections that foster healing and growth (Schultz et al., 2016; McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001).

Additionally, in order to step in more practically to address the complex histories and hurts held within the community of occupiers, CGH, at times in collaboration with outside individuals and organisations, began to offer workshops and courses to its residents. The themes of these range from gender-based violence to gardening to menstrual health to first aid to politically focused workshops, and they all serve to offer opportunities to occupiers to learn, grow and heal in ways that residents may not have been able to previously. Through these workshops residents are not only given the opportunity to learn new skills, but also start to form new sub-communities and a new set of connections as they share and journey together through the workshop experience.

These workshops therefore not only help to cultivate the connections that Schultz et al. (2016) refer to, aiding residents on their healing journeys, but also empower residents to take up increasingly important roles within the CGH leadership structure, further building up occupiers' confidence and capacity and enabling them to take ownership of and transform situations across their lives. Being involved in the workshops and training opportunities offered within the CGH environment empowers residents with skills that aid in their employability and job readiness. At times this takes the form of more practical skills, such as cooking. In the case of Sheila, who previously knew little about cooking and catering, her time as part of the CGH kitchen team has allowed her to become an incredible cook and menu planner, who now forms a crucial part of catering for any events held within the occupation. The skills she now has in the kitchen could translate seamlessly to a kitchen, restaurant, or catering career, should she wish to pursue that kind of employment.

> *"now that I'm working with (another occupier in the kitchen) I know how to cook now, I don't worry about baking – I never used to love cooking, I used to buy food, cause I used to work, go buy food, because I'm a single person why do I need to cook? But now I said to my sisters in the week, I'm a professional now with cooking" – Sheila*

Beyond simply the practical skills that this occupier has developed, one can also sense the confidence with which she now operates, feeling comfortable enough to call herself a "professional". The investment of Cissie Gool House into personal capacity, initiative and leadership is further illustrated through the James's story. James entered the occupation with little to no leadership experience, struggling with employment. After becoming involved in multiple activities within Cissie Gool House, he was elected as a section monitor and was trained to take on those responsibilities. He then was elected by occupiers as a house leader, and now forms a part of many key committees within CGH. Further, as a result of his increased confidence and his dedication to his many roles, he recently took part in and graduated from an active citizenship and leadership programme run by the Development Action Group (DAG). James has also played significant roles in gardening teams,

political action, the leading of workshops, and academic research projects, to mention a few, and

continues on his upward trajectory.

Figure 6: A resident attending a workshop

Figure 7: Feeding back from a group discussion at a Co-design workshop

4.3.1.7. Cissie Gool House as granting breathing room

Through discussions with occupiers both inside and outside the context of interviews, I began to

understand how CGH played the role of granting residents breathing room in their struggle for shelter

and survival. In being given access to a rent-free environment, where electricity and water are

provided, residents are given the space to recover from the toll that living in survival mode takes,

while knowing that their basic needs are at least partially taken care of. In time, the CGH space begins

to enable residents to move beyond survival mode instead investing this energy in building up their

careers, financial resilience and family connections to become more productive citizens. The impacts

of this gradual move away from survival mode can be seen through increased investments in business

ventures, improvement in the care, diet and education of children, growth in material wealth,

reconnection of the family unit, a renewed sense of personal purpose, and an improved ability to serve

others.

For Sarah, Faeza, and Eve, the respite offered by the Cissie Gool House space has allowed them to start successful neighbourhood businesses, which have the potential to continue to support their households should they transition to living in their own private home. Not needing to pay electricity and water costs help these businesses to become profitable more quickly and allow business owners to invest these profits into the further expansion of the business or into the care of the household. Another business owner, Daniel has also benefitted from being able to start his business within the CGH environment, which can be seen demonstrated through a tangible growth in his material wealth and number of belongings. For Daniel, a backpack of clothes and a few keepsakes from home were the sum total of his belongings when he arrived, and he initially slept on a board held off the floor by a few crates. Today, after a few years staying here, he lives in a large room with a double bed, wardrobe, chairs, and a collection of kitchen equipment, to mention a few possessions. Many other households that I have had the privilege of interacting with have also experienced an increase in material possessions and wealth since starting to live at Cissie Gool House. This material accumulation that has happened since living at CGH demonstrates that occupiers are increasingly transitioning out of survival mode; more and more there are finances to buy furniture, appliances or decor for their spaces, and not every available resource needs to be used just to get through the day. This trend towards improving standards of living echoes the trend identified by Vaz-Jones (2016) in his work on the Ithemba Farmer's land occupation, where the occupation of this land enabled the cultivation of basic livelihoods for occupiers, where previously there had been no opportunities to do so. In some situations, the improved household stability has enabled residents to begin to invest their time, energy and resources in uplifting and serving others. Faeza has been using her contacts and bits and pieces of her belongings from past homes to help create homes outside of the occupation for other family members, while Melanie cooks pots of soup to serve the homeless on Saturday mornings. Without this stable place to call home, these residents would need to devote all their time and energy to maintaining access to shelter and would not have been able to expand their impact and live out their own unique purposes through serving and uplifting others in this way.

In other situations, the growing stability in a household since moving to Cissie Gool House was evidenced by the fact that occupiers felt comfortable inviting other family members to come and stay with them and to be supported by them, eventually leading to the household being granted a larger amount of space, as it became available. This happened in the case of James, who is a father of three; finding a home here at CGH enabled his partner and children to come and stay with him and gave him the opportunity to be a more active parental presence in their lives. He shares more about this below:

"That's why for me now, I'm happy, I finally feel right with my family around"- James

Coakley's work on father involvement demonstrates the significance of father-child relationships and she identifies significant psychosocial risks for children whose fathers are absent (2013). In creating a space where this resident's entire family can be accommodated and he can be an active father in the lives of his children, CGH significantly reduces the likelihood that these children will live in poverty, drop out of school, and engage in risky behaviours such as alcohol or drug use (Coakley, 2013). The financial reprieve of not needing to pay rent and electricity costs, and living in a central suburb, thereby reducing transport costs, also gives parents like James the opportunity to increase their investment in things such as their child's education or the quality of their child's food, both investments that start to liberate individuals from generational health issues and cycles of skewed or disempowering education (Chisholm, 2012).

In the case of Sheila, the presence of Cissie Gool House enabled her to leave an unhealthy living situation. She was previously unable to leave her abusive marriage because she didn't have enough money to afford rent. Her family members were unwilling to take her in and shelter her from this situation and so she stayed in a damaging situation for much longer than she wanted to. It was the room offered at CGH that enabled her to finally leave her husband. Once again in these cases, the presence of a home like Cissie Gool House has interrupted the influence of potentially harmful situations and created an opportunity for a fresh start.

As Cissie Gool House welcomes homeless and evicted citizens into its spaces, it simultaneously helps launch other residents successfully back into the housing market. Since the occupation began in 2017, many residents have spent time at Cissie Gool House for a season and have then been able to secure housing elsewhere. As rooms are vacated, each empty room represents a household that is now confident to move back into the housing market in some way, when previously CGH had been their only available source of adequate shelter. While Temporary Relocation Areas such as Symphony Way and Wolwerivier have failed to help households transition into secure housing spaces (Levenson, 2018), Cissie Gool House is succeeding, once again fulfilling a state role in a new and imaginative way and outperforming the state itself.

4.3.2. The physical rewriting, reshaping, and reimagining of the Old Woodstock Hospital

With a building like a hospital, every aspect of the physical structure has been thoughtfully designed and created with a hospital's functioning in mind, Nicoll and Zimring's work demonstrates how significant an influence building design can have on the activities that are enabled and discouraged within the space (2009). In the case of the former Woodstock Hospital one can see as one moves through the building that corridors were designed to be areas where patients could be efficiently transported from one room to another, and these spaces do not foster interaction; patient rooms, while created to be comforting and to host patients in beds, generally do not have the private bathrooms, taps or kitchen spaces that would be found in a traditional home. Bathroom spaces are communal and are designed for temporary patient stays and patient visitors, and so focus more on toilet stalls than baths or showers. Beyond this, the physical structure of the former Woodstock Hospital was designed to accommodate and enforce the Apartheid ideologies of the time, as current residents who received medical care here in the past can attest to, meaning that wards were separated according to whether they served white or non-white patients, and the design of the spaces reflected these ideologies, with non-white spaces being smaller and less well resourced, while white spaces were larger. Being cognisant of the significant role objects play in the foreclosure and unlocking of different modes of human interaction (Collier, 2011; Coward, 2012; Lancione, 2013; Schindler, 2017; Rodgers and

O'Neill, 2012), creating a home with this backdrop, the walls and windows containing and echoing ideologies and functions of the past, is something incredibly challenging and multifaceted.

Throughout Cissie Gool House, as one walks through hallways and up stairwells, one is surrounded by colourful walls adorned with words and pictures that reflect the identities presently held and recreated within this space. Once painted the blues and beiges of a reassuring hospital environment, now the stairwell up to the youth room is covered with drawings done by the children who use the space, in Darling Gardens, a resident artist regularly creates new graffiti murals, expressing not only his own vision of and for the space, but also the vision of the Darling Garden community, and the walls of the corridors of residential sections: Long Street and Albert Road amongst others, reflect the memories, values, communities and atmospheres of these places, so that even as the spaces in these streets are changed, rebuilt and reimagined by others, a part of their essence is still held within these walls.

4.3.2.1. Innovating with infrastructure towards home

Over the years occupiers have gradually transformed an abandoned and physically decayed hospital building into a home that is able to provide essential services such as electricity and water to occupiers. When occupiers initially arrived at the former Woodstock Hospital in March of 2017, only a single section of the entire hospital precinct was habitable - the former radiology wing.

Transforming the Woodstock Hospital into a liveable space

In some cases what are now liveable rooms were once in a deplorable condition, covered in stubborn stains and faeces. In other cases, what were once bathrooms or kitchen spaces have now been renovated into family rooms. Faeza and Maria describe the process of transforming their spaces below:

"You know that that was a toilet, I make it like that (into a bedroom) … this piece here was open, dirty" – Faeza

"I went on my knees, I've got an overall that I put on, an overall, no shoes, and went on my knees and I was sweeping here, do you see here? The wood? This is my floor and I used turpentine, and I took a brush and I brushed, and you know turpentine is strong hey? And I took a brush and I was just cleaning and cleaning with gloves on here. The walls I washed with turpentine… it was filthy"- Maria

The above extracts from Faeza and Maria's interviews give us a small amount of insight into the kind of labour and vision that went into transforming this space. Over the past few years, occupiers have worked to clear out old flooring, repaint rooms and meticulously clean spaces to ensure they were suitable for new families to move into. With minimal resources available, occupiers with construction expertise have helped to repair areas in rooms where there may have been damage, including issues such as roof leaks, with assistance from other willing occupiers.

As one walks through the corridors of CGH one can see electricity wires draped across from one top floor window to another, and along back walls rubber piping delivers water to occupiers on the fringes of the property. These connections exist as a result of the hard work of occupiers with electrical and plumbing skills, paid for through contributions from the residents moving in. Occupiers with these skills use their expertise to carefully connect newly available rooms to parts of the building that do have electricity and water access. Where necessary, these residents also help to install light fixtures and plugs. Through discussions with the resident in charge of maintenance at CGH I learnt that the electrical infrastructures of CGH, such as the building's transformers, are over 100 years old, and are not designed to cope with the kind of load currently being placed them, necessitating careful and innovative electrical arrangements that work with this old infrastructure and attempt to keep it functioning, while still taking care of the needs of the families within this space. As systems break

down or needs shift occupiers improvise with these pieces of infrastructure, repairing and maintaining their spaces and changing pipes, taps and sockets to suit their needs and the needs of their neighbours.

Securing the provision of electricity and water in a room starts to lay down the baseline foundations for the key functioning of a new home (Brown-Luthango, Reyes and Gubevu, 2017) and in connecting themselves to the existing infrastructure, occupiers mobilise broken pieces of state systems in a new way and not only restore connection to basic services for those living at CGH, but also restore the purpose of these infrastructures, enacting the inclusionary repair work described by Amin (2014) amongst others (Amin and Thrift, 2017; Lawhon et al., 2018; Cirolia et al., 2021) and living out Simone's observation of 'people as infrastructure', mobilising their labour to re-establish working systems of provision (2004). In so doing, these residents also restore the value of the state's original investment in these infrastructures, echoing McFarlane's theories about the mobilising of fragments (2018). When we consider McFarlane's assertion that urbanisation is in itself a process of fracture (2018), we start to see that those citizens, such as the residents at Cissie Gool House, who are able to work with and enliven the fragments created by this fracturing process, are an essential resource for the city's continued growth and survival. If the future of the urban is being created by minds that enact this kind of improvisation with fragments of urban infrastructure, as argued by multiple authors (McFarlane, 2018; Roy, 2011; Caldeira, 2017; Enwezor, 2003; Crerar, 2010), it is everyday occupiers at Cissie Gool House who should be increasingly understood as the architects of a future inclusive and just Cape Town.

Privacy infrastructure and innovating with room layouts

Through spending time with occupiers inside their individual, personal home spaces, I've been able to observe that a brand of incremental, personal, everyday innovation takes place within the rooms of each household as the needs of each family evolve and the functionality of their space is made malleable to these changing household states. One of the key shifts occupiers have had to make in the transformation from hospital to home was the shift from public to private. Patient rooms and wards, while private to an extent, needed to function in a way that allowed a flow of regular visits from

medical staff, maintenance and cleaning staff, and family and friends, and were designed to accommodate and facilitate quick and simple movement in and out of the spaces, and access to all parts of the space. When moving in therefore, occupiers needed to install their own locks for their rooms, with this privacy infrastructure not being part of the building's existing make-up. This moment of installing a lock on their door was key in the transition from hospital room to home and marked the beginning of a sense of personal ownership over the room. Melanie and Maria share here how they transformed their rooms to help them to function as more personal, private spaces:

> *"I build me the, something to divide the room, let me show you… like this, I've made me like, there behind this wall, it looks like a wall, but it's just paper I've put over the partition thingy, but behind is my room, so I've created for me a dining room… (the partition) its um, this wood that I've built for me, and then I just take the wallpaper and I make for me like that"- Melanie*

> *"I try to make it as homely as possible… as you might have figured out that is the kitchen, and this is kind of the lounge (Where we are sitting – there is a table and a chair or two) and the bedroom area's so big, and I had put myself on those burglar bars (referring to a security gate here), to be safe… at the door, and I tried to make it easy to access things, you don't have to struggle" – Maria*

As we can see through Melanie's account, makeshift dividers can help maintain a sense of privacy in certain portions of the room while allowing other spaces to be more public, for entertaining and receiving people, allowing the room to assume multiple different functionalities. Through Maria's account we can see how she has worked to create different distinct spaces within her room and has used a security gate to aid the feeling of privacy in her space. In the case of Daniel and Eve, pieces of furniture such as cupboards or couches were used to perform this same dividing function, and further, in the case of Daniel, he also achieved a similar sectioning effect through painting, using different colours on the walls to indicate different spaces within his home. This dividing not only separates the room into private and more public spaces, but also helps to separate the room by function, creating

bedroom, kitchen and lounge spaces so that occupiers' rooms are able to work in the same way as a small flat and not only function as a bedroom. At times these colour choices also serve other purposes, for example despite repainting a large portion of his room's walls, Daniel chose to keep the top strip of his walls the original colour as a way to hold onto and honour the history of this space. In other cases lighter colours are used to create the illusion of more space, or a brighter colour is used to create a single focus wall, again altering and playing with the dimensions of the room. The moving of the furniture also allows a flexibility in the space, enabling occupiers to keep on reinventing their spaces, so that their rooms evolve as they do, in order to keep the space interesting, stimulating and reflective of themselves and their journey.

A large part of the home-making process for many occupiers includes ensuring that their space is organised and orderly and putting in place systems to help with the maintenance of this kind of environment. In light of the fact that many households live in single rooms, these spaces need to be able to be multifunctional, and ensuring that these spaces work for the variety of overlapping tasks that need to be performed requires creative, innovative space management. Daniel has created extra storage for his crockery by stacking crates on their sides under his bed, so that the open side of the crate faces outwards, and the crockery is easily accessible. These crates simultaneously serve as his bed base, raising his mattress off the ground. In recreating a raised bed for himself at CGH, this occupier also helped to restore a sense of normalcy and permanence for himself, as opposed to the feeling of temporariness and instability that a mattress on the floor can create, as argued by Steigemann & Misselwitz (2020).

In moving to create distinct spaces within their rooms, occupiers are creating a new spatial syntax, a new spatial language of sorts, echoing strategies and processes described by Hillier et al. (1976) and Alitajer & Nojoumi (2016), in communicating the different functions and levels of accessibility of different parts of their room without the traditional solid dividing walls. These unique home-making strategies align with Caldeira's perspective (2017) on the innovative capacity of peripheral citizens,

and in the strategies displayed by occupiers we see the continuous reinvention and improvisatory capacity of this group of residents as they move and adapt objects to cultivate home.

4.3.2.2. Micro-publics of play

At Cissie Gool House, passages, parking lots, gardens, courtyards, kitchens and halls are always open to be spaces of play for children, often as one walks through these spaces, one encounters a game of soccer or tag, or witnesses children engaging in imaginative play with one another. As a result of the design of the building, rooms overlook outdoor spaces of play and surround indoor ones, meaning that there is constant adult supervision.

These shared spaces of play act in a similar way to public parks or backyards in the suburbs - giving children the opportunity to engage in imaginative play and enjoy the indoors and outdoors in a safe and secure environment - an opportunity not often afforded to children in low-income, peripheral communities. In reimagining and recoding spaces for the purpose of play within the former hospital, Cissie Gool is once again creating the new "micro-publics" described by Holston (2009), Amin and Cirolia (2018) and Cirolia et al. (2021), thereby pioneering ways of granting historically disadvantaged, poor children access to opportunities that help them to develop to their full potential – opportunities akin to those granted in middle and upper class, privileged families. Beyond the multifaceted role of micro-public spaces like the CGH hall, described by Cirolia et al. (2021), which predominantly serves adult and movement purposes, the prioritising of spaces of play, with children in mind, demonstrate a focus on serving adults and children alike. The critical role of play in children's development as described by Whitebread et al. (2012), serves not only to contribute broadly to learning, but additionally supports children as they explore, learn about the world and discover who they are within it (Whitebread et al., 2012). Beyond this, it is within this time of play that connections are fostered between neighbouring children and between parents or other caregivers and their children, strengthening social networks and facilitating meaning-making experiences in the lives of children. As Cirolia et al. highlight, the malleability and flexibility of these micro-publics is

not something that happens without effort, and there is a purposeful practice of care involved in ensuring that these spaces are able to be safely used for these new purposes (2021). In making provision for and prioritising spaces of play within an occupied building, CGH implements many of the key recommendations for childhood development in Whitebread et al.'s paper, including creating opportunities for children to "experience risk" and "develop resilience and self-reliance" (p.44, 2012).

4.3.2.3. Memory and the cultivation of a new home

The walls, floors, corners and tables of many rooms at Cissie Gool House are adorned with photos, family mementos and significant items of previous lost or fondly remembered homes. The presence of these items helps to bring feelings of comfort into this new space and has helped to connect these lost homes to the present rebuilding of home within Cissie Gool House. In speaking about his home, Daniel shared the following about a statue of a woman held in a prominent place in his room:

> *"She's got a pumpkin, a whole pumpkin on her two hands like this… and obviously she's on her way to the market… to sell these two pumpkins for her two children to survive, and I had it made, it was in memory of my mother… (the statue is) a woman that's about to teach you about this woman that survives now above everything else… and that was my mother, I had the statue made in memory of her because it remind me a lot about her, you know… its little pieces of your journey and your story that also reflect in your space" – Daniel*

In this extract from Daniel's interview, we can see how the statue that he speaks of powerfully symbolises the role that his mother has played in his life. In bringing this item with him into his new home at Cissie Gool House, he brings her presence and the home spaces she created along with him. In the case of Maria, a framed photograph of herself and her son and a collection of books from her activist youth help to make this space feel like home. This photograph sits in pride of place on a small coffee table and catches one's eye right as one walks into her space. The warm smiles of herself and her son bring a brightness into the small dark room she stays in. She shares the following about this photo and her space:

"Ahhh, ja, those were happy times, yoh, um, this room I try to make it as homely as possible (by including pieces like this)" – Maria

In her work on the home-making of South Asian families in Britain, Tolia-Kelly notes that these homes "harbour the precipitates of re-memory as they figure as narratives of social heritage" (p.326, 2004). In the home-making and memory practices of occupiers we can see how these mementos help to construct this same social heritage in their spaces. These memory practices become particularly significant in the context of the persistent experiences of eviction, displacement and estrangement carried by many occupiers (Wenz, 2012), leading these occupiers to experience the re-cultivation of their home in ways akin to migrants, echoing the experiences of the South Asian homes studied by Tolia-Kelly (2004). Tolia-Kelly goes on to say that the "solid precipitates", such as the statue held in the home of our occupier, "help situate diasporic groups politically and socially" (p.326, 2004). Diasporic is defined as "relating to any group that has been dispersed outside its traditional homeland, either involuntarily or by migration". While the residents of Cissie Gool House may not immediately seem to align with the term "diasporic", when we unpack the meaning of this word, we see that it deeply resonates with their experiences. While they have not been made to leave the country, their home spaces: Woodstock, Salt River, District Six, are no longer spaces they get to call home, they are spaces they have been torn away from, dislocated from, and similar to the South Asian homes Tolia-Kelly describes, CGH residents are made to reconstruct all aspects of heritage and home in these new spaces from the ground up.

4.3.2.4. The sound of home

Some occupiers foster a sense of home through music and sound, mobilising these as aural relics of memory, with many installing sound systems, running radios or using their phones to send sound out into their space. When walking through the corridors of Cissie Gool House one often hears bits and pieces of a worship song or a pastor delivering a sermon, from another room one might hear the

sounds of golden oldies on the radio, and from yet another neighbouring room floats the sounds of an afternoon soap opera. Throughout my interviews with CGH residents I experienced these soundscapes as I spoke with them and felt that these chosen sounds expressed an intangible element of each home. In the home of Eve, the voice of Rebecca Malope rung out throughout our interview, only being interrupted here and there by bits and pieces of a sermon. When interviewing Sarah and Faeza, a dubbed Indian soap opera played in the background as we chatted. Whenever I pass the home of an elderly resident that I know well, his radio is loudly playing Frank Sinatra, and other big band hits. Down the corridor from him a lady often plays amapiano beats that she says remind her of her past neighbourhoods. These sounds of home, whether they be mothers calling down the stairs to children to come and have supper or the flapping wings of pigeons being let out of their coop to fly before sundown, they are as much a part of this home's conception as the walls and roofs and beds that shelter each of these families.

These sounds carry an atmosphere of home in ways that objects and spaces are seldom able to replicate. While our sense of sight only becomes fully developed between the ages of 3 and 5, our sense of hearing is fully developed while we're still in the womb, and as a baby, it is the sound of our parents' voices that cultivate that sense of home before anything else (Blackburn, 2017). Similarly, for dementia patients, it is often sounds or pieces of music that create a sense of calm, connecting them with positive memories of the past (Park & Pringle, 2009). In mobilising this form of home-making, occupiers highlight the truth of the perspectives expressed by Robertson (2017) and Strauss and Liebenberg (2014) about the importance of non-material constructions of home.

While some of these sonic declarations of home serve as an avenue for residents to make the CGH space feel like their own, in other cases, these sounds serve to protect, drowning out the sounds of neighbours and preventing these other, distinct and different declarations of home from invading into a neighbour's space. As Melanie explains,

"so everything, you speak there, the sound goes… the rooms are like that, so someone play

music, I can hear" – Melanie

In an environment where a lot of space is shared between occupiers, and privacy can, at times, be more imagined than real, as Melanie's above account explains, much like dividing walls, music and sounds can help to foster a necessary sense of privacy. When having a heated discussion with a family member, a resident may turn on some music to ensure that the discussion remain private – in another instance, a neighbour overhearing a sermon from a neighbour's room may choose to turn on their television and reclaim the soundscape within their private space. Beyond all this, these interwoven sounds are a way for people to assert themselves over their space and stamp a new vision of home over what was once an abandoned and forgotten space.

4.3.3. A reimagined relationship with belongings - the occupation economy

4.3.3.1. Strategies and principles of running businesses within the occupation

In the context of a building occupation, where the philosophy of property and building ownership is markedly different from the prevailing regime, one might expect that the philosophies surrounding personal belongings and business may differ from the norm as well. One of the ways that these unique economic philosophies can be seen at CGH is through occupier-run businesses. Many occupiers bring with them a practiced heritage of starting up and running neighbourhood businesses. As individuals, some occupiers have run factories, door to door businesses and catering companies amongst others, and bring these skills and insights into their lives at Cissie Gool House. Sarah shares below about some of her experience running businesses and her family's heritage of entrepreneurship:

"my father did broker… he was doing his own business, brokering, like me that's why it's in me

to make my own business all the years… I, got my own factory, my own business, at home, with

machinery, sewing machines and knitting machines then after that then I'm selling shoes and

stuff and I go make a business open in Cape Town … So, everywhere where I go, I make

business… I don't wait for others to do that and that, I make my own business" – Sarah

Many occupiers, like Sarah, Faeza and Eve, now run small businesses from their rooms, selling items like cigarettes, energy drinks, baked goods, airtime and household essentials on a very small scale, using their social grant incomes to buy stock and supplement their incomes. However, because their clientele consists solely of those living within the occupation, and the security guards who protect it, both groups that do not have a huge amount of money to spend, they keep their prices very low, and make only very small amounts of profit per sale. Eve explains below how her sale of cigarettes work:

"I don't buy that (big) packet, I buy only one packet (of cigarettes) for R18, so, my profit is only

R2 (on the entire pack, because there are 20 in a pack and she sells them for one rand each)" -

Eve

Contrary to the functioning of a traditional business, which is profit focused and inherently excludes some from access with the setting of its prices (Lombard and Rakodi, 2016; Harvey, 2017), these businesses are people focused and constantly adjust and reposition to what people can afford, often making unique payment arrangements with individual customers, such as in a case with Eve where she sold another resident cigarettes on credit. Faeza shares more below on how her business functions:

"We make less profit on certain things and some things you don't even make a profit on like if

you buy the sugar, and you make R2 packets of sugar, for poor people, you understand, even if

we stay in an expensive area, we still not getting anything cheap, life is expensive, but, you still

sell for cheap stuff, you understand? Its for the poor community, we are still a poor community

staying here" – Faeza

Further, in the case of Faeza's business, her household and her business have a symbiotic relationship. Faeza's household absorbs the unpredictability of sales and the running of a business that is

responsive to customer needs in this way by using stock that doesn't get bought in their own cooking, instead of buying food for themselves, ensuring that there is no waste within the store. However, this also means that there is less choice in terms of what the family eats and there is little control over nutrition. Nevertheless, without this system it is unlikely that this business would be able to continue to function in the way that it does and be properly responsive to the unique needs of the Cissie Gool House community.

In making the kind of arrangements that Faeza describes, such as selling items like sugar in small quantities it means that customers are able to buy only what they need, and don't need to buy an entire kilogram of sugar for example, when all they need is a few tablespoons of sugar for baking bread. Where traditional grocery stores make it more expensive to buy in smaller quantities, in order to encourage larger purchases, this practice is not present in businesses within the occupation. In running her business in this way, Faeza enacts a strategy outlined in Ruzek's work (2015), by adjusting prices to suit the economic classes that surround her. As Ruzek confirms, this strategy not only serves to improve the accessibility of basic goods, but also contributes to the achievement of sustainability goals. In adopting these customer responsive practices, these business owners begin to create the pockets of economic interaction that move outside of Capitalist principles described by Holloway and Enright et al. (2018), by running their businesses in a people centred, service-orientated way.

4.3.3.2. Belongings and systems of sharing, trading and repair within Cissie Gool House

In Cissie Gool House, belongings and objects function partially as a kind of commons where items are moved around based on need and present situation, and therefore, objects often travel between households. Often, because of the instability of the living situation from which occupiers were emerging, it wasn't possible to bring many belongings with them when they moved in at CGH, as testified to by Daniel in 4.3.1.7. However, those who came from larger homes and had a more stable transition sometimes had surplus furniture that they couldn't accommodate in their new space. This

led to opportunities for arrangements between occupiers. In discussions with Maria, she talked me through the origin of many of the appliances currently in her room, an extract from this is shared below:

> *"so that, that stove here, I bought from (someone within the occupation), she brought it here, for R80, and then I discovered, oh my word, the oven is not working properly, but the top section is working (stove/hotplate section) so I can't really do much with it, I'm trying to get somebody to fix it for me, but its working perfectly the top section… This (the microwave) I was given by… (another occupier) … I wouldn't want to get rid of that fridge, I love that fridge, I bought it from (the same occupier who gifted her the microwave)" – Maria*

These mechanisms of managing belongings demonstrate Ostrom's assertion that individuals can and do find sensible and innovative ways of managing common resources and develop these modes of property management for themselves (1990; Harvey, 2011). Existing in tandem with this sharing and exchange of items, is a culture of repair, as alluded to in the above account from Maria, and identified by Cirolia et al (2021). Often during my time spent at Cissie Gool House, I have witnessed residents discussing the potential repair of an item, with enthusiastic interest from multiple fellow occupiers.

This keenness to tinker with items, try and bring them back to life and extend their longevity is independent of how much space a person may have available or whether they already own an item of this kind. Cirolia et al. (2021) describe the culture of infrastructure repair within Cissie Gool House, outlining the focus on revitalising state infrastructures, however, this enthusiasm for the repair of appliances and other household items demonstrates that this culture extends beyond larger infrastructure systems and into the domain of the home as well. Kalantidou proposes this kind of repair and share culture as a way of shifting the lifecycle of materials and objects and practicing sustainability (2015). In repairing and sharing items, residents reduce their need to buy new items, freeing up finances for other purposes, and simultaneously, through trial and error, residents become more skilled at repairing a variety of items, whether it be appliances, clothing or furniture. This

culture of repair moves in stark contrast with the consumption culture that dominates many middle- and upper-class lives, and the combination of this with the movement of items between households when there are surpluses ensures that there is very little waste within this space.

Another branch of economic activity that moves in contrast to Capitalist consumption is the culture of trading within CGH. During my interview with Maria, a fellow resident popped in to collect some bedding that had been offered to her after hers had been damaged by a leaking roof. When she came to fetch this bedding, she brought along a skirt to swap the bedding for, in a colour that she knew was this resident's favourite. The presence of trading and sharing within the occupation once again ensures that residents' surpluses are shifted to where they are most useful within Cissie Gool House, so that very few items lie dormant within the space, and general accessibility is improved, as noted by Schor (2014). Whereas within a Capitalist economy, surpluses are something to strive for and retain (Harvey, 2011), within Cissie Gool House, I have seen these surpluses mobilised to serve others. The sharing of surpluses is not mandated, and is not expected, but because of the rich relationships and culture of care that has been fostered here, residents, of their own volition, often move to use whatever they can spare to prop up other families and improve their quality of life.

4.3.3.3. The occupation's relationship with money

While there is a liberty in the practices of repair, trade and entrepreneurship within the occupation, when it comes to money, occupiers are a lot more constrained. For at least 5 of the 8 residents that I interviewed, social grants are their primary source of income. While, in most cases residents have supplementary sources of income, these are often volatile, and their social grant remains the only consistent reliable source of income for the household. These grants amount to R480 for a child support grant and R1990 for a government pension (Human, 2022). Sheila speaks about the labour of meticulously recording expenses and the fact that it is only through this careful and precise recording of how money is spent that herself and her son are able to eat every day. She shares below:

"I still today, and I think it's also because I've got my son and he's on maintenance, when we go buy things at the shop, I want my receipt, I've got my journals, I've got it all written down, every cent, every receipt"- Sheila

It is clear through Sheila's account that there is a huge amount of work that goes into making spending decisions in a low-income family. There is also a large amount of creative and strategic energy involved in manoeuvring through a month with so little income while attempting to fulfil both regular and unexpected needs that may crop up. Sheila's clear creative labour here demonstrates many authors' assertions of the innovative capacity of the poor (Caldeira, 2017; Echanove & Srivastava, 2009; Roy, 2011). In speaking to occupiers, such as Maria, I learnt that for some grant holders, purchases or trips are scheduled around the day that their grants come in, meaning that their ability to attend events such as a family funeral are often dictated by how close the date is to their grant payment date. Maria shares more here:

"I'm actually planning to leave now (to go to the Eastern Cape), after we get our SASSA But I have to leave as soon as I get it, because otherwise the money's going to run out, and then I'll get to see my son" – Maria

As we can see through the above account, this lack of economic freedom can stand in the way of families connecting and being present for important events. This tension between the liberating practices of repair, trade and entrepreneurship and the restrictive experiences occupiers have with money leave occupiers deeply aware of the possibilities for change and potential solutions, but stuck within a system that doesn't recognise them or their ideas because of their financial circumstances.

4.3.4. Conclusion

This section has unpacked various components of the work of home-making that have been and continue to be undertaken by residents within the occupied former hospital building of Cissie Gool House. Through the exploration of human infrastructures, this section has demonstrated how fragments of past homes and care networks have been reimagined, transformed and reinvigorated, extending McFarlane's work on fragments (2013) beyond simply material infrastructures into the realm of human infrastructures as well, in particular through the reclaiming and reimagining of communal childcare and educational strategies. This section has explored and demonstrated the clear sophistication of the human infrastructures and networks within Cissie Gool House directly contrasting the accounts of criminality and decay propagated in the media, as alluded to in Arderne (2022). Instead, the human infrastructures within CGH echo the accounts and depictions of Benjamin (2006), Roy (2011), Caldeira (2017) and Enwezor (2003), who describe the powerful ingenuity of spaces cultivated and led by the poor and peripheral. Through having developed a deep understanding of the scars held by the excluded urban poor, at CGH residents have instinctively designed and developed systems that have successfully aided in the support, recovery and healing of their community, through educational programs, healthcare programs, workshops and intimate support networks. In so doing, the CGH community enacts the homing, healing and liberating work attempted by the post-apartheid South African state (Ward, 2011), and in some ways surpasses what the state has been able to deliver and achieve.

Through residents' mobilisation of occupation as a means to procure access to housing and to engage the state in the concerns and needs of the poor, we see the presence of the peripheral urbanisation strategies described by Caldeira (2017). Through this section's examination of the occupation economy, we see an example of a space and a set of systems that fulfils Enright et al.'s (2018) theorisation of spaces and practices existing outside of Capitalism. It is these spaces that Enright et al. declare as the spaces that we should classify as teachers (2018) as we increasingly move towards spaces that are more inclusionary and more equally serve all individuals. In this section's investigation of the physical ways that the former Woodstock building has been transformed, this section has demonstrated how residents have taken the fragment of state infrastructure that was the

Woodstock Hospital, and created value where there was formerly decay, and have created empowering homes where there was formerly vacant, cold brick, enacting McFarlane's theories on the urban poor and fragments (2018). Further, we see households mobilising fragments of past homes to cultivate these new home spaces at Cissie Gool House, through objects of memory and sound, echoing and extending McFarlane's thoughts on fragments (2018) beyond state infrastructure and into the realm of personal and private materiality.

This section has thoroughly investigated and explored the various practices and systems that make up the labour of home-making at Cissie Gool House, through unpacking the creation of peopled infrastructures, the transformation of physical infrastructures, and the renewal of ideas around economy, belongings and household objects. Through the perspectives that have been shared by Cissie Gool House residents, the above section has built a clear understanding of what the labour of home-making looks like in an occupied hospital building.

5. Conclusion

Through unpacking and analysing the home-making journey of a small group of occupying residents at Cissie Gool House, this thesis has developed a rich and deep understanding of the labour involved in cultivating and sustaining home through occupation. By exploring these home-making journeys, this thesis has also revealed the significant impacts felt by citizens as they wait on housing provision and has demonstrated how living at Cissie Gool House and employing occupation as a mode of homemaking uniquely addresses some of these impacts. Through employing semi-structured one on one interviews as a central mode of inquiry, this research was able to investigate intimate, fine-grained aspects of home life and home-making labour, which may not have been possible had this research been conducted in a workshop or group orientated manner. By supplementing these interviews with involvement in events, workshops, social gatherings and gardening activities, the fine-

grained, individualised experiences uncovered in the interviews were balanced by a broader understanding of the overarching systems that enable Cissie Gool House to function the way it does. Future studies may wish to further explore the creative ways that occupiers arrange and layout their furniture to enable a myriad of household functions in spaces the size of a single bedroom. Additionally, more long-term research is needed to more fully understand the ways that living at Cissie Gool House may be influencing the trajectories of its residents, in both positive and negative ways. The enquiries in this research have demonstrated how living within the CGH space and engaging in its ecosystem have led to a transformed sense of citizenship in some of its residents. In turn, this transformed sense of citizenship has empowered these residents to become more active agents in the shaping of their city. Through the exploration of residents' past homemaking strategies, this research has shown how some of these strategies have been repurposed and mobilised anew in the Cissie Gool House space, alongside novel and emergent homemaking strategies such as the supportive educational and healthcare networks within this occupation. Broadly, this thesis has demonstrated the value held in the homemaking ideas, systems and strategies employed within Cissie Gool House, and has shown that these residents, and this occupied space should be seen as an important example of a new and instructive mode of homemaking, engineered and orchestrated by the urban poor.

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